

The Meaning of the Demotic Designations rmt Pr-iy-lq , rmt Yb and rmt Swn ¹

The region of Aswan, Elephantine and Philae formed a natural border between Egypt and Nubia due to its geographical characteristics. It is hardly a coincidence that this natural barrier became also a political border for much of Egyptian history. To the north lay the fertile Egyptian Nile valley, which, being uninterrupted by cataracts, facilitated communication and the formation of a unified state. To the south lay Nubia with the Nile frequently impeded by cataracts and with its various ethnic groups, languages and cultures².

The objective of this paper is to attempt to shed some light on the meaning of three designations which, in their literal sense, refer to this region and which occur frequently in the papyrological and epigraphic sources from the Hellenistic period. The designations rmt Pr-iy-lq lit. 'man of Philae', rmt Yb lit. 'man of Elephantine' and rmt Swn lit. 'man of Aswan' and the problems posed by their interpretation are well known to Demotists. In my opinion, however, these problems mainly arise from Demotists' and Greek papyrologists' tendency to work in isolation and from their failing to take account of the evidence in each other's language. It seems to me, therefore, that these problems can greatly be diminished by using sources in Greek and Demotic in combination. Discussing these three designations together is justified not only by their literal meaning, which refers to the same geographical area (i. e. the region of the first cataract on Egypt's southern border) but also by the fact that their bearers occur together in some documents³.

First, I propose to examine these three designations and their meanings one by one in the context of the documents in which they occur in order to define their most likely ranges of meaning.

In terms of their structure, all three designations are constructed using the pattern rmt 'man' + a place- or geographical name. This pattern, sometimes completed by an optional genitival n between rmt and the place- or geographical name, is the most usual way of building internal Egyptian geographical designations, which occur frequently in Demotic texts⁴.

Due to previous research⁵, of these three designations by far the best known is rmt Pr-iy-lq lit. 'man of Philae'. From the perspective of formal criteria, this is an ambivalent designation⁶. On the one hand, it is constructed on the pattern rmt + a place- or geographical name, which is more characteristic of internal Egyptian geographical designations than ethnics. In addition, after the term rmt Pr-iy-lq the determinative tends to be a geographical one rather than the foreign determinative expected and common after ethnics.

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² L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush; Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 31), Leiden, New York, Cologne 1997, 27–52. On the topography, settlement and geo-political characteristics of the region of the first cataract in the Graeco-Roman period, see, most recently, J. Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit* (AFP Beiheft 5), Stuttgart, Leipzig 1999, passim, esp. 271–291.

³ See P.Heidelb. Dem. 723 = P.Bürgsch. 9 and P.Lille Dem. III 99.

⁴ C. A. La'da, *Ethnic Designations in Hellenistic Egypt*, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge 1996, Vol. I. 7–8. Cf. R. H. Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri in the Brooklyn Museum* (Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Suppl. XXIV), Oslo 1972, 36–37 and E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band 1 (Wiesbaden 1960) 235–236 with Pierce's criticism.

⁵ La'da, *Ethnic Designations* (s. n. 4), 42–46.

⁶ The ambivalence of the designation rmt Pr-iy-lq may to some extent reflect the ambivalent Egyptian classification of Philae from a geo-political perspective (i.e., whether it should be considered part of Egypt or of Nubia); this no doubt arose from its ambiguous history and location between Egypt and Nubia. Cf. Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 125 and 158.

At the same time, it is important to note that we do know a number of ethnics which are constructed on the pattern $\text{rmt} + \text{a geographical name}$ (in this case a foreign country or city name)⁷ and that a number of ethnics and geographical names referring to foreign countries or localities are attested which are sometimes written not with the foreign determinative but with a geographical one⁸.

On the other hand, the designation rmt Pr-iy-lq is used in the documents in the same way as ethnics. It develops a more complex form by the addition of the ms n Kmy lit. 'born in Egypt' expression⁹. Obviously, it would have made no sense to add this phrase to an internal Egyptian geographical designation. Further, the ms n Kmy expression, just as its Greek equivalent $\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$, always follows foreign male ethnics and never internal Egyptian geographical designations¹⁰. This also suggests that, whatever the $\text{ms n Kmy} - \tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ expression actually came to mean, rmt Pr-iy-lq is more likely to have been, at least originally, an ethnic, rather than an Egyptian geographical, designation. Finally, the relative frequency¹¹ with which the term rmt Pr-iy-lq occurs in the documents suggests that a comparatively significant number of people bore this designation in Hellenistic Egypt. However, it would be difficult to understand this term merely as a geographical designation referring to Philae and perhaps its immediate surrounding area, as these were not suitable for supporting a large population¹². The contradiction between the relative frequency of individuals bearing the designation rmt Pr-iy-lq and the unsuitability of the area for serving as a relatively large population centre could in my view be resolved if we interpreted rmt Pr-iy-lq as, at least originally, an ethnic, rather than a geographical, designation: it seems more likely originally to have denoted a lower

⁷ See e. g. $\text{rmt.w I\text{š}w\text{r}}$: Cairo JdE 51375. 7 = U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Pathyris III (Nr. 56–85)*, *Enchoria* 22 (1995) 91–93, no. 65; $\text{rmt H\text{r}}$: K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein Zug nach Nubien unter Amasis*, in: *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. H. Johnson (SAOC 51), Chicago 1992, 362; rmt Prs : P.Cairo Dem. JE 68567. 1 = S. Allam, *Un contrat de mariage (Pap. démotique Caire J.68567)*, RdÉ 35 (1984) 3–21 with D. Devauchelle, *Une Perse dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque*, RdÉ 39 (1988) 208 and rmt.w Prs in the Demotic part of the Canopus decree (A. 3, B. 12), together with its hieroglyphic writing: W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)*, Heidelberg 1922, 7, 154, 219; rmt Prm? : S.H5-207 = H. S. Smith, *Foreigners in the Documents from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Saqqara*, in: *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society* (loc. cit.), 296, n. 5 with C. A. R. Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Texts in the British Museum*, *ibid.* 13 and ead., *Unpublished demotic papyri in the British Museum*, in: *Acta Demotica, Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa 4th-8th September 1993*, Pisa 1994, 31; rmt Kmy : P.Berlin Dem. 13581 x+4-5 = K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, Teil 2, ed. E. Lüddeckens, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, ed. W. Voigt, Band XIX, 2, Wiesbaden 1971, no. 49, P.Cairo Dem. III 50142.14, O.Narmuti 27.3 = E. Bresciani, S. Pernigotti and M. C. Betro, *Ostraka demotici da Narmuti I*, Pisa 1983, 35–39; $\text{rmt K [m] \text{J} \text{y} \text{r}}$: P.Vindob. Dem. 6920+6921+6922 col. x+2. 18–19 = F. Hoffmann, *Der literarische demotische Papyrus Wien D6920-22*, SAK 23 (1996) 167–200; rmt n Kmy : ODK-LS 2 fr. A col. x+1. 3 = D. Devauchelle, *Remarques sur les méthodes d'enseignement du démotique (A propos d'ostraca du Centre Franco-Egyptien d'Etude des Temples de Karnak)*, in: *Grammata Demotika, Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, eds. H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich, Würzburg 1984, 47–59; rmt (n) Kmy : OD Pisa 8. 2, 5 = E. Bresciani et al., *Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco*, SCO 22 (1973) 263–265 with K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einige unerkannte Ortsnamen*, *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 173–174 and W. Clarysse in *BiOr* 42 (1985) 340; rmt.w Kmy : P.Rainer Cent. 3 col. II. 24 = Zauzich, *Das Lamm des Bokchoris*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna 1983, 165–174 and P.Tebt. Tait 4 fr. 1. 4; see also the hieroglyphic rmt n Km.t : É. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, Vol. VI, Cairo 1931, 215. 3 with H. Kees, *Kultlegende und Urgeschichte*, Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1930, 346–347 and J. G. Griffiths, *The Interpretation of the Horus-Myth of Edfu*, JEA 44 (1958) 77–78; cf. also $\text{rmt I\text{š}sws}$: W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotische Inschrift auf der Statue von Rhodos*, ZÄS 50 (1912) 24–27, ll. 5–8.

⁸ See, for example, some writings of $\text{I\text{š}r}$, $\text{Ik\text{š}}$ (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 45), Bbl (*ibid.*, 115), Bpn (*ibid.*, 115), $\text{P\text{y}t}$ (*ibid.*, 130), Prs (*ibid.*, 136), Mrw (*ibid.*, 169) and $\text{N\text{h}s}$ (*ibid.*, 224).

⁹ Cf. $\text{I\text{g}\text{š} ms n Kmy}$, Wynn ms n Kmy , Blhm ms n Kmy , $\text{M\text{h}br ms n Kmy}$ and Mdy ms n Kmy : La'da, *Ethnic Designations* (s. n. 4), 7–55 and *id.*, *Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt*, (*Studia Hellenistica* 38), Leuven 2002.

¹⁰ C. A. La'da, *Who were those 'of the Epigone'?*, Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19. 8. 1995, eds. B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler and G. Poethke, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1997, 563–569, esp. 563–564.

¹¹ Compare, for example, the section for rmt.w Pr-iy-lq with those for other Demotic ethnics in La'da, *Foreign Ethnics* (s. n. 9).

¹² Cf. Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 116 n. 13, 122–123, 137, 141 n. 106.

Nubian ethnic group which inhabited the wider region of Philae and which was perhaps centred around Philae as some kind of capital or cult centre, which gave them their name, rather than the inhabitants of a small island and perhaps its immediate area¹³.

To sum up, these arguments suggest that we should consider *rmt Pr-iy-lq* as originally an ethnic, rather than a geographical, designation.

A crucial piece of evidence in investigating further the meaning of *rmt Pr-iy-lq* is provided by P.Lille Dem. III 99¹⁴. This papyrus is an extensive area census list with a fiscal purpose for the years 230/229 and 229/228 B.C. from certain fiscal districts of the Fayum. Columns XVIII–XXI give a list of different tax-categories and the figures for those qualifying for these categories in respect of first the salt tax and the *phylakitikon* (col. XVIII) and then of the salt tax only (cols. XIX–XXI). In line 503 we find the category *rmt Pylq* (a spelling variant of *rmt Pr-iy-lq*), preceded by the categories *Wynn* and *rmt Yb*. The fact that *rmt Pylq* appears in this tax-list suggests that it was a fiscal status category in common with the other categories in this text. Further, it is also clear from this document that this category enjoyed some form of privileged fiscal treatment, which appears to have been identical with, or at least very similar to, that accorded to *Wynn* and *rmt Yb* as these three categories were added up in one total. We may thus conclude that *rmt Pylq* denoted a privileged fiscal status category in this document.

The next logical question we must ask is: why did the category *rmt Pr-iy-lq* enjoy a privileged fiscal status, or, in other words, why did the Ptolemaic government treat this group of people preferentially from a fiscal point of view?

The idea that the Ptolemaic government would have given preferential fiscal status to the inhabitants of particular Egyptian towns or geographical areas¹⁵ seems unlikely and is, to the best of my knowledge, unattested in the sources from Hellenistic Egypt. Such a hypothesis is, in any case, easily undermined by the fact that this tax-list originates from the Fayum. Had the fiscal privilege depended on the place of residence of these individuals (Philae and Elephantine), it would be difficult to see why this would have applied in the Fayum as well. The fact that bearers of the designations *rmt Pr-iy-lq* and *rmt Yb* are attested in the Fayum as fiscally privileged groups would force advocates of this hypothesis to argue not only that the Ptolemaic government granted a preferential fiscal status to the residents of these two localities but also that this status was geographically transferable, i. e. once acquired, it did not depend on its holders' actually residing at these two localities, and even that it may also have been inheritable as perhaps not all residents of the Fayum holding this status were first-generation immigrants from these two localities. These conclusions following logically from the evidence make the hypothesis that the Ptolemaic government would have bestowed fiscal privileges on the residents of Philae and Elephantine as such appear even less

¹³ Cf. P.Ryl. Dem. p. 152 n. 3. Could the term *rmt Pr-iy-lq* perhaps originally have designated the inhabitants of the Dodecaschoenus, which had from at least the mid-second century B.C. (and probably from much earlier) been dedicated to Isis of Philae? Philae could thus be considered as the capital of this region and the inhabitants of this region as belonging to Philae. Cf. the specific wording of line 4 of the Dodecaschoenus Stele (LD IV.27b, PM VI, 229–231 (241) and Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 152, 341–342 [transliteration and German translation]) and, further, G. Dietze, *Philae und die Dodekaschoinos in ptolemäischer Zeit; Ein Beitrag zur Frage ptolemäischer Präsenz im Grenzland zwischen Ägypten und Afrika an Hand der architektonischen und epigraphischen Quellen*, Anc. Soc. 25 (1994) 69, 71, 90–97, Locher, *Topographie*, 46–47, 152, 230–251, B. G. Haycock, *Landmarks in Cushite History*, JEA 58 (1972) 233–235, 240, G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches; Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung*, Darmstadt 1994, 78–79, 143, 166 = id., *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London, New York 2001, 86, 162, 189, W. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit, 332–30 v. Chr.*, Munich 2001, 424, 632, Török, *The Kingdom* (s. n. 2), 431 n. 145, T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce and L. Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum, Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD; Vol. II: From the mid-Fifth to the First Century BC*, Bergen 1996, 611, 629. On the ethnic composition of the population of Philae at the beginning of Roman rule, see Strab. I, 2, 32, XVII, 1, 49, H. Kees, *Philai*, RE XIX. 2 (1938) 2111, P. Charvet, J. Yoyotte and S. Gompertz, *Strabon, Le voyage en Egypte, un regard romain*, Paris 1997, 182, Locher, *Topographie*, 123 and N. Biffi, *L'Africa di Strabone, Libro XVII della Geografia, Introduzione, traduzione e commento*, Quaderni di "Invigilata Lucernis" 7 (Modugno 1999) 355. If, however, *rmt Pr-iy-lq* indeed developed into a fictitious ethnic, occupational designation (cf. below), its relative frequency in the documents has, of course, to be explained by the size of this occupational group.

¹⁴ In this paper I use the republication of this text in the forthcoming P.Count volume by W. Clarysse and D. J. Thompson, to whom I am very grateful for allowing me access to their manuscript.

¹⁵ See W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt*, Leipzig 1913, 52 n. 7.

likely. These considerations reinforce the argument above that rmt Pr-iy-lq was not an internal Egyptian geographical designation.

Another possibility is to take the designation rmt Pr-iy-lq in its literal ethnic sense and to conclude from this that members of this ethnic group, together with three other ethnic groups in the list: the Greeks, (Wynn), the Persians (Mty) and the Arabs (Hgr), were granted a privileged fiscal position by the Ptolemaic government by virtue of their ethnicity. However, although the privileged fiscal status of the Greeks could be explained on the basis of a “colonial” model for Ptolemaic society, it is much more difficult to see why ethnic Persians, Arabs and a Nubian people should have been accorded such a privilege by the Ptolemies. Moreover, the presence of the term rmt Yb in the same list in close connection with these literally ethnic categories and the fact that it was added up in one total with Wynn and rmt Pr-iy-lq show clearly on the basis of the preceding paragraph that a literal interpretation of these terms, whether ethnic (Wynn , Mty , Hgr and rmt Pr-iy-lq) or geographical (rmt Yb), cannot explain the presence of all these categories in this document.

I have argued elsewhere that in this tax-list the categories Wynn , Mty , Hgr and also rmt Pr-iy-lq probably designated not ethnic groups but particular occupational-status groups which enjoyed a preferential tax-status not by virtue of their ethnicity but on account of the occupations these terms came to signify¹⁶. The fiscal privilege afforded to these occupational groups was presumably meant to reward their function as one important to the Ptolemaic state and to secure recruitment into and the loyalty of these occupational groups. But, whereas for Wynn and Mty we can show that these literally ethnic terms fully developed into occupational-status designations, shedding their former ethnic meaning, the scarcer evidence for Hgr and rmt Pr-iy-lq does not allow this. Although we can show that Hgr and rmt Pr-iy-lq probably acquired an occupational-status meaning, which is what is being used in this tax-list, the evidence is insufficient to prove that these terms also lost any ethnic sense and that individuals from other ethnic backgrounds could also assume them, i. e. that they became completely fictitious from an ethnic point of view. Therefore, the scarce evidence allows the reconstruction of two possible alternative semantic developments for the designation rmt Pr-iy-lq . On the one hand, it is possible that rmt Pr-iy-lq became a completely fictitious ethnic designation, as Wynn and Mty appear to have done, developing into an occupational-status designation. Alternatively, it is possible that it became a mixed ethnic-occupational designation, denoting members of an ethnic-occupational group and their relatives which performed functions (or carried weaponry) typical of this particular ethnic group and which was defined equally in terms of ethnicity and occupation¹⁷. It is the occupational aspect of this ethnic-occupational group which appears to be rewarded fiscally in the tax-list P.Lille Dem. III 99.

In addition to these considerations, the way in which the designation rmt Pr-iy-lq is used in P.Hausw. 16. 3, 17. 3–4 and 25a. 2¹⁸, and possibly in other documents too¹⁹, suggests that in the context of these documents this designation signified members of an occupational or an ethnic-occupational, rather than a purely ethnic, group.

Finally, the fact that the onomastics of those designated as rmt Pr-iy-lq is either (overwhelmingly) good Egyptian or Greek²⁰ and reveals no Nubian connection at all also suggests an occupational, or at least an ethnic-occupational meaning for this term, rather than a purely ethnic one.

¹⁶ C. A. La'da, *Ethnic Designations* (s. n. 4), passim and id., *Ethnicity, Occupation and Tax-Status in Ptolemaic Egypt*, in: *Acta Demotica, Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists* (s. n. 7), 183–189.

¹⁷ This is particularly characteristic of military ethnic-occupational groups, the so-called “martial races”: see e. g. the Scythians of classical Athens, ethnic auxiliaries in the imperial Roman army and the Swiss guards in pre-revolutionary 18th century France and in the Papal State. Cf. C. H. Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers, State Security in Divided Societies*, Harmondsworth 1980.

¹⁸ The expression $\text{iw=f ip hn n3 rmt.w Pr-iw-rq}$ ‘who is counted among the men of Philae’ in these three papyri suggests that the group of rmt.w Pr-iw-rq was a well-defined and distinct group, of which one could become a member, rather than only being able to be born into it; cf. further below.

¹⁹ P.Berlin Dem. 13564. 16, 18 = P.Berlin Eleph. II 13564. 16, 18; P.Berlin Dem. 5507+3098. 5 = F. Ll. Griffith and U. Wilcken, *A Bilingual Sale of Liturgies in 136 B. C.*, ZÄS 45 (1908–09) 105 = W. Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke*, II.1, Leipzig 1939, 71–72, l. 5 = P.Choach. Survey 17A and perhaps O.Leiden Dem. 365 col. I. 5.

²⁰ The only Greek name attested with this designation is 3p13 in P.Cairo Dem. III 50057ba+β: E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch I*, 9. Cf. W. Clarysse, *Greeks and Persians in a bilingual census list*, in: *Acta Demotica, Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists* (s. n. 7), 76.

The next logical step in this argument is to ask what this occupation may have been. Although the evidence is far from conclusive, all indications point to some kind of military occupation. First, we know that two of the individuals designated as *rmt Pr-iy-lq* were soldiers²¹.

Secondly, it is also clear from the documents that some bearers of this designation appear in a military social environment²². In addition, two individuals bear the *ms n Km* expression after *rmt Pr-iy-lq* in the surviving source-material. This probably designated a particular status group, the members of which were descendants of foreign soldiers and which had some connection with the military²³.

Thirdly, the phrase *iw=f ip hn/r* tends to be used in military designations in the Hellenistic period²⁴. Its use in the expression *iw=f ip hn n3 rmt.w Pr-iw-rq* ‘who is counted among the men of Philae’ in P.Hausw. 16. 3, 17. 3–4 and 25a. 2 also suggests a military meaning for *rmt Pr-iy-lq*.

Finally, it appears most logical to me to assume that the fiscal privilege enjoyed by the bearers of the *rmt Pr-iy-lq* designation, which is evidenced in P.Lille Dem. III 99, was attached to a military or semi-military occupation. It obviously lay in the fundamental interest of the Ptolemaic government to bestow privileges on those groups which were essential for its survival and functioning and the military must have figured most prominently among these groups. In addition, the fact that a military occupational meaning appears to be the most likely interpretation for the other literally ethnic categories in the same tax-list²⁵ suggests a similar sense for *rmt Pr-iy-lq* too.

Summing up these considerations, the surviving evidence suggests that *rmt Pr-iy-lq* was originally an ethnic term which by the end of the 230s at the latest had become either a mixed ethnic-occupational or a purely occupational designation. It probably came to signify members of an occupational or ethnic-occupational group and, as P.Lille Dem. III 99 shows, their family members. This occupation appears to have been a military or semi-military one²⁶, which was granted a privileged fiscal status by the Ptolemaic state.

The designation *rmt Yb* lit. ‘man of Elephantine’ is far less well known. Its literal meaning is unequivocally geographical. It occurs already in pre-Hellenistic times²⁷. The key piece of evidence for establishing its meaning in the Hellenistic period is P.Lille Dem. III 99. In line 501 this designation occurs as a fiscal category, preceded by *Wynn* and followed by *rmt Pylq*. As argued above for *rmt Pr-iy-lq*, it is most likely to have become an occupational-status designation by the end of the 230s at the latest, signifying a profession important to the central government, since the hypothesis that the Ptolemaic state would have granted fiscal privileges to the inhabitants of certain Egyptian towns and regions and that this privileged fiscal status would have applied also in other parts of the country and would perhaps have been inheritable even elsewhere in the country appears illogical. The position of this designation in a list of military titles in

²¹ P.Cairo Dem. III 50057ba+β and P.Heidelb. Dem. 767g. x+2–3 = P.Gebelen Heid. 28. x+2–3.

²² P.Heidelb. Dem. 723. 4–5 = P.Bürgsch. 9. 4–5 and P.Ryl. Dem. 23. 2.

²³ La'da, *Who were those ‘of the Epigone’?* (s. n. 10), 563–569.

²⁴ J. G. D. Manning, *The Conveyance of Real Property in Upper Egypt during the Ptolemaic Period: A Study of the Hauswaldt Papyri and Other Related Demotic Instruments of Transfer*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 1992, 308–310. Cf. also Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge* (s. n. 4), 239–240. See, however, E. Cruz-Urbe, *A 30th Dynasty Document of Renunciation from Edfu*, *Enchoria* 13 (1985) 41 and 43–44, who advocates a fiscal meaning (“in the sense of reckoning for census and tax purposes”) for this expression. A military sense, similar to the one Hughes suggests (ibid. 43–44), would in my opinion much better suit the context of the documents in which *iw=f ip hn/r* occurs. See also the title *gl-šr fnt iw=f ip r Sw* in P.Berlin Dem. 13596 = Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften* (s. n. 7), no. 59, cf. index p. 204 and PP II and VIII 3045, 3046; in P.Berlin Dem. 13597 = Zauzich, ibid., no. 60, cf. index p. 203 and PP II and VIII 3049; in P.Berlin Dem. 13598 = Zauzich, ibid., no. 61, cf. index p. 203 and PP VIII 3049 and in P.Berlin Dem. 13601 = Zauzich, ibid., no. 64, cf. index pp. 203–04 and PP VIII 3046, 3050b, in which title a military, rather than a fiscal, sense seems much more appropriate for *iw=f ip r Sw*: cf. the translations in the relevant PP numbers and also in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Beiträge*, AFP 9 (1930) 59.

²⁵ La'da, *Ethnic Designations* (s. n. 4), passim and id., *Ethnicity* (s. n. 16), 183–189.

²⁶ Cf. the hypotheses and suggestions in P.Ryl. Dem. p. 152 n. 3; P.Bürgsch. pp. 160–161, Clarysse, *Greeks and Persians* (s. n. 20), 76 and P.L.Bat. XXX, p. 167 n. (aa).

²⁷ A. Farid, *Ein demotisches Familienarchiv aus Elephantine*, MDAIK 46 (1990) 251–261. Cf. also the designation *gl-šr n Yb* in JE 98509. 1 = SR 3932. 1 = Farid, ibid., 255, no. 11. 1 and in JE 98508. 1 = SR 3931. 1 = Farid, ibid., 258, no. 19. 1.

Stele Aswan 1057. 1²⁸ and the fact that the other terms together with which it occurs in P.Lille Dem. III 99 (Ϝynn, rmt Pr-iy-lq and Mdy) appear to have been military designations suggest that this occupation was a military or semi-military one²⁹.

The literal meaning of the third of these three designations, rmt Swn, is also unambiguously geographical: ‘man of Aswan’. Its actual meaning in the documents is, however, more difficult to gauge. A number of considerations suggest that we should understand this designation as an occupational and, more precisely, as a military or semi-military term, rather than a purely geographical one.

First, the use of the n of predication before this designation in a late-fourth to mid-third century legal document from Hermonthis certainly suggests, as the editor herself remarks, that rmt Swn was employed here as a title, rather than a mere geographical designation³⁰. Further, it is clear from the text that this title carried a status which entitled the bearer to hold land. In the Ptolemaic period this would eminently suit a military sense for rmt Swn.

Secondly, individuals designated as rmt Swn appear not infrequently together with soldiers in the documents³¹.

Thirdly, bearers of this designation sometimes figure in the documents as a homogenous group, being closely associated with each other. They hold contiguous property and sell and buy land to and from each other³². This is very similar to the cleruchic landholdings in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes³³ and suggests that we are dealing with military settlers or veterans³⁴.

Further, as Carol Andrews observed³⁵, it is remarkable that a relatively large number of men designated as rmt Swn are known from documents from the Theban area (Hermonthis) and over a relatively long period of time³⁶. If we understood rmt Swn simply as a geographical designation, it would be rather difficult to explain the high concentration of immigrants from far-away Aswan in this particular area. Further, why would they have kept their geographical designation over generations instead of assuming local ones and why would they have remained grouped together instead of integrating with the local population? These

²⁸ J. D. Ray, *A Pious Soldier: Stele Aswan 1057*, JEA 73 (1987) 169–180; id., *Further Notes on Stele Aswan 1057*, JEA 75 (1989) 243–244 and J. K. Winnicki, *Petisis, Sohn des Pachnumis, Offizier und Priester an der Südgrenze Ägyptens im 2. Jh. v. Chr.*, JJP 26 (1996) 127–134: rmt Yb3; cf. also id., *Zwei Studien über die Kalasirier*, OLA 17 (1986) 21.

²⁹ Cf. the suggestion by Clarysse, *Greeks and Persians* (s. n. 20), 76.

³⁰ P.BM Dem. 10372. 1 = P.BM Andrews 43. 1: p3y=k 3h n rmt Swn ‘your land (held) as a man of Aswan’ with n. 8 in the edition. See also Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Texts* (s. n. 7), 12.

³¹ P.Heidelb. Dem. 723 = P.Bürgsch. 9; P.BM Dem. 10372 = P.BM Andrews 43 and P.BM Dem. 10389 = P.BM Andrews 44. On rmt fnt, which appears in the last two documents, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Beiträge* (s. n. 24), 59–60; Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge* (s. n. 4), 235–236 and Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Texts* (s. n. 7), 12. Pierce’s opinion (*Three Demotic Papyri* [s. n. 4], 36–37) that not everybody designated as rmt fnt was necessarily a soldier, based principally on the fact that the feminine form of this designation (ἀφώντισσα) is attested in Greek in addition to its masculine form (ἀφώντεύς), cannot invalidate the argument that rmt fnt was most probably a military designation for the following reason. P.Lille Dem. III 99 shows that wives (and probably other family members as well) were counted together with their husbands as members of the same privileged tax-category. From this it is likely that women bore the same designations (*mutatis mutandis*) as their husbands and enjoyed the same or a similar status.

³² P.BM Dem. 10372 = P.BM Andrews 43 and P.BM Dem. 10389 = P.BM Andrews 44.

³³ F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1968 Nr. 3.), Berlin 1968, passim.

³⁴ Cf. P.BM Dem. 10372 = P.BM Andrews 43, n. 3 and Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Texts* (s. n. 7), 12.

³⁵ See Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Texts* (s. n. 7), 12.

³⁶ P.BM Dem. 10372 = P.BM Andrews 43 and P.BM Dem. 10389 = P.BM Andrews 44 cover approximately two generations between the late 4th century and 243 B.C. P.BM Dem. 10512 = P.BM Andrews 48 is from 177–175 B.C.

³⁷ In addition to these arguments, three — albeit less significant and less certain — pieces of evidence point in the same direction. The fragmentary designation p3 rmt Swn hn p3 [in P.Cairo Dem. II 30989. 1 may suggest that a military title followed in the lacuna. The way in which rmt Swn is used in CGC 30641. 11 = Kaplony-Heckel, *Pathyris III* (s. n. 7), 113–115, no. 84. 11 = W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler I, Die demotischen Inschriften* (CGC), Leipzig 1904, 78–80, no. 30641B. 11 may also recommend an occupational sense for this term (cf. O.Leiden Dem. 365 col. I. 5 in n. 19 above). The context of P.Hal. 8 appears to suggest an occupational, rather than a purely geographical, meaning for the term Σηνήτης in line 2, which seems to be the Greek equivalent of rmt Swn; cf. S. R. Llewelyn, *Did the Ptolemaic postal system work to a Timetable?*, ZPE 99 (1993) 56.

facts make perfect sense if we consider *rmt Sw̄n* not as a geographical but as a military occupational designation³⁷.

Finally, it is significant that numerous documents in Demotic and in Greek indicate the existence of an important garrison at Aswan in the Hellenistic period³⁸.

For these reasons, it appears likely that we should consider the designation *rmt Sw̄n* in the documents from the Hellenistic period as a military occupational, rather than a simple geographical, designation³⁹.

Summarising these arguments, we may conclude that, on the basis of the currently available sources, an occupational meaning (for *rmt Pr-iy-lq*, *rmt Yb* and *rmt Sw̄n*) or an ethnic-occupational meaning (for *rmt Pr-iy-lq*) is likely for these three designations in official and probably also in private documents from the Hellenistic period (for *rmt Pr-iy-lq* and *rmt Yb* from the late 230s at the latest)⁴⁰. These occupations appear to be military or at least semi-military (border guards, police or customs)⁴¹.

³⁸ BGU VI 1247–1249; SB VI 9367; Cairo JdE 51375. 12 = Kaplony-Heckel, *Pathyris III* (s. n. 7), 91–93, no. 65. 12 with the editor's note to the line; P.Berlin Dem. 23571 = Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften* (s. n. 7), no. 198: "3400 (Artaben) Emmer für 'das Volk von Syene'"; P.Berlin Dem. 13538 = P.Berlin Eleph. I 13538. Cf. also Spiegelberg, *Demotische Beiträge* (s. n. 24), 59–60. In my opinion it is more likely that we should understand the expression *iw=f ip r Sw̄n* in P.Cairo Dem. 50150+50155. 1 = Cruz-Uribe, *A 30th Dynasty Document* (s. n. 24) and in a number of other documents (cf. n. 24 above) in a military, rather than a fiscal (Cruz-Uribe, *ibid.* 43), sense: cf. n. 24 above. For further evidence, see Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2) 64, 81–86. For the secondary literature, see *ibid.* and below.

³⁹ Cf. also the conjectures and remarks, without a logical argument, in P.Bürgsch. pp. 160–161 and P.Adler p. 93, and the more substantial reasoning in Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Texts* (s. n. 7), 12, P.BM Andrews p. 100, n. 3 and 8, and Manning, *The Conveyance* (s. n. 24), *passim*, esp. 304–308. Cf. also P.L.Bat. XXX, p. 167 n. (aa). One question which could be posed here is that, if *rmt Sw̄n* and *rmt Yb* had indeed become military occupational designations, rather than remaining simple geographical ones, how the actual civilian residents of these two settlements were designated in the documents. First, it is significant here that the use of geographical (and also ethnic) designations in Demotic official documents appears generally to have been less common than in Greek ones (due perhaps to differing documentary traditions and government regulations), which suggests that in Demotic documents it was less important for individuals to bear a geographical designation than in Greek ones. Secondly, apart from the geographical designation *rmt + (n)+ place- or geographical name*, individuals' origins or places of residence or work could be described by a variety of alternative means: for example, by using (1) a relative clause: e. g. *rmt nb nty Yb Sw̄n* (P.Berlin Dem. 13538. 21–22 = P.Berlin Eleph. I 13538. 21–22) and *hm-hr.w nty Nw.t* (P.Berlin Dem. 13579. 13–14 = P.Berlin Eleph. I 13579. 13–14), (2) an occupational designation + (n) + a place- or geographical name: e. g. *hry-hb n t3 h3s.t Iwnw-Mnt* (P.BM Dem. 10380A. 3 = P.BM Andrews 45. 3) and *p3 sh qnb.t n P3-ihy n3 s.t.w mh* (P.BM Dem. 10392. 7 = P.BM Andrews 28. 7) or (3) an occupational designation which contains a geographical component: e. g. *3m bk Mnt nb Iwnw* (P.BM Dem. 10728. 2 = P.BM Andrews 40. 2) and *n3 w^c b.w Mnt nb Iwnw Šm^c w p3 5 s3.w* (P.BM Dem. 10512. 7 = P.BM Andrews 48. 7).

⁴⁰ The comparative frequency of these three designations in the sources might perhaps serve as another argument in favour of a non-literal interpretation of their meanings. If these terms were to be understood literally, it would be logical to expect their relative frequency in the documents to reflect the comparative sizes of the populations at these three localities. Although my data-base is not entirely complete (cf. the Appendix below) and although the hazards of survival may distort the picture to some extent, it is nevertheless significant in this context that the designation *rmt Yb* appears to be substantially less frequent in the sources than *rmt Pr-iy-lq* and *rmt Sw̄n*. This would be very surprising on the basis of a literal interpretation of these terms since Elephantine was a major population centre in the Hellenistic period, unlikely to have been any smaller in terms of population size than Philae or Aswan and, in fact, judging by Elephantine's traditionally dominant political and economic role in the region, it seems more likely to have been the most populous of these three settlements in the Ptolemaic era. Cf. also the size of Elephantine in comparison with that of the area enclosed by the Byzantine town wall of Aswan (the Ptolemaic settlement was even smaller [!]: H. Jaritz, *On three townsites in the Upper Thebaid*, CRIPEL 8 [1986] 39–41 and fig. 2) and in comparison with the size of Philae on the map in H. Jaritz and M. Rodziewicz, *The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae; Second Preliminary Report; With a Contribution on the Pottery from the Watch-Tower at Tell Asmar*, MDAIK 49 (1993) 108. See, further, Haycock, *Landmarks* (s. n. 13), 229 and Strab. XVII, 1, 49: ... τὸ μέγεθος ἴσην κτλ. with Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 123: I suspect that Strabo, who seems to have meant to compare the sizes of the two settlements and not of the two islands (cf. the use of the word *κατεσκευασμένην* in this passage and in XVII, 1, 48), somewhat overestimated the size of the settlement of Philae: cf. Charvet, Yoyotte and Gompertz, *Strabon*, 182, who talk of "la petite «ville de Philae»", Jaritz, *On three townsites*, 41–42 and Locher, *Topographie*, 137 (cf. also I.Philae II 187.2 [Philae, late Roman period] with the editor's note on the line) contrasted with the fact that in the Greek papyri and inscriptions published to date Elephantine is consistently referred to as a πόλις (I.Th. Sy. 244. 4, [17–18] = I.Prose 24. 4, [17–18] [Elephantine, 117 and 115 B.C.], Chrest. Mitt. 361. 2 [Elephantine, 355 A.D.]) or a

Due to its geo-political position, the strategic importance of the region of Aswan, Elephantine and Philae was appreciated by the Egyptians even in the earliest times. In Old- and Middle-Kingdom inscriptions Elephantine is frequently referred to as a fortress⁴². The life of the troops stationed in this region is particularly well known during the Persian period thanks to the rich information provided by the Aramaic papyri found in Elephantine⁴³. In the Hellenistic era there were important garrisons at all three of these localities⁴⁴. In addition to the soldiers, there must have been significant numbers of semi-military officials active in this region, who were responsible for running the customs and border crossing points and for policing the towns, generally ensuring the smooth flow of people and goods through this busy border region. From a strategic point of view, Aswan, Elephantine and Philae formed a closely connected unit⁴⁵. This is expressed clearly in a Greek inscription by the phrase πρὸς τῆι φρουρ[α]ρχίαι Συήνης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης καὶ Φιλῶ[ν] καὶ γερροφυλακίαι, which may suggest that, at least at that time (116 B.C.), they were under the same military command⁴⁶. This close strategic relationship of the three localities is tangibly expressed by the wicker-work barrier (γέρον) or brick wall, which certainly in the Graeco-Roman period (but possibly already from the Middle Kingdom onwards) defended from the east the road running between Aswan and Konosso opposite Philae⁴⁷.

μητρόπολις (P.Paris 17. 3 [Elephantine, 153 A.D.]). For the meagre textual and archaeological evidence available for the Hellenistic townsites of these three localities, see e. g. G. Haeny, *A Short Architectural History of Philae*, BIFAO 85 (1985) 217–218, Jaritz, *On three townsites*, 39–42, A. B. Lloyd, *Philae*, The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, ed. D. B. Redford, Oxford 2001, Vol. 3, 43, Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 15–34, 58–86, 121–141 and the excavation reports *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine* in MDAIK 26 (1970) and subsequent volumes. Conversely, the comparatively frequent appearance in the sources of individuals bearing the designation ἄρχι Σων seems to agree well with a military occupational meaning for this designation as Aswan had an important and large garrison (cf. below); the impression given by both Greek and Demotic documents is that it was perhaps the largest of the three garrisons at these locations in the Hellenistic period, which its key strategic position as a reloading port and controller of land and water routes between Egypt and Nubia would certainly justify.

⁴¹ The possibility, however, can by no means be ruled out that in certain, primarily private, contexts these designations were used in their literal sense, rather than with their acquired, technical meaning employed principally in official documents.

⁴² See L. Habachi, *Elephantine*, LÄ I (1975) 1217–1225, id., *Assuan*, LÄ I (1975) 495–496 and E. Winter, *Philae*, LÄ IV (1982) 1022–1027.

⁴³ See, for example, P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*, Paris 1972, passim, B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine; The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1968 and B. Porten et al., *The Elephantine Papyri in English; Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, Leiden, New York, Cologne 1996, 74–276. For the garrison of Syene in the Saite and Persian periods, see H. Kees, *Syene*, RE IVA.1 (1931) 1018, Porten, *Archives*, passim, esp. 14–61 and H. Jaritz and M. Rodziewicz, *Syene — Investigation of the Urban Remains in the Vicinity of the Temple of Isis (II)*, MDAIK 52 (1996) 235.

⁴⁴ For the sources and the secondary literature, see Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 33–34, 64, 81–86, 138–141, 280–281. See also Dietze, *Philae und die Dodekaschoinos* (s. n. 13), 63–110 and Huß, *Ägypten* (s. n. 13), 512. For the military in Aswan, see Kees, *Syene* (s. n. 43), 1018–1023 and T. Reekmans and E. Van't Dack, *A Bodleian Archive on Corn Transport*, CdE 27 (1952) 149–195, esp. 158–159. Cf. also the related fact that in the region of the first cataract Isis was venerated as the patroness of the army: Hölbl, *Geschichte* (s. n. 13), 79 = id., *History* (s. n. 13), 87 and Locher, *Topographie*, 81–82, 88–89 and 280.

⁴⁵ J. Bingen, *Les inscriptions de Philae des III^e et II^e siècles avant notre ère*, CdE 54 (1979) 307–308, L. Mooren, *The Strategos Athenaios, his Subordinate Nestor and the Administrative Organization of the Southern Thebaid*, CdE 55 (1980) 262–270, esp. 262 and 266, M. P. Speidel, *Nubia's Roman Garrison*, in ANRW II 10.1, Berlin, New York 1988, 772–773 and Jaritz and Rodziewicz, *The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae; Second Preliminary Report* (s. n. 40), 114–119. For the close connections between these three localities (although probably not in a military context), cf. also P.Berlin Dem. 15609. 1–2 = P.Berlin Eleph. I 15609. 1–2: ὕβ Σων π3 ἕ rsy Pr-ἰw-rq '(in) Elephantine, Syene, dem Südgau (und) Philae'.

⁴⁶ I.Th. Sy. 320. 9–13 = SEG XXVIII 1484 (Philae, 116); cf. also I.Louvre 14. 14–20 = I.Th. Sy. 302 = SB V 8878 (Elephantine?, 152–145 [152–149?]), SB I 1918 (Hiera Sykaminos, before 143/142) and Speidel, *Nubia's Roman Garrison* (s. n. 45), 772–773.

⁴⁷ H. Jaritz, *The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae; First Preliminary Report*, MDAIK 43 (1987) 67–74, Jaritz and Rodziewicz, *The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae; Second Preliminary Report* (s. n. 40), 107–132, Dietze, *Philae und die Dodekaschoinos* (s. n. 13), 66–67, 106, Locher, *Topographie* (s. n. 2), 114–120, Speidel, *Nubia's Roman Garrison* (s. n. 45), 773 and Habachi, *Assuan* (s. n. 42), 495–496.

It is remarkable how well these facts — derived mostly from Greek documents — agree with what we know about rmt Pr-iy-lq , rmt Yb and rmt Sw from the Demotic sources. We have seen above that these designations are likely to have acquired a military or semi-military occupational meaning and that they sometimes appear together in the documents, suggesting a connection between them. Therefore, on the basis of these arguments, I should like to suggest that in the Hellenistic period the designations rmt Yb and rmt Sw each signified a particular military or semi-military group (e. g. border guards, police or customs officials) which served at these two localities (Elephantine and Aswan, respectively) and the functions of which may have been specific to these localities. Such an interpretation seems possible also for rmt Pr-iy-lq although, on the basis of the currently available evidence, it appears more likely that it had originally been used as an ethnic term, which then developed into a mixed ethnic-occupational designation⁴⁸, referring partly to its bearers' ethnic origin and partly to a special military function (or type of weaponry) typically performed (or carried) by this ethnic group (a so-called 'martial race'). Thanks to the importance of these military or semi-military professions to the Ptolemaic state, at least two of these three occupational groups appear to have enjoyed a preferential fiscal status, turning rmt Pr-iy-lq and rmt Yb into occupational-status designations⁴⁹. Bearers of these designations appear to have kept these designations and also the associated status (e.g. fiscal privileges) even after retirement and possibly also after having been posted elsewhere. Their wives and relatives (possibly also descendants) appear to have been designated by the same terms (*mutatis mutandis*) and to have enjoyed the same status. These are probably the reasons why we come across bearers of these designations in documents from regions of Egypt far away from the first cataract.

Appendix

This appendix contains occurrences of the designations rmt Pr-iy-lq , rmt Yb and rmt Sw in papyrological and epigraphic sources from Hellenistic Egypt (332–30 B.C.). It claims to be exhaustive only for Part 1A, the author being fully aware of the other Parts' incomplete state. These sections intend merely to aid further research and to serve as a simple foundation on which future work can build.

Part 1A: Prosopographical list of individuals designated as rmt Pr-iy-lq (complete)⁵⁰

rmt Pr-iy-lq ⁵¹

3pl3 —

$\text{rmt } \text{ḥtr} (?) \text{ Pylq}$ — Hellenistic? — prov. unknown — P.Cairo Dem. III 50057bα (sandal)

$\text{rmt } \text{ḥtr} (?) \text{ Pylq}$ — P.Cairo Dem. III 50057bβ (sandal)

P3-di — rmt P3-lq (for rmt Pr-lq)? — II c. — Oxyrhynchos? — O.Pisa Dem. 464 conc. 7 = S. Pernigotti, *Un ostrakon demotico della collezione pisana*, in: *Book of the 50th Anniversary of Archaeological Studies in Cairo University*, Part III, Special Issue from *The Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology*, Cairo 1978, 35–39 with K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einige unerkannte Ortsnamen*, *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 170, no. 5 — for the dating, see Clarysse, *BiOr* 42 (1985) 340 and Clarysse and Lanciers, *Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period*, *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1989) 122–124; on the provenance, see, however, Zauzich, *Demotische Ostraka aus Soknopaiu Nesos*, *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Berlin 13.–19. 8. 1995, eds. B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler and G. Poethke (AFP Beiheft 3), Stuttgart, Leipzig 1997, 1057

⁴⁸ Or, possibly, one step further, into a fictitious ethnic, occupational designation (cf. above).

⁴⁹ To be entirely precise, in the present state of the evidence, rmt Pr-iy-lq appears to have developed into an ethnic-occupational status designation, of which the occupational, and not the ethnic, aspect was fiscally privileged. If, however, rmt Pr-iy-lq indeed developed into a fictitious ethnic, occupational designation, shedding any ethnic significance, the preferential fiscal status granted to it turned it into a purely occupational-status designation (cf. above).

⁵⁰ See also the personal name P3-rmt-Pr-iwrk in O.Tempeleide 196. 4; cf. E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I 197, as well as H. J. Thissen, *Zwischen Theben und Assuan; Onomastische Anmerkungen*, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 293 and J. Bingen, *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1992, 533.

⁵¹ See also rmt Pr-iy-lq in the unpublished P.BM Dem. 10513; cf. P.Gebelen Heid. p. 39.

- P3-di-Imn — s. of Ḥr - rmt P3-iw-rk — 289? — area of Thebes — P.Leiden Dem. I 382. 15–16 = J. D. Ray, *The Voice of Authority: Papyrus Leiden I 382*, JEA 85 (1999) 189–195
- P3-di-Ḥr-p3-R^c — rmt Pr-iy-lq — Ptolemaic — Thebes — O.Leiden Dem. 365 col. I. 5
- P3-di-Ḥnsw — s. of Ḥr-Py - p3 šr p3 rmt Pr-lq — II c. — Oxyrhynchos? — O.Pisa Dem. 510+568 conc. I. x+8 = S. Pernigotti in: E. Bresciani et al., *Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco*, SCO 22 (1973) 259–262, no. 35 with K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einige unerkannte Ortsnamen*, Enchoria 15 (1987) 170 — it is possible that this designation is a personal name: cf. E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch I* 514; for the dating, see Clarysse, BiOr 42 (1985) 340 and Clarysse and Lanciers, *Currency* (loc. cit.), 122–124; on the provenance, see, however, Zauzich, *Demotische Ostraka aus Soknopaiu Nesos*, Akten (loc. cit.), 1057
- Pa-mnḥ — s. of Pa-Ḥnm ? and Ta-mnḥ — rmt Pr-iy-lq — 170–164 or 163–145 — Pathyris — P.Heidelb. Dem. 778a. 5 = P.Gebelen Heid. 9. 5
- Pa-tw — s. of N3-nḥt=f and Sy-[p3-mwt] — rmt Pr-iy-lq — 115–100 — Pathyris — P.Heidelb. Dem. 713+741a+747a+756e+781f. x+3–4 = P.Gebelen Heid. 1. x+3–4
- N3-nḥt=f — s. of [] - rmt Pr-[iy-lq] — [iw=f šp^c q ḥbs iw=f sḥ ...] ḥn n3 rmt.w Bythws — PP VIII 4020a = 4020b? — about 140 — Pathyris — P.Heidelb. Dem. 767g. x+2-3 = P.Gebelen Heid. 28. x+2-3
- Ḥr — s. of P3-di-Ḥr-wr and T3-šr.t-p3-wr — rmt Pr-iy-lq — 124 — Ombites, Pathyris — P.Heidelb. Dem. 723. 4–5 = P.Bürgsch. 9. 4–5
- Dḥwty-iw — s. of P3-šr-Mn and T3-šr-Twtw — PP IV 10751 — for the metronymic, see E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch I* 1149 and P.Schreibertrad. 24 — rmt Pr-iy-rq — 210 — Western Thebes — P.BM Dem. 10463. 2 = F. L. Griffith, *A Sale of Land in the Reign of Philopator*, PSBA 23 (1901) 294–302 — for the ethnic, see P.Schreibertrad. 24, n. 297; for the date, see ibid. and P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)*, P.L.Bat. XV, Leiden 1967, 128 n. 23 rmt Pr-iy-rq — 210 — Western Thebes — P.BM Dem. 10464. 2 = P.BM Andrews 26. 2

rmt Pr-iy-lq ms n Kmy

- Ḥr — s. of P3-di-Ḥr and Nḥt=w-s - rmt Pr-iy-lq ms n Kmy — 115–108 — Pathyris — P.Ryl. Dem. 23. 2 [] - rmt Pr-iy-lq ... ms [n Kmy] – bk Is.t — 114 — Pathyris — P.Heidelb. Dem. 737e. 4–5 = P.Gebelen Heid. 38. 4–5 with K.-Th. Zauzich in ZDMG 118 (1968) 380

Part 1B

rmt Pr-iy-lq used in the singular without a personal name
(incomplete)

- rmt Pr-w-qr (*sic*) — 219 or 202 — Elephantine — P.Berlin Dem. 13564. 16 = P.Berlin Eleph. II 13564. 16; cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, Teil 2, ed. E. Lüddeckens, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, ed. W. Voigt, Band XIX, 2, Wiesbaden 1971, no. 34 — on the ethnic, see the editor's note to the line

Part 1C

rmt Pr-iy-lq used in the plural without personal names
(incomplete)

- rmt.w (Pr)-iw-rq — 221/220 — Edfu — P.Hausw. 16. 3 = J. G. Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri; A Third Century B.C. Family Dossier from Edfu; Transcription, Translation and Commentary* (Demotische Studien 12), Sommerhausen 1997, no. 16. 3
- rmt.w Pr-iw-rq — 215 — Edfu — P.Hausw. 25a. 2 = Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri*, no. 25a. 2; P.Hausw. 25b. [2] = Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri*, no. 25b. [2]
- rmt.w Pr-iw-lq — 213 — Edfu — P.Hausw. 17. 4 = Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri*, no. 17. 4

rmt.w Pr-w-rq (*sic*) — 219 or 202 — Elephantine — P.Berlin Dem. 13564. 18 = P.Berlin Eleph. II 13564. 18; cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, Teil 2, ed. E. Lüddeckens, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften* (loc. cit.), no. 34 — on the ethnic, see the editor's note to the line

rmt.w Pr-iy-lq — 136 — Thebes — P.Berlin Dem. 5507+3098. 5 = F. L. Griffith and U. Wilcken, *A bilingual sale of liturgies in 136 B. C.*, ZÄS 45 (1908–1909) 105 = W. Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke*, II.1, Leipzig 1939, 71–72, l. 5 = P.Choach. Survey 17A

Part 2A

Prosopographical list of individuals designated as *rmt Yb*
(incomplete)⁵²

P3-*di-Is.t* — s. of Pa-*Hnm* and Ta-*Hnm* — *rmt Yb3* - *gl-šr* ... *fy stn ḥ3.t sp(.t) p3 ḥ3.t p3 5 stn.w* [... *n3 ntr*].*w*[*np3t3 Nḥ]s iw=w di n=f 3ḥ[y] ḥn n3y=w irpy.w* — PP III 5740 — about 150–100 — region of the first cataract — St. Aswan 1057. 1–2 = J. D. Ray, *A Pious Soldier: Stele Aswan 1057*, JEA 73 (1987) 169–180; id., *Further Notes on Stele Aswan 1057*, JEA 75 (1989) 243–244 and J. K. Winnicki, *Petisis, Sohn des Pachnumis, Offizier und Priester an der Südgrenze Ägyptens im 2. Jh. v. Chr.*, JJP 26 (1996) 127–134; cf. also id., *Zwei Studien über die Kalasirier*, OLA 17 (1986) 21–22

Ḥr-pa-Is.t — s. of P3-*šr-Is.t* — *rmt Yb* — I c. B.C. – I c. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos? — O.Pisa Dem. 111 conc. 8 = E. Bresciani et al., *Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco*, SCO 21 (1972) 348–350, no. 12 conc. 8

T3-*šr.t-Imn* — *t3 rmt(.t) Yb* — 262/261 — Thebes — O.BM Dem. 5766. 2 = S. V. Wängstedt, *Demotische Bescheinungen über Begräbnissteuer*, OrSu 23–24 (1974–1975) 17–19, no. IX. 2

See also the pre-Hellenistic attestation:

P3-*di-Is.t* — s. of Ns-*p3-Mtr* and Ta-*Ḥr* — *rmt n Yb* — 359/358 — Elephantine — JE 98501 = SR 3924 = A. Farid, *Ein demotisches Familienarchiv aus Elephantine*, MDAIK 46 (1990) 257–258, no. 18. 1

Part 3A

Prosopographical list of individuals designated as *rmt Sw*
(incomplete)⁵³

Yr — s. of *Ḍd-ḥr* and T3-*šr.t-Imn* — *rmt Sw* — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 1–2 — P.BM Andrews 44. 1–2

Wynn — s. of Pa-*Hnm* and Wynn — s. of Pa-*Hnm* — [*rmt Sw*] — late IV c.–mid-III c. — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10372. 1 = P.BM Andrews 43. 1
rmt Sw — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 3 = P.BM Andrews 44. 3

P3-*mr-ḥ* — s. of *Ḍd-ḥr* — *rmt Sw* — *gl-šr* — PP II and VIII 3048 — 284 — Thebes — P.BM Dem. 10525, p. 37, witness no. 3 = P.BM Glanville 10525; cf. LÄ IV 845 — for the personal name and the designation *rmt Sw*, see G. R. Hughes and C. F. Nims, *Some Observations on the British Museum Demotic Theban Archive*, AJSL 57 (1940) 260

P3-*šr-Imn* — s. of M3y-*mḥt* and T3-*šr.t-Imn* — *rmt Sw* — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 2 = P.BM Andrews 44. 2

P3-*di-Itm* — s. of Wn-*nfr* and N3-*nḥt=s* — *rmt Sw* — 124 — Pathyris — P.Heidelb. Dem. 723. 5 = P.Bürgsch. 9. 5

⁵² See also the personal name (?) P3-*rmt-Yb* in O.Pisa Dem. 1023 conv. col. II. 3 = E. Bresciani et al., *Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco*, SCO 22 (1973) 251–253, no. 31 conv. col. II. 3; cf. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I 501.

⁵³ Cf. also the personal name P3-*rmt-Sw* in O.Louvre Dem. 8102.4 = A. Cattai, *Rapport sur une mission dans la Haute-Égypte (août-décembre 1886)*, Rev. ég. 5 (1888) 78–85, pl. 18; cf. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I 197.

Pa-b^cr — s. of 'P3-s-n-mtk' —

[rmt] Swn — late IV c.–mid-III c. — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10372. 1 = P.BM Andrews 43. 1
rmt Swn — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 2–3 = P.BM Andrews 44. 2–3

Pa-nfr ddy.t n=f P3-Igš — s. of M3i-rs and T3-šr.t-Twtw —

rmt Swn — 230 — Thebes — P.BM Dem. 10074. 1 = P.Baden I A.V. 1 = W. Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke* II.1, Leipzig 1939, 141–144, l. 1; cf. LÄ IV 842
rmt Swn — 230 — Thebes — P.BM Dem. 10079B. 1 = P.L.Bat. XXX 5A. 1 — for the place, see PP III 7696 and P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt, A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman*, P.L.Bat. IX, Leiden 1961, 199–200
rmt Swn — 230 — Thebes — P.BM Dem. 10079C. 2–3 = P.L.Bat. XXX 5B. 10–11 — for the place, see P.BM Dem. 10079B above

Ḥr — s. of N3-nḥt=f and T3-ḥb.t — rmt Swn — 96 — Pathyris — P.Adler Dem. 15. 5–6

Ḥr-wd3 — s. of Dd-ḥr and T3-šr.t-Imn — mt Swn (pap. mi-nn) — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 2 = P.BM Andrews 44. 2

Sdm-n=y-Ḥnm — s. of T3i-n.im=w —

rmt Swn — late IV c.–mid-III c. — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10372. 1 = P.BM Andrews 43. 1
rmt Swn — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 3 = P.BM Andrews 44. 3

Dd-ḥr — s. of Ḥr-wd3 and T3-šr.t-Imn —

rmt Swn — late IV c.–mid-III c. — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10372. 1 = P.BM Andrews 43. 1
rmt Swn — P.BM Dem. 10372. 1 = P.BM Andrews 43. 1
rmt Swn — 243 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10389. 3 = P.BM Andrews 44. 3

..... — s. of Wn-nfr ? and Ta-Mn — rmt Swn — 177–175 — Hermonthis — P.BM Dem. 10512. 2 = P.BM Andrews 48. 2

? — s. of ? — rmt Swn — ḥn p3 [- -] — Hellenistic — Pathyris — P.Cairo Dem. II 30989. 1

Part 3B:

rmt Swn used in the singular without a personal name
(incomplete)

rmt Swn — about 150–187 — Pathyris — CGC 30641. 11 = U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Pathyris III (Nr. 56–85)*, *Enchoria* 22 (1995) 113–115, no. 84. 11 = W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler I, Die demotischen Inschriften*, CGC, Leipzig 1904, 78–80, no. 30641B. 11 — for the date, see Kaplony-Heckel, *ibid.*, 55.