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Religious Associations in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Evidence in the Greek Language

Θρησκευτικά Σωματεία στην Πτολεμαϊκή Αίγυπτο: Οι μαρτυρίες από την ελληνική γλώσσα.

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Introduction

Ancient Greek associations have been defined by Francisco Maria De Robertis¹ as “a voluntary meeting of people pursuing a permanent common purpose, in a system of mutual relations of which everyone is well aware”. Although many decades have passed since De Robertis first formulated this definition, it is still referred to by many scholars. Modern researchers often add the adjective “voluntary” when referring to ancient associations in order to differentiate between the aforementioned associations, and the ones whose membership was obligatory, as was the case for the state organizations like *demoi* or *phatries*.² Other adjectives used are “non-public” and “private” although their use is not unanimously accepted by the academic community.³

Most scholars divide the ancient Greek associations into two subgroups based on their purpose (religious and professional)⁴ or three based on their membership bases (a. associations whose members were associated with a household, b. associations whose members practised the same trade, c. associations whose members reunite for the worship of a deity).⁵

As it has already been pointed out by researchers, most ancient Greek associations were to some degree religious associations, since they often worshipped deities or performed activities related to the worship of the gods. An association is therefore only characterised as a religious association when the performance of acts of worship was the primary reason for its foundation. This is not always possible to determine, since the epigraphical and papyrological sources are often fragmentary or in bad condition. Even when the evidence is in perfect condition, the available information is not always enough for us to determine the purpose of the association and characterise it as religious or

¹ De Robertis 1938, 7.

² Wilson 1996, 1; Ascough 2002, 3; Arnaoutoglou 2003, 23 maintains that while membership in demes was obligatory, as it was a requirement for the acquisition of the Athenian citizenship, this was not the case for the phatries which he characterises as a “puzzling example”.

³ Arnaoutoglou 2003, 23 summarises the arguments against them with the statement “one may wonder to what extent participation in private cult associations was really voluntary, taking into account the need for forming alliances, family traditions and continuity, religious, social and political alliances”

⁴ Roman voluntary associations or *collegia* had an additional type called *collegia tenuiorum* (funerary *collegia*) but this thesis will focus solely on ancient Greek associations.

⁵ Kloppenborg 1996, 26.

professional. Other factors are then taken into consideration, for instance the terminology used (e.g. the term *thiasos* or the term *synodos* when accompanied by the name of a deity).

Depending on which criteria one uses for the characterisation of a group as private association,⁶ there are different views on the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of ancient Greek associations. If we regard *koinoniai* as associations then the first instance that the term appears is on the laws of Solon in 594 BC.⁷ The other possibility is if we accept only indisputable terms such as *thiasoi* and *thiasotai*, which are first attested in a 5th century inscription from Piraeus.⁸ In both cases, the earliest evidence is from Athens, a city with very rich epigraphical material. The ancient Greek associations, however, met their greatest spread during the Hellenistic period.

In Egypt, there were also Egyptian organized religious associations even before the Greek conquest.⁹ Mario Paganini has summarised the differences and similarities between Greek and Egyptian associations and concluded that there are no safe criteria to distinguish the one from the other.¹⁰ He argues that the language should no longer be used as a criterion because, as Greek was the official language, the native population also used it on some occasions. Greeks on the other hand, had no reason to learn demotic and it is much safer to assume that the members of the associations that used the demotic language for their documents would have been Egyptian or at least would have had “a particular affinity to the traditional Egyptian environment”.¹¹ There are also cases of associations mentioned in Greek sources that have characteristics usually encountered in Egyptian associations.¹² In such cases it is often impossible to tell whether it is a case of a Greek association that has adopted some Egyptian characteristics because of the cultural exchange between the peoples or whether it was an Egyptian association using the Greek language (perhaps even alongside the demotic). For this reason, we will refrain from characterising the associations mentioned in the Greek sources from Ptolemaic Egypt as “Greek” or “Egyptian”.

The aim of this thesis is to identify all religious associations from Ptolemaic Egypt mentioned in Greek sources, and to investigate its mechanisms, functions and dynamics. Special value will be

⁶ Jones 1999, 31 uses a different set of criteria and tools to study the ancient association. He used a scale based on sets of opposing characteristics such as Voluntary/Nonvoluntary, Temporary/Permanent and Expressive/Instrumental. He does not believe that these categories are mutually exclusive.

⁷ Jones 1999, 5.

⁸ Steinhauer 2012, 26.

⁹ Paganini 2017, 134.

¹⁰ Paganini 2017, 146.

¹¹ Paganini 2017, 141-142.

¹² One such case is the association of Zeus Hypsistos mentioned in chapter N of this thesis. For more information on this association and its Egyptian elements see Kloppenborg 2020, 203.

placed on shedding light on the complex relationship between the Greek and the native Egyptian populations, which was largely influenced by the Ptolemaic interior policy. The geographical and chronological limit of this research will be Ptolemaic Egypt from the reign of Ptolemy I Soter until the defeat of Cleopatra VII and Marcus Antonius from Octavian at 31 BC. The main focus of this thesis will be placed on associations mentioned on the Greek sources, which consist of papyri and inscriptions. Demotic sources will also be taken into consideration, since, as mentioned above¹³, the two types intermingle and cannot be regarded as two separate bodies based solely on the language. There will be certain criteria used to determine firstly whether a group mentioned in the sources was indeed an association and how certain we can be about that characterization and secondly whether an association can be classified as religious.

I. History of Scholarship

The history and evolution of ancient associations or “fenomeno associativo”¹⁴ has sparked the interest of scholars from as early as the 19th century. The first to address the issue was Theodor Mommsen,¹⁵ whose book on Roman *collegia* was published in 1843. His work set the tone for the early research on Roman associations and more publications followed.¹⁶ It took thirty years after that for the first monograph on Greek associations to be written by Paul Foucart.¹⁷ Foucart’s work focused on the religious associations of certain areas, mainly Attica but it continued to be relevant for many decades afterwards. The first publication that dealt with all forms of ancient Greek associations was written by Erich Ziebarth in 1896. It was also the first to mention the associations in Ptolemaic Egypt, although a much more detailed analysis in the subject was provided by Franz Poland in his monograph titled “Geschichte des griechischen Vereinwesen”.¹⁸ Poland’s work remains to this day the most comprehensive research on ancient Greek associations and continues to be a reference work for scholars, as he managed to document and create a list of all associations mentioned in material (inscriptions or papyri) that had been available during the first decade of the 20th century.

¹³ p. 3

¹⁴ The term was introduced by de Robertis 1973.

¹⁵ Mommsen 1843.

¹⁶ Lierbenam 1890; Waltzing 1895.

¹⁷ Foucart 1873.

¹⁸ Poland 1909.

Despite the early interest in the subject, the number of monographs on ancient Greek associations remains low, mainly because the amount of the material available has increased so much during the last century, that it is impossible for all the material to be included in one monograph. For this reason, new works on the subject mainly focus on one geographical region or city (e.g. Athens)¹⁹ or on one deity.²⁰ There are, however, also some quite thorough modern collections of texts on the subject such as John Kloppenborg's, Richard Ascough's and Philipp Harland's "Associations in the Graeco-Roman World: A Sourcebook"²¹ along with their volumes with texts from Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia and Thrace (vol. I),²² the North Coast of Black Sea and Asia Minor (vol.II)²³ and Graeco-Roman Egypt (vol. III).²⁴ Recently, scholars have created online databases for ancient associations like "The Inventory of Ancient Associations",²⁵ which aims to document all private associations from 500 BC to 300 AD from the area of Central Mediterranean to the Near East. Another database that includes texts and sources in translation is the website of the "Associations in the Graeco-Roman World",²⁶ which was created by Philip Harland as a companion to the book.²⁷ The editorial board of "The Inventory of Ancient Associations" has also set some clear criteria for determining what can be classified as "association", which will be taken into consideration during the course of this thesis.²⁸

As this thesis focuses on the associations of Hellenistic Egypt, the history of scholarship of this particular area will be analysed next. The first monograph on the subject of associations in Greco-Roman Egypt was written by Mariano San Nicolò and published in 1913. It was only during the past year that a second monograph on the subject was produced, the already mentioned volume III of "Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations and Commentary" by John Kloppenborg.²⁹ It should, however, be noted that neither monograph includes the complete amount of associations from Greco-Roman Egypt that is known to us today. On the subject of the demotic sources on associations

¹⁹ For some examples of monographs that focus on the associations of Athens see Jones 1999 and Arnaoutoglou 2003.

²⁰ One such monograph focusing on the associations dedicated to the worship of Dionysos is Jaccottet 2003, *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*.

²¹ Kloppenborg, Ascough and Harland 2012.

²² Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011.

²³ Harland 2014.

²⁴ Kloppenborg 2020.

²⁵ <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/CAPI/intro.php>

²⁶ <http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/>

²⁷ Kloppenborg, Ascough and Harland 2012.

²⁸ <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/CAPI/intro-criteria.php>

²⁹ Kloppenborg 2020.

of Egypt, the most comprehensive account is Françoise de Cenival's.³⁰ Both databases mentioned above,³¹ include Egyptian associations and they can facilitate and complement their study. They also contain material that is not mentioned in either of the monographs. New material can also be published, and the databases present the advantage that they can be updated to include any new material that is made available.

In this thesis the available Greek material will be used to identify and document all the associations from Ptolemaic Egypt that can be classified as religious. As it has already been pointed out by researchers, most associations were to some degree religious associations. Factors that are considered indications that an association is indeed religious is the use of terms such as *synodos* or *thiasos*. Demotic texts will also be taken into consideration with the aim to identify possible similarities and influences.

II. Egypt under the Ptolemies

As the history of Egypt during the Ptolemaic period is vast, the aim of this chapter is not to provide an overview of the entire history of Egypt during this period. This chapter will focus instead on the aspects relevant for this thesis, namely the religious policy of the Ptolemies and their predecessor's, Alexander III's as well as their stance towards the native population and the relationship between natives and immigrants.

When Alexander III conquered Egypt in 332 BC, he found an already established administration and religious system that he chose to maintain. Upon his arrival, he offered sacrifices to the Egyptian god Apis and organized musical and athletic contests as per the Greek custom.³² Alexander was named pharaoh according to Egyptian temple reliefs and respected the Egyptian traditions.³³ While he maintained the status quo and the separation of Egypt into different *nomoi*, he named two of his own

³⁰ De Cenival 1972.

³¹ p. 5.

³² Arr, An. III.1.

ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διαβὰς τὸν πόρον ἤκεν εἰς Μέμφιν: καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν

³³ Hölbl 2001, 77.

soldiers *nomarchai* and Kleomenes of Naukratis financial administrator. He promoted the latter to satrap of Egypt soon after.³⁴

After the death of Alexander III, Ptolemy son of Lagos became satrap and later king of Egypt. Shipley maintains that “Alexander’s reign in many ways seems to foreshadow – and certainly helped to determine – the condition of the Greek world after his death”.³⁵ This notion is especially true for Egypt. The Ptolemies were foreign rulers in Egypt and lacked legitimacy. At first, they attempted to gain legitimacy by establishing a connection with Alexander III, their predecessor.³⁶ To achieve this end, Ptolemy I did not hesitate to seize Alexander’s body on its way to Macedonia and bury it initially at Memphis and later at Alexandria.³⁷

Since the majority of their subjects were Egyptians and the Greek immigrants formed only a small part of the population, it was necessary to cooperate with the native elite and gain the acceptance of the local population.³⁸ As will become clear in this chapter, the Ptolemaic religious policy had always played a major role in accomplishing these goals.³⁹

The Ptolemies followed Alexander’s religious policy of maintaining the *status quo* and respecting the local tradition. Ptolemy I and his successors were named Pharaohs of Egypt.⁴⁰ Ptolemy I chose his throne name carefully to reflect the dynastic link between himself and his predecessor, Alexander III.⁴¹ The title of Pharaoh however, did not come without certain responsibilities. The Pharaoh, as son of Ra, was responsible for maintaining the Maat (universal order). This role could be fulfilled by restoring the gods’ temples and erecting new ones.⁴² When Alexander III founded Alexandria, he

³⁴ Hölbl 2001, 12. Arr. An. III.5.4

Κλεομένην τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος· καὶ τοῦτῳ παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας ἔαν ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶντων κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθειστήκει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους· οἱ δὲ ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν.

³⁵ Shipley 2008, 38.

³⁶ Ptolemy later took advantage of his first military victory against Perdicas to present himself as conqueror of the land D.S. 18.39.5

ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν τοῦτον μεταθεῖναι διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδρείας ἔχειν οἰονεὶ δορίκτητον.

³⁷ Paus.1.6.3

καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς Αἴγας κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν νόμον τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει, οἷα δὲ ἐπιστάμενος πολεμήσοντα Περδίκκαν Αἴγυπτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ

³⁸ Wellendorf 2008, 33.

³⁹ According to Worthington 2016, 185, Ptolemy I “unlike the Pharaohs, he had no right to rule, so he embarked on a complex policy that was ultimately anchored in religion and understanding of other cultures to secure his acceptance”.

⁴⁰ Doubts about the Ptolemy I’s coronation as Pharaoh have been expressed by Gorre 2013, 101 and there are even some doubts concerning Alexander III’s coronation (Burstein 1991, 139-145)

⁴¹ Hölbl 2001, 80.

⁴² Minas-Nerpel 2018, 124.

made sure that Isis would be among the gods worshipped in the new city and he secured a place where her temple would be built.⁴³ Ptolemy I may not be as widely known for his temple-building policy as some of his successors but he also made contributions⁴⁴ and by following Alexander III's policy he set the tone for his successors. As both Egyptian and Greek sources confirm, the first Ptolemies treated the Egyptian population with benevolence (*philanthropia*).⁴⁵ One clear example of Ptolemy's benevolence is attested in the satrap stele that was erected by the priests of Buto in 311 BC. The stele, that is written in hieroglyphic, honours Ptolemy I for restoring lands to the priests that had been taken away by the previous Persian regime. Of course, as Ian Worthington has stated, there were often other motives for these acts of so-called benevolence related to strategy or politics.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, whatever these motives may have been, it remains a fact that the Ptolemies realised from early on the significance of their cooperation with the native religious elite. It is for instance the most prevalent view in modern scholarship, that it was him who introduced Serapis, a syncretic deity that originated from the Egyptian Osiris-Apis and combined both Greek and Egyptian characteristics.⁴⁷ Despite this, scholars have questioned the nature of the relationship between Ptolemy I and the Egyptian elite and the degree of their cooperation.⁴⁸ It is possible that the beginning of this relationship had not been as harmonious as it seemed at first glance,⁴⁹ but it certainly evolved and changed a lot during the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule. It was perhaps during the reign of Ptolemy II that more stable foundations were set.⁵⁰ Ptolemy II had made several financial, social and cultural reforms during his reign.⁵¹ One of these reforms concerned a tax called *apomoira* which was previously paid by cultivators of temple land directly to the temples.⁵² After Ptolemy II's reform in 263 BC, the tax from the land belonging to the temples would be collected by tax farmers and then redirected to the temples.⁵³ This way the

⁴³ Arr.An.III.1.5

καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σημεῖα τῆ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀγορὰν ἐν αὐτῇ δεῖμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα καὶ θεῶν ὄντων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶ, Ἴσιδος δὲ Αἰγυπτίας, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἧ περιβεβλησθαι.

⁴⁴ Hölbl 2001, 86.

⁴⁵ OGIS 90, OGIS 56, Samuel 1993, 168. For OGIS 56, see also Pfeiffer 2004.

⁴⁶ Worthington 2016, 124.

⁴⁷ Merkelbach 1995, 73; Pfeiffer 2008, 388; Smith 2017, 391; Fassa 2020, 142-152.

⁴⁸ Gorre 2013, 101-102.

⁴⁹ Huss 2001, 445.

⁵⁰ Gorre 2013, 104 believes that it was Ptolemy II who initiated the cooperation with the native priesthood.

⁵¹ Thompson 2008, 27-38.

⁵² Clarysse and Vandorpe 1998, 12.

⁵³ Clarysse and Vandorpe 1988, 13-17 believe that by this new reform all owners of land would have to pay the *apomoira*. The cultivators of temple land paid the *apomoira* to tax farmers (and they to the temples) while all other income was used for the cult of Arsinoe II.

native priests depended of the goodwill of the King to receive this income.⁵⁴ Both Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II even had an Egyptian priest, Manetho as their advisor.

Despite the relationship between the Ptolemies and the priestly elite, the Ptolemies openly promoted Greek culture, often while openly discriminating against the native population. Cases of such discrimination can be found in the Ptolemaic tax system. While Greek citizens were not expected to pay the obol tax, the Egyptians were even though they could also be exempted if they practised certain occupations.⁵⁵ In reality, as Koenen has stated, the Ptolemaic monarchy resembled a Janus head with one face towards the Greeks and the other facing the Egyptians.⁵⁶ They tried to gain the support of the Egyptian population but without forgetting their Greek subjects who were a minority among the locals. The Greeks and those who had received a Greek education were the privileged elite. The goal was to strike a balance between the two different cultures without alienating one or the other and without really eliminating the “ruling class” subjects dynamic. Ptolemy II Philadelphus for instance associated himself and his wife Arsinoe II with both Greek and Egyptian gods.

During the reign of the last Ptolemies (from Ptolemy IV until Cleopatra VII), the situation changed because of Egypt’s decline in power and internal turmoil. Ptolemy IV continued the temple building policy of his predecessors,⁵⁷ but some of the events of his reign, the most important of them being the battle of Raphia, shifted the power dynamic of the relationship between Greeks and Egyptians.⁵⁸ By studying the Egyptian edicts from the beginning of Ptolemy IV’s reign until the aftermath of the battle of Raphia, Hölbl also comes to the conclusion that the relationship seems more balanced afterwards.⁵⁹ It was during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetis, when significant changes in the social position of the local population took place. Ptolemy VIII supported actively the Egyptian population by increasing their privileges. He issued an edict that the Egyptian clergy would not lose their posts and the temples would retain their right to provide asylum,⁶⁰ he established new military positions for the Egyptians, and he even allowed his relative, Berenice to marry an Egyptian priest.⁶¹

Unfortunately, the information regarding the Ptolemaic policy on private religious associations is limited. There is evidence for one Ptolemaic edict issued by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes at the end of the

⁵⁴ Gorre 2013, 104.

⁵⁵ For more information on this subject see chapter 2, part II.

⁵⁶ Koenen 1993, 25-26.

⁵⁷ Huss 2001, 457.

⁵⁸ Huss 2001, 445; Plb.V.107.2-3.

⁵⁹ Hölbl 2001, 164.

⁶⁰ P. Tebt. III. 699.

⁶¹ Hölbl 2001, 198-199.

civil war with Cleopatra II in 124 BC.⁶² Its meaning is not very clear as the papyrus is fragmentary, but it seems that it was referring to the confiscation and auction of land that belonged to associations and it has been speculated that these associations would be afterwards dissolved.⁶³ The reason behind it is not stated and Matt Gibbs has expressed the hypothesis that it could have been the consequence of a *stasis*.⁶⁴ The edict is quoted in a receipt for payment for land that was put to auction by the state. The buyer is Ammonius, son of Taurinos, and the land or part of it probably belonged to the associations mentioned in the decree.⁶⁵ Matt Gibbs believes that the existence of such an edict shows that the state officially acknowledged the existence of associations and had previously allowed them to possess property and land.⁶⁶ Another royal edict on associations is that of Ptolemy IV regarding artists of Dionysus.⁶⁷ There is much controversy and debate on its purpose. While some scholars believe that the aim was to have some kind of control over the artists of Dionysus⁶⁸, others that it was an attempt to unify the cult of Dionysus⁶⁹ while more recent studies claim that the purpose was to order a census of artists of Dionysus for tax purposes, as they enjoyed some tax privileges.⁷⁰

III. Structure and Organization

Closing this introductory chapter of the current thesis and before we move on to the main part, it would be useful to provide the reader with some brief information on the structure of this thesis and the methodology applied. The current thesis is organized in four parts: the introduction, part I, part II and the appendix. The aim of the introduction was to provide the reader with information about the terminology applied, the history of scholarship on the subject and some relevant historical background.

⁶² P.Tebt. III 700

⁶³ Taubenschlag 1955, 647.

⁶⁴ Gibbs 2015, 256.

⁶⁵ Hunt and Smyly 1933, 40; Gibbs 2015, 254-255.

⁶⁶ Gibbs 2015, 255.

⁶⁷ BGU. VI 1211. It should be noted that the *technitai* of Dionysos cannot be classified as a religious association but a professional one, whose membership basis comprised mostly of musicians or other artists with professions related to theatre. For more information of the artists of Dionysos see Aneziri 2003.

⁶⁸ Bagnall and Derow 2004, 260.

⁶⁹ Tondriau 1946, 149-156.

⁷⁰ Capponi 2010, 118.

All the papyrological and epigraphical sources on the subject of religious associations of Ptolemaic Egypt will be analysed and discussed in the main part of the thesis, while the original sources along with an English translation will be included in the appendix. The main part will be divided into two subparts. In the first subpart, the associations will be organized according to the deity or deities worshipped. The deities will be divided into Egyptian and Greek and listed in an alphabetical order, while associations dedicated to the worship of the royal couple will be listed last. In many cases the ethnicity (Greek or Egyptian) of the deity, is not clear as quite often the deities possessed a combination of both Greek and Egyptian characteristics. It should therefore be noted that the organization of the deities and their separation into Greek and Egyptian is merely a convention that does not necessarily reflect the true character of the deity or the associations. In cases where an epigraphical source (usually a stele) is accompanied by a relief, the relief will be analysed as well, when access to photograph of the relief was possible. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the access to libraries was restricted during the majority of the writing process of this thesis and therefore the access to some sources was not possible. Although in the majority of the sources studied, it is possible to have at least an indication of which deity the association would have worshipped, there are also some cases where, even though there is some indication that the association might have been religious, it is impossible to identify the deity worshipped. Most of these sources are analysed in part II, when there is valuable information to be gained and analysed. There are, however, also some cases that do not provide information relevant for the purposes of this thesis and therefore, are not mentioned in any of its main parts. These sources are still included in the appendix as they are taken into consideration for statistical purposes.

The aim of the second subpart (part II) is to study in depth the available sources included in the appendix in order to gain a better understanding of the inner workings and mechanisms of the private religious associations of Ptolemaic Egypt. Additional sources both from Egypt (written in demotic) and from other parts of the Hellenistic world, have been used, when necessary, as parallel texts. The main focus has been on the membership of the associations, because the gender, social status and ethnicity of the members form the identity of an association, although the internal organization and financial aspects have been analysed as well.

Part I

A. Anubis Associations

Anubis was the god of mummification, embalming and the judge of the dead. He was a canine god, usually represented with the head of a jackal or a wild dog. It is possible that his form was intended to placate the jackals and wild dogs that devoured the corpses of the dead buried in shallow or otherwise accessible graves. This was a type of protective magic.⁷¹ Anubis used to be the most significant mortuary deity during the largest part of the Old Kingdom. At the end of the third millennium BC, he was replaced in his role as King of the Dead by Osiris, although he did retain a secondary role and was incorporated into his mythology.⁷² Anubis was in the Osirian myth the one who mummified Osiris and in some versions he was also Osiris's son, although in others he was the son of Hesat and Bastet or of Nephthys and Seth, Nephthys and Ra or even Nephthys and Osiris.⁷³

During the Ptolemaic period, Anubis was assimilated with the Greek god Hermes and more specifically with the chthonic side of Hermes as *psychopombos*, the one who brought the souls into the Greek netherworld, Hades. There are inscriptions and dedications to the God Hermes-Anoubis or Hermanoubis even though Hermes's fusion with Thoth enjoyed greater popularity. The majority of the material mentioning the syncretic deity Hermanubis is from the Roman period,⁷⁴ although there is one example that could be dated during the late Ptolemaic or early Imperial period.⁷⁵ The Egyptian god Anubis is attested far more often than the syncretic form of Hermanubis and his cult spread to the rest of the Hellenistic world along with the cult of Isis and Serapis. Naturally Anubis's cult was not as popular nor as widespread as that of Isis or Serapis. The three deities were occasionally worshipped or grouped together as a triad⁷⁶ and there are also cases where Anubis was worshipped alongside Isis, like in the Ptolemaic temple of Isis Hermuthis in Medinet Madi.⁷⁷ During the period, a temple dedicated to Anubis at the Memphite necropolis of Saqqara, known as Anubieion, was constructed by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and rebuilt by Ptolemy V Epiphanes.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Wilkinson 2003, 187.

⁷² Pinch 2002, 104.

⁷³ Wilkinson 2003, 187.

⁷⁴ Benaissa 2010, 67.

⁷⁵ Grenier 1977, 23, Ἑρμανούβιδι θεῶι μεγάλῳ/ ἐπηκόῳ καὶ εὐχαρίστῳ Σαραπί/ ὡν Διονυσίου Σαραπίδειο[ς] καὶ Εὐκλεία ἡ τούτου ἀδελφὴ κα[ὶ]/ γυνὴ ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου τοῦ υἱ[οῦ] ἰβ' (ἔτους), Ἀθῶν η'.

⁷⁶ As in the inscription OGIS 97, No 2.

⁷⁷ Sfameni-Giasparro 2018, 536.

⁷⁸ Smith and Jeffreys 1981, 22, Cannata 2007, 224.

There are no certain cases of religious associations of Anubis during the Ptolemaic period. There are however dedications to Anubis from private associations and the possibility that these associations were dedicated to the worship of Anubis cannot be completely ruled out. The first dedication comes from a *synodos* mentioned in the inscription No 1 (*SEG* 8, 544)⁷⁹ from the first century BC. The inscription does not provide any more information about the *synodos* or its members. It is clear however that this is really a case of a private association from the term *synodos* that is used to describe the association. The second dedication (No 2)⁸⁰ was a dedication to Isis, Serapis/Osiris and Anubis on behalf of the royal couple using the *hyper* + genitive formula. This type of dedicatory inscriptions can be found mostly in Egypt and is usually addressed to Serapis or Isis, sometimes alongside other Egyptian deities.⁸¹ P.M. Fraser was the one who proposed the translation “on behalf of“ for this type of dedications and argued that they were a way in which the subjects expressed their loyalty to the rulers.⁸² Eleni Fassa has claimed that this formula shows also some kind of hierarchy with the gods being on top and the dedicant in the bottom.⁸³ We cannot be sure which of the three Gods was worshipped in this *thiasos*, or even whether it was just one deity worshipped and not all of them. The inscription names Sparis, the *thiaseitai* and the *komegetai* as the ones who made the dedication of an altar and a perseae tree to the gods on behalf of (*hyper*) king Ptolemy V Epiphanes and queen Cleopatra I Syra. The perseae tree was one of the two sacred trees of the Egyptian religion and after the Alexandrian conquest, it was incorporated into the Greek tradition and a new myth was created for its origin in which it was the Greek hero Perseus who introduced the tree to the Egyptians.⁸⁴

B. Isis Associations

Isis was the most widely worshipped Egyptian goddess during the Hellenistic and Roman era. Isis’s history, however, begins long before. Her name is first attested in scripts from the 5th Dynasty. At first her role was mainly that of a mortuary deity, and she was known almost exclusively for her part in

⁷⁹ All inscriptions included in the appendix of this thesis will be from now on referred to with the series that they appear in the appendix e.g. No 1.

⁸⁰ OGIS 97, CAPIInv. 160.

⁸¹ Fassa 2015, 1.

⁸² Fraser 1972, 226.

⁸³ Fassa 2015, 7.

⁸⁴ Caneva 2016, 46-48.

the Osirian myth, as sister-wife of Osiris and mother of Horus.⁸⁵ Her role became more prominent with time and she began to develop more functions and attributes such as her magical abilities⁸⁶. Isis even absorbed attributes originally associated with other deities, mostly Hathor⁸⁷ and Renenutet,⁸⁸ which facilitated her identification with Demeter during the Ptolemaic period.

The cult of Isis had arrived in Greece even before the conquest of Egypt. There is evidence that Isis was worshipped in private associations⁸⁹ in Piraeus before 333/2 BC.⁹⁰ It was, however, after the beginning of the Ptolemaic reign in Egypt, when Isis acquired some more hellenized aspects.⁹¹ Her role increased even more. She was associated with numerous Greek goddesses, primarily Demeter and Aphrodite (the latter because of her previous association with Hathor, goddess of love), but also occasionally Artemis and Tyche.⁹² During this period, Isis becomes protector of sailors,⁹³ an aspect that probably originated from Aphrodite's epithet Pelagia.⁹⁴ Even more significant were the changes undergone by Isis's consort. Osiris was in the Hellenistic era replaced by Serapis, a new god introduced by the Ptolemies.

The Ptolemies promoted the worship of Isis as well as that of other Egyptian Gods. They built new temples, such as the temple of Isis at Philae and renovated old ones such as the temple at Behbeit-el-Hagar.⁹⁵ Isis was also worshipped alongside Serapis at the Serapeum of Alexandria.⁹⁶ In Egypt there were both public and private cults of the goddess. This thesis focuses however solely on the private religious associations.

⁸⁵ Hollis 2009, 1.

⁸⁶ Tsatsou 2012, 52. Isis became associated with magic during the Middle Kingdom.

⁸⁷ Gillam 1995, 218, Hollis 2009, 2. Isis absorbed Hathor's motherly side and her symbols: the headdress of cow horns and the sun disc.

⁸⁸ Dousa 2002, 154.

⁸⁹ Pakkanen 1996, 50-51.

⁹⁰ IG II/III2 337. καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν ἴδρυνται.

⁹¹ Arroyo de la Fuente 1999, 164-165.

⁹² Bogh 2013, 229.

⁹³ Dunand 2007, 258.

⁹⁴ Bogh 2013, 229.

⁹⁵ Minas-Nerpel 2018, 125-142.

⁹⁶ Tac. Hist. IV.84

templum pro magnitudine urbis extractum loco cui nomen Rhacotis; fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum

The Greek evidence of private religious associations of Isis during the Hellenistic period is scarce. There are four cases of possible associations of Isis that will be examined in this chapter. Three of these inscriptions are dedications on behalf of the royal couple using the *hyper* + genitive formula.

The first inscription (No 3) is classified as a certain case of an association.⁹⁷ It is the synod of Isis Esenchebis, mentioned in an inscription from 68 BC found in Fayoum.⁹⁸ The inscription is a dedication of a *topos* on behalf of (*hyper*) King Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos from the members of the synod in the form of a *stèle*. The synod has a leader named Helenos who bears the title of *synagogos* and who had previously built an enclosure *peribolos* close to the place of assembly of the inhabitants of the *kome* (*komasterion*). The epithet of Isis Esenchebis derives from the Greek translation of the Egyptian title Isis in Chebis.⁹⁹ It becomes clear from the description on the inscription that the procession building (*komasterion*)¹⁰⁰ was geographically in close proximity to the local temple of Isis. Mario Paganini suggests that the proximity was not solely geographical and considers possible a cooperation between the private and state cult of the goddess.¹⁰¹

The second association (No 4) is another private association,¹⁰² most likely dedicated to Isis. It is mentioned as “Snonaitiki *synodos*”. The evidence is an inscription from Fayoum from 51 BC.¹⁰³ The inscription is also a dedication of a *topos*,¹⁰⁴ this time on behalf of (*hyper*) the queen Cleopatra VII. This synod’s leader, Onophris, bears the title of *synagogos*. Onophris is also a *lesonis*, the high priest of the local temple. The title *lesonis* is the Greek translation of the Egyptian *mr-šn*.¹⁰⁵ He also managed the temple’s income and the tax payments.¹⁰⁶ The epithet Snonais is believed to be associated with the goddess Isis but, as the name of the goddess is not mentioned explicitly in the inscription, the connection to Isis is likely, but not certain. Jan Quagebeur has expressed the

⁹⁷ According to Mario Paganini “The terminology used (*synodos*), the internal organisation, the officials, and the ownership of a *topos* (which suggests the dealings in which the group was involved) make it certain that we have here a private association, CAPIInv. 66.

⁹⁸ I. Fayoum 204, CAPIInv.66.

⁹⁹ Spiegelberg 1906, 182-3.

¹⁰⁰ For more information on *komasteria* see Bailey 1986, 231-238; Bailey 2012, 194-196.

¹⁰¹ CAPIInv. 66

¹⁰² Mario Paganini is certain that this is an association CAPIInv. 68.

¹⁰³ I.Fayoum 205, CAPIInv. 68.

¹⁰⁴ The term can be translated as terrain or area. In Egypt, the term was often used by or in relation to associations, Bernard 1993, 106.

¹⁰⁵ For more information on the office of *lesonis* during the Ptolemaic period see Cenival 1972, 154-159; Chaufray 2009, 157-168; Monson 2012, 212-218.

¹⁰⁶ Clarysse 2003, 21-22.

hypothesis that the name Snonais derives from the epithet of Isis Nanaia.¹⁰⁷ Above both inscriptions (No 3, No 4) there are Egyptian style reliefs depicting the goddess Isis, accompanied by a worshipper (No 3) and Cleopatra VII¹⁰⁸ in an offering scene (No 4).¹⁰⁹ Mario Paganini has come to the conclusion that the inscriptions of ancient Greek associations had to abide by either Greek or Egyptian standards for decoration, but they did not mix the two styles. He also notes that *topoi* inscriptions like No 3 and No 4, tended to follow the Egyptian patterns.¹¹⁰

There is also mention of a *prostates* of Isis and Hercules, named Eponychos (No 5).¹¹¹ Usually the term *prostates* was used to refer to either the president of a religious association or an official of a state temple.¹¹² There are cases where the term *prostates* was used as the title of an official in the internal hierarchy of an association.¹¹³ In this case, even though Franz Poland believed that the term was used in the context of an association, Mariano San Nicolò, claims that the term was used to refer to an official of a state temple.¹¹⁴ For these reasons, while we cannot rule out the possibility that this is also a case of a religious association of Isis and Hercules, the inscription does not present us with enough evidence to classify it as an association.

Finally, Isis is mentioned in a dedication analysed in the previous entry¹¹⁵ along with Serapis/Osiris and Anubis from the members of a *thiasos* on behalf of the royal couple.¹¹⁶

C. Nechtpharaus Associations

The god Nechtpharaus is a deity mentioned only in seven documents (inscriptions and papyri), four Greek and three demotic dated between 107/6 and 100 BC.¹¹⁷ Because of the scarcity of the evidence,

¹⁰⁷ Quagebeur 1973, 60.

¹⁰⁸ Many Ptolemaic rulers chose to present themselves in an Egyptian style in temple reliefs or in sculpture. For more information on the portrayal of Ptolemaic queens in te

¹⁰⁹ For images of the reliefs see Paganini 2020, 200-201.

¹¹⁰ Paganini 2020, 200-202.

¹¹¹ SB I 5956, No 3.

¹¹² Clarysse and Winnicki 1989, 46-47.

¹¹³ San Nicolò 1913, 95(2); Kloppenborg 1996, 26.

¹¹⁴ Poland 1909, 221; San Nicolò 1913, 17.

¹¹⁵ See p. 12-13.

¹¹⁶ No 4, OGIS 97, CAPInv. 160.

¹¹⁷ P. Cair. 31019, C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1, C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 3, P.Grenf. II 33, SB I 5776,

nothing can be said with certainty. There are clear indications that Nechtpharaus was somehow associated with the god Suchos/Sobek and many scholars believe that Nechtpharaus was one of Suchos's epithets.¹¹⁸ Recently though, Kim Ryholt who published the inscription Tebtynis VI 41 from 107/6 BC, expressed his belief that Nechtpharaus was in fact a deified ptolemaic general.¹¹⁹

The demotic inscription Tebtynis IV 41 is a stele marking the gathering place for the cult of the god Nechtpharaus and Kim Ryholt believes that this stele records the foundation of the cult to honour the deity who was none other than the general Nechtpharaus that is also mentioned in the inscription as the owner of the estate where a building for the cult would be built.¹²⁰ The two papyri written in demotic consist of an oracle question addressed to Nechtpharaus (or Nekhtharaus)¹²¹ and a letter mentioning an agent of Suchos and Nechtpharaus.¹²² Out of the four Greek papyri mentioning Nechtpharaus, the three are relevant with the subject of this thesis.

The first such document is the papyrus No 6 (C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1), which is a letter from Gebelein dated in 103 BC¹²³. Porteis sends this letter to Pates, Pachrates and the *philobasilistai* association to inform them of the fact that a *prostates* of Nechtpharaus had been appointed. The papyrus No 7 (C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 2)¹²⁴ also refers to the *prostates* of Nechtpharaus, although the second text is fragmentary, and the rest of its content is not quite clear. Willy Clarysse and J.K. Winnicki believe that it is likely that the term *prostates* in this text could refer to the leader of a private cult association of Nechtpharaus.¹²⁵ The association of Nechtpharaus seems to have had some connection with the association of *philobasilistai*.¹²⁶

The third document (No 8) consists of an undated inscription of the *topos Nechtharautos* from Kom Ombo¹²⁷ that marks the place where the cult association of Nechtpharaus would have met. The term can be translated as terrain or area. In Egypt, the term was often used by or in relation to

¹¹⁸ Kapolny-Heckel 1972, 79, Clarysse and Winnicki 1989, 46, Monson 2019, 48.

¹¹⁹ Ryholt 2018, 37-38.

¹²⁰ Ryholt 2018, 35-38.

¹²¹ P. Cair. 31019.

¹²² C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 3.

¹²³ CAPIInv. 825.

¹²⁴ CAPIInv. 825.

¹²⁵ Clarysse and Winnicki 1989, 47. The other possibility mentioned and considered less likely is that of the *prostates* being a temple official.

¹²⁶ Paganini CAPIInv. 825, No.

¹²⁷ SEG:39.1702, CAPIInv. 828.

associations.¹²⁸ It is possible that in this case the term also referred to an association. The inscription does not offer any other information.

D. Osiris Associations

Osiris was the eldest son of Geb and Nut and brother-consort of Isis. The myth of his death and regeneration is perhaps the most famous one in the Egyptian mythology. At first the pair ruled over the Nile valley and Osiris was the one who taught the Egyptians how to cultivate the land. Seth, however, grew jealous of his brother's popularity and murdered him. Isis found Osiris's coffin at Byblos but Seth got hold of the body, dismembered it and scattered the pieces around Egypt. She then collected all of Osiris's members except for the phallus (since it had been consumed by fish), made a replica of the missing member and reassembled the body. Isis used the parts of Osiris's body to have a son, whom she named Horus.¹²⁹ After Horus defeated Seth, Osiris was resurrected as ruler of the Netherworld (Duat). It was exactly these aspects of him, his regeneration and his association with the Netherworld that contributed to his popularity.¹³⁰ The first written mention of Osiris is from a fifth dynasty pyramid.¹³¹ The origins, however, of the cult of Osiris are not that clear. There are many theories concerning the origins of the cult but the majority has been criticized for lack of evidence.¹³² It is likely that he was a syncretic deity, accumulating features and attributes of other pre-existing gods like Andjety of the Eastern Delta region and Khenti- Amentiu or Lord of the Westerners of Abydos.¹³³ Other gods whose features he may have accumulated are Thoth, whose religion in Abydos was possibly the influence behind the mysteries of Osiris¹³⁴ and Anubis, who was the main mortuary deity during the Old Kingdom, until Osiris became the ruler of the Netherworld.¹³⁵ Anubis adopted then a secondary role as embalmer of the dead.

Even long before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander III, the Greeks were familiar with the Egyptian deities who were perceived as Egyptian counterparts of Greek gods. Osiris was translated in

¹²⁸ Bernand 1993, 106.

¹²⁹ Plut, *De Is. Et Os.*, 13-19.

¹³⁰ O' Connor 2009, 31.

¹³¹ Smith 2017, 114.

¹³² Smith 2017, 127-133.

¹³³ Clark 1959, 97.

¹³⁴ Mojsov 2005, 43.

¹³⁵ Pinch 2002, 104.

Herodotus's Histories as Dionysus.¹³⁶ During the Ptolemaic period Osiris was assimilated with the syncretic deity Serapis, who was to an extent an *interpretatio graeca* of Osiris-Apis. He did not cease, however, to exist and to be venerated as an autonomous deity especially by the native Egyptian population.¹³⁷ According to Stambough, Osiris maintained his association with myth and ritual and continued to be worshipped within Egypt while Serapis had a more universal appeal and his worship was largely promoted by the royal family.¹³⁸ Despite the much wider support of the cult of Serapis by the Ptolemies, there was a chapel dedicated to Osiris in the ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera.

There is only one private association that seems to have been linked to Osiris, attested during the Ptolemaic period. This association is the *synodos* of the *neaniskoi* from the Osireion from the second or first century BC. The association is attested on an inscription on a *stele* (No 9) from Theadelphia depicting Osiris and Harpocrates in an Egyptian style relief.¹³⁹ Researchers have long speculated about the relationship between the *neaniskoi* from the Osireion and the *gymnasion*. Many agree that the *neaniskoi* were somehow involved with the *gymnasion*,¹⁴⁰ although the possibility that the Osireion was a *gymnasion* has not found much acceptance.¹⁴¹ It is also likely that the members of the association had a connection to the military.¹⁴² The *gymnasion* itself is a Hellenistic phenomenon that started to bloom during the 3rd century BC.¹⁴³ The *gymnasion* was mainly a place for sports and military training¹⁴⁴ for different age groups such as the *epheboi* and the *neaniskoi* or *neoi*, as they were also called. The *neoi* were young men between the ages of 20 and 30 and they were often charged with the protection of the city, a duty that also provided them with the power to play a role in the political scene by means of violence or *stasis*.¹⁴⁵ In Hellenistic Egypt, the institution of the gymnasium was spread throughout the realm, not only in large cities but also in villages with a large percent of Greek population.¹⁴⁶ In Egypt too the gymnasium offered military training, although it is unclear whether the *epheboi* and *neoi* also trained in the use of weapons.¹⁴⁷ It has been long debated

¹³⁶ Hdt. II.123 ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον.

¹³⁷ Pfeiffer 2008a, 391.

¹³⁸ Stambough 1972, 45.

¹³⁹ Fayoum II 119, CAPInv. 64.

¹⁴⁰ Schubart 1912, 375, Delorme 1960, 428, Launey 1987, 865.

¹⁴¹ Delorme 1960, 428 “Qu’il y ait peu de chance que l’Osireion soit un gymnase”.

¹⁴² Delorme 1960, 428.

¹⁴³ Criboire 2001, 35.

¹⁴⁴ On the military training at the gymnasium see Kah, 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Kennell 2012, 218-232.

¹⁴⁶ Paganini 2012, 591.

¹⁴⁷ Fischer-Bovet 2014, 283.

whether the Egyptian population had access to the gymnasium. Some scholars consider this inscription as evidence that both Greeks and Egyptians could have had access or perhaps even had been accepted as members at the *gymnasion*.¹⁴⁸

There is also mention of Osiris along with other deities in the aforementioned dedication No 2 (OGIS 97).¹⁴⁹ A long-debated point of this inscription has been the reference to Osiris and Serapis as “Ὁσόρω τε καὶ Σαράπιδι” and the relationship between the two deities. P.M. Fraser had translated the inscription as “Osiris, who is also Serapis”,¹⁵⁰ but recently scholars have expressed doubts whether this translation is correct. Stefan Pfeiffer has translated the phrase as “Osoros and Serapis”.¹⁵¹ An attempt to summarise the debate and offer an explanation for the use of *te kai* nexus is made by Stefano Caneva who claims that “the *te kai* nexus could show that the two gods are distinguished but intimately related”.¹⁵²

E. Pramerres Associations

Pramerres is the deified XIIth dynasty Pharaoh Amenemhat III whose worship continued until the Roman conquest, especially in the area of Fayoum. His reign has been described by scholars as the cultural peak of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁵³ Amenemhat III built numerous temples including a pyramid at Dashur and pyramid at Hawara, the latter along with a mortuary temple. It was however his projects for the irrigation of the area of Fayoum¹⁵⁴ the deciding factor for his deification after his death, and the continuation of his worship during the Ptolemaic era.¹⁵⁵

It is possible that the newfound popularity that his cult enjoyed during the Hellenistic period was not unrelated to the work undertaken by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Ptolemy III Euergetes for the improvement of the irrigation system in the area of Fayoum.¹⁵⁶ The irrigation of this area had been

¹⁴⁸ Schubart 1912, 375; Fischer-Bovet 2014, 285.

¹⁴⁹ [...]Ὁσόρω τε καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἰσιδι καὶ Ἀνούβιδι

¹⁵⁰ Fraser 1972, 253.

¹⁵¹ Pfeiffer 2008a, 392.

¹⁵² Caneva 2016, 52.

¹⁵³ Callender 2002, 156.

¹⁵⁴ These projects had begun during the reign of Amenemhat I but were completed during the reign of Amenemhat III and as a result, an area of 27,000 acres in total became suitable for exploitation, see Boak 1926, 358.

¹⁵⁵ Habachi 1955, 111.

¹⁵⁶ Boak 1926, 360.

long neglected, when the Greeks arrived in Egypt, and through the efforts of the Ptolemies the land became again suitable for exploitation.

The god Premarres is also attested with other variations of his name such as Prammarres, Frammarres, Poimarres, Lamares. According to researchers, the ending -marres derives from Amenemhat III's throne name and the Pre/Pra means Pharaoh.¹⁵⁷ Isidorus's hymn IV confirms the identity of Premarres as there is mention of a divine ruler of Egypt (l.7) who built the temple of Hermouthis(l.1),¹⁵⁸ whose father was Sesostris(l.31) and whose name was Porramanres(l.34).¹⁵⁹

There is mention of one *synodos* of Prammarres on a dedicatory inscription (No 10) from 104 BC.¹⁶⁰ It is a dedication on behalf of Queen Cleopatra III and King Ptolemy X from the members of the *synodos*. Above the inscription there is a relief depicting an Egyptian offering scene.¹⁶¹ Both the synod and Premarres are called *megaloi* (great) and it is possible that this is a Greek translation of an Egyptian epithet or title.¹⁶² It is clear that the synod is religious, as the dedicators call themselves members of the synod of Prammarres. It is worth mention that Eirenaios¹⁶³, the priest holds the title for life (*dia viou*). Holding an office for life (*dia viou*) was a rare honour both in Egypt and, more importantly, in Hellenistic associations in general. There is only one more known case of an official of an association holding his post for life from Hellenistic Egypt, a priest from an association of land-owners.¹⁶⁴ In the rest of the Hellenistic world, such cases are equally rare and most cases are from the Roman period. A slightly more common practice was the bestowal of special honours or privileges for life.¹⁶⁵ Eirenaios' high social status was not limited to the hierarchy of the association, as he also bore the title of *syngenes* (relative of the King), meaning that he was a high-ranking member of the court. The possibility that his high-ranking position within the Ptolemaic court played a role in his appointment as *hireus dia biou* of the association, cannot be ruled out. Association officials were

¹⁵⁷ Jackson 1999, 99-100.

¹⁵⁸ Isid. Hymn 4. Τίς τὸδε ἄγνον ἔδειμ' ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦθι μεγίστη; ποῖς θεὸς ἐμνήσθη πανιεροῦ μακάρων; Ὡς αἰπὸν καὶ ἄδυτον ἐσημῶσατ' Ὀλυμπον Διοῖ ὑψίστηι Ἰσιδι θεσμοφόρῳ, καὶ Ἀγχώηι υἱῷ καὶ δαίμονι ἀγαθῷ Σοκονῶπι, ἀθανάτοις ὄρμον εὔρε δίκαιότατον. Αἰγύπτου τινὰ φασὶ γενέσθαι θεῖον ἄνακτα.

¹⁵⁹ Ὁ θρέψας Σεσοῶσις, ὃς οὐρανοῦ ἔσπερ' ἀφεῖκται, οὐνομ' ἔθηκε καλὸν ἡλίου εὐφεγγέος. Ἑρμηνευσάμενοι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι οὐνομα τούτου Πορραμάνρην κληζουσι, τὸν μέγαν, ἀθάνατον.

¹⁶⁰ I.Fayoum 6, CAPIInv. 61.

¹⁶¹ For an image of the relief see Paganini 2020, 196.

¹⁶² Parker 2017, 143.

¹⁶³ PP 6338.

¹⁶⁴ I. Pose 40, l. 19, CAPIInv. 38.

¹⁶⁵ Such examples include the *ateleiai panton dia biou*, or tax/due exemption for life (IG XII.1 155, CAPIInv. 2004) or even the *stephano philotimias dia biou* mentioned in I.Kalatis 35 (CAPIInv. 1186).

often required to pay more dues and therefore the financial status of a member could become a factor in such a decision.

F. Serapis Associations

The god Serapis was a Hellenistic conception combining features and characteristics of various, already existing gods. The information provided by ancient sources concerning his origin is inconsistent¹⁶⁶ The majority of modern scholars, however, believes that the name Serapis derives from the Memphite Osiris-Apis, a view first proposed by Ulrich Wilcken.¹⁶⁷ There is also much speculation concerning the identity of the person who introduced the cult of Serapis to Alexandria, especially among ancient writers.¹⁶⁸ Modern scholars believe that it was Ptolemy I¹⁶⁹, although there is also evidence suggesting Ptolemy II Philadelphus as the person who introduced the cult of Serapis to Alexandria.¹⁷⁰ It is possible that the aim of the introduction of Serapis was to unify the Egyptian and the Greek population.¹⁷¹

Serapis was gradually identified with various gods such as Pluto, Dionysus, Osiris, Pan, Zeus and Asclepius.¹⁷² He replaced Osiris as consort of Isis during the Hellenistic and Roman period,¹⁷³ and he was perceived by the Egyptian population as an *interpretatio graeca* of Osiris.¹⁷⁴ It was because

¹⁶⁶ Fassa 2020, 28-49 provides us with a thorough summary of all available variations.

¹⁶⁷ Wilcken 1927, 86-87.

¹⁶⁸ Plu. De Is. Et Os. 28 claimed that it was Ptolemy I who introduced the cult while Tac. Hist. 4.83-84 offer two alternative possibilities, Ptolemy I and Ptolemy III.

¹⁶⁹ Merkelbach 1995, 73; Pfeiffer 2008, 388; Smith 2017, 391.

¹⁷⁰ Stambaugh 1972, 7.

¹⁷¹ Stambaugh 1972, 96; Hölbl 2001, 99.

¹⁷² D. S. 1.25.

τὸν δὲ Ὅσιριν οἱ μὲν Σάραπιν, οἱ δὲ Διόνυσον, οἱ δὲ Πλούτωνα, οἱ δὲ Ἄμμωνα, τινὲς δὲ Δία, πολλοὶ δὲ Πᾶνα τὸν αὐτὸν νενομίκασι: λέγουσι δὲ τινες Σάραπιν εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι Πλούτωνα ὀνομαζόμενον.

Tac. ,Hist. 4.84 deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen, plerique Iovem ut rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem insignibus, quae in ipso manifesta, aut per ambages coniectant.

¹⁷³ I. Thrake.Aeg. E 205 σύνοικον δ' ἔλαβες Σέραπιν καί, τὸν κοινὸν ὕμῶν θεμένων γάμον

¹⁷⁴ Pfeiffer 2008a, 391; Smith 2017, 391 mentions that there are also some demotic documents where the name of the god Osiris is used in demotic as an equivalent to the Greek Serapis.

of his identification with Osiris that he developed some chthonic characteristics that led to his subsequent identification with Pluto/Hades.¹⁷⁵

Serapis's healing qualities that originated from (or perhaps led to) his association with Asclepius, played also a very important role in his identity.¹⁷⁶ During the later Hellenistic and perhaps Roman times, Serapis was also associated with Aion and Helios and shared some of their attributes. He acquired Helios's ability to see and know everything¹⁷⁷ and Aion's rulership over Time and Eternity.¹⁷⁸

As the cult of Serapis was introduced by the Ptolemies, it was also promoted by the members of the dynasty and incorporated into their building program.¹⁷⁹ Serapis may not have been as widely accepted from the native population as perhaps the Ptolemies had hoped,¹⁸⁰ but his cult spread and became very popular even outside the Ptolemaic realm.¹⁸¹ Despite, however, of the popularity of Serapis' cult, there is no clear evidence for the existence of private associations of Serapis in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period.

It is possible that the *thiasos* from the inscription No 2 (OGIS 97) mentioned in the previous chapters¹⁸² worshipped the deities mentioned in the dedication: Serapis, Osiris, Isis and Anubis, perhaps as a divine triad with Osiris and Serapis being one unit. As Stefano Caneva has demonstrated, the Egyptian sacred tree (*išd*) was associated with Osiris. Despite the possible identification of (*išd*) with *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, the Greeks could not clearly distinguish between the two Egyptian sacred trees.¹⁸³

It is also possible that the *synodos* mentioned on the papyrus No 11 (P.Tebt. 1. 119), fr. 3 l.25¹⁸⁴ was also associated with Serapis. The papyrus is a very fragmentary account of receipts and payments dating between 105-102 BC. There are two separate mentions of a *synodos* and it is unclear whether

¹⁷⁵ Stambauch 1972, 39.

¹⁷⁶ Stambauch 1972, 75-78. It is uncertain when the identification was finalized, although even during the Hellenistic period there were similar characteristics. In the Roman period Serapis is even mentioned in the inscription I.Cret.I XVII 27 as “Διὶ Σεράπιδι Ἀσκληπιῶ ἰατρῶ”.

¹⁷⁷ Stambauch 1972, 80.

¹⁷⁸ Stambauch, 1972, 84-85.

¹⁷⁹ McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 111; Stambough 1972, 91.

¹⁸⁰ Moyer 2011, 148, Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, 60.

¹⁸¹ López Salva 1992, 161-192.

¹⁸² Pp. 11-12, 15.

¹⁸³ Caneva 2016, 54.

¹⁸⁴ CAPIInv. 726.

both of them refer to the same *synodos*. The first editors of the papyrus believed that it was a synod of cleruchs,¹⁸⁵ a view not shared by Mario Paganini who considers the evidence insufficient.¹⁸⁶ Both Mario Paganini and the first editors of the papyrus believe that the term Σαραπήϊοις (line 25) referred to the festival of Serapis, the date when the wheat price owed would be paid. It is possible that the reason for the implied involvement of the association in the festival of Serapis was that the association was also involved in the worship of the god Serapis.

G. Sobek Associations

The crocodile deity Sobek was the primary deity of the area of Fayoum since the Naqada III period, even before the unification of Egypt by Narmer.¹⁸⁷ Diodorus attributes the foundation of the cult to Menes,¹⁸⁸ whom egyptologists have managed to identify with Narmer.¹⁸⁹ The cult probably originated for apotropaic reasons with the aim to pacify the crocodiles which could have posed a large threat for the inhabitants.¹⁹⁰ Progressively he acquired more attributes such as the ability to control the river Nile and its floods.¹⁹¹ His main cult center at the area of the Fayoum was the city of Shedet, which was renamed during the Ptolemaic period Crocodilopolis. During the Middle Kingdom a new cult center for Sobek emerged, at Sumenu (Thebes). While Sobek of Shedet shared some of Horus's attributes, Sobek of Sumenu was associated with Ra.¹⁹² Sobek's popularity also rose during this period, since his worship was promoted by the twelfth dynasty pharaohs, especially Amenemhat III.

The promotion of Sobek was not unrelated to the twelfth dynasty's and Amenemhat's irrigation programs at the area of Fayoum and Sobek's power over the Nile.¹⁹³

After the Greek conquest of Egypt by the Greeks, Sobek's worship continued. The Greeks adopted the deity and translated his name into Greek as Suchos. There were however also other local crocodile

¹⁸⁵ Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly 1902, 492.

¹⁸⁶ CAPInv. 726

¹⁸⁷ Zecchi 2010, 5.

¹⁸⁸ D. S. 1.89

¹⁸⁹ Haegy 2014, 82-83.

¹⁹⁰ Zecchi 2010, 5.

¹⁹¹ Allen 2005, 60, Zecchi 2010, 17.

¹⁹² Zecchi 2010, 42.

¹⁹³ Barney 2013, 23-24.

deities venerated, perhaps as *interpraetatae graecae* of Sobek.¹⁹⁴ Some of these deities were Soknopaios, Soknopiaiis at Soknopaiou Nesos, Petesuchos and Pnepheros at Karanis, Pnepheros at Theadelphia, Soknebtynis at Tebtynis, Sokonopis at Medinet Madi.¹⁹⁵

The Ptolemies' promotion of the cult is evident, as new temples for the veneration of Suchos or other local crocodile deities were constructed during the period. Some examples are the temple of Sobektynis that replaced an older temple at Tebtynis during the reign of Ptolemy I,¹⁹⁶ the temple of Suchos that replaced that of Sobek at Krokodeilopolis during the reign of Ptolemy II¹⁹⁷ and the temple of Petesuchos and Pnepheros at Karanis.¹⁹⁸

There is evidence for the existence of associations Sobek or other local crocodile deities. One possible case of an association of Sobek, is the association mentioned in the papyrus No 12 (SB III 6319)¹⁹⁹. The papyrus is an account containing a list of financial contributions made by the members of the association²⁰⁰. Scholars are not in agreement on the matter of the identity of the association. While Mariano San Nicolò believed that the association's primary role was that of a dining club with no religious function²⁰¹, other scholars believe that there is evidence to support the hypothesis that this was a religious association dedicated to the worship of Sobek²⁰². Reinhold Scholl claims for instance that the phrase «κορκο πέν(τε)» encountered in lines 68 and 69 of the papyrus, refers to bringing images of the god Sobek for religious purposes.²⁰³ Scholl also believes that fact that many of the members' names are etymologically connected to the god Suchos or Sobek (e.g. Petesouchos), is further evidence in favour of his theory.²⁰⁴

Another possible case is the association mentioned in the inscription No 13 (I.Fayoum 77) from the 1st century BC. There is mention of an Eirenaios who bears the title of *prostates* of the Great God Sokonopaios (No 13). The characterization however of a group as association solely from the use of

¹⁹⁴ Widmer 2007, 351-352 believes that Sokonopaios derives from the Egyptian Sobek, lord of Pay.

¹⁹⁵ Zacchi 2010, 154; Tourtain 1915, 175-176; Kockelmann 2008, 153-164.

¹⁹⁶ Arnold 1999, 155.

¹⁹⁷ Arnold 1999, 159.

¹⁹⁸ Kockelmann 2008, 153.

¹⁹⁹ CAPInv. 777.

²⁰⁰ The finances of the association will be analysed more thoroughly in the second part of this thesis.

²⁰¹ San Nicolò 1913, 208.

²⁰² Jouguet 1902, 350-351, Scholl 1990, 348-349.

²⁰³ Scholl 1990, 349.

²⁰⁴ Scholl 1990, 349.

the term *prostates* is uncertain for reasons mentioned above. As previously mentioned²⁰⁵, some scholars considered the god Nechtpharaus to be another form of the god Suchos.²⁰⁶ As however there is doubt concerning this interpretation and there is also evidence to support the theory that Nechtpharaus was a distinct autonomous deity, the associations dedicated to his worship have already been examined in a separate chapter.

H. Aphrodite Associations

The Greek goddess of love and beauty, Aphrodite originally came from the Near East. She was the Hellenized form of the Sumerian Inanna or the Accadian Ishtar.²⁰⁷ According to Hesiod, Aphrodite was born when Kronos cut off Uranus's genitals and his semen fell to Earth. She was carried by the waves from the shores of Cythera, where she was conceived to Cyprus where she was ultimately born. Aphrodite had always maintained a special connection to both islands. Homer however mentions a different tradition about Aphrodite's origins, one where she is the daughter of Zeus and Dione. The ancient Greeks were aware of the controversy and Plato has attempted to offer an explanation. According to Plato, Aphrodite has two separate aspects. Aphrodite Urania, the daughter of Uranus represents a purer love «ὑβρεως ἀμοίρου», while Pandemos, the daughter of Zeus and Dione, represents the love that the worst kind of people feel «φαῦλοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων».²⁰⁸

Aphrodite was worshipped in Egypt and specifically, the Greek Emporion of Naucratis, from as early as the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 6th when the *emporion* of Naucratis was first established.²⁰⁹ The temple of Aphrodite at Naucratis was built around that time.²¹⁰

During the reign of the Ptolemies, various queens were associated with the Goddess Aphrodite. Arsinoe II was the first to establish this practice. Kallicrates, the royal admiral, dedicated a temple to Aphrodite-Arsinoe at Cape Zephyrion. Even though it was dedicated to a Greek Queen, assimilated with a Greek goddess, the temple itself had Egyptian characteristics.²¹¹ The dedication is mentioned

²⁰⁵ p .16.

²⁰⁶ Kaplony-Heckel 1972, 82.

²⁰⁷ Marcovich 1996, 43-59.

²⁰⁸ Pl. Smp. 181c

²⁰⁹ Boardman 1980, 121; Moller 2000, 104.

²¹⁰ Moller 2000, 104.

²¹¹ McKenzie 2008, 52.

in Poseidippos' epigrams.²¹² Throughout the epigram, even though it becomes clear that Arsinoe II was assimilated with Aphrodite through the use of some of her epithets (e.g. *euploia*), the name of the goddess is never explicitly mentioned. Peter Bing has interpreted this to mean that her assimilation to the goddess was of such level that there was no longer any need for a more explicit mention.²¹³

Scholars have offered various explanations for the important role Aphrodite occupied as one of the goddesses the Queen chose to identify herself with. Pomeroy believed that Aphrodite's connection to Cyprus, a Ptolemaic territory, could have played a role in her selection.²¹⁴ Other scholars have argued that the aim of the identification of the Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Hathor (who was Aphrodite's Egyptian equivalent), Isis and Demeter was to draw attention to their qualities related with marriage.²¹⁵ Elizabeth Carney has also pointed out that it was not only the wives of Hellenistic rulers that were assimilated with Aphrodite, but in some cases even courtesans and royal *heterai*, and therefore there was also a sexual element in this cult. In the of the Ptolemies, however, Carney also believes that the aspect of Aphrodite as a goddess of love and marriage would have been promoted in order to reinforce the idea that the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II was one of love²¹⁶

As P.M. Fraser has argued, promotion of the cult of Aphrodite extended to her Egyptian counterpart, Hathor. The Ptolemies built or renovated temples of Hathor. The connection with Aphrodite is clear as there were dedications to Aphrodite in these temples.²¹⁷

There is evidence for the existence of private religious associations dedicated to Aphrodite dated in the 2nd century BC from Alexandria (No 14).²¹⁸ It is the dedication of a statue of a member of the synod of Aphrodite Lamres, who bore the title of *syngenes* (relative of the King) and was also a *doieketes* by the officials of the synod. The meaning of Aphrodite's epithet Lamreus is unclear.²¹⁹ The religious character of the association is evident, as its members are referred to as « οἱ νέμονταις [...] τὴν τῆς Ἀφρο[οδίτης] Λαμρεοῦς σύνοδο[ν]».

²¹² Ath. 318d

²¹³ Bing 2002, 256.

²¹⁴ Pomeroy 1984, 30.

²¹⁵ Van Oppen de Rituer 2007, 18.

²¹⁶ Carney 2013, 96-99.

²¹⁷ Fraser 1972, 197.

²¹⁸ I.Alex. Ptol. 41, CAPIInv.150.

²¹⁹ Fraser 1972, 198.

I. Apollo Associations

Apollo is one of the most important Greek deities, his origins however remain unclear.²²⁰ There is no mention of him before the 8th century and the epic poetry of Homer and Hesiod and he is the only Olympian god who does not appear on the Linear B tablets.²²¹

Apollo as a god had many functions. He was a god associated with healing although he could also cause plagues as a form of divine punishment²²², He is often depicted or described holding a bow and an arrow and many of his epithets describe him as an archer. Apollo was also a god of music and his other divine symbol was the lyre.²²³ During the 5th century Apollo gained an additional role as god of the sun²²⁴. He was also called Loxias because of the ambiguous meaning of his prophecies.²²⁵

In Egypt, Apollo was worshipped at the Greek Emporion of Naukratis²²⁶ from 570 BC and perhaps even earlier.²²⁷ During the Ptolemaic period, he was associated with the Egyptian god Horus (and his Greek counterpart Harpocrates), the son of Isis and Osiris who avenged his father and became the ruler of Egypt. Horus had two primary aspects that represented different functions of the god and they even had different origin myths and parents, Horus the Elder and Horus the Child. While Horus the Child was the son of Isis and Osiris, Horus the Elder appeared often as the son of Geb and Nut.²²⁸ Horus was a sky and a solar deity²²⁹ and it was probably his latter role that enabled his association

²²⁰ Burkert 1985, 143-145 believes that three different “components” of the God can be traced that could provide us with a clue about his origins. These are a Dorian-northwestern component, a Cretan-Minoan and a Syro-Hittite.

²²¹ Graf 2016, 107.

²²² For example in Hom. II 1,43-52

οὐδ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων χωόμενος κῆρ, / 45 τόξ' ὅμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρῆ
τρην, / ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἴστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωόμενοιο, / αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος: ὃ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς, / ἔζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε
νεῶν, μετὰ δ' ἰὸν ἔηκε: / δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο: / 50 οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφίει: / βάλλ': αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

²²³ Hom. Hymn. 3, 132. εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα,
χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν.'

²²⁴ Burkert 1985, 149.

²²⁵ Burkert 1985, 148.

²²⁶ Hdt, ii. 178.

χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἴηρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

²²⁷ Petrie 1886, 11.

²²⁸ Redford et al. 2001, 119-120.

²²⁹ Wilkinson 2003, 201.

with Apollo. Horus's city Edfu was renamed Apollonopolis and there is also the case of the Magical hymns from Roman Egypt where Apollo was identified with Helios and Helios with Horus.²³⁰

There is evidence for only one possible case of an association of Apollo during the Ptolemaic period. The evidence comes from two inscriptions (No 15, No 16) dated in 78 BC²³¹ and one papyrus from the second or third century AD from Hermopolis Magna.²³² Both inscriptions are decorated in typical Greek style²³³ with triangular pendentives and *acroteria*. The members of the association are referred to as “*xenoi Apollonia(s)tai*” and it seems that the majority were soldiers from the garrison stationed in the city.²³⁴ As the adjective *xenoi* suggests, the majority were also of foreign origin. Scholars have studied the names listed and have concluded that a big percent of the names indicate Idumeanean origin.²³⁵ The associations of foreigners were often formed based on one of the following: shared origin, religion or profession.²³⁶ For the association of *Apollonia(s)tai*, two views have been expressed: that the basis was the common ethnicity or that the basis was the shared religion. These views are reflected on the completion of the name of the association, which in none of the documents mentioned can be read in its entirety.

In the inscription No 16 (I. Hermopolis 6) only the first half, “*Apollo*” can be safely read, while the papyrus P.Giss 99 retains the ending *-atai* in a place where one could have expected that there would have been the name of the association. Franz Zucker, the first publisher of the inscriptions, completed the name as *Apolloniatai*²³⁷ while Rapaport has suggested the use of *Apolloniastai*²³⁸. In most instances where the word *Apolloniatai* is encountered, it had been used as an ethnic to refer to the population of Apollonis²³⁹ and Zucker has suggested that the Idumaeans would have been from the city Apollonis.²⁴⁰ On the other hand, the word *Apolloniastai* is used to refer to members of a cult

²³⁰ Pachumi 2015, 391-413, Bortolani 2016, 52.

²³¹ I. Hermoupolis 5, I. Hermoupolis 6. CAPIInv. 194.

²³² P. Giss. 99. CAPIInv. 194.

²³³ Paganini 2020, 191-193. Paganini's article includes images of the inscriptions.

²³⁴ Evidence for the military character of the association can be found in the offices of some of the members. For instance there is a *hegemon hekaton andron* (chief of one hundred men), *ouragoi, semeioforoi, pentekontarchoi* (in charge of fifty men).

²³⁵ Rapaport 1969, 73-82; Thomson-Crawford 1984, 1071-1075; Fraser 2007, 70.

²³⁶ Maillot 2015, 138.

²³⁷ Zucker 1938.

²³⁸ Rapaport 1969, 74-77.

²³⁹ To mention a few such cases, IG II2 3306, IG II2 3407, I.Eleusis 495, Ἀπολλωνιάταιοι κατὰ Κυρήνην, I. Apollonia Illyrie 308 Ἀπολλωνιάταιοι κατοικοῦντι ἐν Θεπτινῶι, I. Scythia min. I 112 οἱ στρατιῶ[ται π]επλευκότες ἐπὶ βοήθεια[v][A]πολλωνιαταῖς

²⁴⁰ Zucker 1938.

association of Apollo²⁴¹, as Rapaport believes that would have been the case for this association.²⁴² Despite the fact, that the ending *-atai* is attested in the papyrus, the evidence to suggest that the association of *xenoi Apollonia(s)tai* was a religious association is more than enough. There are, for instance, officials with religious duties such as the *archiereus*, the *hieraulis* and the *hieropsaltes*. The fact that the association was in possession of a shrine (*hieron*) and a *perivolos* which they dedicated, along with other buildings, to Apollo and Zeus also points to this direction. Patrick Sanger has also characterised the association as a cult association.²⁴³

It is worth mentioning that there is another dedication to Apollo (No 17) from a private association (a synod) from the first century BC²⁴⁴, although there is no further evidence to suggest that the association in question was indeed religious.

J. Dioscuri Associations

The Dioscuri were the twin brothers Castor and Pollux. Their mother was the mortal Leda, who was also the mother of Helen of Troy and Clytemnestra, and their father was Zeus. In some variations of the myth, Castor was the son of Tyndareus, the mortal King of Sparta, and Pollux the son of Zeus²⁴⁵ while in others they were both sons of the mortal Tyndareus.²⁴⁶ According to some myths, Castor died

²⁴¹ The majority of cases of Apolloniastai are from Delos. Some examples include I.Delos 1753 οἱ Ἑρμαιοῖται καὶ Ἀπολλωνιασταὶ καὶ Ποσειδωνιασταὶ Ἡρακλεῖν ἀνέθηκαν καὶ καθιέρωσαν. , I. Delos 1754 οἱ Ἑρμαιοῖται καὶ Ἀπολλωνιασταὶ καὶ Ποσειδωνιασταὶ, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, I. Delos 1755, I. Delos 1757, I. Delos 1758. There is also a case from Kos I. Cos Segre 201 θιάσου Ἀπολλωνιαστῶν

²⁴² Rapaport 1969, 74-77.

²⁴³ Sanger 2015, 251.

²⁴⁴ SEG 8 545.

²⁴⁵ Pi. N. 10. Ζεὺς δ' ἀντίος ἦλυθέ οἱ
80[150] καὶ τόδ' ἐξαύδασ' ἔπος: ἑσσί μοι υἱός: τόνδε δ' ἔπειτα πόσις
σπέρμα θνατὸν ματρὶ τεῶν πελάσσαις
στάξεν ἦρωος.

²⁴⁶ Hom. Od. 11.298-304. καὶ Λήδην εἶδον, τὴν Τυνδαρέου παράκοιτιν,
ἣ ῥ' ὑπὸ Τυνδαρέω κρατερόφρονε γείνατο παῖδε,
300 Καστορά θ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ Πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα,
τοὺς ἄμφω ζωοὺς κατέχει φυσίζοος αἴα:
οἳ καὶ νέρθεν γῆς τιμὴν πρὸς Ζηνὸς ἔχοντες
ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθναῖσιν: τιμὴν δὲ λελόγγασιν ἴσα θεοῖσι.

while fighting the Leucippides and Pollux chose to share his immortality with his brother. Each of them would spend one day in the netherworld and one in the sky among the other gods.²⁴⁷

The Dioscuri were horsemen, hunters and saviours both in land and at sea. Their cult originated from Sparta, where they were thought to have had a connection to the dual Kingship.²⁴⁸ Their cult soon spread to the rest of Greece and Rome. They were worshipped in Attica as *anakes* and they became popular in the rest of Greece as rescuers in battle. The Dioscuri would make an appearance (*epiphaneia* or *theophaneia*) in battle and with their divine aid the troops would emerge victorious.²⁴⁹

The cult of the Dioscuri was also popular in Ptolemaic Egypt. Herodotus has stated, there was no Egyptian counterpart to be found for the Greek twin deities²⁵⁰ but during the Ptolemaic period the Dioscuri were occasionally associated with twin forms of Sobek.²⁵¹ They maintained therefore their Greek form. A temple dedicated to the Dioscuri existed in Naucratis from the middle of the fifth century.²⁵² An additional temple dedicated to the Dioscuri was built during the early Ptolemaic period.²⁵³ while there is also mention of a Dioskoureion in Alexandria.²⁵⁴ It is clear that the Ptolemies supported the cult of Dioscuri.²⁵⁵

There were two cases of private associations dedicated to the Dioscuri in Ptolemaic Egypt. The first is attested in a dedicatory inscription (No 18) from 246-221 BC.²⁵⁶ Two associations, the Dioskouristai and the Synbasilistai dedicate the income from buildings they assumingly rented, to King Ptolemy III, Queen Berenike II and the Dioscuri. It has been suggested that the two associations were related and shared one temple, as there is only mention of one priest on the inscription and it is possible that they co-managed the rented buildings.²⁵⁷

²⁴⁷ Pi. N. 1085-88. εἰ δὲ κασιγνήτου πέρι
μάρνασαι, πάντων δὲ νοεῖς ἀποδάσασθαι ἴσον,
ἤμισυ μὲν κε πνέοις γαίας ὑπένερθεν ἑόν,
ἤμισυ δ' οὐρανοῦ ἐν χρυσέοις δόμοισιν.'

²⁴⁸ Sahlins 2011, 69-73.

²⁴⁹ Platt 2018, 229-256.

²⁵⁰ Hdt, 2.50.

²⁵¹ Quagebeur 1983, 313-316.

²⁵² Petrie 1986, 32.

²⁵³ P.Cair.Zen.2.59168. The terminus ante quem for the temple of Dioscuri is 256 B.C.

²⁵⁴ P.Oxy.27.2465 fr.12 col.ii, Fraser 1972, 207.

²⁵⁵ Fraser 1972, 207.

²⁵⁶ I. Mus. Varsovie 44, CAPIInv. 606.

²⁵⁷ Fraser 1972, 207 ; Pfeiffer 2008b, 58.

The second association is the *Dioskouriakos thiasos* attested in a fragmentary receipt of rent (No 19) from the 1st century BC.²⁵⁸ The terminology used (*thiasos*) suggests that this was a religious association dedicated to the worship of the Dioscuri, although scholars have suggested that there is also an alternative possibility that the association had a leader named Dioskourides and the *thiasos* was named after him.²⁵⁹ Thrakidas, son of Hierax, the treasurer (*oikonomos*) of the association, who was also a military commander (*strategos*),²⁶⁰ issued on behalf of the *thiasos* a receipt of payment of rent for some grain-producing land that belonged to the association. This provides us with useful information on the financial activities of private associations and the means for producing an income that were at their disposal. One could wonder how an association could acquire land. Inscriptions from the rest of the Hellenistic and Roman world, outside of Egypt, provide us with cases where land was donated to an association in the form of a testament.²⁶¹

K. Heracles Associations

Heracles was the son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmene. According to Diodorus he was originally named Alkaios and he was renamed Heracles (<Hera+ *kleos*) after his first victory over the two snakes which were sent by Hera to kill him.²⁶² Heracles's city of origin was according to myth Thebes but a large part of his myths takes place in Argolid. It is clear that there are parallels and similarities with foreign heroes such as Ninutra (Ningirtsu) or Samson who killed a lion using his physical strength.²⁶³ A very important part of Heracles' mythology revolved around the twelve labours that he had to perform while he was serving King Eurystheus to atone for the murders he had committed. Heracles killed his entire family in a fit of madness sent by Hera and the oracle of Delphi ordered him to serve King Eurystheus for twelve years.²⁶⁴ Scholars believe that the mythology of Heracles comprises from many heterogenous stories, often not Greek, who were eventually unified.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁸ SB V 7578, CAPIInv.190.

²⁵⁹ AGRW 20942

²⁶⁰ PP 263.

²⁶¹ For example in the case of Epikteta IG XII 3 330

²⁶² D. S., 4.10.1

²⁶³ West 2003, 466-469.

²⁶⁴ D. S. 4.11, Apollod.2.4.12

²⁶⁵ Shapiro 1983, 7; Stafford 2012, 19.

Heracles was one of the very few examples in Greek mythology of a mortal son of a deity being deified. Another example was Asclepius, the son of Apollo and the mortal Coronis who was a healer in life and became the god of medicine after death.²⁶⁶ Heracles was therefore worshipped as both hero and god.²⁶⁷ Heracles was for many people symbol of hope for a better afterlife, even for people who had faults and committed crimes in the course of their lives.²⁶⁸

Throughout antiquity, Heracles's myth had been exploited for political reasons. Various rulers had associated themselves with him and claimed to share his blood including the Macedonian Kings and Alexander III's successors. Ptolemy was no exception. Alexander III had emphasized his alleged connection to Heracles and even included his image in his coinage. Ptolemy I struck coins with Alexander's head wearing the knot of Heracles. The connection between the Ptolemaic dynasty and Heracles becomes even clearer in Theocritus's idyll 17.²⁶⁹ In Egypt Heracles was assimilated with the god of the air Shu,²⁷⁰ Khonsu the god of the moon who was venerated in Herakleion (whose Egyptian name was Thonis), Heryshef the ram god venerated at Heraklopolis Magna²⁷¹ and the nubian deity Arensnouphis.

There is evidence for the existence of one private association dedicated to Heracles from Ptolemaic Egypt. The evidence comes from a dedicatory inscription (No 20) from 172 BC.²⁷² It is a dedication on behalf of King Ptolemy VI Philometor and Queen Kleopatra II to the god Arsenouphis. According to the inscription, the synod of Heracles and the phourarchos, the local garrison commander, had restored the temple of Arensnouphis. It is clear that Heracles was associated with Arensnouphis. The deity was anthropomorphic, and his origin was Nubian but his attributes and functions remain unknown. It has been speculated that he was an overall benevolent deity since one of his titles has been translated as "the good companion".²⁷³

²⁶⁶ D. S., 4.71

²⁶⁷ Hdt, II.44.5,

²⁶⁸ Stafford 2012, 172.

²⁶⁹ Stafford 2012, 148.

²⁷⁰ Hdt, II. 43.

²⁷¹ Pinch 2002, 141.

²⁷² I.Philai 11, CAPInv. 53.

²⁷³ Wilkinson 2003, 98.

L. Hermes Associations

Hermes was the son of Zeus and the nymph Maia who was born in a cave on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia. He was the god of trickery and thieves as well as the messenger of the Gods and protector of boundaries.²⁷⁴ He is the one who could carry the souls to the Underworld, a role related to his chthonic attributes.²⁷⁵ It is possible that Hermes was a pre-Hellenic deity, who maintained some of his original functions, namely his chthonic side and association with boundaries, and acquired new ones as he was incorporated into the new Pantheon²⁷⁶. Burkert believes that Hermes' name was connected to or originated from a monument called *herma* or *hermios lofos*, literally a hill of Hermes. The so-called hill was a pile of stones and everyone who visited the "hill" would add a stone to mark his presence there.²⁷⁷

In Hellenistic Egypt Hermes was syncretised with his Egyptian counterpart Thoth, the god of wisdom and knowledge. Thoth was also associated with magic (including healing, as it was also a form of magic for the Egyptians) and language.²⁷⁸ His main cult center was Khemenu, a city named after the divine Ogdoad, which was renamed as Hermoupolis during the Ptolemaic rule. The fusion of Hermes and Thoth into one deity resulted in the creation of Hermes Trismegistus. The epithet *trismegistos* is the Greek translation of Thoth's epithets (*Dḥwtj p' ʿ p' ʿ p' ʿ*)²⁷⁹ which were initially translated as μέγιστος καὶ μέγιστος θεός μέγας Ἑρμῆς²⁸⁰ and only in the Roman time took the form of the one world epithet *trismegistos*.²⁸¹ Hermes Trismegistus possessed many of Thoth's attributes and was not the same god as the Greek Hermes. This is made even more clear if we take into consideration that Hermes Trismegistos acquired a different origin myth in which Hermes Trismegistus was a human who was subsequently deified.²⁸² Hermes was identified with Thoth partly because of his connection to the Underworld but most importantly, because of his role as interpreter

²⁷⁴ Hom. Hymn. 4.

²⁷⁵ Radulović, Vukadinović and Smirnov-Brkić 2015, 48-49.

²⁷⁶ Radulović, Vukadinović, Smirnov-Brkić, 2015: 48-49.

²⁷⁷ Burkert 1985, 156-158 ; Antic. FG+Hist 140 F 19

²⁷⁸ Pinch 2002, 210.

²⁷⁹ The epithet appeared first as "twice great" in a demotic letter to Thoth from 502 B.C., Hughes 1958, 1, Bull 2018, 33. The form cited here was first encountered on ostraka from the archive of Hor from 168 B.C.

²⁸⁰ Bull 2018, 34.

²⁸¹ Fowden 1993, 26.

²⁸² Fowden 1993, 25.

of the gods's message.²⁸³ As Trismegistus Hermes became the author of a serie of treatises with either scientific (or pseudo-scientific) content (astrological, medical, magical, alchemical) or philosophical content which became known as Hermetica.²⁸⁴ During the Ptolemaic period a Hermeion was constructed in Philadelpheia.²⁸⁵

There is one association of Hermes attested during the Ptolemaic period. The evidence is from a series of *ostraka* inscriptions (No 21- 25) containing records of the association for the mummification of ibises.²⁸⁶ The *ostraka* are from the period between 79 and 53 B.C. The terminology used to refer to the members (οἱ ἐκ <τῆς> τοῦ Ἑρμαίου συνόδου²⁸⁷, θιασιτῶν²⁸⁸ ἀρχιθιασίτης²⁸⁹) leaves little doubt that this was a religious association dedicated to the worship of Hermes. The association's leader is Kallias, son of Hermes²⁹⁰, who is referred to as both *archithiasites*²⁹¹ and *prostates* of Hermes²⁹² in different *ostraka*. Friedrich Preisigke, who published the *editio princeps* of the *ostraka*, considers it possible that the two titles were different ways to refer to the leader of the association.²⁹³ The word «Ἑρμαίου» from the phrase «οἱ ἐκ <τῆς> τοῦ Ἑρμαίου συνόδου» refers to a temple of Hermes (or Thoth) where the synod would have gathered. In the *ostraka* there is mention of mummification of ibises and falcons. Even though the ibises are the sacred animals of Thoth, the falcons are the sacred animals of Horus and they would have been kept at the double temple of Horus and Sobek at Kom Ombo. Preisigke, after taking into account parallels from Kekrosiris, believed that the temples would have shared a joint administration or priesthood.²⁹⁴ What is perhaps surprising is that the association seemed to have had some of the most prominent members of the local elite among its members, like Pelaias who is *strategos*, *syngenes* and *nomarches*²⁹⁵, Totoes who is also *topogrammateus* and

²⁸³ Versnel 1974, 150.

²⁸⁴ Bull 2018, 2.

²⁸⁵ SB 14.11626, 125 BC. Terminus ante quem.

²⁸⁶ o.joach1, o.joach 2, o.joarch 7, o.joach 17, o.joach 18, CAPIInv. 644.

²⁸⁷ No 22, o.joach 2.

²⁸⁸ No 23, o.joach 7; No 25, o.joach 18.

²⁸⁹ No 22, O.joach 2.

²⁹⁰ PP 805, 7353. No 22, O.joach 2.

²⁹¹ No 22, o. joach 2.

²⁹² No 24, o.joach 17.

²⁹³ Preisigke 1914, 37.

²⁹⁴ Preisigke 1914, 24.

²⁹⁵ PP 303, 403.

*strategos*²⁹⁶ and Kallias, son of Hermes, who is *kommatogrammateus*.²⁹⁷ The names of some of the members are also encountered in other *ostraka* fragments from Kom Ombo whose content is also related to the mummification of sacred animals.²⁹⁸ It is possible that they too are accounts of the same association, but as no terminology related to an association is used, these *ostraka* inscriptions have not been included in the sources studied for this thesis, nor are they included in any of the online databases for ancient associations such as the Copenhagen Association Project (CAP) or ASRW.²⁹⁹

M. Pan/Thriphis/Kolanthes Associations

Pan was a half-goat, pastoral god from Arcadia, protector of the flocks, the shepherds and the wilderness.³⁰⁰ In Arcadia Pan was worshipped in temples while in the rest of Greece he was worshipped in grottos.³⁰¹ After the Greek conquest of Egypt, Pan's cult was merged with the cult of his Egyptian counterpart, Min.

Min was the ancient Egyptian deity of fertility, regeneration and virility. Archaeological evidence of his veneration can be traced back to the predynastic era,³⁰² although his name appears in the sources from the 5th Dynasty.³⁰³ During the Middle Kingdom Min was associated with the gods Ra and Horus and referred to as son or even consort of Isis. The cities where Min was most venerated were Gebtu and Akhim.³⁰⁴ He was an anthropomorphic deity, usually depicted ithyphallic and sometimes along with a lettuce, his sacred symbol. Eventually Min became associated with Isis and Horus and there is evidence of them being worshipped together as a triad.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁶ No 21, o.joach 1; No 23, O.joach 7; PP 338.

²⁹⁷ No 23, O.joach 7.

²⁹⁸ For example Pelaias the *strategos*, Kallias son of Hermias are mentioned in o.joach 3, o.joach 4, o.joach 5, o.joach 13, o.joach 15, o.joach 16.

²⁹⁹ No. 21-25 (o.joach 1, 2, 7, 17,18) are included in CAPInv. 644 while No 21, 22, 23 and 25 are also included in AGRW.

³⁰⁰ Mastrapas 2013, 111-122.

³⁰¹ Borgeaud 1988, 51 "believes that"it is evident that the grotto, as Pan's proper environment, stands for Arcadia itself".

³⁰² Baqué-Manzano 2002, 17-61.

³⁰³ Pinch 2002, 115.

³⁰⁴ Pinch 2002, 115.

³⁰⁵ Geens 2007, 308.

During the Ptolemaic Era the worship of Min did not cease completely. He continued to be worshipped as Min, but his presence was evident even when he was worshipped in the form of his Greek counterpart, Pan. Min's merge with Pan gave the Greek god more Egyptian characteristics that led Geens to state that "Pan is the Egyptian God Min worshipped under a Greek name".³⁰⁶

The god was venerated alone and along with his consort, the lion Goddess Thriphis (Greek translation of Repit who was assimilated to)³⁰⁷ and their son, the child deity Kolanthes. Thriphis and Kolanthes replaced Isis and Horus in the triad of Panopolis.³⁰⁸ This worship of the Panopolite triad was promoted by the Ptolemies. A temple of Min/Pan was erected by Ptolemy IV or Ptolemy X and Ptolemy XII built a temple of Thriphis in Athribis.³⁰⁹ There were also reconstructions of the old temple of Min at Koptos.³¹⁰

There is evidence for two possible associations of Pan (and other members of the Panopolite triad) during the Ptolemaic period. The evidence for the first association comes from a dedicatory inscription (No 26) from 137 BC.³¹¹ It is a dedication of a temple from the members of a synod on behalf of Ptolemy VIII, Kleopatra II, Kleopatra III and their children. The temple is dedicated to Thriphis, Kolanthes and Pan and it is possible that this was a religious association dedicated to their worship. There is however also mention of a chief of the bodyguards (*ton archisomatofylakon*), cavalry leader (*hipparches*) and supervisor (*epimeletes*) among the members who dedicated the inscription.³¹² It is therefore possible that the association was professional or more precisely military. John Kloppenborg believes that there is a connection between this association and the *topos* inscription mentioned by Etienne Bernard (from unknown provenance)³¹³ and that therefore this is an association devoted to Thriphis.³¹⁴

The evidence for the second association is also a dedicatory inscription (No 27) from 118-116 BC.³¹⁵ The dedicated object is an altar (*bomos*) and it is dedicated to Kolanthes, Pan Euodos and Saviour God. The people making the dedication are Demetrios the *epistrategos*, *strategos* of Thebaid and

³⁰⁶ Geens 2007, 356.

³⁰⁷ Geens 2007, 312.

³⁰⁸ The city was originally named after Min and was renamed Panopolis during the Ptolemaic period.

³⁰⁹ Farouk 2020, 4.

³¹⁰ Petrie 1896, 19.

³¹¹ SB III 6184, CAPIInv. 155.

³¹² Πανίσκος Λυκόφρονος Βερενκεύς PP 949

³¹³ Bernard 1993, 64 Τόπος Ἡλιοδώρου ἱερέως Θρεΐφιδος.

³¹⁴ Kloppenborg 2020, 382.

³¹⁵ I.Philai 20, CAPIInv. 55.

secretary (*grammateus*) of the synod³¹⁶ with the naval and infantry forces stationed in Ptolemais. In that case it becomes even more likely that the association in question could be an association of soldiers. It is interesting that although in this case Pan is also worshipped in a triad, as per a more Egyptian tradition, Saviour God has taken the place of his more usual companion, Thriphis. In Ptolemaic Egypt, Soter was the epithet of Ptolemy and in his deified form, he was often worshipped as *theos soter* (Saviour God) or *theoi soteres* along with his wife Berenike I. The epithet was later used by Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter. It is possible that Pan's epithet Evodos (meaning of good journeys) originated from an epithet of Min n'y that means traveller.³¹⁷

N. Zeus Hypsistos Associations

The cult of Zeus Hypsistos is often considered similar and is studied along with the cults of Theos Hypsistos or simply Hypsistos. Various deities were associated with the cult and worshipped as Theos Hypsistos such as Helios, Baal and even a form of Mother Goddess (as Thea Hypsiste).³¹⁸ Most frequently however, Theos Hypsistos was worshipped by the Judaeans as he was associated with the Jewish deity Jahweh.³¹⁹ Scholars have claimed that the cult had various origins, both pagan and monotheistic. It has been argued for instance that the epithet *hypsistos* has been well documented as an epithet of Zeus from early on. Homer³²⁰ uses the synonym epithet *hypatos* to refer to Zeus, while Pindar³²¹ and Sophocles³²² refer to him as *hypsistos*.³²³

The Hypsistos cults begun to emerge during the Hellenistic period. The earliest attested of these cults is the cult of Zeus Hypsistos with evidence dating back to the second century BC.³²⁴

³¹⁶ The same Demetrios is attested in the papyrus P.Tor.Coach.12 from 117 BC that documents the trial of Hermias. He is involved in the trial because of his office as *epistrategos*, since Hermias had originally submitted a petition to him, before the case went to court. PP 162, 189.

³¹⁷ Parker 2017, 105.

³¹⁸ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936, 62-64.

³¹⁹ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936, 62.

³²⁰ Hom. Il., 5.756 Ζῆν' ὑπατον Κρονίδην ἐξείρετο

³²¹ Pi. N. 1.60. γείτονα δ' ἐκκάλεσεν Διὸς ὑψίστου προφάταν ἔξοχον,

³²² S. Tr. 1191.οἷσθ' οὖν τὸν Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὑψιστον πάγον;

³²³ Lanckau 2011, 861-874.

³²⁴ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936, 60 ; Kloppenborg 2020, 205.

In Egypt there are dedications to a Theos Hypsistos possibly of Jewish origin.³²⁵ A synod of Zeus Hypsistos is also attested, in a papyrus with the bylaws of the synod (No 28) dated between 69-58 BC was found in Philadelphia.³²⁶ It is the only attested case of association laws from Ptolemaic Egypt in the Greek language. It is stated that for the following year Petesuchos son of Teephbennis, the president of the association (*hegoumenos*) would be responsible for providing one banquet per month in the temple of Zeus, where the members of the synod would also perform the necessary rites. There is also a list of acts that are forbidden for the members of the association, including leaving the association (*phatra*).³²⁷ Or to accuse and insult another member.

It is clear that the association of Zeus Hypsistos shared many similarities with demotic associations. As in the case of a demotic association of Sobek (Suchos), the rules of this association were valid for one year and they had to be renewed when that year passed³²⁸ Another Egyptian characteristic was the limited number of officials mentioned. There is mention of a president (*hegoumenos*) and assistant (*hyperetes*) but no other offices that are often present in ancient Greek associations, such as a *tamias* (treasurer).³²⁹

It was stated in the papyrus that the members of the association met at the temple of Zeus. The first editors of the papyrus attempted to identify the temple and came up with three alternative possibilities. The first is that the temple was in fact an otherwise unattested temple of Zeus Hypsistos. The other two are that it referred to a known temple of Philadelphia such as the temple of Zeus Labranydaios or even Ammun (whose name was translated in the papyrus as Zeus).³³⁰ In favor of the latter alternative has argued Stefan Pfeiffer, who believes that since the onomastics of the members are all Egyptian it is highly probable that the association would also have been Egyptian and therefore worshipped an Egyptian deity.³³¹ This hypothesis seems even more plausible if we take into consideration the fact that the chances of an ethnically Greek person adopting an Egyptian double name were very low.³³²

Even though, the association of Zeus Hypsistos had more in common with Egyptian associations than with Greek, there are also similarities with regulations of Greek religious associations. Mario

³²⁵ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936, 69, OGIS 96.

³²⁶ P.Lond. VII 2193, CAPIV. 654.

³²⁷ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936, 52. The editors of the papyrus believe that *phatra* is used here instead of synod.

³²⁸ Kloppenborg, 2020, 203; P.Cair. 30606, CAPIV. 1932.

³²⁹ Bagnall and Derow 2004, 263; Kloppenborg, 2020, 203.

³³⁰ Roberts, Skeat and Nock 1936, 71.

³³¹ Pfeiffer 2008b, 94.

³³² See Part II,c. p. 47-49 of this thesis.

Paganini in his article on Greek and Egyptian associations has summarised their similarities and differences and even created a table that marks which features are present in each type of associations.³³³ Some of these similarities include for instance the habit of drinking that is mentioned on the bylaws of the association of Zeus Hypsistos. Although wine is consumed in both Greek and Egyptian associations, beer seems to have been exclusively Egyptian.³³⁴ Unfortunately, the type of beverage consumed by the members of the association of Zeus Hypsistos is not mentioned.

O. Basilistai Associations

The associations of *basilistai* (also mentioned elsewhere as *philobasilistai* or *synbasilistai*)³³⁵ were private associations dedicated to the worship of the royal dynasty whose membership basis comprised mostly of soldiers. The ruler cult was not a new concept. It first started to appear during the end of the fourth century with the Spartan admiral Lysander³³⁶ and it gain more popularity as a practice with Alexander III and his successors.³³⁷ Ptolemy I founded a cult for the deified Alexander, while Ptolemy II deified his father and afterwards himself, being the first living Ptolemaic ruler to be venerated.³³⁸ *Basilistai* associations can be found in Egypt, Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt or broadly speaking areas within the Ptolemaic sphere of influence.³³⁹ In other areas associations dedicated to the worship of the royal dynasty can also be found although with a different name. In Asia Minor for instance there were also associations of *Attalistai*, dedicated to the worship of the Attalid dynasty.³⁴⁰ In Egypt there are three such associations mentioned in inscriptions or papyri: one association of *basilistai*, one of *philobasilistai* and one of *synbasilistai*.

³³³ Paganini 2017, 132-154.

³³⁴ Paganini 2017, 148.

³³⁵ Fischer Bovet 2014, 288 believes that the terms were synonymous, although Mariano San Nicolò 1913,27 does not agree with this statement.

³³⁶ Plut., Lys. 18.3 *πρώτω μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δουῦρις, Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνω βομοῦς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὡς θεῶ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν, εἰς πρῶτον δὲ παιᾶνες ἤσθησαν.*

³³⁷ For more information on Alexander III's deification see Badian 1996, 26, Robinson 1943,286-301. For ruler cult in general see also Buraselis and Aneziri, 2004.

³³⁸ Koenan 1993, 52-54, Hölbl 2001, 94.

³³⁹ Basilistai associations outside of Egypt can more specifically be found in Cyprus (Mitford 1961, 39), Lycia (Wörrle 2015, 291-292)and Thera(IG XII.3 443).

³⁴⁰ OGIS 326, see Harland 2014, 324-331.

The association of *basilistai* is encountered in the inscription No 29 (OGIS 13)³⁴¹, a dedication to Chnoubis/Ammon, Satis/Hera, Anoukis/Hestia, Petempamentes/Dionysos, Petensetis/Kronos and Petensenis/Hermes on behalf of the king Ptolemy VI Philometor and his wife Kleopatra II from 143-142 BC. The inscription stele is decorated in a Greek style with triangular pediments.³⁴² In the main text of the inscription, one member Heroides, son of Damophon, the chief bodyguard (ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ) and *strategos*³⁴³, is mentioned by name, while the others are present in the text as «οἱ συνάγοντες ἐν Σήτει τῆι τοῦ Διονύσου νήσῳ βασιλισται» and a list of their names is included at the end of the text. Heroides, is also mentioned in another dedicatory inscription No 30 from 153/2 BC.³⁴⁴ No 29 has many similarities with No 30. In both inscriptions, the dedications are to the same deities and in both inscriptions the members of the association/group have a connection to the military. The dedicants of the No 30 inscription refer to themselves as «οἱ τῆ[ν] σύνοδον συνεσταμένο[ι εἰς τὸ ἐν Σήτει] ἱερό[ν]». Mario Paganini believes that this was not a private association but rather the annual meeting for the celebration of Boethos' birthday.³⁴⁵ The two inscriptions allow us to make some observations on the *cursus honorum* of some distinguished members of the synods. In the inscription No 30 there are two members who received a special mention because of their status. That was Boethos, son of Nicostratos the Chrysaorian, the chief bodyguard (ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ), *strategos* and founder (κτίστης) of the cities of Philometor and Kleopatra in the Triakontaschoinos.³⁴⁶ The second such member was Heroides from Pergamos, son of Demophon, member of the *diadochi*, commander of men (ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν), garrison commander at Syene (φρούραρχος), boarder guard (γερροφύλαξ), governor of the upper territories (ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω τόπων [τεταγμένος]), prophet of Chnoubis and chief *stolistes* (ἀρχιστολιστής) of the temples in Elephantine, Abaton and Philae.

In the inscription No 29, however, Heroides seems to be from the deme of Berenike in Egypt. He also occupies the offices of chief bodyguard (ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ) and *strategos*. These are the very same offices that Boethos held in the previous inscription. Heroides seems to be of Greek origin, something particularly rare for someone holding a priesthood in an Egyptian temple.³⁴⁷ According to Stefano Caneva, this could be explained by examining the historical and political events surrounding

³⁴¹ CAPIInv. 51.

³⁴² For an image of the *stèle* see Paganini 2020, 192.

³⁴³ PP 259, 2059, 2083, 4927, 4963. Heroides, son of Damophon is also attested in the inscriptions I.Portes du desert 23 and SB 1918.

³⁴⁴ CAPIInv. 48.

³⁴⁵ CAPIInv. 48.

³⁴⁶ PP 188, 1869. Boethos is also attested in papyri P.Lond 7 2188, P. Merton 5 and the inscription SEG 47 2092 as a chief bodyguard.

³⁴⁷ Kloppenborg 2020, 379.

this period. After the battle of Raphia (217 BC), where Egyptian soldiers fought for the first time in battle and contributed to the victory against Antiochus III, the Egyptians became more confident in their fighting abilities and this led to more revolts in the following years. After the Great Revolt of 206/5-181 BC, the Ptolemies attempted to strengthen their control of the southern regions by appointing Greek military officials as priests in Egyptian temples.³⁴⁸ In the inscription No 29 there is also a list of the members of the association and even though the majority of the names are Greek, there are also some Egyptian names, indicating that Egyptians might have been accepted in the association.³⁴⁹ This should come as no surprise, as Egyptians could also become soldiers and serve in the Ptolemaic army.³⁵⁰

The second type of royalist associations found in Egypt is the *philobasilistai*. There are only two mentions of the *philobasilistai* during the Ptolemaic period. The first one is encountered in a letter from 103 BC (No 6), addressed to Pates, Pachrates, the *philobasilistai* and other soldiers from Portis and the youths (νεανίσκοι).³⁵¹ The purpose of the letter is to inform Pates, Pachrates and the *philobasilistai* that they have elected a *prostates* of the god Nechtpharaus and it seems that there was a connection between the association worshipping Nechtpharaus³⁵² and the *philobasilistai*³⁵³. The second one is the mention of a commander of a force of one hundred men (ἐκατόνταρχος) and the head of *philobasilistai prothemoi*, Sesosios, who was present during the trial of Hermias and is encountered in a petition from Hermias to Herakleides, the *epistates* of *peri Thebas* from 119 BC.³⁵⁴ The so-called “trial of Hermias”, a legal dispute between Hermias and a family of *choachytai* over the ownership of a property, does not seem to have any other connection to the *philobasilistai* association and Mario Paganini believes that Sesosios was present at the trial because of his function as a military commander and not because of his connection with the association.³⁵⁵ The only

³⁴⁸ Caneva 2016, 134-136.

³⁴⁹ The matters of ethnicity and double names will be analysed more thoroughly in chapter Part II. c p.47-49. of this thesis. Greeks were less likely to use an Egyptian double name, especially in a Greek environment or when practising an occupation that was perceived as “Greek”, as was the case with the army. Fischer-Bovet 2014, 165, has also stated that “Egyptians joining the army tended to choose Greek names, but Egyptian names point to soldiers of Egyptian origin”.

³⁵⁰ Fischer-Bovet 2014, 160-166.

³⁵¹ C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1 verso

³⁵² The association is encountered in two more papyri, one written in Greek, C.Jud.Syp.Eg 2 (No 7) and one written in demotic, C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 3.

³⁵³ Paganini, CAPInv. 826 believes that “The membership of *philobasilistai* overlapped with or at any rate had some interest in the association in honour of the god Nechtpharaus”.

³⁵⁴ P.Tor. Choach. 11bis

³⁵⁵ CAPInv. 1339

information that one can safely gather from these sources about the associations of *philobasilistai* is that there was a connection between the association and the army and many members were also military officials, something that was also true for the association of *basilistai*. Scholars have made speculations on the ethnicity of the *philobasilistai* and Launey believed that they were members of the native population who did not have access to the gymnasium,³⁵⁶ while Willy Clarysse and J.K. Winnicki believe that this assumption was based on “the erroneous interpretation of the address [of the papyrus C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1(No 6) ”].³⁵⁷ Christelle Fischer Bovet claims that these associations could include members of both ethnic groups and even “played an important unifying role”³⁵⁸, a scenario that seems quite plausible. The Egyptian character of the *philobasilistai* is evident, as both members addressed in the papyrus, Pates and Pachrates had Egyptian names and the association of Nechtpharaus is also mentioned in a papyrus written in demotic. This evidence, however, does not prove that the membership of the association was solely Egyptian, especially given the similarities with the *basilistai* association and the fact that the *basilistai* comprised of mixed ethnic groups.

The third type of associations that could have also played a role in the worship of the royal couple, are the *synbasilistai*. There is only one mention of this association from a joint dedication with the *Dioskouriastai* (No 18) to king Ptolemy III, queen Berenike II and the Dioscuri.³⁵⁹ The association has also been mentioned and analysed previously on this thesis, on the chapter dedicated to the Dioscuri³⁶⁰, as the two associations (if indeed they were ever two) were at the time of the dedication unified.³⁶¹ This group is underrepresented in modern bibliography, as most scholars focus on the similarities and differences between the two previous groups mentioned, the *basilistai* and the *philobasilistai*. It is quite possible though that *synbasilistai* were not different than the other two groups in their membership basis.

A demotic equivalent of the Greek royalist associations has recently been identified by Andrew Monson in an account of income belonging to a temple from 132/1 BC. Monson has translated the line referring to said association as “the royal association of cavalrymen” claiming that “this accords well with the military character of (*philo*)*basilistai* groups in the Greek sources”.³⁶²

³⁵⁶ Launey 1949, 1029.

³⁵⁷ Clarysse and Winnicki 1989, 48 argue that the term *philobasilistai* would have included both the natives Paches and Pachrates, and the *neaniskoi*.

³⁵⁸ Fischer Bovet 2014, 289.

³⁵⁹ I. Mus. Varsovie 44

³⁶⁰ See p. 30.

³⁶¹ Pfeiffer 2008b, 57.

³⁶² Monson 2019, 48. The original line translated is t³ sw n.t pr-³ n³ r m t.w ḥtr .

Part II

I. Membership in religious associations in Ptolemaic Egypt

a. Members and social background

People from all social backgrounds were able to join a private religious or professional association in Ptolemaic Egypt. It seems that the only real requirements would have been for the members of professional associations to practice the same profession³⁶³ and in case of religious associations, to worship the same deity or deities. In addition, the members of the association had to follow certain regulations which more often than not included financial responsibilities towards the association. While all adult members of the society had the chance to join an association, there would have been some limitations in place based on gender or occasionally, ethnicity. In both cases, there are also associations of mixed membership in matters of gender or ethnicity attested, but many associations would have allowed access exclusively to members of one gender (usually male) or of one ethnicity.³⁶⁴ It is also possible that in some associations slaves would also have been able to become members.³⁶⁵

After studying the ancient sources on religious associations of Hellenistic Egypt, it becomes clear that many prominent members of the local elite and state or temple administration such as *strategoi*,³⁶⁶ *nomarchai*³⁶⁷, *epistrategoi*,³⁶⁸ *oikonomoi*,³⁶⁹ *topogrammateis*³⁷⁰ *lesones*³⁷¹ and

³⁶³ Gibbs 2015, 246.

³⁶⁴ These matters will be analysed more thoroughly in the following chapters.

³⁶⁵ Westermann 1932, 21; Scholl 1990, 333-350.

³⁶⁶ Thrakides, son of Hierax No 19 (SB V 7578); Memandros No 21 (o. joach 1); Pelaias No 22 (o. joach 2), No 24 (o. joach 17), No 25 (o. joach 18); Demetrios No 27 (I. Philae 20).

³⁶⁷ Pelaias No 22 (o. joach 2).

³⁶⁸ Demetrios No 27 (I. Philae 20).

³⁶⁹ Hermias, son of Kallias No 21 (o. joach 1);

³⁷⁰ Totoes No 21 (o. joach 1).

³⁷¹ Onophris No 4 (I. Fayoum 205).

*syngeneis*³⁷² of the king were also members of such associations. These officials enjoyed often a more privileged status than ordinary members, but they also had more responsibilities.³⁷³

Moreover, while private voluntary associations had no requirements based on genus or familial background, there is evidence that familial ties with the association could play a significant role in the matter of social advancement inside the association. In the case of the papyrus No 31 (Chr. Wilck. 110 A)³⁷⁴, two men Hreakleides and Kephalos, members of a synod, had a public quarrel which resulted in their agreement that when Herakleides' father passed, his son would become a member of the synod. There was a (financial) penalty set in the case that Herakleides did not agree to the terms set. It seems that it was a common practice in this particular association for members to be related, as Herakleides' father was also a member and the name of Kephalos' father is Perigenes, the same name as that of the *grammateus* of the synod. This is not the only case of an association where members of the same family are encouraged to join the same association. There are also other instances of the same practice from the rest of the Greek speaking world. One such example is encountered in the regulations of the association of *Dionysiastai* (IG II²1326) from Attica. Dionysios, a priest of the association was honoured by the *Dionysiastai* for his benefactions, as a result of which his eldest son was also honoured with the title of priest for life and his other son was also allowed to join the association.³⁷⁵

There is no clear indication that this particular association was religious, although the agreement was signed before the *grammateus* of the synod, in the road outside the temple of Apollo and Paganini has commented that it is possible that this was the meeting place of the synod.³⁷⁶

b. Women as members

The overwhelming majority of the members of private religious associations in Ptolemaic Egypt were men. There is only one association mentioned in Greek sources where women are mentioned as members. The evidence for this association³⁷⁷ comes from a petition to the king Ptolemy IV

³⁷² Eirenaïos No 10 (I. Fayoum 6); Pelaias No 22 (o.joach 2), No 25 (o.joach 18); Demetrios No 27 (I. Philae 20)

³⁷³ Monson 2019, 46-48.

³⁷⁴ CAPIv. 639.

³⁷⁵ Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011, 179-183.

³⁷⁶ CAPIv. 639.

³⁷⁷ The terminology used (*synthiasitidon*, *synthiateuousis*) suggests that this was a religious association, although there is no indication as to the deity or deities worshipped.

Philopator (No 32)³⁷⁸ from two relatives of a deceased member and priestess of the association, Soeris. The relatives, Therous and Teos blame four female members, Temsois, Senemenopis, Teteim and Herieus for not providing funds for Soeris's funeral. There is, nonetheless, more evidence for the participation of women in private association in demotic sources. Specifically, there are demotic accounts listing the members of the associations, their titles and the amount of money they owed to the association. Some of them mention only female members, indicating that only women might have been allowed to join the association³⁷⁹, while others might have been mixed.³⁸⁰

The scarcity of the evidence for the participation of women in religious or other types of associations³⁸¹ in Hellenistic Egypt is quite surprising. Hellenistic Egypt is famous for its influential and powerful queens who participated in the political scene like Arsinoe II, Berenike II or Cleopatra VII.³⁸² Even though there were certain limitations in place, there were many ways through which both Greek and Egyptian women could accumulate wealth and participate in the public life.³⁸³ Greek and Egyptian women, however, operated under a different legal status. Perhaps the most important difference was that Greek women needed to have a legal guardian *kyrios* in order to make any financial or legal transactions, while the Egyptian women were under no such obligation.³⁸⁴

The fact that there are more cases of female associations mentioned in demotic documents along with the fact that in the one case mentioned in a Greek document, the names of the women are Egyptian, could have been associated with the overall more secure financial position of the native women. Another factor could have been that the native Egyptian clergy retained their role and, in most cases, only Egyptians could have occupied an office or a priesthood in a local temple.³⁸⁵ Greek temples and priesthoods occupied by Greeks can be found mostly in Greek cities, mainly Alexandria.

³⁷⁸ P. Enteux. 21, CAPInv. 754.

³⁷⁹ P. Lille.dem. 31, Rowlandson 1998, 56, P.Lille.dem. 97.

³⁸⁰ P. Lille. Dem 98.

³⁸¹ There is evidence in demotic for the participation of women in one professional association Short Texts I 158.

³⁸² Pomeroy 1984, 25. For Arsinoe II see also Carney 2013. For Berenike II, see Clayman 2014 and van Oppen de Ruyter 2015. For Cleopatra VII, see Roller 2010.

³⁸³ Usually women could participate in the public life by holding a religious office. For more information on the role of priestesses see Rowlandson 1998, 55-62; Parca 2012, 319-320 and Schentuleit 2019, 353-354. For other economic activities see Pomeroy, 151-157; Rowlandson 1998, 318-379; Schentuleit 2019, 354-357.

³⁸⁴ Schentuleit 2019, 348, Schentuleit (2009, 205) mentions a case from the Roman period where a *kyrios* is mentioned in a Greek contract while in a demotic one for the same woman he is not. Other differences concern matters of marriage and inheritance, for more information see Taubenschlag 1955 and Maehler 2005, 121-140. It seems that Egyptian women had more financial security in cases of divorce (Maehler 2005, 132)

³⁸⁵ Manning 2003, 6.

Both Greek and demotic evidence is however, scarce and it seems that in comparison to other areas during the Hellenistic period,³⁸⁶ the women in Egypt were not as active in the public life.³⁸⁷

It is possible that the different levels of participation of women in the public life and associations are related to the phenomenon of euergetism that emerged during this period³⁸⁸ and in contrast to other areas of the Hellenistic world, did not flourish in Greco-Roman Egypt for a variety of reasons.³⁸⁹ Through euergetism women were able to gain significant political influence. They managed to get access to honours and offices for their benefactions such as honorary inscriptions and statues to their likeness and even some honours and offices traditionally given to men such as the honour of *proedria* or the offices of *stephanephoros* and *archeine* (female form of *archon*)³⁹⁰. Most importantly though, the women honoured became visible. The women who gained the *proedria* reserved a front seat at the theatre among the (mostly male) elite of the city while the women who were honoured with a statue, were allowed to erect a statue of their likeness in a public building, often a temple or even in exceptional cases at the agora³⁹¹. Male and female inhabitants and visitors of the city would have witnessed these honours. They most likely would have known who these women were and why they were honoured. We can only suppose that this kind of female representation and even invasion of a previously male dominated space would have influenced the gender dynamics of that particular city. In Ptolemaic Egypt and especially in the Ptolemaic *chora* where no such system existed, the women would only have seen the likeness of the Queens on the coins and perhaps even statues but it is unclear what else the average uneducated woman or man would have known about them and to what extent their political influence would have made an impact on the lives of the common people.

c. Slaves as Members

³⁸⁶ The difference in the material found in Egypt and in other regions could have been a factor. Egypt has a vast body of papyrological sources, while other cities have mainly epigraphical material. For differences between the two types of sources see also Walbank 1999, 28.

³⁸⁷ On female patronage during the Hellenistic period in general see Bielman 2012, 238-248.

³⁸⁸ On the phenomenon of euergetism and its effects see Vayne 1976.

³⁸⁹ For the phenomenon of euergetism in Egypt and the reasons that it did not flourish in the area see van Minnen 2000, 437-467.

³⁹⁰ Bielman 2012, 243.

³⁹¹ Bielman 2012, 245.

Slavery was a universal phenomenon of the classical antiquity, which also existed, up to certain a degree, in Egypt even before the Greek conquest.³⁹² It was, however, only during the Ptolemaic period that chattel slavery as a legal institution, became a more widespread phenomenon in Egypt. Nonetheless, even during the Ptolemaic period, only around one out of every seven Greek households was in possession of slaves and that percentage was significantly lower for Egyptian households.³⁹³ To put this in perspective, it has been suggested that in classical Athens one in two adult male citizens would have possessed at least one slave.³⁹⁴

Previous forms of dependence that cannot be characterised as slavery, such as the royal farmers or temple slaves, continued to exist during the Ptolemaic period. The royal farmers (*basilikoi georgoi*) despite not being legally slaves, were tied to the land and the state had some control over their movements.³⁹⁵ The temple slaves (*hierodouloi*) were attached in some way to a temple, often after a self-dedication to the god in exchange for his protection. They often lived in the temple and served the god in a variety of posts.³⁹⁶

The term slaves is usually employed in modern scholarship for the category of chattel slaves, people who had the legal status of a slave and were usually privately owned. Household slaves were usually called *παῖς*, *παιδίσκη* and sometimes *σῶμα*³⁹⁷ The Ptolemies attempted to establish some regulations and limitations to this phenomenon and even included the slave population in those required to pay the salt tax, a responsibility that would have burdened the owners of the slaves.³⁹⁸

³⁹² There is a debate over the use of the term «slavery» in pharaonic Egypt, pointing out that slavery was not a legal status, although it is clear that there was a form of dependency or servitude (Loprieno 2012) and chattel slavery existed before the Ptolemaic period in areas inhabited by Greek population, such as Naucratis and Memphis (Scheuble-Reiter and Bussi 2019, 288)

³⁹³ Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 265 believe that slaveholding in Egyptian households was perhaps due to Hellenization as «slaveholding, it would seem, was a further way in which some urban Egyptian families might identify with the ways of the immigrant Greeks.»

³⁹⁴ Cartledge 2002, 163. It is possible that this percentage was even higher, as Osborne (1995, 29) claims that the literary sources suggest that «any Athenian citizen over thirty with enough free time to appear in the courts could reasonably be expected to own a slave».

³⁹⁵ Thompson 2011, 199-200, uses as evidence for this suggestion the papyrus SB.20.14699, a letter from a Greek official with instructions to accompany some royal farmers to Oxyrrynchus where they would go to attend a festival, in order to make sure that they would be back in time for the harvest.

³⁹⁶ Thompson 2011, 201-202.

³⁹⁷ Scholl 1983, 7-13.

³⁹⁸ Scholl 2014, 446. Other examples of laws concerning slaves include Scholl 2014, 446. Other examples of laws concerning slaves include the prohibition to sell oneself into slavery, although it seems that this practice continued to occur with the parties involved carefully avoiding any mentioned of slavery in the contracts signed (Taubenschlag 1955, 69-70).

There are two cases from Scholl's *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*, in which slaves might have been members of private religious associations. Both texts (No 33, No 12) are accounts dated within the first two centuries BC. The first account (No 33)³⁹⁹ has been characterized as a club of servants or slaves by scholars because of the onomastics of the members and because the lack of an adequate room for their regular meetings, and the use instead of the harness room of a stable or the granary, indicates that the association would have had restricted financial means.⁴⁰⁰ It is uncertain whether the membership of the association would have comprised solely of slaves or whether it would have also included people of a different social status. Scholl points out the fact that the only member who has a patronymic and therefore the only certainly free member is].rion, the son of Horion who is listed as «ξένοϛ», meaning that he was not an official member of the club.⁴⁰¹ Scholl believes, however, that this is not an indication that there were no other free people among the regular members of the club, as it is possible that his patronymic was included because he was not a regular member and it was necessary for his identification.⁴⁰² William L. Westermann has argued in favour of this association's classification as religious because of the presence of a sacrificial priest (*hieropoios*)⁴⁰³ and Reinhold Scholl has presented further arguments to support this hypothesis such as the presence of the flautists (*auletai*) and *kinaidoi*, who, although not always, have in many reported occasions and texts a religious roles or appear also in religious settings. Furthermore, it is possible that fragment 3 of the papyrus refers to a meeting at the temple of Isis.⁴⁰⁴ Indeed, each argument on its own does not prove that this was a religious association, but all these arguments combined, do make a plausible, albeit still not certain, case.

The second text is the papyrus No 12 (SB III 6319), an account of an association that has been mentioned in previous chapters of this thesis.⁴⁰⁵ As already mentioned, there are indications that this was a religious association dedicated to the worship of Suchos.⁴⁰⁶ In the list of names included in the account, one member named Horos is referred to as παῖϛ, with the latter being the term most

³⁹⁹ SB III 7182, CAPInv. 856.

⁴⁰⁰ Edgar 1925, 369-370; Westermann 1932, 21; Scholl 1990; 338-339. On the matter of the onomastics, Edgar (1925, 369-370) has commented that «It is true that any of them, taken separately, would not necessarily stamp a man. [...] But when we find a whole group of men with such names, the chances are that they belonged to the menial class»

⁴⁰¹ Scholl 1990, 339.

⁴⁰² Scholl 1990, 339.

⁴⁰³ Westermann 1932, 339.

⁴⁰⁴ Scholl 1990, 341. The idea that the text on the fragment 3 refers to a meeting at the temple of Isis was first proposed by Edgar 1925, 374, although Edgar himself did not support the idea that this was a religious association.

⁴⁰⁵ p. 25.

⁴⁰⁶ Scholl 1990, 348-349.

commonly employed to refer to slaves in Ptolemaic Egypt. Reinhold Scholl raises the question whether the word could instead have been a patronymic, written as Παίς or Παῖς or even whether the Horion παῖς mentioned in col. Iii l. 7 is the same person with Horion παη[...] encountered in col. Iv l. 26. He argues that if the two individuals are the same person, it is highly unlikely that the term παῖς would have referred to a slave⁴⁰⁷ Scholl concludes however, that it «kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass auch Sklaven Mitglieder sein konnten»⁴⁰⁸ Nonetheless, he makes it clear that even if some members were slaves, the association would have been of mixed membership as slaves are mostly encountered with Greek names and without a patronymic, and there were also members with Egyptian names and/or patronymics in this association.⁴⁰⁹

d. Greeks and Egyptians: The ethnicity of the members.

The matter of ethnicity is one of the most complicated subjects in the scholarship regarding Hellenistic Egypt. It is clear that the membership of many of the associations studied in this thesis was mixed⁴¹⁰, but we cannot safely make any assumptions as to the percentage of the Egyptian members in private religious associations in Ptolemaic Egypt because of reasons that will be analysed below.

The vast majority of the population of Hellenistic Egypt comprised of native Egyptians while non-Egyptians amounted to between 10 and at most 20% of the population according to Dorothy Thompson⁴¹¹. From 264/3 and onwards the Ptolemies had implemented a yearly poll tax the *halike* or salt-tax which replaced a previous form of taxation that applied only to the male population⁴¹². For the *halike*, both male and female members of the population who were considered adult were liable, although there were certain categories who were either exempt from this duty or enjoyed a privileged status. These categories consisted mainly of certain occupations connected to the spread of the Greek

⁴⁰⁷ Scholl 1990, 348-350.

⁴⁰⁸ Scholl 1990, 351. The phrase can be translated in English as «it cannot be ruled out that slaves could also have been members».

⁴⁰⁹ Scholl 1990, 350.

⁴¹⁰ Monson 2013, 97, states that associations from the Arsinoite had also a mixed membership and mentioned the association of Zeus Hypsistos as an example.

⁴¹¹ Thompson 2001, 302.

⁴¹² Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 39.

language and culture and specific ethnic groups such as Greeks, Persians and Arabs⁴¹³. The same ethnic groups seem to have been exempted from the obol tax, which was later merged with the salt tax⁴¹⁴. The Ptolemies had therefore to keep a catalogue of all citizens, their occupation and their ethnicity. Some scholars have claimed that the main aim of the obol tax would have been to establish a “racial policy”.⁴¹⁵ These accounts, however, do not make the task of determining the ethnicity of the people mentioned much easier nor do they allow us to establish any criteria as it has become quite clear that not all people bearing the label of “Hellenes” were ethnically Greek. There were also hellenized Egyptians who were granted this privilege.⁴¹⁶ It was also a common phenomenon for Egyptians or perhaps even Greeks⁴¹⁷ to have double names and to use a Greek name or even a hellenized version of their own name for environments or occupations considered to be Greek and an Egyptian name for occupations considered to be Egyptian. Greek professions were for example those related to the army or the administration.⁴¹⁸ Even though a change of name was not obligatory, it seems that most people who were granted this privileged status preferred to adopt a new name⁴¹⁹. Along the cases of Hellenized Egyptians who adopted a second name, there were also cases of people with double names who were issues of an intermarriage between a Greek and an Egyptian. Even though these marriages were at first forbidden in Greek cities⁴²⁰, they would have been permitted in the *chora*, even though they were not common⁴²¹. Of course, as the Ptolemies took such an interest in the ethnicities of the population one could not simply adopt a different name and change his ethnicity at will, there would have been legal repercussions if an individual assumed a Greek identity without belonging to the group of *Hellenes*⁴²².

Even though, it is impossible to calculate the percentage of Greeks or Egyptians, it is possible to make some observations. It seems that in 59% of the associations included in the appendix of this

⁴¹³ Clarysse and Thompson, 52-59 find it more probable that the ethnic groups mentioned would only have enjoyed a privileged status while the people exercising certain professions would have been exempted.

⁴¹⁴ Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 71.

⁴¹⁵ Clarysse 2019, 304.

⁴¹⁶ Clarysse 2019, 304.

⁴¹⁷ Falivene 1991, 218. Greeks could also be Egyptinized but it was far less common.

⁴¹⁸ Clarysse 1985, 60-66.

⁴¹⁹ Thompson, 311 has observed that most men with Egyptian family members who were recorded in the catalogue as Hellenes used a Greek name.

⁴²⁰ Fischer-Bovet 2016, 215.

⁴²¹ Clarysse 2014, 52 mentions the case of Monimos a Greek from Alexandria living in a village, who married an Egyptian girl.

⁴²² Koenen 1993, 35, Clarysse 2019, 304.

thesis that mentioned the name of at least one member, there are members with names that indicate Egyptian origin, while 31% of the associations included members with both Greek and Egyptian names.⁴²³ While chance may also have played a role, it seems that most associations were to some degree mixed. As it was much rarer for Greeks to adopt Egyptian names⁴²⁴, it is likely that at least the majority of the people with Egyptian names would have been of Egyptian ethnicity. What is more surprising is that among these people there were also some high-ranking officials. Pelaias for instance, attested in o.joach 2 was *syngenes*, *strategos* and *nomarches Ombitou*. In the same association there was also a Totoeus who was in o.joach 1 from 79 BC a *topogrammateus* and in o.joach 7 from 73 BC a *strategos*. According to Ian Moyer during the late Ptolemaic period such instances were not rare as at least a 20% of the individuals with the title of *syngenes* were Egyptians⁴²⁵. What is uncommon, however, is that a high-ranking member of the administration would use on a Greek document his Egyptian name⁴²⁶. Most Egyptians with such an office would use a double name. Perhaps some of the individuals attested in these texts did have double names but did not feel the need to use them, either because despite the use of the Greek language, this was not a fully Greek environment or because of the private and unofficial nature of the association. As already mentioned, some associations might have been mixed. It seems that Greeks and Egyptians were able to co-exist and it was not uncommon for Greeks and Egyptians to live next to one another⁴²⁷ and even though it was much rarer, there were also cases of intermarriage. Under these circumstances the idea of mixed associations seems plausible although one might wonder which deities would have been worshipped in these associations. The Greeks did adapt to the customs and culture of Egypt and often they adopted some of the local deities as their own or in other cases the local deities had to undergo an *interpretatio graeca* before they were merged with the Greek ones, as it has become clear in the previous sections of this thesis. Even though the new deities were often more Egyptian than Greek they still bore some characteristics of their Greek counterparts. As the names of the deities were often translated into that of their Greek counterpart in Greek documents, and we often lack any more information, we cannot really know which “version” of the deity worshipped: the Egyptian or an *interpretatio graeca*.

⁴²³ In the calculation of this percentage only certain cases of associations where there is at least an indication that they were religious associations have been included. The entries excluded are No 1, No 2, No 5, No 11, No 13, No 17, No 30, No 37.

⁴²⁴ Falivene 1991, 218.

⁴²⁵ Moyer 2011, 22.

⁴²⁶ Moyer 2011, 22 also mentions that most individuals with Egyptian names with the title *syngenes* “are attested in demotic and hieroglyphic texts”.

⁴²⁷ Clarysse 2019, 304.

II. Internal organisation of the associations.

The internal organization, rules and hierarchy of voluntary associations are some of the characteristics that distinguish them from common groups and they are also an integral part of their identity.⁴²⁸ Usually the association's leadership comprised of a president (*archithiasites*, *archisynagogos* etc), a secretary or assistant (*grammateus*), a treasurer (*tamias*) and in case of cult associations a priest or priestess (*hiereus*), although the structure and terminology varied and depended on the needs of the individual association and the geographical region.⁴²⁹ Many scholars have noted the similarities between the structure of private associations and the civic administration, even though this comparison cannot be applied to all private associations.⁴³⁰

The same structure and organization are encountered in private associations of Ptolemaic Egypt⁴³¹. In Egypt the terminology used comprised of the terms *synagogos*⁴³², *archithiasites*⁴³³, *prostates*⁴³⁴, *hgoumenos*,⁴³⁵ and *epimeletes*⁴³⁶ for the president of the association, with the term *prostetes* being the one most commonly employed⁴³⁷. For the secretary the term was *grammateus*⁴³⁸ and for the assistant or subordinate *hyperetes*⁴³⁹, while the treasurer was called *oikonomos*.⁴⁴⁰ Cult associations also included the offices of *hiereus*⁴⁴¹ (priest) or *archiereus*⁴⁴². The single president model was the

⁴²⁸ Ascough 2002, 2.

⁴²⁹ Kloppenborg 1996, 26, Harland 2013, 85, Gibbs 2015, 254.

⁴³⁰ Ascough 2002, 14. Harland 2013, 85.

⁴³¹ The examples presented are from the material used in this thesis, which includes the religious but not the trade associations of Ptolemaic Egypt. The same terminology, however, was also encountered in trade associations. For more information see Gibbs 2015, 248-254.

⁴³² No 4, Fayoum 3 205, CAPIInv. 68.

⁴³³ O.joach 2

⁴³⁴ No 9, Fayoum 2 119; No 13, Fayoum 1 77; No 6, C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1; No 24, O.joach 17; No 29, OGIS 130

⁴³⁵ No 28, P.Lond VII 2193.

⁴³⁶ No 9, Fayoum 1 6; No 26, SB III 6184

⁴³⁷ The term is mostly encountered in Egypt and it is used to describe the president of an association or in some cases temple officials. For more information on the term and its use see San Nicolò 1913, 59, Clarysse and Winnicki 1989, 46. It should be noted that Boak 1937, 213 has commented on the different terms for the president of Greco-Egyptian associations and has come to the conclusion that at least during the Roman period, "there was no real distinction between the various terms employed".

⁴³⁸ No 27, I. Philae 20.

⁴³⁹ No 28, P.Lond VII 2193.

⁴⁴⁰ No 19, SB V 7578.

⁴⁴¹ No 8, Fayoum 1 6; No 14, I.Alex. Ptol. 41; No 29, OGIS 130

⁴⁴² No 11, Fayoum 2 119.

most common, even though in some trade associations there were cases where the leadership comprised of more people, namely the group called *presbyteroi* or the elders.⁴⁴³

More information about the internal organization of the private religious associations of Ptolemaic Egypt can be found in one of the documents recording the rules of specific religious associations. Of these documents only one is written in Greek, the papyrus No 28 (P.Lond VII 2193) recording the rules of the association of Zeus Hypsistos from 69-58 BC.⁴⁴⁴ The association had only two officials a president (*hegemon*) and a subordinate (*hyperetes*), a model usually applied in Egyptian associations. According to these regulations, the president of this association was responsible for providing a banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus for the members of the association for the duration of his presidency (one year). It is also clear that both the president and his subordinate had authority over the rest of the members. The obligations of the members of the association were to obey the president and his subordinate in all matters concerning the association and to be present in the activities of the association that are listed (*paraggeliazai, syllogai, synagogai, apodemiazai*).⁴⁴⁵ The rest of the rules consist of activities and actions that the members of the association were prohibited from performing, such as leaving the *phatra* of the president in order to join another.⁴⁴⁶ Many of these prohibitions aimed to prevent conflict between the members and ensure the peace and harmony inside the association, It has also been suggested that a fragmentary part of the papyrus might have referred to obligatory contributions for the members of the association, a practice that can be found in association rules from Roman Egypt and Egyptian associations.⁴⁴⁷ This suggestion is also supported by the fact that at the end of the document there is a list of members accompanied by sums.

Many similarities can be found between the rules of the association of Zeus Hypsistos and association rules from documents written in demotic. The best documented case of demotic regulations comes from the association of priests of Sobektynis found in Tebtunis. As the regulations were also of annual duration, five regulations from different years ranging between 178 and 145 BC have been found and are believed to refer to the same association.⁴⁴⁸ The association of priests of Sobektynis also had two officials, a president and a subordinate (vice-president). In this case too, the

⁴⁴³ San Nicolò 1913, 54, Gibbs 2015, 251.

⁴⁴⁴ The association has been more thoroughly analysed in chapter N. p. 35 of this thesis.

⁴⁴⁵ Skeat and Nock 1936,51 have commented that the term *syganogas* could have the meaning of place of meeting or banquet after sacrifice, the term *apodemias* of pilgrimage visit to temples or even of a “picnic” while Kloppenborg 2019, 204 believes that *paragelia* “may refer to summons for juridical purposes”.

⁴⁴⁶ The meaning of the word *phatra* in that context is not very clear. Skeat and Nock 1936, 52 believe that it could have been used as a synonym for the word *synodos*.

⁴⁴⁷ Boak 1937, 215-216.

⁴⁴⁸P.Mil. Vogl. dem. Inv. 77 , P.Cair. II 30606 , P.Hamburg dem. 1 , P.Cairo dem. 31179, P.Cairo dem. 30605

members if the association had certain obligations such as attending the banquets and festivals in honour of the god Sobek and paying a certain sum as contribution for the activities of the association. There were also prohibitions in place with a similar aim as in the bylaws of the association of Zeus Hypsistos. An important difference is that in this case, there is a financial penalty mentioned when a rule is not followed. There is also a list of members at the end of the papyrus. It has been suggested that the role of this membership list was for the members to state their compliance with the rules in a binding agreement, because in Greek regulations from the Roman period there is also the verb *evdoko* meaning I approve written next to every name.⁴⁴⁹ The same principles can be observed in other demotic regulations such as the bylaws of the association from the temple of Horus P.Lille.dem I 29.

Similarities can also be found if we compare these regulations with regulations from other parts of the Greek-speaking world. One of the most extensive lists of regulations of a Greek religious association are the regulations of the Iobakchoi from Roman Athens.⁴⁵⁰ The regulations are inscribed on a marble inscription dated in 164/5 AD. In the case of the Iobakchi, as in the bylaws of the association of Zeus Hypsistos, there are regulations concerning the responsibilities of the officials and the members. The priest of the association was responsible for the organization of the rituals and he had to make sure that they were conducted in the appropriate manner (*εὐπρεπῶς*) while the *archibakchos* had to make a sacrifice and a *sponde* on a specific day of the year. Other regulations were in place in order to maintain the peace within the association. The members were prohibited for instance from physically or verbally abusing another member or from taking another member's seat. If a member failed to conform to these rules, the member would have to pay a fine. The aim and the nature of these prohibitions is very similar to the prohibitions imposed on the members of the association of Zeus Hypsistos.

The bylaws of private religious associations were to a certain extent legally binding. There are cases of complaints filed to the local authorities against associations for the violation of the bylaws.⁴⁵¹ Unfortunately, we do not know the outcome of these cases and therefore we do not know whether the local *epistrategos* for instance would have interfered in the affairs of a private association.

III. The finances of the private associations.

⁴⁴⁹ Kloppenborg 2020, 147.

⁴⁵⁰ IG ii2 1368, Arnaoutoglou 2016, 23-78.

⁴⁵¹ No 34, P. Enteux 20, CAPIInv. 754; No 32, P. Enteux. 21. CAPIInv. 766.

A very important aspect of every association was the financial one. As stated in previous chapters, association rules, often included explicit clauses on the financial responsibilities and contribution required of the members towards the association or other members. Unfortunately, most such lists are written in demotic. There is only one case of 'associations' bylaws written in the Greek language, the laws of the association of Zeus Hypsistos mentioned in previous chapters,⁴⁵² and although there is a small list of names and sums in the verso of the papyrus, there is uncertainty on the question of whether these sums corresponded to the assigned amount of dues for each member.⁴⁵³ There are also club accounts written in Greek that provide us with some valuable information on the finances of the associations of the Ptolemaic period.

The first account is from a papyrus dated after either 231 or 206 BC⁴⁵⁴. It is not clear whether the association is religious or not, although there are indications that it might have been, as the association had two priests (*hiereis*) among its magistrates. The term *symbole*, mentioned multiple times in the text, might have referred to a collection of dues⁴⁵⁵. The amount of the contributions listed, if indeed the term refers to contributions, can be used to determine which of the two dates proposed is more likely, as after 210 BC copper coins became the official currency of the Ptolemaic state as a result of the so called copper inflation that begun a decade earlier⁴⁵⁶. The inflation led to a very significant rise in prices of commodities⁴⁵⁷. Kloppenborg believes the amounts paid to be perhaps too low to justify a dating of the papyrus after 210, and therefore 231 seems more plausible.⁴⁵⁸

The second account⁴⁵⁹ dated in the first century BC is from an association that has been identified by some scholars as an association of Sobek, although not unanimously.⁴⁶⁰ Most contributions in this account are calculated in a monetary standard, although there were also contributions in kind such as *keramia* of wine, *artabai* of wheat, oil and crowns.⁴⁶¹ It seems that all members had to make monetary

⁴⁵² No 28, P. Lond. VII 2193.

⁴⁵³ Kloppenborg 2020, 204-205.

⁴⁵⁴ No 35, P. Petr. III 136.

⁴⁵⁵ Kloppenborg 2020, 125.

⁴⁵⁶ Kloppenborg 2020, 126. For more information on the Ptolemaic copper inflation see Serge 1942 and Reekmans 1949. For the dating of Greek papyri based on finances see Clarysse and Lanciers 1989.

⁴⁵⁷ Reekmans 1949, 324.

⁴⁵⁸ Kloppenborg, 2020, 125.

⁴⁵⁹ No 12, SB III 6319.

⁴⁶⁰ San Nicolò 1913, 208, Scholl 1990, 348-349, see also p.24, 46 of this thesis.

⁴⁶¹ The *keramion* (pottery jar) is the commonest term applied for the measurement of liquids and it although there is no uniform size, it usually was equivalent to 3 or 4 *choes*, between 9.72 and 12.96 lt (Bagnall 2009, 188). The *artaba*

contributions to the association, but some members had to provide some additional material contributions on specific occasions. John Kloppenborg believes that the association's magistrates might have been among the people required to make these additional provisions.⁴⁶² He cites the so-called Testament of Epikteta as an example of this practice. Epikteta founded with her will a cult for herself and her deceased husband with regulations that stated clearly among others, that those who serve as *epitimenioi* will have to provide wine, crowns, music and myrrh.⁴⁶³ Parallels can also be found among the demotic sources, where it is clear that the additional sum paid by officials, varied depending on the office.⁴⁶⁴

The third account that will be studied (No 33)⁴⁶⁵, is from an association, considered to have comprised mainly of slaves, from the ii-i century BC. The account has also been analysed in a previous chapter.⁴⁶⁶ It is uncertain whether the association was religious or not, even though there are arguments to support the hypothesis that the association was religious.⁴⁶⁷ What is, however, certain, is that the financial situation of the association was far from ideal, as indicated by the lack of a proper meeting space (the association used instead the harness room of a stable or the granary).

Andrew Monson in an article focusing on the «economics» of religious associations of Ptolemaic Egypt, compared the amount of contributions made annually by members and officials with the price of 10 *artabai*, the amount that an average adult male farmer or soldier would earn per year⁴⁶⁸ and made some interesting observations on the social position of the members and officials. He demonstrated that the annual contributions of association magistrates were higher than the price of 10 *artabai*, indicating that their income would have exceeded by far that of a royal farmer.⁴⁶⁹ Monson used mainly Demotic sources for his data, but we can use the same principle to prove that his observations are also true for the associations mentioned in the Greek sources. The price of 10 *artabai*

was the standard unit for measuring dry commodities such as wheat and corresponded to 30-40 *choinikes* and between 30-38.8 lt. (Bagnall 2009, 186-187). It should be noted that the Ptolemaic economy was fully monetized and in many official (e.g. taxation) and unofficial transactions, the payment was in kind (von Reden 2016).

⁴⁶² Kloppenborg 2020, 194.

⁴⁶³ Kloppenborg 2020, 194, IG XII 3 330 «παρεξοῦντι δὲ οἱ δωρεὰν ἐπιμη-
νιεύομες οἶνον ξενικὸν ἰκανὸν δόκιμον ἕως τριῶν πινόντων, στεφάνος, μουσικόν, μύρον»

⁴⁶⁴ Monson 2006, 223-224, refers to these sums as «fees of office» and has made a chart showing exactly how much each official would have contributed based on the sums mentioned in the papyrus P.Cair. II 3065.

⁴⁶⁵ SB III 7182, CAPInv. 856.

⁴⁶⁶ p. 45.

⁴⁶⁷ Westermann 1932, 339; Scholl 1990, 341.

⁴⁶⁸ Crawford 1971, 129.

⁴⁶⁹ Monson 2006, 227.

during the 3rd century was according to Willy Clarysse and Eddy Lanciers between 15 dr.⁴⁷⁰. In the account of the papyrus No 35 (P.Petr. III 136), the contributions were monthly, and the sum oscillated between 1 dr and 3 dr, with 1 dr. being the monthly contribution for regular members and 3 dr. for officials. The monthly wage of a labourer during this period was between 2,5-5 dr.⁴⁷¹ A monthly contribution of 3 dr. would have been more than what an average labourer or farmer would have been able to afford.

In the period between 130-30 BC, the price of 10 *artabai* was between 10.000 and 18.000 dr. In the account of the papyrus No 12 (SB III 6319), the amounts of the contributions listed are varied, but none of them exceeds the price of 10 *artabai*. It seems however, that these contributions were not annual, as many names are mentioned in both columns of the text in the *recto* (without any variations in the amount of the contribution), indicating that the contributions in this case were assigned per event and not per year. Nonetheless, by comparing the amount paid with the price of 10 *artabai* or with the monthly wages of a labourer, which for this period would have been between 1500-3600 dr.,⁴⁷² it becomes clear that the contributions were usually equivalent to the average monthly wage of a labourer or even higher. Most contributions were of 2.100 dr or higher, with the highest for one even being the 4.400 dr. contributed by Pensios, son of Pagon. The additional «office fees» in the *verso* were, when in a monetary standard, of much lower amount. For example, Harmios, son of Kalchysis, Gereis and Kalachois paid 200 dr, although there is also the case of Petsou... who paid 2000 dr.

In the same period, between 130-30 BC is also dated the papyrus No 28 (P.Lond. VII. 2193), the bylaws of the association of Zeus Hypsistos. The amounts listed in the *verso* range between 800 and 1200 dr. Even if we assume that these sums were the amounts of the members' contributions, we do not know whether they would have been annual or monthly. If we compare them to the amounts of dues mentioned in the previous accounts, the sums seem perhaps too low for annual contributions although not too high for monthly dues.

The dating range of the papyrus No 33 (SB III 7182) is unfortunately too wide to allow us to reach safely any conclusions regarding the sums mentioned, but we are able to make some observations. The meetings were quite frequent, as there are seven meetings recorded on the papyrus and it is possible that two of them took place within the same month,⁴⁷³ so we can assume that the

⁴⁷⁰ Clarysse and Lanciers 1989, 117.

⁴⁷¹ Clarysse and Lanciers 1989, 117.

⁴⁷² Clarysse and Lanciers 1989, 117.

⁴⁷³ Kloppenborg 2020, 161.

contributions would have been monthly and perhaps even more frequent. Based on the sums of the contributions, Kloppenborg considers likely the dating of the papyrus between 173-130 BC.⁴⁷⁴ The wages of a labourer for this period oscillated between 600-2400 dr⁴⁷⁵ and it seems that the average due of a normal member or a guest was 270 dr, although there were members who had to pay a larger amount. The highest amount recorded is 2045 dr. It is possible that officials would have to contribute more than normal members, but other factors should also be taken into consideration. It is possible for example that some members would have accumulated debt from past, unpaid contributions. Kloppenborg believes that it is possible that some members would have also paid for their guests, as in fr. 4.2 Karpos paid twice while Hermias did not pay any dues.⁴⁷⁶ The dating of the papyrus between 130-30 BC is also plausible, if we take into consideration the limited means of the members and the fact that the association might have met more than once per month. During this period the average monthly wage of a labourer was between 1500-3600 dr.⁴⁷⁷ In both cases most of the contributions are quite lower than the dues paid by the members of the other associations examined in this thesis.

Andrew Monson wondered what was the members' motive for joining a religious association (and undertaking such a large financial commitment in the process). He reaches the conclusion that there were financial and social benefits for the members of private associations. For example, the association's rules often made sure that members in need would be supported by the other members of the association. Failure to provide help to a member in need would result in a quite significant financial penalty.⁴⁷⁸ Another financial benefit, was the burial that many associations provided for their members.⁴⁷⁹ The officials who were required to pay higher fees, would gain other privileges and honours.⁴⁸⁰ In the Greek sources, the few regulations available to this day,⁴⁸¹ do not include any regulations that seem to offer financial benefits for the members, although we cannot exclude the possibility that they might have, since in both cases part of the papyrus is damaged or fragmentary. There are, however, mentions of a funeral fee whose purpose was to raise the funds necessary for the

⁴⁷⁴ Kloppenborg 2020, 160.

⁴⁷⁵ Clarysse and Lanciers 1989, 117.

⁴⁷⁶ Kloppenborg 2020, 161.

⁴⁷⁷ Clarysse and Lanciers 1989, 117.

⁴⁷⁸ Monson 2006, 228-229. Monson's example of the obligation to provide help to a member in need is from a regulation mentioned in the papyrus P.Cair.II 30605.

⁴⁷⁹ Monson 2006, 229 provides examples of associations' rules on the subject of burial from the papyri P.Cair.II 30605 and P. Prague.

⁴⁸⁰ Monson 2006, 230.

⁴⁸¹ Mainly No 28, P. Lond. VII 2193, CAPIV 654, although No 35, P.Petr.III 136, also recounts some regulations.

burial of the members, in two papyri.⁴⁸² Both documents are petitions from relatives of the deceased addressed to the King because the association, in which the deceased had been a member, did not provide the funds for the funeral and therefore violated the association's regulations.

The monthly or annual contributions from the members were not the only means of income for a private association. Private associations could possess land, money or other property that they could cultivate and use themselves or lent to gain an income from the rents or interest. There are accounts, loans and receipts of payment from Ptolemaic Egypt that provide us with more information on the economic activities of private associations. One such document is the papyrus No 36 (P. Grenf. I 31), a loan contract from 101-100 BC.⁴⁸³ The *thiasos* seems to have given barley as a loan to a man named Nachothis who promises to repay it by a specific date. If he fails to do so, he will have to pay an additional penalty of half the amount owed. The term *thiasos* is an indication that the association might have been religious. Another such case is the papyrus No 19 (SB V 7578)⁴⁸⁴, the receipt of payment for rent owed to the association for the use of grain-producing land that was in the associations' possession.

Conclusions

The primary objective of this thesis was to study the available sources on the private religious associations from Ptolemaic Egypt and to investigate its identity, inner workings and the dynamics between the members. In the first part of the main body (Part I), the associations were organized based on the deity worshipped by its members. The main focus during this part was placed on the religious aspect of the associations.

The associations were organized in alphabetical order from Egyptian to Greek, but it is obvious that there was no clear distinction between the two ethnic groups as most associations combined elements from both cultures. Even the deities themselves were to a large degree syncretic, often accumulating characteristics of several other deities. It seems, however, that in the religious sphere the Egyptian elements were, in most cases, dominant, often including when the name of the deity worshipped was Greek. Such cases were the Pan/Thriphis/Kolanthes associations (No 26-27) and the association of Hermes (No 21-25). It was not by chance that the associations of Isis (No 3, No 4) Osiris (No 9) and Premarres (No 10) chose to decorate their Greek inscriptions in an Egyptian style, but rather it shows

⁴⁸² No 32, P. Enteux 20, CAPIInv. 754; No 34, P. Enteux 21. CAPIInv. 766.

⁴⁸³ CAPIInv. 767.

⁴⁸⁴ CAPIInv. 790.

a conscious choice to portray themselves this way. Associations with more prominent Greek elements also existed and there were also cases of inscription stelae with traditional Greek decorations (No 15-16, No 29), but they do not represent the majority of the religious associations of Ptolemaic Egypt.

The second part of the main body (Part II) aimed to provide a more in-depth analysis of some major aspects of the workings of the private religious associations in Ptolemaic Egypt. Special value was placed on the membership basis of the associations, since it can provide us with vital information about the «identity» of an association. Even though the evidence suggests that the percentage of Egyptians in private religious associations was quite high and more than half of the associations listed here included members of mixed ethnical backgrounds, the evidence is not so favourable for other groups such as women or slaves. Only one of the associations studied had female members and there are indications for the presence of slaves in only two associations. Although in theory both women and slaves could join an association, their financial situation or social position might have prevented them from doing so. Indeed, many of the members of private religious associations were prominent members of the elite (such as *epistrategoï*, *strategoï*, *nomarchai* or *syngeneis* of the king) and the evidence from records and accounts of associations shows that the amount of dues required would have been, in most cases, more than what an average labourer would have been able to afford. It is important to bear in mind that the majority of the associations studied are encountered in material from the Egyptian *chora*, which often had significant differences with the legal and social situation in larger cities and especially Alexandria.

To conclude, the evidence from private religious associations from Ptolemaic Egypt, exhibits a high degree of interaction between the two cultures. Despite any cultural and religious differences, Greeks and Egyptians were able to coexist and ultimately, even to worship the same syncretic deities.

Abbreviations

Inscriptions

- I. Alex. Ptol.= É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d' Alexandrie ptolémaïque* (Caire 2001).
- I. Apollonia Illyrie= P. Cabanes, N. Ceka, *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire. 1.2. Inscriptions d'Apollonia d'Illyrie* (Paris 1997)
- I. Cos Segre= M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos, I-III* (Roma 1993)
- I. Cret.= M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Roma 1935-1950)
- I. Delta= A. Bernand, *le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecques, I: Les Confins libyques*. 3 vols. (Caire, 1970)
- I. Délos = F. Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris 1926- 1937)
- I. Eleusis = K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme. I A. Text; I B: Plates* (Athens 2005); II: Commentary (Athens 2008).
- I. Fayoum = É. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*, I-III (Leiden 1975-1981).
- I. Hermoupolis= É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d' Hermoupolis Magna* (Caire 1999)
- IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873 –
- I. Mus. Varsovie = A. Łajtar, A. Twardecki, *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie* (Warsaw 2003)
- I. Philae = A. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae, I. Époque ptolémaïque* (Paris 1969); É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae, II. Haut et Bas Empire* (Paris 1969)
- I. Portes du désert = A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert. Recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinoopolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna* (Paris 1984)
- I. Scythia mi.= *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris* (Bucharest 1980 —)
- I. Thrake Aeg. = L.D. Loukopoulou et al., *Επιγραφές τῆς Θράκης τοῦ Αἰγαίου μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν Νέστου καὶ Ἐβρου (Νομοὶ Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης καὶ Ἐβρου)* (Αθήναι 2005)
- OGIS = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig 1903-1905)
- SEG = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (Leiden 1923 –)

Papyri

BGU = W. Scubart, E. Kühn (eds). *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin*, Griechische Urkunden VI, *Papyri und Ostraka der Ptolemäerzeit* (Berlin)

C.Jud.Syr.Eg. E.vant't Dack, W. Clarysse, G.Cohen, J. Quaegebeur and J.K. Winnicki (eds). *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C.: A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a "War of Sceptres"* (Brussels 1989)

P.Cair.= W. Spiegelberg. *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Die demotischen Denkmäler. II. Die Demotischen Papyrus* (Strassburg 1908)

P. Cair. Zen = C.C. Edgar. *Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire II* (Cairo 1926)

P. Enteux = O. Guéraud. *ENTEYΞEΙΣ: Requêtes et plaintes adressées au Roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo 1931-32)

P. Grenf. = B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (eds). *II, New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri* (Oxford 1897)

P.Giss= O. Eger, E. Kornemann, and P.M. Meyer (eds). *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* (Leipzig/Berlin 1910-1912)

P. Lond = T.C. Skeat. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, VII, The Zenon Archive* (London 1974)

P. Mil. Vogl.= *Papiri della Università degli Studi di Milano, II* (Milan 1961)

P. Oxy. = E.G. Turner, J.R. Rea, L. Koenen, and J.M.F. Pomar. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. XXVII* (London 1962)

P. Petr.= J.P. Mahaffy and J.G. Smyly (eds). *The Flinders Petrie Papyri III* (Dublin 1905)

P. Tebt. = B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, and J.G. Smyly, (eds.). *The Tebtunis Papyri, I* (London 1902)

P. Tor. Coach.= W. Pestman. *Il Processo di Hermias e altri documenti dell'archivio dei choachiti, papiri greci e demotici conservati a Torino e in altre collezioni d'Italia* (Turin 1992)

SB = E. Kiessling. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten. VII* (Wiesbaden 1964)

O. Joach = F.Preisigke and W.Spiegelberg (eds.). *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka* (Strassburg 1914)

Internet Sources

CAPInv.= Copenhagen Association Project Inventory, <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/>

AGRW= Associations in the Greco-Roman World, <http://philipharland.com/>

Other Sources

PP= E. Van't Dack, L. Mooren, B. Premans, W. Swinnen. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica. Tommes I-VI* (Löwen 1950-1968).

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Appendix

Inscriptions and Papyri

A. Anubis Associations

1. Dedication to Anubis on behalf of a synod. Inscription

SEG 8:544.
Medinet Madi.
I BC

1 Ἀνούβει θε

ῶι μεγίστω[ι]

σύνοδος

εὐχήν.

5 (Ἔτους) η' , Μεχείρ.

To Anubis, great god, (dedicated) the synod as a fulfilment of a wish. Year 8, Mecheir.

2. Dedication to Osiris/Serapis, Isis and Anubis, Inscription.

OGIS 97, CAPIInv. 160.
Gynaikopolites, Taposiris Parva.
205-181 BC

1 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως

Πτολεμαίου καὶ

βασιλίσης Κλεοπάτρας,

θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ Εὐ

5 χαρίστων, Ὀσόρω τε

καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἴσιδι

καὶ Ἀνούβιδι, θεοῖς

πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, τὸμ

βωμὸν καὶ τὰς περσέας

10 Σπάρις καὶ οἱ κωμεγέται

καὶ οἱ θιασεῖται

In favour of King Ptolemy and Queen Kleopatra , Theoi Epiphaneis and Eucharistoi, to Osiris the Great as well as Sarapis and Isis and Anubis, to all the gods and goddesses, the altar and the persea trees, Sparis and the leaders of the *komos* and the members of the *thiasos*.

Translation: Caneva 2016, 51.

B. Isis Associations

3. Dedication to Isis Esenchebis, Inscription.

I. Fayoum 204, CAPInv. 66, AGRW 2894.

Arsinoites.

68 BC

Stela with a relief depicting the goddess Isis and a worshipper.

1 [ὕ]περ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτρο-

ρος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου Ἴσιδι Ἐσεγγήβει θεᾶ μεγάλη

οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐσεγγηβιακῆς συνόδου, ὧν συναγωγὸς

Ἐλενος, ὁ τό[π]ος νό(του) ἐπὶ βο(ρρᾶ), ἀφ' οὗ οἰκο(δόμησεν) Ἐλενος περιβόλου ἕως

5 τοῦ δρό(μου), λι[β](ὸς) ἐπ' ἀ[πη(λιώτην) ἀπὸ τ]οῦ κωμα(στηρίου) ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

(ἔτους)

ιγ', Μεχ(εῖρ) κβ'.

On behalf of king Ptolemaios, Philopater (“Father-loving”) and Philadelphos (“Brother-loving”) god. This statue was dedicated to Isis Esenchebis, the great goddess, by the synod (*synodos*) of Esenchebis, whose synagogue-leader (*synagōgos*) is Helenos. They have dedicated the land to the north and south, from the enclosure that Helenos constructed to the walkway, and the land from the west to the east, from the assembly place to the temple.

Translation by: Kloppenborg, AGRW 2894.

4. Dedication to Isis Snonais, Inscription.

Fayoum 205, CAPIInv. 68, AGRW 15317.

Arsinoites, Soknopaiou Nesos.

51 BC

Stela with a relief depicting the goddess Isis seated while breastfeeding Horus. Cleopatra VII is also present, offering vases of wine and sacrificial offerings.

1 ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης

Κλεοπάτρας θε-

ᾶς Φιλοπάτωρ τό-

πος Σνοναιτια-

5 κῆς συνόδουῶν

συναγογῶς

Ὀννώφρις λεσώνης·

(ἔτους) α',

Ἐπίφ α'.

This place of the synod (*synodos*) of Snonaïs (likely an epithet of Isis)—whose synagogue leader (*synagogos*) is Onnophris the chief administrator—was dedicated on behalf of Queen Kleopatra, goddess, Philopator (“father-loving”). Year 1 on the 1st of Epiphi.

Translation by: Ascough, AGRW 15317

5. Dedication to a god by a *prostates* of Isis, Inscription.

Portes du désert 52.

Koptos.

80-58 BC

1 [— — — — —]θεῶι μεγίστῳι

— — — — —μου προ[σ]τάτης

— — — — —θεᾶς Ἰσιδος

— — — — —Μεσορῆ ἐπαγ(ομένων) α΄.

To the great god,---, *prostates* of---- and the goddess Isis----, Mesore 1st of the epagomenal days.

C.Nechthpharaus Associations

6. Letter to inform of the selection of a *prostates*. Papyrus.

C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1, CAPIInv. 825.

Pathyris.

103 BC

Πόρτεις ἡγεμῶν τῶν ἐν προχειρισ-

μῶι καὶ οἱ [ἐκ] τοῦ σημείου νεανίσκοι

Πατήτι [καὶ] Παχράτη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

[στ]ρ[α]τιώται[ς] πᾶσι χαίρειν καὶ ἔρω-

5 μενω δι[ὰ πα]ντὸς εὐήμερεῖν. ὑγιαίνο-

μεν δὲ καὶ κα[υτ]οί. μεταλαβόντες τοὺς συν-

τετελεσμέν[ο]υς πρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς Ἑρμων-

[θ]ίτας ἀγῶνας μεγάλως ἐχάρημεν.

[ἐ]πεὶ οὖν προκεχειρακαμεν προστάτην

10 [τοῦ με]γίσ[του θεοῦ] Νεχθφαραῦτος βεα. ρων

11 δια[-ca.?-]

στρατιωτῶ[ν -ca.?-]

τὴν ἐπιστολ[ὴν]ντες, οἷς καὶ ἐν-

τετάλμεθ[α] ἀσπάσασθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ἡμῶν

15 φιλοφρόνως καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἐκρίναμεν

σημῆναι. ἐ[ν] οἷς ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν προσδέωνται

ἀντιλαμβα[ν]όμενοι καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ γράφοντας
ὑπὲρ ὧν αἶρε[ῖσ]θε ὡς πᾶν π[ρ]οθυμότερον τελεω-
[θ]ησόμενον, ἐπιμελό[μενο]ι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῶν
20 ἵν' ὑγιαίνητε.

ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) ιδ [το]ῦ καὶ ια, Παῦνι ιεν
[. . .] . [. . .] . . . τα[-ca.?-] Πατιῆτι καὶ Π[αχράτη]
φιλοβασιλισταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώ[ταις]

Porteis, the captain of the men in selection and the youths of the company to Pates and Pachrates and to all the other soldiers, greetings. May you always be healthy and prosperous. We too are well. Having learnt about the strife which was brought to an end against the impious inhabitants of Her-mouthis, we are exceedingly glad. Now since we have appointed a prostates of the greatest god Nechtpharaus—[---] the soldiers [---] we ordered them to greet you kindly from our part and we decided to give you a sign by means of a letter. Help them therefore in all matters in which they may need you and write to us about anything you want, being sure everything will be fulfilled zealously. Take care of your health. Goodbye. Year 14, which is also year 11. Pauni 15.

Translation: Clarysse and Winnicki 1989, 40-41.

7. Letter. Papyrus.

C.Jud.Syr.Eg.2, CAPIInv. 825.
Pathyris.
103-101 BC

1 [-ca.?- ὑγιαίνο-]
[μεν] δὲ καὶ καυτ[οί] [ὑμῶν τὴν ἀ]ρ[ίστην]
[μνεί]αν ποιοῦμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐνταῦθα
[θεῶ]ν δι[ατελοῦ]μεν. ἐπεὶ προκεχειρί-
5 [καμεν]ν καὶ Νεχούθην
[προστάτ . . . του] μεγίστου θεοῦ Νεχθφαραῦτ(ος)

We too are in good health. We are always referring to you in the best way in our prayers to the gods here. Since we appointed and Nechouthis prostates of the great god Nechtharaus.

8. *Topos* Inscription of Nechtharaus, Inscription.

SEG 39:1702, CAPIInv. 828
Elephantine, Kom Ombo.
Undated

τόπο(ς) Νεχθαραῦτο[ς]

θεοῦ μεγίστου.

Topos of Nechtharaus, the great god.

D. Osiris Associations

9. Dedication on behalf of the synod of youths from the Osireion, Inscription.

I. Fayoum II 119, CAPIInv. 64.
Arsinoites, Theadelphia..
I-II century BC

Stele with a relief depicting Osiris, Harpocrates and a winged animal.

Ι συνόδου νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ

Ὀσιρείου ἐπὶ Φανίου τοῦ γενομένου

ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐπὶ Πετοσορονῶφρος

προ[στάτου]· (ἔτους) η´, Χοιάκ θ´

Of the synod of youths from the Osireion, while Fanios was *archiereus* (chief priest) and Ptosorofros *prostates*. Year 8, 9th of Choiak

E. Premarres

10. Dedication from the synod of Premarres, Inscription.

I. Fayoum I 6, CAPIInv. 61.
Arsinoites.
104 BC

Stele with a relief depicting an offering scene.

1 ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπά-
 τρας καὶ βασιλέως Πτολε-
 μαίου τοῦ ἐπικαλ[ουμέ]-
 νου Ἀλεξάνδρου θ[εοῦ Φι]-
 5 λομητόρ[ος οἱ ἐκ τῆ]ς [με]-
 γάλης συνόδου Πραμαρρε[ί]-
 ους θεοῦ μεγάλου, ὧν ιε-
 ρεὺς διὰ βίου Εἰρηναῖος Ε-
 [ίρ]ηναίου ὁ συγγενής,
 10 ἐπιμελητεύοντος
 [Φί]λωνος τοῦ Φίλωνος,
 (ἔτος) ιγ´ ὃ καὶ ι´,
 Ἐπεὶ κγ´.

On behalf of queen Kleopatra and King Ptolemy who is called Alexander, god Philometor, (the inscription commissioned) the members of the great synod of Pramarrres, great God, whose priest for life is Eirenaios, son of Eirenaios the King's relative (*syngeneis*) and superintendent (*epimeletes*) Filon, son of Filon. Year 13 that is also 10 Epeiph 23rd

F. Serapis Associations

11. Account of expenditures mentioning a synod possibly of Serapis. Papyrus.

P.Tebt.I.119, CAPInv. 725.
 Arsinoites, Kerkeosiris.
 105-101 BC

ἔτους ιγ τοῦ καὶ ι, λό(γος) α.
 Πάτος Ὠρ[ου .]πικίων (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) β,

βασιλεῖσι() β ?,
παστοφόρω δ',
5 χιρι(στυ(??)) γ' ιβ',
κατακεφα(λαίου(?)) ζ',
Ἔρωι Ἀμεννεῖ ὑπὲρ Ἔρωι Κό(τυος) γ',
Ἀκουσιλάωι (ἀρτάβη) α,
ἀπενή(νοχεν) Ἔρωι Κό(τυος) ει . . το() . α() καὶ δα(νείου) (πυροῦ) ζ,

10 (γίνονται) μβ ? γ'.
Ἰπατος βασι(λεῖ) ὑπὲρ ἀρταβιή(ας) καὶ
στεφάνου καὶ κοινωνι(κῶν) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) [-ca.?-]
[ὑπ]ὲρ Ἔρωι Κότυ(ος) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ [-ca.?-]
τ. ατου σ. [. . .]τ[-ca.?-]

-----2

15 Μάρωνι ἐλαιοπώ(λη) ὑπὲρ Ἀκουσι(λάου) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α,
Ταπνεβτύ(νει) τῆ γυ(ναικί) εἰς ἄρτο(ν) ? (ἀρτάβης),

ἐκτὸς ὧν ἀπενή(νοχεν) Πετοσι(ρις) <εἰς> τὸ ἐφάυρι[ο]ν
καὶ νεωτέρα Ταπνεβτύ(νις) καὶ Χαιρή(μων)
εἰς τὰ ἴδια κριθῆς πρα() καὶ καθά(ρσεως)

20 (γίνονται) πς ?.
(γίνονται) τὸ (πᾶν) κεφά(λαιον) ρπθ ? γ'.

Ἀπ[ολλ]ωγίω ὑπὲρ τῆς συνόδου

-----3

ἔτους ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ. ἔχωι Παχῶν ι
τιμὴν πυροῦ α ? παρ' ἀμφοτέρω(ν)

25 ὥστε . ις τὴν σύνοδον Σαραπηίοις
τὴν τι(μὴν) παρὰ Κου[λῶ]τος τοῦς . . η()
καὶ ἄς ὀφείλουσι [- ca.12 -] ἔχωι
τι(μὴν) (ἀρταβῶν) γ ?, λο(ιπαι) . [- ca.13 -]ιου
ὁμοίως κα[- ca.15 -].

30 ἀπέσχη(κεν) ἡ σύνοδος τὸ τῶν (ἐπταρούρων) καὶ
ἐπικεφάλαιον τῶν κατοίκων καὶ τὴν
ἱερωνίαν

-----4

(hand 2) ἔτους ιδ τοῦ καὶ ια

Τῷβι ιε. Ἀκουσιλάου

35 πρὸς Κότυν, λό(γος)

[π]ρὸς ἀλλήλους [[τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους)]]

τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ ἐκφο(ρίων)·

πυροῦ μὲν (ἀρτάβαι) ιε

φασήλου [(ἀρτάβαι)] π,

40 ἀπὸ [. . .] τούτων

[. . .] η. [. . .] αι

-----5

καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀκουσιλάωι εἰς φάσεις

ἐν τῷ θ. υ() ?,

Ταπνεβτόνει ?,

45 ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείου κλή(ρωι) ?,

ῥαβδισμοῦ διὰ Πτο(λεμαίου) . . . β,

καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) π. [-ca.?-]

εἰς πρᾶσιν [-ca.?-]

β. Πάτος Μαρ[-ca.?-]

50 τῆι ἀρτοπ[ώλιδι (?)-ca.?-]

-----6

καὶ χάλκινος λόγος·

ναυβίου Αξο,

εἰκόνων Ατκ,

πράκτορι ἐλαίου τ,

55 παρὰ Πελμᾶτος Δω,

[συ]μβολῶν γραμμα(τέως) ψ,

(γίνονται) (τάλαντον) α Γξ.

The papyrus is too fragmentary to be translated.

G. Sobek Associations

12. Account of dues, Papyrus.

SB III 6319, CAPInv. 777.

Arsinoites, Magdola.

I-ii BC

(hand 1) Πετεσοῦχος Παμίνιος (δραχμαὶ) Βω,

[Κ]αλῆς Πετερμοῦτις (δραχμαὶ) Βτ,

[Ψενή]σιος Παγῶνος (δραχμαὶ) Δυ,

[. . . .]εις (δραχμαὶ) Βφ,

5 [Πανῆσι]ς Ἀτρῆς Βφ,

[Π]αμίνιος (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

[Π]ετεσοῦχος Πετεσοῦχου (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

[Ο]ρσενῶφιδος Σουκονῶφιδος (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

[Ἄρ]μιώσιος Ἄρμιώσιος (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

10 [Ἔ]ωρος Ψενήσιος (δραχμαὶ) Αω,

[Ἔ]ωρος Ὀρσεν[ο]ῦφιδος,

[Καλα]χύει[ος Χεῶς],

[Ὀρσε]νῶφ[ιδος]

[-ca.?-]

15 [-ca.?-]

[-ca.?-]

[. . .] . . . σμι[ι]ς Αἰδῆς,

[Σουκο]νῶφιδος Ὀρ[σ]ενῶφιδος,

Μ[.] Σουκον[ῶ]φιδος,

20 Ἄρωντῶεις Γεν[ν]ῶφιδος ?,2

(hand 2) Πετεσοῦχος Παπίεν (δραχμαὶ) Βω,

Καλῆς Πετερμοῦθιδος (δραχμαὶ) Βτ,

Σαλῆτις Πανῶς (δραχμαὶ) κα. . . ,

Νιστνῶιδος Πανῆσις (δραχμαὶ) Βφ,

25 [. . .] Σουκονῶπις Ἔωρου (δραχμαὶ) Αω

Πανῆσι Ἀτρῆς (δραχμαὶ) Βφ,

Πετεσοῦχος Παπίς (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Πετεσοῦχος,

Ὀρσενῶφιδος Σουκονῶφιδος (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

30 Ἄρμιῶσι Ἄρμιῶσι (δραχμαὶ) Β[. . .]ρ

Ἔωρος Φενῆσι (δραχμαὶ) Βρ,

ἸΩρος Ὀρσενῦις (δραχμαὶ) Αω,
Καλαχῦεις Χεῶς,
Ὀρσενῦις Τουτνής,

35 ἸΩρος Ἀτρῆς, (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) ε (δραχμαὶ) Γχ.
Βελλῆς,

Ὀρσενῦις Ἡρακλίτις,
Σουκονῶφις Ὀρσενῦφις,
ἸΩρος Ὀρσενῦφις,

40 Μανρῆς Μανρῆς,
Ψενῆσι Παγῶνος,
(γίνονται) Γτζ.

ἄν τις ὑμῶν κακῶι ἐρεῖ,
δώσι Β.

45 ὅταν τις ὑμῶν βινῖ ἄλλο-
τίαν γυνῆ, δώσι (δραχμάς) Α.
ὅταν τις κυνηγησαν(), (δραχμάς) τ.ν

1

49 ,msup'Ηρ[ώδης(?)]
(perpendicular) 49,ms'Ηρώδης
(hand 1) (ἔτους) ζ, Ἐπήπ ιε.

50 ἐπανγειλιε

Μάρων· ἐὰν συνανάβωσιν
οἱ συνθεασιτοὶ πάντες,
ἐπειδώσω οἴνου [κ]εράμια,
Ἡρώδης μουσικά,

55 Ψενῆσιος Παγῶνος στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
Σουκμηῆτις ἔλαιον ἀλειψανείαι,
πάντες καὶ εἰς τὸν λύσσον
ἔλαιον.2

(hand 2) [-ca.?-]ηνος

60 Ὠρῶπις ἡμυσον πηγγιον ινος,

Μοσχᾶς ὄθμισμα σύρον,

Ὀρμιῶσις πέντε κορκο,

Πετεσοῦχος στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),

Ὀρσενῦφις, ὅταν τέκη, δώσω ἡμυ(συ) κε(ράμιον), στεπάνο(υς) μυ(ρίους),

65 Πετεσοῦχος ἥμου(συ) κε(ράμιον), στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
Καλαχῶις ἥμου(συ) κερά(μιον), στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
Πανῆσι κερά(μιον) οἶ(νου), (δραχμὰς) . , στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους)
Καλῆς κορκο πέν(τε) ,
Πετεσοῦχου κορκο πέν(τε) .3

70 Ἐπήπεις ια. στ
Πετεσοῦ[ῦχ]ος Ἀνγῆς,
Πετεσοῦχου ορ[.],
Πετεσοῦχου (δραχμαὶ) χ,
Καλῆς ἡμουσον κερά(μιον),

75 Πανῆσι ἡμουσον \ἀρτάβης/,
Ἔωρος παῖς κεράμιον, ἀρτά(βην).4
Πετεσοῦ[χ]ου,
Παρμῦθις . . ω δυω κε(ράμια)
Ἵρσενῦφις Ὀνν[ό]νφις στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),

80 Ὀρσενῦφις ἥμου(συ) κερ[α]μία,
Πανῆσι ἡμ(ίσειαν) σιτον <ἀρτάβην>,
Ἵρσενῦφις ἥμου(συ) κερά(μιον),
Ψενῆσι ἥμου(συ) κερά(μιον), ἀ(ρτάβην),
Παπιεῖς ηραθηρα στέ(φανον)

85 Μανρῆς μ\υ/υ στε(φάνους),
Καλῆς ἥμου(συ) κεράμι(ον), ἀ(ρτάβην) [ἄ(?)]ρτου
Νιστνώεις [. . .]μκ . .
. . . φν [.]χϑ.
Ἐπήπεις [κ]β ?.

90 Πετεσαῦχος Ἀνγῆς,
Πετεσοῦ [[B]] Β (ὀβολός),
Πετεσοῦχο (δραχμαὶ) χ,
Καλῆς (δραχμαὶ) υ,
Ἔωρος Ψενῆσι (δραχμαὶ) φ,

95 Καλαχῶις (δραχμαὶ) σ,
Ἄρμιῶς Καλαχῶις (δραχμαὶ) σ,
Γερῆς (δραχμαὶ) σ,
(γίνονται) Δρ.
Καλῆς Κε. . ς ἡμύ(σειαν) ἀ(ρτάβην)

100 Ὅρσενῦφης μῦ(ρίους) στε(φάνους)

Πανῆσι,

Ἔρως Παη[.]α. . . ἀρτά[βην]

⟨recto, col. i⟩ Petesouchos son of Paminis, 2800 dr.; Kalēs son of Petermouthis, 2300 dr.; Psenios son of Pagon, 4400 dr.; [. . .]eis 2500 dr.; (5) Pan ēsis son of Atres, 2500 dr.; Paminis, 2100 dr.; Petesouchos son of Petesouchos, 2100 dr.; Orsenouphis son of Soukonophis, 2100 dr.; Harmyosis son of Harmyosis, 2100 dr.; (10) Horos son of Psen ēsis, 1800 dr.; Horos son of Orsenophis; Kalachyeis son of Cheis; Orsenuphis; [±?]; (15) [±?]; [±?]; [. . .]smis son of Aides; [Souko]nophis son of Orsenuphis; M[. . .] son of Soukonophis; (20) Harontoeis son of Gennophis
⟨recto, col. ii hand 2⟩ Petesouchos son of Papiēs, 2800 dr.; Kalēs son of Petermouthis, 2300 dr.; Salētis son of Panos, ? dr.; Nistnois son of Panēsis, 2500 dr.; (25) v. . w Soukonopis son of Horos, 1800 dr.; Panesi(s) son of Atres, 2500 dr.; Petesouchos son of Papiis, 2100 dr.; Petesouchos son of Petesouchos ?; Orsenuphis son of Soukonophis, 2100 dr.; (30) Harmyosi(s) son of Harmyosi(s), 2100 dr.(?); Horos son of Psen ēsis, 2100 dr.; Horos son of Orsenuis, 1800 dr.; Kalachyeis son of Cheis,?; Orsenuκph)is son of Toutnes; (35) Horos son of Atres, making 5 talents, 3600 dr.; Bell ēs; Orsenuis son of Heraklitis; Soukonophis son of Orsenuphis; Horos son of Orsenuphis; (40) Manres son of Manres; Psenesi(s) son of Pagon; (making) 3360 dr. If an member speaks ill, he will owe 2000 dr. (45) If a member has illicit intercourse with another member's wife, he will owe 1000 dr. If one hunts (? or: if someone forms a (new) association) (he will owe) 300 dr.

verso ⟨col. i⟩ ⟨in the margin⟩ Her[odēs] ⟨hand 1⟩ Year 6, Epeiph 15: (50) Maron promised: if all of the association members (synthiasitai) meet together, I will contribute a keramion of wine. H ērodēs (will contribute) the musical things; (55) Psenesios son of Pagon (will contributed) many crowns; Soukmētis (will bring) oil for anointing, and all will also bring oil for the deficit. Everyone (will bring) oil for the lamp. ⟨col. ii⟩ ⟨hand 2⟩ . . . (60) Horpois, 1 ©2 pegion (?). Moschas, Syrian oth-misma (?); Hormiosis, five crocodiles; Petesouchos, crowns and myrrh; Orsenyphis, if a child is born to him, will give one half a keramion, crowns, myrrh, (65). Petesouchos (will bring) half a keramion, crowns, and myrrh; Kalachyis: half a keramion, crowns and myrrh; Panesi: a keramion of wine, x drachmae, crowns and myrrh; Kalēs, five crocodiles. ⟨col. iii⟩ (70) Epeiph 11. Crowns from Petesouchos son of Agnes; from Petesouchos. . . from Petesouchos 600 drachmae; Kal ēs: half a keramion; (75) Panesi: half an artaba; Horos, a slave: a keramion, artaba. ⟨col. iv⟩ From Petesouchos. Pamythis . . . two keramia; Orsenyphis son of Onnophris: crowns and myrrh; (80) Orsenyphis: half a keramion; Panesi: half an ⟨artaba⟩ of wheat; Orsenyphis: half a keramion; Psenesi: half a keramion, and one artaba; Papiēs: ⟨unintelligible⟩ (and) a crown; (85) Manrēs: myrrh and crowns;

Kalēs: half a keramion, bread; Nistnoeis Epiph 22: (90) Petesouchos son of Agnes: Petesou. . . 2000; Petesouchos: 600 dr.; Kalēs: 400 dr.; Horos son of Psenesi: 500 dr.; (95) Kalachois: 200 dr.; Harmios son of Kalchyis: 200 dr.; Gereis: 200 dr., Total: 4100 dr. Kalēs son of . . . half an artaba; (100) Orsenyphis: myrrh and crowns; Panesi. Horos son of Pae. . . artaba.

Translation: Kloppenborg, 2020, 192-193.

13. A *prostates* of Sokonopaios. Inscription.

I.Fayoum I 77.
I century BC

Εἰρηναῖος νεώ(τερος) Πισόιτος προσ-
τάτης Σοκνοπαίωι θεοῦ(!) με(γίστωι).

Eirenaios the younger, PISOITOS *prostates* of Sokonopaios the great god

H. Aphrodite Associations

14. Dedication of a statue by members of the synod of Aphrodite Lamres. Inscription.

I. Alex. Ptol. 41, CAPIInv. 150.
Alexandria.
II century BC

.....ον Ἀσκληπιάδου τὸν συ[γγενῆ]

καὶ διοι[κ]ητὴν οἱ νέμοντες σὺν α[ὐτ]ῶ[ι] τὴν τῆς Ἀφρ[οδίτης] Λαμρεοῦς σύνοδο[ν]
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκε[ν καὶ μεγ]αλομερείας ἧς ἔχων διατελ[εῖ] πρὸς τ[ὸ θ]εῖον .

[---on] son of Asklepiades, the *syngenes* and *dioiketes* (commander). Those who took part with him in the synod of Aphrodite Lamres, because of the virtue and generosity that he demonstrated towards the gods.

I. Apollo Associations

15. Dedication from the synod of *xenoi* Apolloniatai, Inscription.

35 Διογένης [— — —]
 Ἀ[λ]έξα[νδρος — — —]
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐρμίου
 Ἀπολλώνιοςου
 Ἀπολλώνι[ος Ἄρτε]μιδώρου
 40 Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνος
 Κοττίων Βησᾶτος
 Ἄρφαῆς Κ.....ος
 Ἀρί[σ]των Ἀρίστωνος
 Κοττίων Ἀβδέου
 45 Σόλων Ἀπολλωνίου
 Δημᾶς Νικίου
 Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμα<ί>ου
 Διοκλῆς Διοδώρου
 Δημήτριος Διοφάντου
 50 Ἄβδοκῶς Ἀχαιοῦ
 Γλαυκίας Ἀπολλωνίου
 Λυσᾶς Ἰρηναίου
 Ἀλέξανδρος Μαλίχου
 Ζώσιμος Ἀριστέου
 55 Ἡρακλῆς Κάστορος
 Θραῦξ Βίθυος
 Ἀμμώνιος Ζήνωνος
 Ἀπολλώνιος Σωσιδάμου
 Ζηνᾶς Ἀριστοκλέους
 60 Διογένης Δημητρίου
 Ἀριστοκλῆς Ζήνωνος
 Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίου
 Ἄπιων Ἴσιθέου
 Διόδωρος Ἄρτεμιδώρου
 65 Ἀντιπᾶς Ἀπολλοφάνου
 Ἀκάμας Ἀπίωνος
 Χαλαφάνης Πάπου
 Ἀπολλώνιος Φιλίππου
 Ὠρίων Ἀυεΐδου
 70 Ἄπιων Διονυσίου
 Δημᾶς Νικίου
 Ἀπολλοφάνης Νικίου

	Πτολεμαῖος Θεμισωνος
	Νουμήνιος Εισιδότου
75	Μέλας Ἡλιοδώρου
	Ἀθηνίων Ἀθηνίωνος
	Ἡροφῶν Δωροθέου
	Δημαρίων Δημητρίου
	Θραῶξ Ἑρμαίου
80	Ἑρμίας Φιλίππου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Νικίου
	᾽Ωσβεις Δρόμωνος
	Φιλῖνος Εἰρηναίου
	Ἀργαῖος Ἀπολλοφάνου
85	Ἀριστίας Ἀριστίου
col.	
2.85-	
94	{?ll. 85 to 94 erased } ²
95	Ζη[— — — — —]
	Ζημ[— — — — —]
	Ζ..... Δανάου
	Ἀγ..... Ἀρτεμιδώρου
	Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀφροδισίου
100	Γενναῖος Ζήνωνος
	Ἄνουσίων Παναφί[λ]ου
	Πανίσκος Διοδώρου
	Θρακίδας Σοάγου
	Δημήτριος Ἀπολλοδότου
	β Ἀφροδίσιος Σεραπίωνος ἡγ(εμὼν)
105	(ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν)
	Πύρρος Πύρρου οὐ[ρ]αγ[ό]ς
	Ἀριστομένης Δαλαΐλου σημ ^ε (ιοφόρος)
	Διόφαντος Ἀπολλοδότου (πεντηκόνταρχος)
	Δημᾶς Ἑρμίου (πεντηκόνταρχος)
110	Διονῦς Θηδώρου (πεντηκόνταρχος)
	Νικαῖος Ἀργαίου (πεντηκόνταρχος)
	Διόφαντος Διοφάντου
	Ἀμμώνιος Πτολεμαίου
	Ἀχιλλεὺς Σεραπίωνος

- 115 Ἡρακλῆς Πύρρου
 Παχῆς Θεοδώρου
 Ἡρώδης Θεοδώρου
 [Α]γίων Ἀλεξάνδρου
 Α[ρ]γαῖος Μελανθίου
- 120 Ὠρίων Ἀπολλοδότου
 Χάβας Ἡροφῶντος
 Ἀντίοχος Εἰσιδώρου
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ζήνωνος
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Ζαββδήλου
- 125 Πτολεμαῖος Ἀπίωνος
 Ἔρμων Ἐρμωνος
 Ζήνων Δημητρίου
 Ἄρης Διοφάντου
 Λυσίμαχος Μηνοφίλου
- 130 Ἀετὸς Ἀντιπάτρου
 Διονύσιος Ἰέρακος
 Φιλώτας Ἀπολλωνίου
 Πτολεμαῖος Δωσιθέου
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀργαίου
- 135 Ἀργαῖος Θηβάρχου
 Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀχιλλέως
 Ὀρόντας Ἐρμαίου
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Γάμου
 Ἀπίων Ἀλεξάνδρου
- 140 Γοργίας Γόργου
 Ἀρίστων Ἀπολλωνίου
 Ἀπολλώνιος Κεφάλωνος
 Διονύσιος Πύρρου
 Ἀπο[λ]λοφάνης Πύρρου
- 145 Εὐβουλος Ἀφροδισίου
 Ἀντίοχος Ἀντιόχου
 Δημήτριος Ἀλεξάνδρου
 Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἄραψ
 Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἡ<ρα>κλίδου
- 150 Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπολλωνίου
 Μελανκόμας Ἀπολλοφάνου
 Ἡρᾶς Μιλίχου

	Ἀπολλῶς Ξένωνος
	Ἑρμοκλῆς Προκλέου
155	Διόδωρος Εἰρηναίου
	Ἀπολλῶς Ἡρακλέ[ο]υς
	Βησᾶς Βησᾶτος
	Ἀθηνίων Τάου
	Ἑρμίας Διοφάντου
160	Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀχιλλέ<ω>ς
	Εὐδήμος Ἀρτεμιδώρου
	Λᾶγος Λάγου
	Ῥάεσος Ἀρήου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Μελανκόμου
165	Ἑρμίας Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Νίκων ἱεραύλης
col.	
3.167-	
170	{?ll. 167 to 170 erased}²
171	[— — — — —]N.IO.
	[— — — — —]ονος
	Ἀριστοφάνης Ἰέρακος
	[Εὐ]δω[ρ]ος Ὠρίωνος
175	[Δ]ημᾶς Γοργίου
	Ἑρμίας Ἑρμίου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Νουμηνίου
	Ἀπολλῶς Ἀγαθίωνος
	Ἀκαμένης Ἀβδέου
180	Εἰσίδωρος Γλαυκίου
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ζηνοδώρου
	Δωρόθεος Δωροθέου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Μαλίχου
	Διονύσιος Διοφάντου
185	Δημήτριος Δημητρίου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνος
	Λέων Διονυσίου
	Σεύθης Σίμωνος
	Ἡρᾶς Γοργίου
190	Ἄκα[στος] Ἀπολλωνίου

	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἡράκλειτος Ἀριστομένου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ζηνοδώρου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀμμωνίου
195	Ἀπολλώνιος Μεννέου
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀλκέ[τ]ας Ἀπολλωνίου
	Πάτρων Δωροθέου
	Εἰσίδωρος Ἀρίστωνος
200	Ἀπολλοφάνης Διονυσίου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Γαλάτης Ἰέρακος
	Ἀχαιὸς Νικολάου
	Μουσαῖος Μουσαίου
205	Ἀγγίων Ἀδαίου
	Ἡλιόδωρος Ἡλιοδώρου
	Λακίτας Δημητρίου
	Ζηναῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Ἐρμαῖος Ἀθηναίου
210	Δαλάϊλος Αὐεΐδου
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Λυσίμαχος Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Ἀπολλῶς Ἀπολλοφάνου
	Αἰδίων Διοφάνου
215	Στράτων Ζωΐλου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Τιμοκράτης Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἡρώδης Ἀρχιβίου
	Μουσαῖος Ἀμμωνίου
220	Ζηναῖς Σεραῖτος
	Ἰέραξ Διονυσίου
	Ζαβινᾶς Δημᾶτος
	Παῖς Ἀπολλοδότου
	Νικαῖος Νικαίου
225	Ἀπολλώνιος Κύπρις
	Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Διονύσιος Λέοντος
	Ἀγγαῖος Σελεύκου

230 Ἑρμαῖος Ἡρακλέους
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ποσιδίππου
 Διόδοτος Κορράγου
 Ἑρμίας Ἑρμίου
 Ἴέραξ Ἀπολλοφάνου
 235 Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου
 Ἀντίοχος Ἡρακλείτου
 Θεόδωρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου
 Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου
 Ἀπολλώνιος Κλεάνδρου

να-

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239 ἐγλελοχισμένοι μαχαιροφό(ροι)
 βα(σιλικί)·
 240 Ὀβαῖος Διδύμου
 Μίλιχος Θράσωνος
 Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος
 Φίλιππος Ἀπολλωνίου
 Ἀπολλῶς Κακίς
 245 Πετεσουχίω<v> Χρυσίππου
 Ξένων Ῥαββοῦ
 Λακίτας Διδύμου
 Δημᾶς Ἀγαθίωνος
 Ἴσίδοτος Νουμηνίου
 250 Δίδυμος Μιλίχου
 Ζηνᾶς Ὠρίωνος
 Ἀλαφᾶν Κεφάλωνος
 Ἀπολλῶς Πολυκράτου
 [Ζ]ηνοφάνης Ἄγρονος
 255 [Ἄν]τιπᾶς Φιλίππου
τος Πόλωνος.

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, who is also known as Tryphaina, gods Philopatores (Father-loving) and Philadelphoi (Sibling-loving), the foreign Apolloniatai stationed in Her-moupolis and the *ktistai* who are members of the same association, whose names are written bellow, to Apollo and Zeus and the gods who reside with them, the shrine and the *peribolos* and all the ap-purtenances.....

[.....] son of Demetrios
[.....]IOPAI[...]
[.....] son of Artemidoros
{²ll. 8 to 15 erased}
Arrianos, son of [....]
Heracles, son of Pamphilos
Dallion, son of Aeianos
Hyrkanos, son of Ptolemaios
Anousion, son of Philippion
Kallipos, son of Herakleides
Polemarchos, son of Philokles
Demetrios, son of Apollonios
Hermias, son of Hieron
Philokles, son of Malichos
Asklepiades, son of Asklepiades
Nikias, son of Glaphkios
Av[...]_{on}, son of [...]_{illos}
Ammonas, son of Demetrios
Hermias, son of Didymos
Zavinas, son of Philippos
Pamelos, son of Demetrios
Artemas, son of Ptolemaios
Arion, son of Plousios
Diogenes, son of...
Alexandros, son of
Apollonios, son of Hermias
Apollonios, son of...
Apollonios, son f Artemidoros
Apollonios, son of Zenon
Kottion, son of Vesas
Araphes, son of K....

Ariston, son of Ariston
Kottion, son of Avdeos
Solon, son of Apollonios
Demas, son of Nikias
Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios
Diocles, son of Diodoros
Demetrios, son of Diophantos
Avdokos, son of Achaios
Glaphkias, son of Apollonios
Lysas, son of Eirenaios
Alexandros, son of Malichos
Zosimos, son of Aristeas
Herakles, son of Kastor
Thrax, son of Vithys
Ammonios, son of Zenon
Apollonios, son of Sosidamos
Zenas, son of Aristokles
Diogenes, son of Demetrios
Aristokles, son of Zenon
Didymos, son of Apollonios
Apion, son of Isitheos
Diodoros, son of Artemidoros
Antypas, son of Apollophanes
Akamas, son of Apion
Halaphanes, son of Papos
Apollonios, son of Philippos
Horion, son of Aveidos
Apion, son of Dionysios
Demas, son of Nikias
Apollophanes, son of Nikias
Ptolemaios, son of Themison

Noumenios, son of Eisidotos
Melas, son of Heliodoros
Athenion, son of Athenion
Herophon, son of Dorotheos
Demarion, son of Demetrios
Thrax, son of Hermaios
Hermias, son of Philippos
Apollonios, son of Nikias
Osveis, son of Dromon
Philinos, son of Eirenaios
Argaios, son of Apollophanes
Aristias, son of Aristias
{²ll. 85 to 94 erased}²
Ze....., son of
Zem....., son of
Z....., son of Danaos
Ag....., son of Artemidoros
Gennaios, son of Zenon
Anousion, son of Pamphilos
Paniskos, son of Diodoros
Thrakides, son of Soagos
Demetrios, son of Apollodoros
Aphrodisios, son of Serapion, *hegemon* (commander) of one hundred men
Pyrros, son of Pyrros, ouragos
Aristomenes, son of Dalailos, *semaiophoros*
Diophantos, Apollodotou, *pentekontarchos* (commander) of fifty men
Demas, son of Hermias, *pentekontarchos* (commander) of fifty men
Dionis, son of Theodoros, *pentekontarchos* (commander) of fifty men
Nikaios, son of Argaios, *pentekontarchos* (commander) of fifty men
Diophantos, son of Diophantos
Ammonios, son of Ptolemaios

Achilleus, son of Serapion
Herakles, son of Pyrros
Pachis, son of Theodoros
Herodes, son of Theodoros
Agion, son of Alexandros
Argaios, son of Melanthios
Horion, son of Apollodotos
Havas, son of Herophantes
Antiochos, son of Eisidoros
Alexandros, son of Zenon
Apollodoros, son of Zavdelos
Zenon, son of Demetrios
Areos, son of Diophantes
Lysimachos, son of Meniphilos
Aetos, son of Antipatros
Dionysios, son of Hierax
Philotas, son of Apollonios
Ptolemaios, son of Dositheos
Alexandros, son of Argaios
Argaios, son of Thevarchos
Achilleus, son of Achilleus
Orontas, son of Hermaios
Artemidoros, son of Gamos
Apion, son of Alexandros
Gorgias, son of Gorgos
Ariston, son of Apollonios
Apollonios, son of Kephalon
Dionysios, son of Pyrros
Apollophanes, son of Pyrros
Evoulos, son of Aphrodisios
Antiochos, son of Antiochos

Demetrios, son of Alexandros
Apollophanes, son of Araps
Apollophanes, son of Herakleides
Apollodotos, son of Apollonios
Melankomas, son of Apollophanes
Heras, son of Milichos
Apollos, son of Xenon
Hermokles, son of Prokles
Diodoros, son of Eirenaios
Apollos, son of Herakles
Vesas, son of Vesas
Athenion, son of Taos
Hermias, son of Diophanes
Apollodotos, son of Achilleus
Evdemos, son of Artemidoros
Lagos, son of Lagos
Raesos, son of Areos
Apollonios, son of Melankomos
Hermias, son of Alexandros
Nikon, *hieraulos*
{²Il. 167 to 170 erased}²
.....n, son of Io.....
..... Son of....
Aristophanes, son of Hierax
Evdoros, son of Horion
Demas, son of Gorgias
Hermias, son of Hermias
Apollonios, son of Noumenios
Apollos, son of Agathion
Acamenes, son of Avdeos
Eisidoros, son of Glaphkios

Alexandros, son of Zenodoros
Dorotheos, son of Dorotheos
Apollonios, son of Malichos
Demetrios, son of Demetrios
Apollonios, son of Zenon
Leon, son of Dionysios
Sephthis, son of Simos
Heras, son of Gorgias
Akastos, son of Apollonios
Apollonios, son of Apollonios
Herakleitos, son of Aristomenes
Apollonios, son of Zenodoros
Apollonios, son of Ammonios
Apollonios, son of Menneos
Alexandros, son of Apollonios
Alketas, son of Apollonios
Patron, son of Dorotheos
Eisidoros, son of Ariston
Apollophanes, son of Dionysus
Apollonios, son of Apollonios
Galates, son of Hierax
Achaios, son of Nikolaos
Mousaios, son of Mousaios
Aggion, son of Adaios
Heliodoros, son of Heliodoros
Lakitas, son of Demetrios
Zenas, son of Alexandros
Hermaios, son of Athenaios
Dalialos, son of Aveidos
Alexandros, son of Alexandros
Lysimachos, son of Alexandros

Apollo, son of Apollophanes
Aidion, son of Diophanes
Straton, son of Zoilos
Apollonios, son of Alenxadros
Timokeates, son of Apollonios
Herodes, son of Archivios
Mousaios, son of Ammonios
Zenas, son of Seras
Hierax, son of Dionysus
Zavinas, son of Damas
Pais, son of Apollodotos
Nikaios, son of Nikaios
Apollonios, son of Kypris
Athenodoros, son of Apollonios
Dionysios, son of Leon
Aggaios, son of Seleukos
Hermaios, son of Herakles
Apollonios, son of Poseidippos
Diodotos, son of Korragos
Hermias, son of Hermias
Hierax, son of Apollophanes
Herakleides, son of Herakleides
Antiochos, son of Herakleitos
Apollonios, son of Kleandros
Royal *machairoforoi* who are also carrying a spear
Ovaios, son of Didymos
Milichos, son of Thrason
Sarapion, son of Sarapion
Philippos, son of Apollonios
Apollo, son of Kakis
Petesouchion, son of Chrysippos

Xenon, son of Ravvos
Lakitas, son of Didymos
Demas, son of Agathion
Isidotos, son of Noumenion
Didymos, son of Milichos
Zenas, son of Orion
Alaphan, son of Kephalon
Apollos, son of Polykratos
Zenophanes, son of Agron
Antypas, son of Philippos
..., son of Polon

16. Dedication of xenoι Apolloniatai, Inscription.

I. Hermoupolis 6, CAPIInv. 194.
Hermoupolis Magna.
78 BC

[ὑπὲρ βα]σιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ
βασιλίσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ
1 Τρυφαίνης θεῶν
[Φιλοπα]τόρων καὶ Φιλαδέλφων οἱ
παρ[ε]φεδρεύοντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει
ξένοι Ἀπολλω-
[νιαῖται] καὶ οἱ
συνπολιτευόμενοι [κ]τίσται, ὧν τὰ
ὀνόματα ὑπόκειται, Ἀπόλλωνι
[καὶ Διὶ] καὶ τοῖς συνεστίοις θεοῖς
τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν περίβολον καὶ τὰ
συνκύροντα πάντα·
5 (ἔτους) γ', Τῦβι ις. ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ.

col.

I.5

[δ']

[Z]ώπυρος Πρωτάρχου ἡγ^ε(μών),
..κλείδης Ζάβδου οὐρ^α(γός),
.... Σωτίωνος σημ^ε(ιοφόρος),
..... Ζήνω[νο]ς (πεντηκόνταρχος),
10 Λυσᾶτος (πεντηκόνταρχος),
.... Πύθωνος (πεντηκόνταρχος),
[No]υμήνιος Ἀκάμαντος
(πεντηκόνταρχος).

να-

cat

15

...των Νικολάου
[Νί(?)]κας Ἰθούβουνος
..ρντος Ἀπολλωνίου
[Παρα(?)]λήμπτης Κλεωνύμου
...κας Ἀλεξάνδρου
[Ἄπ]εῖς Φιλάγρου
20 ...ων Κορράμου
[Ἀ]ργαῖος Φιλώτου
[Σα(?)]ραπίων Διδύμου
[Σε]ραπίων Μάγου
[Ἀ]στερίων Ἀπολλωνίου
25 [Ζαβ(?)]δῆς Ἀβδοκώσου
....ος Λαάγου
.....ων Ζήνωνος
..... Ἄρι[σ]τοδήμου
Διομήδης Ἀπολοφάνου
{²⁶Ἀπολλοφάνου}²⁶
30 Λυσίμαχος Ἀντιγόνου
Ἀπολλῶς Διογένου

- Δίδυμος Βααναθάνου
Ἀπολλώνιος Βαλιάβου
Ζαβδίων Φιλοξένου
35 Ἴθούβουν Φιλάγρου
Ἀβδοκῶς Ἀπολλωνίου
Ἀρίστειπος Ἀμμωνίου
Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀπολλωνίου
Θεόδοτος Ἐλιάδου
40 Ἀπολλόδοτος ἱεροψάλτης
[Ε]ὐκράτης Πύθωνος
Ἡρακλείδης Ζαβδάδου
Βαννίων Ἡρακλείδου
Ἡρᾶς Ὠρίωνος
45 Νικίας Πυθοδώρου
Κρονίδας Ἀπολλωνίου
Πρωτᾶς Πρωτάρχου
Λαθινᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου
Ἡρακλείδης Διονυσίου
50 Φιλιππίων Δαμασίου
Ἰέραξ Διομήδου
Ἡρᾶς Ἑπταίας
Λακίτας Σελεύκου
Ἀχιλλε[ὺ]ς Ἀμωνίου
55 Διογέ[νης] Διογένου
Δίδυμ[ος Ἡρ]ακλέους
Δημοκ[ράτ]ης Νίκωνος
Ζώσιμος Ἀρχαγάθου
Ἀβδῆςου
60 Πραξίας Νικάρχου
Ἑρμόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου

	Σωτηρίδης Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ζηνίων Νουμηνίου
	Ἄρχων Ἀριστονίκου
65	Ἀγγίων Χρυσίππου
	Δίδυμος Ἡρακλείδου
	Φιλώτας Φιλώτου
	Νικάνωρ Ἀντιπάτρου
	Βάργος Ἀπολλωνίου
70	Δίκαιος Δημητρίου
	Κρίτων Κρίτωνος
	[Δ]ιονύσιος Ἀμφίονος
	...όνιος Ἐπικλέους
	[Δ]ιοκλ[έ]ας Νικίου
75	[Φ]ανίας [Φ]ανίου
	Καλλικράτ[ης] Καλλικρί[του]
76a	Φάων Νουμη[ν]ί[ο]υ
	Ἀπολλώνιος
	ταγματι(κός) κῆ(ρυξ)· Ἑρμόλ ^α (ος)
76b2	Ἀπ ^ο λλ(λ) ^ω (νίου) ἀρχιερεύ ^ς
76c	Νικάνωρ Ἀπολλωνίου
	Πρώταρχος Μηνοδώρου
	Ἀργαῖος Μεννέου
	Ἀπολλοφάνης Μεννέου
	Μάσυλλος Μασύλλου
	Ἀβδόκως Ἀπολλων[ίου]
	Ἐπίμαχος Ἀπολλω[νίου]
76k	Ἄνουσίων Μασύλ[λου]
	Πτολεμαῖος Δρ[— — —]
	Νουμήνιο[ς — — —]

Ἀπολλόδ[οτος
{²⁷Ἀπολλόδ[ωρος]}²⁷ — — —]
[— — — — — — — — —]

col. Π

ε

- 77 Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπολλωνίου
τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ ἡ(γ)ε(μῶν)
καὶ φ(ρούραρχος)
Ἀπο[λ]λώνιος Κλέωνος σὺρ^α(γός)
- 80 Ἀπολλώνιος Νικίου σημ^ε(ιοφόρος)
Μαισαιζάβας Μενάνδρου
(πεντηκόνταρχος)
Ἡρακλέων Πτολεμαίου
(πεντηκόνταρχος)
Κοσάκαβος Ἀπολλοδότου
(πεντηκόνταρχος)
Ἀπολλῶς Ἀπολλωνίου
(πεντηκόνταρχος)
- 85 Παμμένης Παμμένου
Διοκλῆς Ἑλλανίκου
Πτολεμαῖος Ἑρμωνος
Καινίων Κοσακάβου
Ἀπολλῶς Διονυσίου
- 90 Νεοπτόλεμος Νικάνορος
Ἀχιλλεὺς Διονυσίου
Στρόβιλος Ἀπολλωνίου
Χελκίας Διονυσίου
Λέων Ὀδιδήλου
- 95 Δημᾶς Αἰθιβήλου
Ἀμμώνιος Ξένωνος
Ζηνίων Ζήνωνος

	Ἑρμίας Διοδώρου
	Πάπος Νυμφοδώρου
100	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Σεραπίωνος
	Ἰσβίς Σεραπίωνος
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδώρου
105	Τιμοκράτης Τιμοκράτου
	Πτολεμαῖος Σεραπίωνος
	Κλήσιππος Σιτάλκου
	Ἀντίοχος Διονυσίου
	Ἑρμόλαος Ἑρμολάου
110	Σωτήρ Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἐπιχάρης Δράκοντος
	Ἀγγίων Συνμάχου
	Βούλος Βούλου
	Ἀθηνίων Ἰσιδώρου
115	Ἑρμίας Ἴλιοφῶντος
	Ἑρμίας Ἀπολλοδώρου
	Ἀθηνάδας Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀσκλᾶς Σπασίνου
	Νίκαιος Ἀπολλωνίου
120	Ἄνουβίων Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Ἄπεις Νέωνος
	Νικίας Σεραπίωνος
	Διοσκουρίδης Σωστράτου
	Ἀντίοχος Γοργίου
125	Παῆς Ζωΐλου
	Κάλεος Τρύφωνος
	Ἀρχίβιος Ἀρχιβίου

	Νουμήνιος Τιμοκράτου
	Μίλιχος Ἀργαίου
130	Θέων Κομανοῦ
	Ἰσίδωρος Ἰσιδώρου
	Θρακίδας Ἀντιπάτρου
	Δημήτριος Μολέους
	Χαιρήμων Ἀπολλωνίου
135	Ἡλιόδωρος Ὀσβαράκου
	Διονῦς Δράκοντος
	Ἀριστογένης Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Σεραπίων Νικάδου
	Σωκράτης Φίλωνος
140	Γοργίας Διονυσίου
	Ἄρτεμᾶς Ἄρτεμιδώρου
	Κλέων Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Ἀσπιδᾶς Ἀπολλωνίου
145	Μελίτων Φιλοξένου
	[— — — — —]τος
146a	[— — — — —]
	[— — — — —]
	[— — — — —]
	Ω[— — — — —]
	Η[— — — — —]
	HP[— — — — —]
	HP[— — — — —]
	AB[— — — — —]
	[— — — — —]

col.

III.147

ς Τηλαύγης Νικομάχου

ἡγεμών

Θρακίδας Ῥαβήλου οὐρα(γός)

150

Ἰσίδωρος Ἀλεξάνδρου

ση(μειοφόρος)

Δημήτριος Ἀπολλωνίου

(πεντηκόνταρχος)

Θεόφιλος Ἀπολλωνίου

(πεντηκόνταρχος)

Ἰσίδοτος Γαίου

(πεντηκόνταρχος)

Ζώσιμος Ζωσίμου

(πεντηκόνταρχος)

155

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου

ὑ^πη(ρέτης)

Γαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρου

Πτολεμαῖος Ἀντιόχου

Δημήτριος Ἀλεξάνδρου

Πρωτογένης Δημητρίου

160

Ζώσιμος Τάου

Ζώσιμος Ἀκάμαντος

Ἀκάμας Διοκλέους

Κότυς Κότυος

Πτολεμαῖος Ἀθηνοδώρου

165

Γαῖος Ἰσιδότου

Ποσιδώνιος Ἀριστοδήμου

Κεφαλαῖς Κεφάλωνος

Δίδυμος Σωσιβίου

Τηλαύγης Ἀγιάδου

170

Θεόδωρος Εὐβούλου

	Δημήτριος Δημητρίου
	Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου
	Ἑρμίας Διδύμου
	Ἡρακλείδης Ναθινᾶτος
175	Νικόλαος Νικολάου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Δημητρίου
	Διονύσιος Κτησιβίου
	Ἑρμόφιλος Διοσκουρίδου
	Μίλιχος Βαράκου
180	Δῖος Δίου
	Φίλων Ναθινᾶτος
	Ἀπολλώνιος Μαλίχου
	Ἀριστόδημος Ἀδύμου
	Λυκόφρων Ἀπολλωνίου
185	Νικόλαος Νικολάου
	Ἀγιάδης Ἀριστοδήμου
	Ἑρμίας Ἀ<ρ>τεμιδώρου
	Ἰσίδωτος Ἰσιδότου
	Φίλιππος Δημητρίου
190	Νικόλαος Νικολάου
	Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀμμωνίου
	Ζήνων Μακεδόνας
	Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου
	Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου
195	Λακίτας Εἰρηναίου
	Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπίωνος
	Ἄζηλος Ἀγάθωνος
	Γάϊος Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀπολλώνιος Γλα<υ>κίου
200	Διογένης Ξενάρχου

Διόδοτος Γεργαίου
 Ἑρμίας Ἀράχθου
 Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίδου
 Λαθινᾶς Ἡρακλείδου
 205 Ἀθήναιος Φίλωνος
 Ἑρμίας Φίλωνος
 Ἀρίστων Δωρίωνος
 Δημήτριος Ἀπολλωνίου
 Ὀρύντας Ἀπολλοφάνου
 210 Μιλτιάδης Μιλτιάδου
 Φιλάμμων Ἀλεξάνδρου[υ]
 Νέστωρ Νέστορος
 Ἀπίων Πτολεμαίου
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Κάστο[ρος]
 215 Δημήτριος Καλλίν[— —]
 Δημήτρι[ος] Ἀλε[ξ— —]
 [— — — — — — — — —]

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, who is also known as Tryphaina, gods Philopatores (Father-loving) and Philadelphoi (Sibling-loving), the foreign Apolloniatai stationed in Her-moupolis and the *ktistai* who are members of the same association, whose names are written bellow, to Apollo and Zeus and the gods who reside with them, the shrine and the *peribolos* and all appurtenances....

Zopyros, son of Protarchos *hegemon* (leader)

...kleides, son of Zavdos, *ouragos*

.... Son of Sotion, *semaiophoros*

.....son of Zenon *pentekontarchos* (commander of 50 men)

...son of Lysas *pentekontarchos* (commander of 50 men)

... son of Python *pentekontarchos* (commander of 50 men)

Noumenios, son of Akamas *pentekontarchos* (commander of 50 men)

...ton, son of Nikolaos
[Ni?]kas, son of Ithouvon
..yntos, son of Apollonios
[Para?]lempes, son of Kleonymos
...kas, son of Alexandros
[Ap]peis, son of Philagros
...on, son of Korramos
Argaios, son of Philotas
[Sa?]rapion, son of Didymos
[Se]rapion, son of Magos
Asterion, son of Apollonios
[Zav?]des, son of Avdokosos
....os, son of Laagos
...on, son of Zenon
...., son of Aristodemos
Diomedes, son of Apollophanes
Lysimachos, son of Antigonos
Apollon, son of Diogenes
Didymos, son of Baanthanes
Apollonios, son of Valavios
Zavdion, son of Philoxenos
Ithouvoun, son of Philagros
Avdokos, son of Apollonios
Areisteipos, son of Ammonios
Apollophanes, son of Apollonios
Theodotos, son of Eliades
Apollodotos, *hieropsaltes*
Eukrates, son of Python
Herakleides, son of Zavdas
Vannion, son of Herakleides
Heras, son of Horion

Nikias, son of Pythodoros
Kronidas, son of Apollonios
Protas, son of Protarchos
Lathinas, son of Alexandros
Herakleides, son of Dionysios
Philippion, son of Damasios
Hierax, son of Diomedes
Heras, son of Eptais
Lakitas, son of Seleukos
Achilleus, son of Ammonios
Diogenes, son of Diogenes
Didymos, son of Herakles
Demokrates, son of Nikon
Zosimos, son of Archagathos
Avdes, son of
Praxias, son of Nikarchos
Hermodoros, son of Apollonios
Soterides, son of Apollonios
Zenion, son of Noumenios
Archon, son of Aristonikos
Aggion, son of Chrisippos
Didymos, son of Herakleides
Philotas, son of Philotas
Nikanor, son of Antipatros
Vargos, son of Apollonios
Dikaios, son of Demetrios
Kriton, son of Kriton
Dionysios, son of Amphion
...onios, son of Epikles
Diokleas, son of Nikias
Phanias, son of Phanias

Kallikrates, son of Kallikrates
Phaon, son of Noumenios
Apollonios, *tagmatekos kerex*
Hermolaos, son of Apollonios *archieus*
Nikanor, son of Apollonios
Protarchos, son of Menodoros
Argaios, son of Menneos
Apollophanes, son of Menneos
Marsyllos, son of Marsyllos
Avdokos, son of Apollonios
Epimachos, son of Apollonios
Anousion, son of Marsyllos
Ptolemaios, son of Dr...
Noumenios, son of
Apollodotos, son of ...
Herakleides, son of Apollonios of the first friends of the King (*proton philon*), *hegemon* and *phrourachos*
Apollonios, son of Kleon *ouragos*
Apollonios, son of Nikias *semaiophoros*
Maisaizavas, son of Menandros *pentakontarchos*
Herakleon, son of Ptolemaios *pentekontarchos*
Kosakavos, son of Apollodotos *pentekontarchos*
Apollos, son of Apollonios *pentekontarchos*
Pammenes, son of Pammenes
Diokles, son of Hellanikos
Ptolemaios, son of Hermon
Kainion, son of Kosakavos
Apollos, son of Dionysios
Neoptolemos, son of Nikanor
Achilleus, son of Dionysios
Strovilos, son of Apollonios

Helkias, son of Dionysios
Leon, son of Odidelos
Demas, son of Aithivelos
Ammonios, son of Xenon
Zenion, son of Zenon
Hermias, son of Diodoros
Papos, son of Nymphodoros
Apollonios, son of Apollonios
Apollonios, son of Serapion
Osvis, son of Serapion
Apollonios son of Apollonios
Apollonios, son of Apollodoros
Timokrates, son of Timokrates
Ptolemaios, son of Serapion
Klesippos, son of Sitalkos
Antiochos, son of Dionysios
Hermolaos, son of Hermolaos
Soter, son of Apollonios
Epichares, son of Drakon
Aggion, son of Synmachos
Voulos, son of Voulos
Athenion, son of Isidoros
Hermias, son of Heliophon
Hermias, son of Apollodoros
Athenadas, son of Apollonios
Asklas, son of Spasinos
Nikaios, son of Apollonios
Anouvion, son of Alexandros
Apeis, son of Neon
Nikias, son of Serapion
Dioskouridess, son of Sostrates

Antiochos, son of Gorgias
Paes, son of Zoilos
Kaleos, son of Tryphon
Archivos, son of Archivos
Noumenios, son of Timokrates
Milichos, son of Argaios
Theon, son of Komanos
Isidoros, son of Isidorors
Thrakidas, son of Antipatros
Thrakidas, son of Moleus
Chairemon, son of Apollonios
Heliodoros, son of Osvarakos
Dionys, son of Drakon
Aristogenes, son of Alexandros
Serapion, son of Nikandros
Socrates, son of Philon
Gorgias, son of Dionysios
Artemas, son of Artemidoros
Kleon, son of Apollonios
Alexandros, son of Alexandros
Aspidas, son of Apollonios
Meliton, son of Philoxenos
....son of....
...son of....
...son of....
....son of...
O.... son of....
E.... son of....
Er....son of....
Av...son of....
....son of...

Telavgis, son of Nikomachos *hegemon*
Thrakidas, son of Ravelos *ouragos*
Isidoros, son of Alexadros, *semaiophoros*
Demetrios, son of Apollonios *pentekontarchos*
Theophilos, son of Apollonios *pentakontarchos*
Isidoros, son of Gaios *pentekontarchos*
Zosimos, son of Zosimos *pentekontarchos*
Alexandros, son of Alexandros *yperetes*
Gaios, son of Alexandros
Ptolemaios, son of Antiochos
Demetrios, son of Alexandros
Protogenes, son of Demetrios
Zosimos, son of Taos
Zosimos, son of Akamas
Akamas. Son of Diokles
Kotys, son of Kotys
Ptolemaios, son of Athenodoros
Gaios, son of Isidotos
Poseidonios, son of Arestodemos
Kephalas, son of Kephalas
Didymos, son of Sosivios
Telavgis, son of Agiades
Theodoros, son of Evoulos
Demetrios, son of Demetrios
Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios
Hermias, son of Didymos
Herakleides, son of Nathenas
Nikolaos, son of Nikolaos
Apollonios, son of Demetrios
Dionysios, son of Ktesivios
Hermophilos, son of Dioskourides

Milichos, son of Varakos
Dios, son of Dios
Philon, son of Nathenas
Apollonios, son of Malichos
Aristodemos, son of Adymos
Lykofron, son of Apollonios
Nikolaos, son of Nikolaos
Agiades, son of Aristodemos
Hermias, son of Artemidoros
Isidotos, son of Isidotos
Philippos, son of Demetrios
Nikolaos, son of Nikolaos
Achilleus, son of Ammonios
Zenon, son of Makedon
Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios
Theodoros, son of Theodoros
Lakitas, son of Eirenaios
Herakleides, son of Apion
Azelos, son of Agathon
Gaios, son of Apollonios
Apollonios, son of Glaphkios
Diogenes, son of Xenarchos
Diodotos, son of Gennaios
Hermias, son of Arachthos
Apollonides, son of Apollonides
Lathinas, son of Herakleides
Athenaios, son of Philon
Hermias, son of Philon
Ariston, son of Dorion
Demetrios, son of Apollonios
Oryntas, son of Apollophantas

Miltiades, son of Miltiades
Philammon, son of Alexandros
Nestor, son of Nestor
Apion, son of Ptolemaios
Apollodoros, son of Kastor
Demetrios, son of Kallinas
Demetrios, son of Alexandros
....son of....

17. Dedication to Apollo, Inscription.

SEG.8: 545.
I century BC

Ἀπόλλωνι
θεῶι μ
εγίστῳι
σύννοδος.

To Apollo, the great God, the synod.

J. Dioscuri Associations

18. Dedication to the royal couple and Dioscuri, Inscription.

I. Mus. Varsovie 44, CAPIInv. 606.
unknown location.
246-221 BC

1 [β]ασ [ιλ]εῖ [Π]τολεμαίῳι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Βερενίκηι καὶ Διοσ-
κούροις εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κα-
τὰ μῆνα γινομένας τὴν πρόσ-
οδον τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων

5 Θεωρος ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ σ[υ]μβασι -

λισταὶ καὶ Διοσκουρισταὶ

οἱ ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τῷ νομῷ.

To King Ptolemy and Queen Berenike and Dioscuri, for the monthly sacrificial rites, Theoros the priest (*hiereus*) and the *synbasilistai* and the *Dioskouristai* who are in the area (dedicate) the income from the buildings.

19. Receipt of rent, Ostrakon.

SB.V. 7578 , CAPIInv. 790, AGRW 20942.

Elephantine.

I century BC

1 Θρακίδας Ἰέρακος

στρατ(ηγός) καὶ οἰκονομῶν

τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Σήνηι

Διοσκουριακοῦ θιάσου

5 Βιήγχιος Πάτη\ο/ς καὶ τοῖς

μετόχοις χάρειν. μεμετρή-

κατε τὸν φόρον τῆς ὑπαρ-

χούσης γῆς σ[ι]τοφόρου ἐν Σῆρ

τῷ προγεγ[ραμ]μένῳ θιάσῳ

10 [-ca.?-] κ ?. [-ca.?-]

Thrakidas son of Hierax, military commander (*stratēgos*) and one of the managers (*oikonomoi*) from the Dioskouriakian society (*thiasos*) in Syene and Bienchis son of Pates to the partners (*metochoi*), greetings. You (plural) have paid the produce (for rent [?] or for tax [?]) for the existing, grain-producing land in Ser for the society mentioned above . . . (*missing about 5 letters, perhaps some corresponding to further numbers in the hundreds or thousands*) 20.5 . . . (*remainder lost*).

Translation: Harland, AGRW 20942.

K. Heracles Associations

20. Dedication from the synod of Heracles. Inscription.

I.Philae 11, CAPIInv. 53.
Elephantine, Philae.
172 BC

ὑπὲρ βασιλέ[ως] Πτολε[μαίου] θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος κ[αὶ] βασιλίσσ[ης] Κλεοπάτρας] τῆς ἀδελ[φῆ]ς τῶν
Πτ[ολ]εμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας [Ἄρεν]σγοῦ[φει] — —c.20— —ς φρούραρχος καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ συγόδῳ
τοῦ Ἡρακλείους ἀνοικοδομηκότες τὸ ἱερόν.

On behalf of King Ptolemy god Philometor and Queen Cleopatra the sister of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, to Arsenoufis..... the *phrourachos* and the members of the synod of Herakles who rebuilt the temple.

L. Hermes Associations

21. Record of production of bird mummies, Ostrakon.

O.Joach.1, CAPIInv. 644, AGRW 20906.
Elephantine, Omboi.
79 BC

ἔτους β, Τῦβι η, ἐπὶ βασιλέως
Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα
η καὶ Τρύφαινα η ἀδελφῆ θεοὶ Φιλοπά-
τορος <Φιλαδέλφων> καθίσταται ἱερὰ ζῶια ἐπὶ Με-
σνάνδρου στρατηγοῦ, Καλλίου οἰκονό(μου),
Τοτοεύς τοπογρα(μματέως), Εὐάνθου τοῦ Στασίου,
Ἑρμίου <τοῦ Καλλίου> οἰκο(νόμου), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θιασιτῶν,
ἀριθ(μῶι) τνζ.

In the 2nd year on the 8th of Tybi, during the reign of king Ptolemy and of queen Kleopatra, who is also known as Tryphaina the sister, Father-loving (*Philopatores*) deities, sacred animals (likely ibis or falcon mummies) have been prepared in the presence of Menandros the military commander (*strategos*), Kallias the manager (*oikonomos*), Totoes the secretary of the district, Euanthes son of Stasias, Hermias son of Kallias the manager, and the other members of the society (*thiasos*), for a total of 357 (mummies).

Translation: Harland, AGRW 20906

22. Record of production of ibis mummies, Ostrakon.

O.Joach 2, CAPIInv. 644, AGRW 20912.
Elephantine, Omboi.
78 BC

ἔτους γ, Φαμενώυθ η.
ταφῆς ἰβῶν καὶ ἱεράκων καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην ἐπιμελησαν τῶν ἱερῶν
ζών, ἐπὶ Πελαίου συγγενου καὶ
στρατηγον <καὶ> νομαρχη τοῦ Ὀμβίτου
καὶ Πακήβκιος ἐπιστάτου τοῦ ἱεροῦ,
δι' Ἑρμίου τοῦ Καλλίου <καὶ> πορθώτης <τῶν>
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ βασιλικ(ῆς)
γραμματήας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
10εἰδῶν καὶ Καλλίου Πορενβήκ(ιος)
καὶ Καλλίου Ἑρμίου ἀρχιθιασιτης
καὶ τουε ἐκ <τῆς> τοῦ Ἑρμαίου συνόδου
παντας ἀποκαταστάσεως
Α

In the 3rd year on the 8th of Phamenouth. Mummification of ibises and falcons and other preparations of sacred living things, in the presence of Pelaias, “cousin,” military commander (*strategos*), and governor (*nomarches*) of Ombites district (*nome*) and of Pakebkis the superintendent of the temple; in the midst of Hermias son of Kallias and priest of Thoth (i.e. also superintendent of the ibises) who is also in charge of the revenues, the royal secretary’s office, and the other departments; of Kallias son of Porenbekis; and, Kallias son of Hermias the leader of the society (*archithiasitēs*) and all those from the synod (*synodos*) of Hermaios, of the restoration . . . (*remainder lost*).

Translation: Harland, AGRW 20912

23. Record of production of mummies of sacred animals. Ostrakon.

O.Joach 7, CAPIInv. 644, AGRW 20914.
Elephantine, Omboi.
73BC

ἔτους θ, Ἀθὺρ κζ, ἐπὶ β[ασι-]
λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλ(ίσσης)
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Τρυφα(ίνης)
θεῶν Φιλοπα(τόρων) Φιλ(α)δέλ(φων) καθέσταται
Σίερά ζῶια, ἐπὶ Τοτοέους στρατη(γοῦ),
καὶ Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἑρμίου οἰκο(νόμου) κα[ι]
Καλλίου τοπογρα(μματέως) καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων θιασιτῶν, ἀριθμῶι
Αρδ.

In the 9th year on the 27th of Athyr during the reign of king Ptolemy and Queen Kleopatra, who is also called Tryphaina, Father-loving and Sibling-loving gods, sacred animals have been prepared in the presence of Totoes the military commander, Menandros, Hermias the manager, Kallias the secretary of the district and the other members of the society (*thiasitai*), with a total of 1104 mummies.

Translation: Harland, AGRW 20914

24. Record of production of mummies of ibises. Ostrakon.

O.Joach 17, CAPIInv. 644.
Elephantine, Omboi.
54 BC

ἔτους κζ, Μεσορῆ ζ. ταφῆς ἰβίων
καὶ ἱεράκων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμελεί(ας)
τῶν ἱερῶν Ζῶν, ἐπὶ Πελαίο(υ) στρα(τηγοῦ),
Ἑρμίου Καλλίου τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδ(ων)
5Καλλίου Πορεμβήκι, Καλλίας Ἑρμίου
προστάτης τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, Πετεσοῦχ\ω/
οἰκονόμ\ω/. ψν.

Year 27, Merore 7. Mummification of ibises and falcons and other preparations of sacred animals, in the presence of Pelaias the military commander (*strategos*), Hermias son of Kallias who is in charge of revenues and Kallias son of Porembikis. Kallias son of Hermes, prostates of Hermes and Petesuchos treasurer.

25. Record of production of mummies of ibises. Ostrakon.

O.Joach 18, CAPIInv. 644, AGRW 20916.
Elephantine, Omboi.
53 BC

ταφῆς ἰβίων.
ἔτους κη, Τῦβι κδ,
ἐπὶ Πελαΐαι συγγενεῖ καὶ
στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων
στοῦ Ὀμβίτου, καὶ Πακήβκι ἐπιστάτης
ἱεροῦ, ἐφ' Ἑρμίου Καλλίου ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδ(ω)ν
καὶ βασιλικῶν γραμματεῶν καὶ χιρισμοῦ
καὶ πορθωτην, καὶ τῶν θιασιθῶν πάν-
των καὶ Καλλίας Ἑρμιοσ κωμογρα(μματέως)
10ταφῆς ἰβίων καὶ ἱεράκων,
Α.

Mummification of ibises. In the 28th year on the 24th of Tybi in the presence of Pelaias, “cousin” and military commander who is in charge of the revenues of Ombites district, Pakebkis the superintendent of the temple; Hermias son of Kallias who is in charge of the revenues, the royal secretariat, financial administration and who was priest of Thoth; all the members of the society (*thiasitai*); and, Kallias son of Hermias the village secretary. Mummification of ibises and falcons: 1000.

Translation: Harland, AGRW 20916

M. Pan-Kolanthes-Thriphis Associations

26. Dedication to Thriphis, Kolanthes and Pan, Inscription.

SB III 6184, CAPIInv. 155, AGRW 15267.

Thinites, Ptolemais Hermiou.

137 BC

(ἔτους) <λ>γ' {αγ'}. | ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ
βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικός, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, || καὶ τῶν τούτων τέκνων Πανίσκος Λυ-
κόφρονος | Βερενικεὺς τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ ἱπ<π>άρχης | ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς
κ<α>ὶ οἱ συνοδῆται, ὃν τὰ ὀνόματα | ὑπόκειται, Θρίπιδι, Κολάνθα<ι>, Πανί, θεοῖς συννάοις, τὸ
ἱερόν. | Ἀσκληπιάδης Πτολεμαίου, || Ζηνόδωρος Ἴππονίκου, | Ἀμμώνιος Πελαίου, | Ἑρμίας Ἑρμαῖ-
σκου, | Ἀπολλώνιος Φίλωνος, Μιθροβανδάκης Σρούσου, || Θέων Λεωνίδου, | Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίου,
| Ἑρμίας Λύκου, | Ἑρμίας Ἑρμίου, | Εὐβίος Βοήθου, || Σαραπίων Διονυσίου, | Ἀμβαδίσκος Ἰε-
ρωνύμου, | Σωσίβιος Σωσιβίου, | Στράτων Διονυσίου, | Λύκος Παοῦτος, || Λυσίμαχος Παποῦτος, |

Ἑρμῶν Πτολεμαίου, | Ἑρμόφιλος Ἀχιλλέως, | Πτολεμαῖος Ἀσκληπιάδου, | Ἄρειος, || Εὐρυτίδας
Νίκωνος, | Νίκανδρος Πτολεμαίου, | Ἀβράμ Ἀλωσμαθοῦτος, | Ἡφαιστίων Σαραπίωνος, | Ἀμμώνιος
Ἀμωνίου, || Φατρῆς Παταίος, | Ἀμώνιος Λυκόφρονος.

Year 33 (*erased*: 13). For king Ptolemy, queen Kleopatra his sister, and queen Kleopatra his wife, benefactor gods, and their children. Paniskos Lykophron of Berenikeus subdivision (deme)—chief of the bodyguards, cavalry leader (*hipparchus*) over the men, and supervisor (*epimelētēs*)—and the members of the synod (*synoditai*) whose names are below dedicated the temple (*hieron*) to Thriphis, Kolanthes, Pan, and the gods who share the sanctuary:

Asklepiades son of Ptolemaios, Zenodoros son of Hipponikos, Ammonios son of Pelaios, Hermias son of Hermaiskos, Apollonios son of Philon, Mithrobandakes son of Srousos, Theon son of Leonides, Didymos son of Apollonios, Hermias son of Lykos, Hermias son of Hermias, Eubios son of Boethos, Sarapion son of Dionysios, Ambadiskos son of Hieronymos, Sosibios son of Sosibios, Straton son of Dionysios, Lykos son of Paous, Lysimachos son of Papous, Hermon son of Ptolemaios, Hermophilos son of Achilleus, Ptolemaios son of Asklepiades, Areios, Eurytidias son of Nikon, Nikandros son of Ptolemaios, Abram son of Alosmathous, Hephaisstion son of Sarapion, Ammonios son of Amonios, Phatres son of Pataios, Amonios son of Lykophron.

Translation: Ascough and Harland, AGRW 15267.

27. Dedication to Kolanthes, Pan Evodos and Saviour God. Inscription.

I.Philae 20, CAPIInv. 55.
Elephantine.
118-116 BC

1 [Κολ]άνθαι, Πανὶ Εὐόδωι καὶ θε[ῶι]

[Σω]τῆρι Δημήτριος ὁ συγγε[νής]

[καὶ ἐ]πιστράτηγος καὶ στρατ[ηγός]

[τῆς Θ]ηβαίδος καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆ[ς συνόδου]

5 [καὶ αἱ ἐ]ν Πτολεμαίδι τεταγμέ[ναι δυνάμεις]

[πεζι]καὶ καὶ ἵππικαὶ καὶ ναυτικα[ί]

τὸν βωμὸν

[Α]πο[λ]λωνίου τῶν διαδόχων [καί]

[φ]ρο[υ]ράρχου Φιλῶν.

To Kolanthes, Pan Euodos and Saviour God, Demetrus the King's relative (*syngenes*), *epistrategos* and *strategos* of Thebaid and *grammateus* (secretary) of the synod and the infantry, naval and cavalry forces stationed in Ptolemaid (dedicate) the altar. From Apollonius member of the *diadochi* and *phrourachos* of Philae.

N. Association of Zeus Hypsistos

28. Bylaws of the association of Zeus Hzpsistos, Papyrus.

P.Lond. VII 2193 ,CAPIInv. 654, AGRW 2922.

Arsinoites, Philadelphieia.

69-58 BC

Ἐστίων Ἀρυώτου ἀγέλ(ης) αἰγ(ῶν) (δραχμᾶς)

τριάκοντα δύο (γίνονται) λβ

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι.

νόμος ὃν ἔθεντο [κα]τὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς Ὑψίστου συνόδου τοῦτον εἶναι κύριον,

5καὶ ποιῶντες καθότι διαγ[ορ]εῦει πρῶτον μὲν προχειρισάμενοι ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν

ἡγούμενον Πετεσοῦ[χον] Τεεφβένιος, ἄνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν

ἄξιον, εἰς ἐ[ν]ιαυτὸν [ἀπὸ τοῦ] προ[γ]εγ[ρ]αμένου μηνὸς καὶ ἡμέρας συνεισ-

φ[ό]ρ[οι]ς δὲ πᾶσι π[οι]εῖσθ]ε κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν α ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς

ἱερῶι ἐν αἴς ἐν ἀνδ[ρῶν]ι κοινῶι σπένδοντες εὐχέσθωισαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ νο-

10μιζό[μεν]α ὑπὲρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεο[ῦ] καὶ κυρίο[υ] βασιλέως· ὑπακούσειν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγουμέ-

νου καὶ τ[οῦ] τούτου ὑπηρέτου ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνήκουσι τῶι κοινῶι καὶ παρέσσονται ἐπὶ τὰ[ς]

δοθει[σομ]έναις αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας καὶ [σ]υνλόγους καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ ἀποδημί[ας]

καὶ μ[η]ι[δ]ενὶ αὐτῶν ἐξέστωι συνπε. ματαρχησειν μηιδὲ σχίματα συνίστασ[θαι]

μηιδ' ἀπ[ο]χωρήσει[ν] [ἐκ] τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ο]υμένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν φράτραν

15καὶ μῆι γ[.]νεαγογ[-ca.?-] [ἔ]τερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῶι συμποσίωι μηδὲ κακο-

λογ[ή]σειν ἕτερος [τὸν] ἕτερον ἐν τῶι συμποσίωι μηιδὲ λαλήσειν μηι-

δὲ ἐπ[ικα]λήσειν καὶ μὲ κατηγορή[σ]ειν [[α]] τοῦ ἑτέρου μηιδὲ ἀπόρησιν

διδ[ό]ναι] ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνι[αυτ]ὸν καὶ μῆι δα[σ]ύγ[ι]ειν τὰς συμποσίας μηιδὲ ἐπιείγεσ-

θα[ι] ἀ[ε]ὶ τ[ό]πον ἐκ τόπ[ο]υ [μη]ιδ' ἀπὸ κλισί[ας] εἰς τ[ῆ]ν ἑτέραν καὶ μῆι κωλύσειν τὸν

20[- ca.19 - δη]μοσίω[ι] καὶ ἀ[ντ(?)]τ[ο]ῦ πρὸς τε τὰς συμβολ[ὰς] καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπὶ

[- ca.28 -]ηπει καὶ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν

[- ca.35 -] ε[. . .] ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν πατήρ

[γένηται (?)- ca.37 -] η[.]χ[.]κην

Πνεφερω(ς) β τῆς ἀνά χειρο() Ασ

25γ Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) ω

Σωκράτης γ τῆς ἐνεστ(ώσης) Ασ

δ Πετοσεῖρις Ασ

Πε[τ]εσοῦχο(ς) β τῆς ἐπὶ χει() Α[σ]

γ [. . .] ρ Καλεῖβις [[Αρ]]

(front [recto])

Horion son of Haryotes . . . thirty two. Total: 32.

For good fortune! The law which those belonging to the synod (synodos) of Zeus Hysistos (“Highest”) devised jointly to be binding. Acting in the prescribed manner, they first chose for themselves Petesouchos the son of Teephbennis as their leader (hēgoumenos), a learned man, worthy of the place and of the banqueting hall (andrōn), for a year from the month and day written above. You shall arrange one banquet a month in the sanctuary of Zeus for all the contributors, at which they should in a common banqueting hall pour libations, pray, and perform the other customary rites on behalf of the god and lord, the king.

Further everyone must obey the leader and his assistant in matters concerning the association (koinon) and they shall be present for all occasions that have been prescribed for them, at meetings (synlogous), gatherings (synagōga), and outings (apodēmia). It is not lawful for any one of them to . . . (unknown verb), or to establish factions, or to depart from the brotherhood (phratra) of the leader to join another brotherhood, or for men to argue about one another’s genealogies at the banquet (symposion) or to abuse one another verbally at the banquet, or to chatter or to indict or accuse another, or to resign for the course of the year, or to be absent from the banquet, or . . . , or to steal the wife of another member, or to obstruct the leader (?) . . . public . . . at the marriages and... each shall contribute their dues (?) . . . and if any of them becomes a father (?), he shall receive (?) . . .

(back [verso])

Pnepheros 2 for ?: 1200; 3 Apollonios: 800; Sokrates 3 for the current year (?): 1200; 4 Petosiris: 1200; Petesouchos, 2 for ?: 1200; 3 . . . Kaleibis: 1100.

Trnaslation : Kloppenborg, AGRW 2922.

O. Association of Basilistai

29.Dedication of the synod of Basilistai, Inscription.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου

καὶ βασιλίσεως

Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν,

καὶ τῶν τέκνων Ἡρώιδης Δημοφῶντος

Βερενικεὺς, ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ στρατηγός,

5 καὶ οἱ συνάγοντες ἐν Σήτει τῆι τοῦ Διονύσου

νήσῳ βασιλισταὶ ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπόκειται,

Χνούβει τῷ καὶ Ἄμμωνι, Σάτει τῆι καὶ Ἥραι,

Ἄνούκει τῆι καὶ Ἐστίαι, Πετεμπαμέντει τῷ καὶ

Διονύσῳ, Πετενσήτει τῷ καὶ Κρόνῳ, Πετενσήνε[ι]

10 τῷ καὶ Ἑρμῆϊ, θεοῖς μεγάλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς

ἐπὶ τοῦ Καταράκτου δαίμοσιν τὴν στήλην κα<ἰ τ>ὰ

πρὸς τὰς θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς τὰς ἐσομένας

ἐν τῆι συνόδῳ κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐνάτας τοῦ

μηνοῦ ἐκάστου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπωνύμους ἡμέρας

15 δι' ἐκάστου εἰσηνεγμένα χρήματα, ν ἐπὶ ν

Παπίου τοῦ Ἄμμωνίου προστάτου καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἱερέως τῆς συνόδου·

18. Ἡρώιδης Δημοφῶντος,

Ἑρμίας Ἄμμωνίου,

20 Παπίας Ἄμμωνίου,

Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου,

Φιλάμμων Φιλάμμωνος,

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου,
Πεταρόηρις Φανούφιος,
25 Δωρίων Ἀπολλωνίου,
Ψένχουβις Πελαίου,
Πανίσκος Κεφάλωνος,
Ψενπόηρις Πετήσιος,
Πρώταρχος Πρωτάρχου,
30 Πρωτίων Ἡρακλείδου,
Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίου,
Διονύσιος Κεφάλωνος,
Πάχνοῦβις Τοτέους,
Πελαίας Πελαίου,
II/III.35 Σαραπίων Ἀμμωνίου,
Ἀμμώνιος Ἀποπλπλωνίου,
Ἀσκληπιάδης Πτολεμαίου,
Ξεινιάδης Ἰτάγου,
Διονύσιος Ἀμμωνίου,
Ἀρμόδιος Βασιλείδου,
Νησιώτης — — —, 40
Διονύσιος Ἀμμωνίου,
Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονυσίου,
Διονύσιος Σωπκράτου,
Εὐμένης Διονυ(σίου),
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰτάγου,

Πελαίας Ζμενιχνούβιος.

For the well-being of King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra his sister, the Benefactor gods, and their children; Hērodēs son of Demophōn of the deme Berenikē, the chief bodyguard and stratēgos, (5) and the basilistai who meet in Setis, the island of Dionysos, whose names are appended below, dedicated to Chnoubis also called Ammon and Satis also called Hera and Anoukis also called Hestia and Petempamentes also called Dionysos and Petensetis also called Kronos and (10) Petensenis also called Hermes, the great gods, and to the other divinities of the Cataract, this inscribed stele and the money contributed for the sacrifices and libations that will be made at the assembly on the first nine days of each month and the other eponymous days (15) in each month, in the year that Papios son of Ammōnios was president and Dionysios son of Apollōnios was priest of the synodos. Hērodēs son of Demophōn; Hermias son of Ammōnios; (20) Papias son of Ammōnios; Dionysios son of Apollōnios; Philammōn son of Philammōn; Ammōnios son of Apollōnios; Petearoēris son of Phanouphis; (25) Dōriōn son of Apollōnios; Psenchnoubis son of Pelaias; Paniskos son of Kephalon; Psenpoēris son of Petēsis; Prōtarchos son of Prōtarchos; (30) Prōtiōn son of Herakleidēs; Sarapiōnon of Apollōnios; Dionysios son of Kephalon; Pachnoubis son of Tote ēs; Pelaias son of Pelaias; (35) Sarapiōnon of Ammōnios; Ammōnios son of Apollōnios; Asklēpiadēson of Ptolemaios; Xeiniadēs son of Itagos; Dionysios son of Ammōnios; Harmodios son of Basileides; Nēsiotēs son of . . .; (40) Dionysios son of Ammōnios; Asklēpiadēson of Dionysios; Dionysios son of Sokratēs Eumenēs son of Dionysios; Apollōnios son of Itagos; Pelaias son of Zmenichnoubis.

Translation: Kloppenborg 2020, 375-376.

30. Dedication from the synod that assembles at the temple of Setis. Inscription.

OGIS 111, CAPIInv. 48.
Elephantine, Setis.
152-145 BC

βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι
Κλεοπάτραι τῆι ἀδελ[φῆι, θε]οῖς Φιλομήτορσ[ι],
καὶ τοῖς τούτων τέκνοις καὶ Ἄμμωνι
τῶι καὶ Χνού[βει κ]αὶ [Ἥ]ραι [τῆι κ]αὶ Σάτει,
καὶ Ἐστίαι [τ]ῆ[ι καὶ] Ἀνούκ[ει] καὶ Διονύσωι
τῶι καὶ Πετεμπαμέντει κ[α]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

θεοῖς ὑπὲρ Βοήθου τοῦ Νικοστράτου
Χρυσσαορέως, τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος
καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [κτί]στου τῶν ἐν τῆ[ι]
Τριακοντασχοίνωι πόλεων Φιλομητορίδ[ος]
καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εὐ[ν]οίας ἔνε[κ]εν
ἧς ἔχων διατελ[εῖ] πρ[ὸς] τε τὸν βασιλέα
καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν κ[αὶ] τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν,
Ἡρώιδης Δημοφῶντος Περ[γα]μηνὸς
τῶν διαδό[χων] καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐ[π’] ἀνδρῶν
καὶ φρούραρχος Συήνης [καὶ γερρ]οφύλαξ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω τόπων [τεταγμένος] καὶ
προφήτης τοῦ Χν[ούβεως] κ[αὶ] ἀρχ[ιστολιστ]ῆ[ς]
τῶν ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ [καὶ Ἀβάτῳ] καὶ Φίλαις
ιερῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [ιερεῖς τῆς πεν]ταφυλίας
τοῦ Χνόμω Νεβηῖβ [καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ]
θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν [καὶ θεῶν Φιλο]πατόρων
καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος
καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, οἱ τῆ[ν] σύνοδον
συνεσταμένο[ι] εἰς τὸ ἐν Σήτει] ιερό[ν],
ὅπως ἄγωσι[ν] εἰς τιμὴν Πτολεμαίου τ]ε τοῦ
βασιλέως κα[ὶ] τῆ[ς] [β]ασιλίσσης[ς] καὶ τῶν
τέκνων αὐτῶν ἐ[νιαυσίας] ἐ[ορ]τὰς κα[ὶ]
τὴν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν [τὴν Βοή]θου
κατὰ τὸν κείμενον [βασιλικ]ὸν νόμο[ν],

ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπ[ογράφονται].

Dedicated to King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra the sister, the Philomētor gods, and to their children and to Ammon also called Chnoubis, and Hera also called Satis, (5) and Hestia also called Anoukis, and Dionysos also called Petempantes and the other gods, by Boethus son of Nikostratos the Chrysaorian, the chief bodyguard and stratēgos and founder of the cities of Philomētor and Kleopatra in the (10) Triakontaschoinos, on account of the goodwill that he continues to show to [wards the king] and the queen and their [children], by Hērodēs the son of Demophōn of Pergamon, (15) one of the diadochoi and commander of men and garrison commander at Syene, and border guard and governor of the upper territories, and prophet of Chnoubis and chief stolistēs of the temples in Elephantine [and Abaton] and Philae (20), and (by) the other [priests of the] five-fold order of Chnomō Nebieb [and of the Sibling gods and] of the Benefactor gods [and of the Philopater gods] and of the Epiphaneis gods and of the Eupator god and of the Philomētor gods; those who gather (25) as a synodos in the temple [at Setis], so that they might hold [annual] festivals [to honour] king [Ptolemaios] and the queen and their children, and (observe) the birthday of Boēthos, (30) in accordance with the existing [royal] law. The names of the priests are written below.

Translation Kloppenborg 2020, 378.

31. Vow between members of an association. Papyrus.

chr.wilck.110A , CAPInv. 639.

Thebes.

110 BC

ὄρκος, ὃν δεῖ ὁμόσαι Ἡρακλείδην
Λευκίου Κεφάλωνι Περιγένου
ἐπὶ τοῦ Χεσεβαιοῦ τῆ κδ(*)
τοῦ Ἀθῦρ τὸ (ἔτος) η· νῆ τοῦ-
5 τον τὸν Ἡρακλῆ καὶ τοὺς συν-
νάους θεοὺς εἰ μὴν ἄτε
διενεκθέντες(*) πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς
ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνι-
ήου τῆ β τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς
10 τὰς συνθήκας ἐδώκα-
μεν Περιγένῃ τῶι γραμ-
ματεῖ, διότι ἐὰν τελευ-
τήσῃ ὁ πατήρ μου, εἰσά-

ξω τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ υἱὸν
 15 εἰς τὴν σύνοδον. περὶ
 δὲ ἑτέρου τινος πράγματος/
 ὄρος οὐθεις γέγονεν.ν
 οὐθὲν ψεῦδος ἐν τῷ
 ὄρκῳ ἐστίν.
 20 ὁμόσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ
 ἐκτείνειν Κερά-
 λωνα τῷ κοινῷ οἴνου
 κε(ράμιον) α παραχρῆμα,
 μὴ ὁμόσαντος δὲ τοῦ
 25 Ἡρακλείδου ἐκτείνειν
 αὐτὸν τὸ κεράμιον.
 διορκείσθῃ ἄλ(λος)
 ὄρκος.

The oath that Herakleides, Lucius' son, should swear to Cephalos, son of Perigenes, in the Chesebaieion on the 24th Hathyr in the 8th year (= 110 BC):

“By Heracles and the gods worshiped alongside him, verily, when we quarreled with one another on the dromos of the Temple of Apollo on the 2nd of the same month, we made the agreement in front of Perigenes the scribe, that I, when my Father dies, am going to introduce my son to the club. About any other thing, no arrangement was made. There is no lie in the Oath. ”If he (Herakleides) takes the oath, Cephalos is to be sent to the club immediately deliver a ceramion of wine as penance; but if Herakleides does not swear, then should he deliver the Keramion himself. (2nd hand :) Another oath was sworn

32. Complaint concerning the payment of funeral fee. Papyrus.

P. Enteux 21, CAPIInv. 766.
 Arsinoetis, Kerkethoeris.
 218 BC

βασ[ιλ]εῖ Πτο[λεμαί]ωι χαίρειν Θερῶς καὶ Τεῶς. ἀδικούμεθα ὑπὸ Τεμισώιος καὶ Σενεμενώπιος
 καὶ Τετειμ[-ca.?- κ]αὶ Ἐριέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν [σ]υνθιασιτίδων \τῶν ἐκ Κερκεθοήρεως, τῆς
 Πολέμωνος μερίδος/. Σοήριος γὰρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου,
 γυναικὸς δ[ὲ Τεῶ]τος τοῦ προγεγραμμένου σ[υ]νθιασιτευούσης ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις(*) καὶ

ἐχούσης τῆ[ν ἱερ]οσύνην(*) τοῦ θιάσου ἐφ' ἔτη δ, συμβέβηκεν αὐτὴν τετελευτηκέναι
5. . [-ca.?-] οὐκ ἐχούσης δὲ αὐτῆς τ[ῶ]ν ἔγγιστα γένους ἀλλ' ἢ [ή]μᾶς, ἀπαιτούμεναι
αἰ προ[γ]εγραμ[μ]έναι τ[ὸ] τ[α]φικὸν οὐκ [ἀ]ποδιδόασ[ιν]. δεόμεθα οὖν σου, [βα]σιλεῦ, προστάξαι
Διοφά-

νει τῶι στρατηγῶι γ[ρ]άψαι Πτολεμαίωι τῶι ἐπιστάτῃ, ἐὰν μὲν ἔτι καὶ ν[ῦν] ὑπομένωσιν [ή]μῖν
ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ταφικόν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὰς ἐπ[ὶ] Διοφάνην ὅπως ἐπαναγ[κασ]θῶσι
ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῖν,

ἵνα διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τύχῳ τοῦ δικαίου.

10εὐτόχει.

(hand 2) Πτολεμαίωι. μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) πρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ᾶς) \ἐκ τῆς
δεκάτης τοῦ Χοία[χ]/ ὅπ(ως) ἐπὶ τοῦ κ(α)θ(ήκοντος) δι(καστηρίου) δι(ακριθῶσιν). (ἔτους) δ,

Δαισίου κζ, Ἄθῶρ κθ.ν

(ἔτους) δ, Δαισίου κζ, Ἄθῶρ κθ.

Θερῶς καὶ Τεῶς πρ(ὸς) Τεμσῶιν

καὶ τὰς συνθιασιτίδας περὶ

ταφικοῦ.

(front) To king Ptolemy, greetings from Therous and Teos. We have been wronged by Temsois and Senemenopis and Teteim . . . and Herieus and by the other women who are fellow members of the society (synthiasitidai) who are from Kerkethoeris in the division of Polemon. Soeris my sister and wife of the aforementioned Teos, a fellow member of the society (thiasos) along with the aforementioned women, who held the priesthood of the society for four years, happened to die . . . Since she had no relatives except us, when the aforementioned women were asked, they did not reimburse the funeral fee (taphikon). We beg you therefore, O king, to order Diophanes the commander (stratēgos) to write to Ptolemaios the superintendent (epistatēs), so that if they now will submit to pay us the funeral fee the matter will rest. But if not, we ask that you send them to Diophanes so that he may compel them to reimburse us, so that through you, O king, I may have justice. Farewell. (2nd hand) To Ptolemy. Do your best to resolve the dispute of the parties. If that is not possible, send them to me – after the 10th of the month of Choiak – so that the case may be heard at the proper court. Year 4, 27th of the month of Daisios, which is the 29th of the month of Hathyr. (back) Year 4, 27th day of Daisios which is the 29th of Hathyr. Therous and Teos versus Temsois and her fellow association members, in regard to a funeral fee.

Translation: Kloppenborg, AGRW 2897.

33. Account of a slave Association. Papyrus

SB III 7182, CAPIInv. 856.

Philadelphia.

ii-I century BC.

Ἐρμίας [-ca.?-],

Κάμαξ σο,

Καιῆς Βμε,

Δίκαιος χπ,

5 Ψαμμήτιχος τπε,

Θώραξ ω,

Κάρπος τξε,

(γίνονται) Δμε.

vac. ?

10 [-ca.?-]. . . . [-ca.?-]. υν.Fr1,2

. . . . [-ca.?-]

ἐν τῷ [θησαυρῷ ἐπὶ]

τῆς π[αρ]αλ[ήμ-]

ψεως Ἐρμ[ίου]υ τοῦ

15 ἐπιμελητοῦ

Ἐρμίας,

Βάχχος,

Δημᾶς,

Κάρπος,

20 Κάμαξ,

Ψαμμήτιχος,

Δίκαιος,

(γίνονται) ζ.

ξένοι

25 Θίβρων,

[-ca.?-]. ρίων Ὠρίωνος.Fr1,3

δημη[-ca.?-]

ἐκκρο[-ca.?-]

αἱ προκείμε[εναι -ca.?-]

30 καταλίπον[ται](*) [-ca.?-]

ἐν Θώρακι ἀν[τ -ca.?-]

vac. ?

ιε [-ca.?-]
ἐν [-ca.?-]Fr2
35 [-ca.?-]. ρ
[-ca.?-] υν
[-ca.?-] φ. η ἀλλη(τῆ) Ψα-
[μ]μητίχου συμβο(λή) σο,
[ἄ]λλου ξένου σο,
40 [-ca.?-]. μα. . καὶ τρυ(γὸς) ρ,
(γίνονται) Αφρ.Fr3
[-ca.?-]υριε[-ca.?-]
[-ca.?- ἐν] τῷ Ἰσσήῳ [-ca.?-]Fr4,r,1
-ca.?-Fr4,r,2
[-ca.?-] ι συνήχθ(ησαν)
45 ἐν τῷ ἵπποκοιναρίῳ
ἐν τῇ σχεοθήκη
— διὰ ἱεροποιοῦ Δικαίου
Ἑρμίας,
Βάχχος,
50 Δημήτριος,
Κάμαξ,
Ψαμμήτιχος,
Δίκαιος
vac. ?
55 [-ca.?-]γέντες
Κ[άρ]πος,
(γίνονται) η, (τούτων)
[-ca.?-]. [ἄσ]ύμβολος.Fr4,r,3
[ca.11 lines missing]
59 ἐν κοινῷ [-ca.?-]
60 vac. ?
ιε συνήχθησαν
ἐν τῷ θησαγρῷ
Ἑρμίας,
Βάχχος,
65 Θίβρων

[Δημή]τριο[ς].Fr4,r,4
[ca.13 lines missing]
67 εἰ[ς οὖς ἀνήλωται]
π[αρά τὸν -ca.?-]
το[-ca.?-]
70 οἶν[ου -ca.?-]
κε[-ca.?-]
μ[-ca.?-]
ει[-ca.?-]
ηλ[-ca.?-]Fr4,v
75 [-ca.?-]ι Θώραξ
[-ca.?-] καὶ . . γ
[-ca.?- τ]ρύγα v.Fr5,r
Χοία[-ca.?-]κ[-ca.?-]
ἐν τῇ σ[κευοθήκῃ] —
80 ἱεροπ[ο]ι[ο]ῦ [Δ]ι[καίου]
Ἑρμίας,
Βάχ[χος],
Θίβρων,
Δημᾶς,
85 Κάρπος,
Κάμαξ,
Ψαμμήτιχος,
Δίκαιος,
(γίνονται) η, (τούτων)
90 ἀσύμβολος Ἑρμίας,
λ(οιποὶ) ζ,
εἰς οὖς ἀνήλωται
παρά τὸν ἀφιη[-ca.?-]
οἴνου Μεμφί(του) κ[-ca.?-]
95 Ἑλλανίκῳ ἀύλητῇ [-ca.?-]
καὶ τῷ κιναίδῳ [-ca.?-]Fr5,v,1
Traces 5 linesFr5,v,2
η συνήχ[θησαν]
Ἑρμίας,

Βάχχο[ς],
 105 Δημᾶς,
 Κάρπος,
 Θώραξ,
 Ψαμμήτι[χος],
 (γίνονται) ς,
 110 εἰς οὗς [ἀνήλωται]
 παρὰ [-ca.?-]
 οἶνο[ν -ca.?-]
 . ιαβ[-ca.?-]
 . [-ca.?-]β[-ca.?-]

<frag. 1.1> Hermias: . . . ; Kamax: 270; Kaiēs: 2045; Dikaios; 680; (5) Psammētichos: 385; Thorax: 800; Karpos: 365; Total: 4045 (drachmae) <frag. 1.2> (10) . . . in the storeroom (thēsauron) when it was Hermias's turn to be the supervisor (epimelētēs): (present:) (15) Hermias, Bakchos, Dēmas, Karpos, Kamax, (20) Psammētichos, Dikaios, making seven (members). Guests (xeni): Thibron, and (25) [. . .]rion son of Horion. <frag. 1.3> Deme[trios] from Krokodilopolis . . . (30) remaining in the common fund (koinon), the aforementioned (drachmae) . . . In Thorax's (house? workshop?) vac. On the 15th. . .

<frag. 2> . . . 90; . . . 450. . . ; for the flute girl; the contribution of Psammētichos is 270; for the other guest is 270; . . . (40) for the unfermented grape juice, 100, making 1590.

<frag. 3> [Hath]yr 1, the 15th, . . .in the Isieion

<frag. 4 recto 1> vacat

<frag. 4 recto 2> [. . .] on the 10th, the following (members) gathered (45) in the stable in the harness room when Dikaios was the manager (hieropoios): Hermias, Bakchos, (50) Dēmētrios, Kamax, Psammētichos, Dikaios, vacat, (55) Karpos pa[id twice], making eight persons. Of these [Hermias?] was exempt from dues. <frag. 4 recto 3> . . . in common fund (koinon) . . . (on the) 15th, the following (members) gathered (60) in the storehouse (thēsauron): Hermias, Bachos, Thibron, Dēmētrios. . .

<frag. 4 recto 4> . . . for (65) [that which has been spent], besides the [. . .] unfermented grape juice [. . .] <frag. 4 verso> . . . Thorax . . . and: 50 . . . (unfermented) wine: 50 <frag. 5 recto> . . . Choiak on the 2[.]th: [the following members gathered] in the harness room, when Dikaios was the manager (hieropoios): Hermias, (80) Bakchos, Thibron, Dēmas, Karpos, Kamax, (85) Psammētichos, Dikaios, making eight members. Of these, Hermias was exempt from contributions. Remaining:

seven. (Funds) (90) spent for these (members), besides . . . for Memphitic wine, 2[.]. . . for a Greek flute-player. . . and for the male dancer (?)

⟨frag. 5 verso 1⟩ . . .

⟨frag. 5 verso 2⟩ (95) On the 18th (the following members) gathered: Hermias, Bakchos, Dēmas, Karpos, (100) Thorax, Psammētichos, making six. (Funds) spend for these (members), besides. . . (105) wine. . . .

Translation Kloppenborg 2020, 158-159.

34. Complaint concerning a funeral fee. Papyrus.

P Enteux 20, CAPIInv. 754, AGRW 293.

Arsinoites.

221 BC

β[α]σιλ[εῖ Πτολεμαίωι χαίρ]ειν [Κράτεια, τῶν] ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου νήσου. ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ
Φιλίπ[που καὶ Διονυσίου. τ]οῦ [γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἀδελ]φοῦ Ἀπολλοδότου συνθιασιτεύοντος αὐτοῖς
μετ[-ca.?-]ω[-ca.?-]υδίου τῶι Μάρωνος, ὄντες ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς, ὁ δὲ
ἀρχιθιασί[της, τελευτήσα]ντο[ς τοῦ Ἀπ]ολλοδότου, πρὸς τῶι μήτε θάψαι μήτε
5 ἔξακολ[ουθῆσαι αὐτῶι κα]τὰ [τὸν θιασι]τικὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ τὸ γινόμενον αὐτῶι ταφικὸν
[ἀ]ποδεδάκ[ασιν. δέομαι] οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστ[ά]ξαι Διοφάνει τῶι στρα-
[τ]ηγῶι ἐπαναγκάσαι ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὸ ταφικόν. τ[ού]του [γ]ὰρ γε]νομένου, ἔσομαι
διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τοῦ δι[καί]ου τετευχῦα. vac. ? εὐτύχει.
vac. ?

(hand 2) [-ca.?- ἐπισκ]εψάμενος τὸν θιασιτικὸν νό(μον), ἐπανάγκασον τὰ δίκαια ποιῆ[σαι]
10 [-ca.?- ἐὰ]ν δέ τι ἀντιλέγωσιν, ἀπό(στειλον) αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

(ἔτους) α, Γορπιαίου κη, Τῦβι ιβ.ν

(ἔτους) α, Γορπιαί[ου κη, Τῦβι ιβ.]

Κράτεια πρ(ὸς) Φίλ[ιππον καὶ]

Διονύσιον περὶ [ταφικοῦ]

Six fragments of a papyrus.

(front)

To King Ptolemaios greetings, from Krateia who is from the people of Alexandrou Nesos. I have been wronged by Philippos and Dionysios. My brother Apollodotos was a fellow member of the society with them . . . for Maron, the one (Philippos) being the priest and the other (Dionysios) being the head of the society (*archithiasitēs*). When my brother died, they did not provide a funeral for him or accompany him to the burial, in violation of the society's regulations, and they did not

reimburse the funeral fee (*taphikon*) that had accrued to him. I beg you, therefore, O king, if it please you to order Diophanes the commander (*strategos*) to compel them to reimburse me the funeral fee. For if this has been done, I shall have been furnished with justice by you, O king. Farewell.

(2nd hand)

After examining the association's laws, compel the parties to come to a fair resolution. And if they contest this, send them to me.

(back) Year 1, 28th day of the month of Gorpiaios, which is the 12th of Tybi.

Year 1, 28th of Gorpiaios, which is the 12th of Tybi.

Krateia versus Philippos and Dionysios, regarding a funeral fee.

Translation: Kloppenborg, AGRW 2900.

35. Account of an Association. Papyrus

P.Petr. III 136

Arsinoites

231/206 BC

Θῶυθ ιθ τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους)

Κτήσιππος ἐ[πιμη]νιευ() γ

συμβολὴν α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)

ὀφείλει περὶ vac. ? (ὀβολοὶ) β □ δ'

5 καὶ πρὸς λόγον (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ) (γίνονται) δ (ὀβολοὶ) γ δ'

Κλαίνετος ἐπιμηνιευ() γ

συμβολή[ν] α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)

ὀφείλει β (τριῶβολον) (γίνονται) ς (ὀβολοὶ) γ δ'

Πυθίων απι() συμβολὴν (τριῶβολον)

10 ὀφείλει β (ὀβολοῦς) δ □ (γίνονται) γ (ὀβολός) α □

Δωρίων ἱερεὺς β (τετρώβολον)

Νικίας δεύ(τερος) ἱερεὺς γ

Εὐρυλόχος συμβολὴν α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)

ὀφείλει περὶ δαν(ει) (ὀβολὸν)

15 καὶ πρὸς λόγον (ὀβολὸν) α □ (γίνεται) α (ὀβολοὶ) β □

Σωκράτης συμβολήν α (τέταρτον όβολοῦ)

όφείλει πρὸς λόγον (όβολόν) α □ (γίνεται) α (όβολός) α □ δ'

Άρτεμίδωρος συμβολήν α (τέταρτον όβολοῦ)2

(hand 2) -ca.?-3

(ἔτους) ιζ Θῶυθ

ι[ζ-ca.?-] α

ιη Λάκιος α

Νικίας γ

5 α

Δημήτριος (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) ς (τριώβολον)

Πτολεμαῖος α

Πυθίων (τριώβολον)

Τληπόλε(μος) α

10 Πτολεμαῖος Τηρ() (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) γ

Θεοπέιθης (τριώβολον)

Διοσκουρί(δης) α (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) β

Άπολλώνιος γρ(αμματεὺς) α (τριώβολον)

Λευκοφά(νης) α

15 Πυθίων β

Εὐρύλοχος (τετρώβολον)

Σωκράτης (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) ε (τετρώβολον)

(γίνονται) ιζ (όβολός) (ῶν)

ιη ἄρτων α ἄλλη α (γίνονται) β

20 ὠιὰ (πεντώβολον)

κάρνα α (όβολός)

ισχάδων (όβολός)

στέφανον (τριώβολον)

ἐρεβίν(θων) (όβολός) α δ'

col. i> Thoth 19, year 17.

Ktēsippos, monthly officer 3 (dr.?)

Dues 1 (dr.) 1 /4 (obol)

he owes 2 3 /4 (obols)

and on account $1 \frac{1}{4}$ (obol), making 4 (dr.) $3 \frac{1}{4}$ (obols)

Kleainetos, monthly officer 3 (dr.)

Dues 1 (dr.) $1 \frac{1}{4}$ (obol)

he owes 2 (dr.) 3 (obols),

making 6 (dr.) $3 \frac{1}{4}$ (obols)

Pythion api(. . .) dues 3 obols.

he owes 2 (dr.) $4 \frac{1}{2}$ (obols), making 3 (dr.) $1 \frac{1}{2}$ (obols)

Doriōn, priest 2 (dr.) 4 (obols).

Nikias the younger, a priest 3 (dr.)

Eurylochos, dues 1 (dr.) $1 \frac{1}{4}$ (obol)

he owes as a loan 1 (obol).

and on account $1 \frac{1}{2}$ (obols), making 1 (dr.) $2 \frac{1}{2}$ (obols)

Sokratēs, dues 1 (dr.) $1 \frac{1}{4}$ (obol)

he owes on account $1 \frac{1}{2}$ (obols), making 1 (dr.) $1 \frac{3}{4}$ obols.

Artemidōros, dues 1 (dr.) $1 \frac{1}{4}$ (obol)

⟨col. ii, hand 2⟩

⟨too damaged to reproduce⟩

⟨col. iii⟩

Year 17 Thoth 17 17th . . . 1 (dr.) 18th (Thoth)

Lakios 1 (dr.)

Nikias 3 (dr.)

5 [— — —] 1 (dr.)

Dēmētrios 3 (ob.), making 6 (dr.) 3 obols.

Ptolemaios 1 (dr.)

Pythion 3 (ob.)

Tlepolemos 1 (dr.)

Ptolemaios son of Ter() 3 (ob.), making 3 (dr.)

Theopeitheis 3 (ob.)

Dioskouri(dēs) $1 \frac{1}{2}$ (dr.), making 2 (dr.)

Apollōnios the secretary $1 \frac{1}{2}$ (dr.)

Leukopha(nes) 1 (dr.)

Pythion 2 (dr.)

Eurylochos 4 (ob.)

Sokratēs 3 (ob.), making 5 (dr.), 4 obols.

(Total) 17 (dr.) 1 (ob.), from which (is deducted) 1

8th (Thoth) bread 1 (dr.),
other things, 1 (dr.), making 2 (dr.)
Eggs 5 (obols)
Nuts 1 (dr.) 1 (obol)
Dried figs 1 (obol)
A crown 3 (obols)
Chick peas 1 1/4 (obols)
Translation: Kloppenborg 2020, 123-124.

36. Repayment of loan to a *thiasos*, Papyrus.

p.grenf.1.31, CAPIInv. 767.

Pathyris.

101/100 BC

1 τῶι σταθέντι τόκῳ ἐνὶ καὶ ἐκά[σ]τ[ῶ]ι
τῆς Παθύρεως. τὸ δὲ δάνειον τοῦτο
αποδοτῶι ὁ δεδανεὺς Νεχούτης
τοῖς δεδανεισμένοις Ἑριανοῦπις καὶ
5 οἱ συνθιασίται, ἐν μ(ηνὶ) Παχῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
ιδ (ἔτους), νέον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον ἀπὸ παν-
τὸς καὶ ἀποκαθεστάμενα εἰς οἶκον
πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀνηλώμασι,
μέτρῳι ᾧ καὶ παρείληφεν. ἐὰν δὲ
10 μὴ ἀποδῶ ἐν τῷ ὠρισμένῳ χρό-
νῳ, ἢ μὴ ποιῆ καθ' ἃ γέγρα(πται), ἀποτεισάτω
ἐν τῷ ἐχομένῳ μ(ηνὶ) παραχρῆμα
τὰ τοῦ κρ(ιθοῦ) ἀρ(τάβας) ζ ζ' ἡμιόλιον ἢ τὴν
ἐσομένην ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τιμὴν. ἢ δὲ
15 πρᾶξις ἔστω Ἑριανοῦπι καὶ τοῖς συν-
θιασίταις ἐκ τῶν Νεχούτου καὶ ἐκ τῶ[ν]
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων πρᾶσ-
σοντι καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.
Ἑρμίας ὁ παρὰ Πανίσκου κεχρη(μάτικα).

. . . with the same established interest and to each person of Pathyris. Now the borrower, Nechoutes, is liable to repay this loan to the lenders, Herianoupis and the members of the society

(*synthiasitai*), in the month of Pachon in the same 14th year with produce (barley) that is new, pure, and unadulterated by anything, delivering it to them (i.e. the lenders) in their building at his (i.e. borrower's) own expense with the same measure he has received. But if he does not pay at the determined time, or he does not do what has been written, let him pay right away in the following month the $7 \frac{1}{6}$ Persian measures (*artabai*) of barley plus an additional half that amount; otherwise let him pay the existing penalty of the marketplace. But let the transaction by Nechoutes and from all his resources to Herianoupis and the fellow-members of the society be accomplished in a just manner. I, Hermias, as an agent of Paniskos, have registered this.

Translation: Harland, AGRW 20918.

37. Account with payments. Ostrakon.

O. Bodl. I. 312, CAPIInv. 749.

Thebes.

iii century BC

λόγος πρὸς Πετσοῖριν (δραχμαὶ) ρ (ῶν)

[Παλ]ηχίτη ς Ψεγχώνσει β

[. .]αστευτι ε □ Δωρίωνι ι

Ἐπειφ ε κη εἰς τὸν θίασον ε

5Παληχίτου ὀψώνιον (δραχμαὶ) ι Ψεγχώνσει δ

(γίνονται) ο ν □

Account according to Petosiris concerning 90 drachmas of which: to Palechitos: 6; to Psenchonsis: 2; . . . to *Name*: 5.5; to Dorion: 10; on the 5th of Epiphi, 28 for the society (*thiasos*) (plus?) 5; to Palechitos, a payment of 10 drachmas; Psenchonsis: 4. Total: 70.5 (*an additional ν = 50 appears here but would result in a miscalculation, so the meaning of nun here remains obscure*).

Translation by: Harland, AGRW 20903.

38. Dedication to royal couple from a *thiasos*. Inscription.

I. Delta I 1036, Inscription.

Momemphis

209-204 BC

βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι

καὶ βασιλίσσηι Ἀρσινό{ι}ηι

θεοῖς Φιλοπάτορσι,

καὶ τῶι υἱῶι Πτολεμαίω[ι]

5 ἀνέθηκεν Ποσιδώνιο[ς]

καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασίται

τὸ ἐστιατόριον

To the king Ptolemaios and the Queen Arsinoe, gods Philopators, and to Ptolemaios the son, Poseidonios and the other members of the *thiasos* dedicated the dining room.