CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt

Ancient Egypt offers rich sources of documentary evidence for the study of the experiences of dependent people, particularly enslaved persons, and how they changed over almost four millennia from the Old Kingdom to the early Islamic period. This volume, the work of a team of scholars spanning the full range of disciplines and languages involved, provides nearly three hundred primary sources in translation, arranged both chronologically and thematically, and is aimed principally at students, instructors and general readers. The documents reveal how people became and ceased to be slaves and how they were traded and exchanged in different periods. They also detail the various kinds of work slaves undertook, whether in the household, in agriculture or in mines and quarries. Introductions explain and contextualise the sources, and particularly address the problems of varying terminology in several different languages. The book shows Egypt's place in the world history of slavery.

Jane L. Rowlandson was Reader in Ancient History at King's College London. She was the author and editor of several monumental publications, including *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) and *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt* (1998). This current sourcebook was one of her remaining projects, and it is now dedicated to her memory.

Roger S. Bagnall is Professor Emeritus of Ancient History and founding Leon Levy Director Emeritus of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University. His publications include numerous books on the documents and social and economic history of Roman and Late Antique Egypt. He is President of the American Philosophical Society.

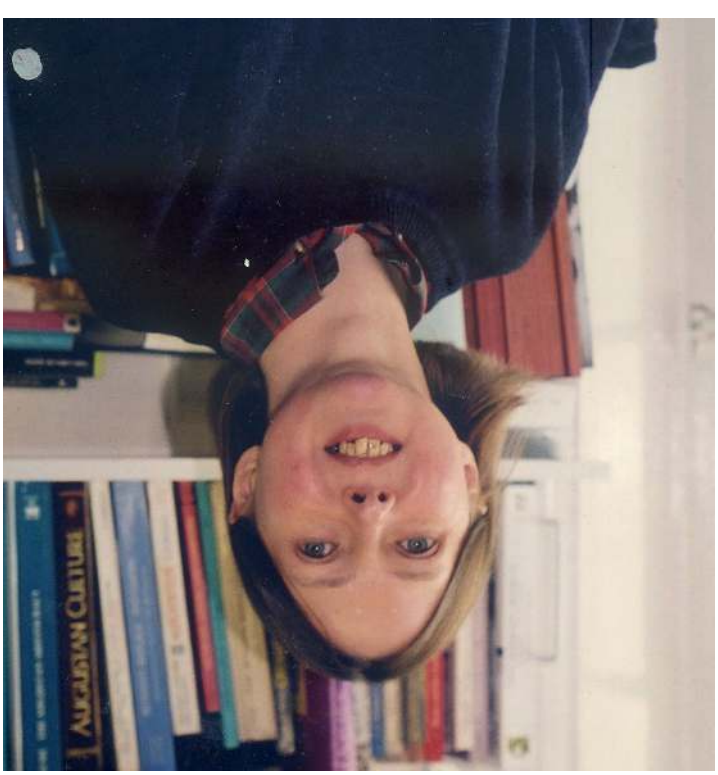
Dorothy J. Thompson is a Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, a Fellow of the British Academy and Honorary President of the International Association of Papyrologists. Her books include *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (1971), *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (2nd edn, 2012), and (with Willy Clarysse) *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (2006).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt

Sources in Translation

Edited by

JANE ROWLANDSON†,
ROGER S. BAGNALL, AND
DOROTHY J. THOMPSON

With contributions by
Jelle Bruning, W. Graham Claytor, Jennifer Cromwell,
Christopher J. Eyre, Brian P. Muhs, Sarah J. Pearce, and
Christopher J. Tuplin

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107032972

DOI: 10.1017/9781139506809

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by CPI Group Ltd, Croydon CR0 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
NAMES: Rowlandson, Jane, editor. | Bagnall, Roger S., editor. | Thompson, Dorothy J., 1939- editor.
TITLE: Slavery and dependence in ancient Egypt : sources in translation /
edited by Jane Rowlandson, Roger S. Bagnall, and Dorothy J. Thompson.
DESCRIPTION: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2024. | Includes
bibliographical references and index.
IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023052626 | ISBN 9781107032972 (hardback) | ISBN
9781107681491 (paperback) | ISBN 9781139506809 (ebook)
SUBJECTS: LCSH: Slavery – Egypt – History.
CLASSIFICATION: LCC HT1371 .S49 2024 | DDC 306.3/620932–dc23/eng/20231122
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023052626

ISBN 978-1-107-03297-2 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-107-68149-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
remain, accurate or appropriate.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Contents

List of illustrations *page* x
List of maps xiii
List of contributors xiv
Biographical notice on Jane Rowlandson xvii
Preface xix
List of abbreviations xxii
Note to the reader xxiv
Aids for the reader xxv
Glossary of technical terms xxxii

1 Introduction **1**
Jane Rowlandson and Roger S. Bagnall
1.1. What do we mean by slavery? 1
1.2. Slavery and other forms of dependence 5
1.3. Calling a slave a slave – or not: vocabularies of slavery and dependence 8
1.4. Sources of slaves 10
1.5. Were slaves deracinated 'non-persons'? 14
1.5.1. Deracination 14
1.5.1.1. Slaves and families 16
1.5.2. Access to various forms of social or religious association 17
1.5.3. Were slaves necessarily deprived of honour? 19
1.5.4. Further aspects of the dishonouring of slaves 21
1.5.4.1. Reputation 21
1.5.4.2. The dehumanising effects of being put on sale 21
1.5.4.3. Loss of sexual autonomy 22
1.5.5. Naming slaves 24
1.6. Ways of accessing the ancient slave's experience 25
1.6.1. Divining the ancient slave's experience 25
1.6.2. Archaeological evidence for Egyptian slavery 26
1.6.3. Tracing the choreography of slaves' daily life 27
1.6.4. Where did Egyptian slaves live? 27

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

1.6.5. Were slaves easily recognisable by their clothing, etc.? 28
1.6.6. Ethnicity and skin colour 28
1.6.7. The slave's experience of death 29
1.7. The work of slaves: what did they do? 31
1.8. Punishment and resistance 34

2 Pharaonic Egypt 37
Christopher J. Eyre
2.1. Introduction 37
2.2. The vocabulary of dependence **(1–17)** 39
2.2.1. *bak* and *hem* people **(1–3)** 40
2.2.2. *hem-nesu* people: 'king's-slaves' **(4–6)** 43
2.2.3. *djet-* and *nedjet-*people **(7–11)** 46
2.2.4. *meret-*people **(12–14)** 52
2.2.5. *nedjes* 'little'-people and *nemehu* 'orphan'-people **(15–17)** 56
2.3. The social contexts of dependence: criteria for distinguishing slavery from clientage **(18–32)** 59
2.3.1. The acquisition of people **(18–23)** 62
2.3.2. Slave raiding and the creation of slave communities **(24–29)** 65
2.3.3. Individual acquisition of people through warfare **(30–32)** 73
2.3.4. The renaming of slaves 77
2.4. Slaves' economic roles **(33–39)** 78
2.4.1. The assignment of slaves to agricultural and other work **(33–38)** 78
2.4.2. Economically active slaves **(39)** 85
2.5. The trade in people **(40–43)** 87
2.5.1. Foreign slave trade **(40)** 87
2.5.2. The purchase of individual slaves **(41–42)** 89
2.6. Inheritance and gift **(44–47)** 95
2.7. The integration of slaves as individuals in private households **(48–52)** 99
2.8. The joint ownership of slaves **(53–60)** 107
2.9. Enslavement as punishment or for debt **(61)** 115
2.10. Overall evaluation 117

3 The Late Period 119
3.1. Introduction 119
Brian P. Muhs
3.2. The Egyptian sources (Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic) 119
Brian P. Muhs

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

3.2.1. Introduction 119
3.2.2. Vocabulary of slavery and dependence 120
3.2.3. Texts **(62–77)** 123
3.3. Slavery in Aramaic documents from Egypt 144
Christopher J. Tuplin
3.3.1. Corpus and terminology 144
3.3.2. Becoming a slave 145
3.3.3. Acquiring slaves 146
3.3.4. Onomastics 147
3.3.5. Sources of slaves 148
3.3.6. Owners and ownership 149
3.3.7. Emancipation 151
3.3.8. Slaves, payment, and property 155
3.3.9. The experience of slavery 156
3.3.10. Texts **(78–90)** 159

4 Jewish perspectives on slavery in Egypt 176
Sarah J. Pearce
4.1. Introduction: sources and chronology 176
4.2. The Hebrew Torah **(91–104)** 179
4.2.1. Introduction 179
4.2.2. The vocabulary of servitude in the Hebrew Torah 181
4.3. The Greek Torah (Septuagint (LXX)) **(105–117)** 190
4.3.1. Terminology 191
4.4. Ancient Jewish writings related to Scripture **(118–130)** 198

5 Ptolemaic Egypt 211
Dorothy J. Thompson
5.1. Introduction 211
5.2. Ptolemaic royal regulation of slavery **(131–140)** 213
5.3. Becoming, being, and ceasing to be a slave **(141–165)** 225
5.4. Forms of dependency other than chattel slavery **(166–172)** 258
5.5. The Egyptian sources **(173–174)** 268
Brian P. Muhs

6 Roman Egypt 274
W. Graham Claytor
6.1. Introduction 274
6.1.1. Terminology 277
6.1.2. Rome, Alexandria, and the province of Egypt **(175–185)** 278
6.2. Enslavement **(186–191)** 288

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

6.3. Being sold and transferred **(192–200)** 294
6.4. Enslaved workers **(201–207)** 305
6.5. Escaping slavery **(208–213)** 311
6.6. Becoming free **(214–221)** 315
6.7. Dying in slavery **(222–225)** 325
6.8. Violence and exploitation **(226–231)** 329
6.9. Census and taxes **(232–236)** 335
6.10. Indentured servitude **(237–239)** 338

7 Byzantine and Umayyad Egypt 343
7.1. Introduction 343
Jane Rowlandson and Roger S. Bagnall
7.2. Greek documentary sources 347
Jane Rowlandson and Roger S. Bagnall
7.2.1. Slaves, dependents, and *coloni* on great estates **(240–243)** 347
7.2.2. Slaves and servants in Egyptian cities **(244–251)** 354
7.2.3. Slavery in the Dioskoros archive **(252–255)** 365
7.2.4. On the borders of freedom and slavery: *paramone* **(256–258)** 369
7.3. The Coptic evidence 375
Jennifer Cromwell
7.3.1. Introduction 375
7.3.2. Terminological issues: a slave by any other name? 376
7.3.2.1. Translating Greek terms 377
7.3.2.2. Terminology 380
7.3.3. The literary evidence 382
7.3.3.1. Shenoute on slaves **(259–260)** 382
7.3.3.2. Slaves and slavery in Gnostic texts **(261–262)** 384
7.3.3.3. Hagiographies and encomia **(263–264)** 386
7.3.4. The non-literary evidence 389
7.3.4.1. Female slaves in Nubian communities **(265–266)** 389
7.3.4.2. Personal and household servants **(267–271)** 392
7.3.4.3. Monastic slaves: donations of children and adults **(272–273)** 396
7.3.4.4. Conscription: building works and navy **(274–277)** 401
7.4. Arabic documents for slavery in early Islamic Egypt 406
Jelle Bruning
7.4.1. Introduction 406
7.4.2. Enslavement and the slave trade **(278–280)** 407

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

7.4.3. Social integration **(281–283)** 414
7.4.4. Slave labour **(284–287)** 420
7.4.5. Emancipation and thereafter **(288–290)** 425
7.4.6. Epilogue: Arabic documents from the third/ninth and fourth/tenth century 429

Concordance of texts 432
Bibliography 436
Index 476

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Illustrations

Frontispiece: Jane Rowlandson

2.1 Scenes from the tomb of Werireni. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901), 23, pl. XVI. *page* 43
2.2 **7**. The offering chapel of Kayemnofret. W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret* (Boston, 1992), 15, pl. E. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photograph © 2024 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 48
2.3 **14**. Arrival and assignment of slaves to the Temple of Amun, Karnak; scenes from the tomb of Rekhmire. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē ʿ at Thebes* (New York, 1943), 29, pl. LVII, first register (= *Urk.* IV, 1147). 55
2.4 **22**. Stele of Nakhtu. Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908.E.3927. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. 64
2.5 18th Dynasty Theban tomb of Qenamun. N. de G. Davies and R. O. Faulkner, 'A Syrian trading venture to Egypt', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 33 (1947), pl. 8. 88
2.6 Relief from the pyramid complex of Sahure. L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aḥu-Re*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1913), blatt 13. 88
2.7 **50**. Stele of Dedsobek. Langres, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Stele 110. (a) Photo by C. Lenoir, courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Langres. (b) Drawing from M. Gauthier-Laurent, 'Quelques objets égyptiens du Musée de Langres', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 30 (1930), 111. 104
3.1 **64**. Wooden tablet with oracular decree for Neskhons about her shabtis. London, British Museum, EA 16672. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum. 129
3.2 Shabti box and shabtis of members of the Sennedjem tomb. New Kingdom, Ramesside, c. 1279–1213 BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 86.114, 86.118, 86.121, 67.80, 86.128. Funds from various donors, 1886 (86.1.14, .18, .21, .28). 131
3.3 Family tree of Tamut. Diagram by Christopher Tuplin. 153
3.4 **80.** Letter to Nakḫthor about rounding up new slaves. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pell.Aram. I. 162

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

3.5 **83**. Marriage of Tamut. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum. Aramaic. *Marriage Document*, 9 August 449 BCE. Papyrus, ink, mud, linen, Object: 10 7/8 x 12 5/8 in. (27.6 x 32.1 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Bequest of Theodora Wilbour from the collection of her father, Charles Edwin Wilbour, 47.218.89. 166
4.1 Israelites crossing the Red Sea, from Dura-Europos synagogue. Gouache on paper on board copy of original by Herbert J. Gute. Yale University Art Gallery, 1936.127.16.a-b. 188
4.2 Relief showing spoils from Jerusalem, from the Arch of Titus, Rome. Photo courtesy of Steven Fine, Yeshiva University Arch of Titus Project. 199
5.1 **138**. *P.Lille* 1. 27. Photo courtesy of Institut de Papyrologie, Sorbonne University, Paris. 222
5.2 Terracotta lamp in the form of a reveller accompanied by a Nubian boy. London, British Museum, EA 37561. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum. 227
5.3 Scene of the grape harvest. Tuna el-Gebel, tomb of Petosiris. From N. Cherpion, J.-P. Corteggiani, and J.-F. Gout, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris à Touna el-Gebel. Relevé photographique*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque générale 27. Rev. edn (Paris, 2022), scene 56b. 230
5.4 Iron shackles found in the Ptolemaic mining village of Ghozza, Eastern Desert (courtesy Mission archéologique française du désert Oriental, © M. Kacicnik, Ifao). 233
5.5 Record of young male slaves. *BGU* 14.2372 (see **144**). © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Photo: Archiv, P. 25167. 238
6.1 **175**. Uppsala University Library, P.Ups.inv. 102. 279
6.2 **221**. Portrait of Eutyches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 18.9.2. 325
6.3 **225**. Gravestone. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Photo: Archiv, ÄM 13471. 328
6.4 **226**. *P.Oxy.* 50.3555. Photo courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project. 330
6.5 **229**. *P.Oxy.* 42.3070. Photo courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project. 333
7.1 **247**. *SB* 18.13173. Strasbourg, BNU inv. 2029-2033. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg. 359
7.2 **249**. *P.Oxy.* 77.5124. Photo courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project. 363
7.3 **250**. *BKU* 3.360 = *SB* 10.10554. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Photo: Archiv, P. 21530. 364

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

7.4 **279**. *P.JoySorrow* 34. Yale Papyrus Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library inv. 2655 qua. 412
7.5 **281**. J. David-Weill, 'Papyrus arabes du Louvre, II', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 14 (1971), no. 11 recto. Musée du Louvre, E 7049. © RMN-Grand Palais/ArtResource, New York. 417
7.6 **288**. *P.JoySorrow* 17, side A. Cambridge University Library, Michaelides Collection inv. A 1355. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. 427
7.7 **290**. *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.73 recto. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Photo: Archiv, P. 24033r. 429

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Maps

1	Egypt	page xli
2	Delta	xlii
3	Lower and Middle Egypt	xliii
4	Fayyum	xliv
5	Upper Egypt	xlv
6	Great Oasis	xlvi
7	Eastern Desert	xlvii
8	Nubia	xlviii
9	The Levant	xlix
10	The Aegean and Near East	l

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Contributors

Roger S. Bagnall is Professor of Ancient History and Leon Levy Director, emeritus, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, as well as Jay Professor of Greek and Latin and Professor of History, emeritus, at Columbia University. He was the first director of the excavations at Amheida (Dakhla Oasis). His interests lie mainly in the social, economic, and administrative history of Egypt from the Hellenistic to the late antique period and in the papyrological documentation of that period. He was the editor of the recent *Roman Egypt: A History* (Cambridge 2021).

Jelle Bruning is a lecturer in Middle Eastern Studies at Leiden University and an historian of early Islamic Egypt. Currently, his research focuses on the social history of slavery and (un)freedom under the Umayyads and Abbasids and on literary descriptions of Egypt's religious landscape, especially Islamic images of Alexandria. He is the author of *The Rise of a Capital: Al-Fusṭāṭ and Its Hinterland, 18/639–132/750* (Leiden 2018) and one of the editors of *Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World: From Constantinople to Baghdad, 500–1000* CE (Cambridge 2022).

W. Graham Claytor is a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Research on Ancient Civilizations, University of Warsaw. His work focuses on papyrology and the history of Graeco-Roman Egypt, with a particular interest in family archives and notarial institutions.

Jennifer Cromwell is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at Manchester Metropolitan University. Prior to joining MMU in 2018, she held research fellowships at the University of Oxford, Macquarie University (Sydney), and the University of Copenhagen. Her research interests lie largely in the social and economic history of Egypt in late antiquity and the early Islamic period (fourth to ninth centuries CE), especially at a village and monastic level. Her 2017 monograph, *Recording Village Life: A Coptic Scribe in Early Islamic Egypt* (Ann Arbor), is a detailed study of the work of an eighth-century Egyptian scribe, incorporating papyrological analysis of his documents with an examination of his connections at both local and regional levels.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Christopher J. Eyre is Professor of Egyptology at the University of Liverpool. His research has been concerned with the reading and interpretation of texts – documentary and literary – with particular focus on the uses of writing, the economy, the agricultural regime, and social relationships. Currently he has been applying a more ethnographic approach, targeting a description of behaviour in pharaonic Egypt, while holding a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship (2018–2021) to develop this project, *Peopling Ancient Egypt: An Ethnography of Pharaonic Egypt*. His publications include a study on *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford 2013).

Brian P. Muhs is Associate Professor of Egyptology at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures: West Asia and North Africa (ISAC) and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. His major research interests include ancient Egyptian law, economy, society, and inter-cultural interactions in the first millennium BCE. He has published two books on taxation in Ptolemaic Egypt, and a third on the ancient Egyptian economy.

Sarah J. Pearce is Ian Karten Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Southampton. Her research interests lie in the society and intellectual culture of Jews in the Hellenistic world. She is the author of *The Land of the Body: Studies in Philo's Representation of Egypt* (Tübingen 2007), *The Words of Moses* (Tübingen 2013), and, most recently, co-editor (with Alison Salvesen and Miriam Frenkel) of *Israel in Egypt: The Land of Egypt as Concept and Reality for Jews in Antiquity and the Early Medieval Period* (Leiden 2020).

Jane Rowlandson† (see Biographical notice).

Dorothy J. Thompson, a Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, is an ancient historian with a particular interest in Hellenistic Egypt. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and an Honorary President of the International Association of Papyrologists. The second edition of her prize-winning *Memphis under the Ptolemies* was published by Princeton University Press in 2012, and her most recent book, together with Thorolf Christensen and Katelijn Vandorpe, is *Land and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt: An Edition, Translation and Commentary for the Edfu Land Survey* (Cambridge 2017).

Christopher J. Tuplin is Gladstone Professor of Greek at the University of Liverpool. He is the author of *The Failings of Empire* (Stuttgart 1993), *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart 1996), and numerous research essays on Greek and Achaemenid

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Persian history, editor of *Pontus and the Outside World* (Leiden 2004), *Xenophon and His World* (Stuttgart 2004), and *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction (with)in the Achaemenid Empire* (Swansea 2007), and co-editor of *Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture* (Oxford 2002), *Xenophon: Ethical Principles and Historical Enquiry* (Leiden 2012), and *Aršāma and His World: The Bodleian Letters in Context* (Oxford 2020). His current major project is a commentary on Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Biographical notice on Jane Rowlandson

Jane Rowlandson, whose project this book originally was, sadly died before all contributions were to hand, and before her overall vision of the subject could be imprinted on its content. It is in memory of Jane, her personality and her scholarship, that her successor editors wish to record this tribute to her.

Jane L. Rowlandson (1953–2018) came from Lancashire, in the north of England, and these northern roots together with a socialist family background were central to her development both personally and as an historian. After schooling at Bolton School (Girls' Division), Jane studied Classics (Literae Humaniores) at St Hilda's College, Oxford, where on graduation she remained to work for her doctorate on Roman Egypt under the supervision of Geoffrey de Ste Croix and later Alan K. Bowman. Research fellowships followed, at The Queen's College, Oxford, and Newcastle University, then teaching posts at University College, London, Christ Church, Oxford, and Birkbeck College, London. Her participation (reading Herodotus) at the Aberystwyth Summer Workshops in Greek and Latin is still remembered and appreciated by those she taught there in the 1970s. In 1989 Jane transferred to King's College, London, first as Lecturer in Ancient History and later, from 2003, as Reader. As a university teacher, she consistently invested great care and energy in her teaching of students at all levels; having her room at a cooler temperature than most was, she claimed, a fail-safe way of keeping all involved on their toes. She was a greatly valued colleague whose dedication to her job, combined with her sense of humour, helped to keep others going when times got tough. Jane was an historian who believed in the importance of a firm grounding in the evidence and of building from this, brick by brick. She was tirelessly meticulous and never satisfied with superficial conclusions. Accuracy was of prime importance to her, and she expected the same high standards of those she taught or worked with as she applied to her own work. In 2005, as a result of worsening rheumatoid arthritis, which she consistently fought with courage and determination over many years, Jane was forced to take early retirement. She moved permanently to her much-loved home in Aberystwyth in Wales. Here, with the devoted care of her husband Michael Roberts, she retained close research links with her colleagues both at home and abroad, and continued to work right up to her death on 20 November 2018. This volume was one of her remaining projects. It is now dedicated to her memory.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Preface

A recent reviewer of three books about slavery pointed to the fundamental difficulties we face in describing just what the subject is:

> What is slavery? In the period since the Second World War, as the study of slavery has moved towards the centre of academic discourse in Britain and America, the answer to this basic question has never been resolved. Some scholars have held that slavery is at root a matter of power: it amounts to the purest form of human domination. Some have maintained that in truth slavery describes a property relation: it is the ownership of one person by another. Other scholars have observed that slavery consists in an irresolvable tension: it is the attempt, which is ultimately impossible, to define and treat persons as things.[1]

Part of the problem in talking about slavery lies in the assumption that a single definition that is valid across differences of time and place is either possible or desirable. This book embodies the view that this is not the case. It presents sources for slavery in Egypt over a period of several thousand years of historic change. It responds, we hope, to the challenge recently put forward by Kostas Vlassopoulos, who urges a tripartite approach, taking account of property, status, and modalities of slaving.[2] In Chapter 1 we discuss this standpoint and how it can be pursued with the available documentation for ancient Egypt. With the words 'and dependence' in our title, which go back to Jane Rowlandson's original vision for the volume, we acknowledge the fuzziness of the concept of slavery and of the set of behaviours that can legitimately bear that name, even with the suppleness of Vlassopoulos's historicising approach.

The period covered in this book extends over four millennia and multiple languages: Egyptian throughout its various historical phases, ending in Coptic; Aramaic; Hebrew; Greek; Latin; and Arabic. The nature of the sources available in these languages and for these different periods is very heterogeneous, just as is the scholarly culture of the various disciplines involved. Partly for these reasons

1 Harpham 2022.
2 Vlassopoulos 2021.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

we have not tried to make the different chapters all fit a standard pattern. In some the texts could readily be divided into subtopics, in others not. Chapter 4 in particular, dealing with Jewish literary sources, is very different from the rest, but given the wide knowledge of the representation of slavery in the Bible, it seemed impossible not to include the tradition of the Hebrew Bible and works derived from or in dialogue with it. The social history aspect is more in the foreground in some chapters than others, and the highly developed intellectual superstructure of Roman law gives chapters 6 and 7 a more administrative and legal aspect.

We hope that despite these differences the reader will be able to see how variable relationships of dependence were from period to period, how they reflect the political, social, and economic structures of the societies in which they were embedded, and how contingent our very concept of slavery is. These multiple types of diversity should give pause to any thought that it is possible to generalise about slavery across time and place, a point we explore in more detail in Chapter 1. That diversity extends to the fundamental difference from period to period of which subjects have enough evidence to be explored in any depth. For each period, there are topics of importance on which we are wholly ignorant. One of the purposes of a sourcebook like this one is to bring out the contours of our ignorance and, at the same time, to encourage readers to find their own way in the evidence and bring their own questions to it.

When Jane Rowlandson conceived this book in 2011 and then the following year drafted a formal proposal, she hoped that its writing would take no more than a year or so once contracts were signed. Her precarious health dictated otherwise, and at her premature death on 20 November 2018 only a few sections were in draft. Fortunately, her commissioning editor, Michael Sharp, was also Jane's long-time friend and a fellow ancient historian, and he was determined to rescue the project and the work already done. We accepted his invitation to bring the volume to completion, both out of a conviction that it could be an important contribution and out of our own affection and admiration for Jane. But neither of us has the depth of knowledge of the subject that she had, and we ask readers' indulgence for places in which we may not have realised her vision in its entirety. We thank Michael Roberts, Jane's husband, for welcoming us into our editorial role, and Michael Sharp, along with his assistant Katie Idle, for their support of our efforts throughout.

Jane had planned to do all of the sections on the Greek and Latin texts herself, and she had drawn up lists of desired texts along with many comments and much bibliography. These have in varying degrees served as the basis for the work we have collectively undertaken in chapters 5, 6, and 7, as well as the Introduction (Chapter 1), of which an extensive though rough draft, mixing text, bibliography, and open questions, existed, updated to 25 September 2017. We have not tried to

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

distinguish our hands in Chapter 1 or the Greek section of Chapter 7, but the fact that her name stands first on the title page reflects this large contribution. We are responsible for the final form, of course.

We thank above all the contributors to this volume for the thought and commitment they have brought to their work and their responsiveness to our many communications. We thank also colleagues who have helped us at various points in our work on bringing this book to completion. We are also grateful to the four referees for Cambridge University Press, who all contributed to shaping the final form of the volume and making it more accessible to a range of readers, and to Alwyn Harrison and Liz Davey for shepherding the volume through copy-editing and production.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Abbreviations

For papyrological abbreviations, including reference works, see the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (https://papyri.info/docs/checklist) and the *Arabic Papyrology Bibliography* (https://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/apd/editionsprint.jsp).

ATNS	J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra* (London, 1983).
CAD	I. J. Gelb et al. (eds.), *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956–2010).
CCG	H. Lozachmeur (ed.), *La collection Clermont-Ganneau. Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois* (Paris, 2006).
CD	W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939).
CG	in document headings: *Catalogue général* (of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).
CJ	F. H. Blume et al., *The Codex of Justinian: A New Annotated Translation with Parallel Latin and Greek Text Based on a Translation by Justice Fred H. Blume*, ed. B. W. Frier et al. (Cambridge, 2016).
EI^2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd edn. 12 vols. (Leiden, 1960–2004).
EQ	*Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. 6 vols. (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2001–2006).
JPS	*JPS Hebrew–English Tanakh: The Traditional Hebrew Text and the New JPS Translation*. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1999).
KRI	K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, vols. 1–8 (Oxford, 1969–1990); J. A. Roberson, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, vol. 9 (Wallasey, 2018).
Law and Legal Practice	J. G. Keenan, J. G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest. A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge, 2014).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

LXX	Septuagint.
MT	(Masoretic Text) = R. Kittel, K. Elliger, W. Rudolph, H. P. Rüger, G. E. Weil, and A. Schenker (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 5th emended edn. (Stuttgart, 1997).
NAPEB	J. D. Moore, *New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine in Berlin* (Leiden, 2022).
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version of the Bible.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III*, 1st edn. by E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897–8); 2nd edn. by E. Groag, A. Stein, et al. (Berlin, 1933–).
TADAE	B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 4 vols. (Winona Lake, IN, 1986–1999).
TM Arch	Trismegistos Archives (https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/).
Urk. I	K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* (Leipzig, 1903).
Urk. IV	K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Neuen Reichs, historische-biographische Urkunden,* Heft 1–16 (Leipzig, 1906–1909), continued by W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: historische Inschriften Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II*, Heft 17–22 (Berlin, 1955–1958).
WDSP	J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C.* (Leiden and Boston, 2007).
Women and Society	J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, 1998).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Note to the reader

The ancient texts translated in this volume come from a variety of ancient languages. The scholarly disciplines that study these texts use different systems of representing these, both in their original writing systems and in transliteration into English. Transliterations are given here only when, in the author's view, the ancient word is critical to understanding what is being said, particularly where there are multiple words that might have the same English rendering; or when the exact meaning of the word is not known, as is the case with many physical objects mentioned in Egyptian texts. Egyptologists often use specific systems of transcription into roman characters that allow a reader to know exactly what Egyptian sounds are meant and to find words in Egyptian dictionaries. These technical systems are not used in this book, where we have preferred a phonetic rendering with vowels, even if these are in some cases arbitrary.

Texts are also in many cases incompletely preserved. The standard sign to represent places where a text breaks off or where the translated text has been restored by a scholar, usually from parallels, is square brackets. These are often omitted where the gap is small and the restoration is certain; authors have used their own judgement in this matter. Double brackets indicate an erasure of text.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Aids for the reader

1. Chronological table

BCE
Predynastic Period: to 3000
Early Dynastic Period: c. 3000–2686
Old Kingdom: c. 2686–2125
First Intermediate Period: c. 2160–2055
Middle Kingdom: c. 2055–1650
Second Intermediate Period: c. 1650–1550
New Kingdom: c. 1550–1069
Third Intermediate Period: c. 1069–664
Late Period: 664–332

Dynasty 26 (Saite)
Psammetichus I: 664–610
Foundation of Naukratis: c. 630/570
Necho II: 610–595
Psammetichus II: 595–589
Apries: 589–570
Amasis: 570–526
Psammetichus III: 526–525

Dynasty 27 (1st Persian occupation)
Cambyses: 526–522
Darius I: 522–486
Xerxes: 486–465

Dynasty 28
Amyrtaios: 404–399

Dynasty 29
Hakoris: 393–380

Dynasty 30
Nektanebo I: 380–362
Nektanebo II: 360–343
Tachos: 361/360–359/358

2nd Persian occupation
Artaxerxes III: 343–338
Darius III: 336–332

Macedonian dynasty
Alexander the Great: 332–323
Foundation of Alexandria: 331
Philip III Arrhidaios: 323–317
Alexander IV (d. 310): 323–306/305
Ptolemy son of Lagos, satrap of Egypt: 323–306

Ptolemaic dynasty
Ptolemy I Soter (with Berenike I): 306–282
Battle of Ipsos: 301
Ptolemy II Philadelphos (with Arsinoe II, d. 270/268): 284–246
Ptolemy III Euergetes I (with Berenike II): 246–221
Canopus decree: 238
Ptolemy IV Philopator (with Arsinoe III): 221–204
Battle of Raphia: 217
Revolt in the Thebaid under Haronnophris and Chaonnophris: 206–186
Ptolemy V Epiphanes (with Kleopatra I): 204–180
Battle of Panion: 200
Memphis decree (Rosetta Stone): 196
Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra I: 180–177
Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II: 177–170
Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII, and Kleopatra II: 170–164
Antiochus IV invades Egypt: 170–168
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II ('Physkon'): 164–163

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II: 163–145
Ptolemy VIII: 145–116
Kleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II ('Lathyros'): 116–107
Kleopatra III and Ptolemy X Alexander I: 107–101
Ptolemy X and Kleopatra Berenike III: 101–88
Ptolemy IX Soter II: 88–80
Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos ('Auletes'): 80–58
Berenike IV: 58–55
Ptolemy XII: 55–51
Kleopatra VII Philopator and Ptolemy XIII: 51–47
Julius Caesar in Egypt: 48/47
Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV: 47– 44
Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV ('Caesarion'): 44–30
Mark Antony sometimes in Egypt: 41–30
Battle of Actium: 31

CE

Roman emperors

Augustus (previously Octavian): 27 BCE–14
Tiberius: 14–37
Gaius (Caligula): 37–41
Alexandrian Greeks attack the Jews: 38
Claudius: 41–54
Nero: 54–68
Galba, Otho, Vitellius: 68–69
Vespasian: 69–79
Titus: 79–81
Domitian: 81–96
Nerva: 96–98
Trajan: 98–117
Jewish revolt in Egypt: 115–117
Hadrian: 117–138
Hadrian visits Egypt: 129–130
Antoninus Pius: 138–161
Marcus Aurelius: 161–180
and Lucius Verus: 161–169
Antonine plague in Egypt: 167–c. 179
Revolt of the Boukoloi in the Delta: 172–175
Commodus: 180–192
Septimius Severus: 193–211
Septimius Severus visits Egypt: 200–201
Caracalla: 211–217
Constitutio Antoniniana (grant of Roman citizenship): 212
Macrinus: 217–218
Antoninus (Elagabalus): 218–222
Severus Alexander: 222–235
Maximinus the Thracian: 235–238
Gordian III: 238–244
Philip the Arab: 244–249
Decius: 249–251
Decian 'persecution' of Christians: 250
Trebonianus Gallus: 251–253
Valerian and Gallienus: 253–260
Gallienus (alone): 260–268
Claudius II the Goth: 268–270
Palmyrenes control Egypt: 270–272
Aurelian: 270–275
Tacitus: 275–276
Probus: 276–282

Late antique/Byzantine emperors

Diocletian: 284–305
Diocletian in Egypt: 298
The Great Persecution: 303–313
Constantine I: 306–337
Licinius: 308–324
Athanasius bishop of Alexandria: 328–373
Constantine II: 337–340
Constans: 337–350
Constantius II: 337–361
Julian ('the Apostate'): 361–363
Jovian: 363–364
Valens: 364–378
Theodosius I: 379–395
Roman Empire divided into eastern and western halves: 395
Arcadius: 395–408
Theodosius II: 408–450
Marcian: 450–457
Council of Chalcedon condemns Miaphysites: 451
Leo I: 457–474
Zeno: 474–491
Anastasius: 491–518
Justin I: 518–527
Justinian: 527–565
Justin II: 565–578

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Tiberius II: 578–582
Maurice: 582–602
Phocas: 602–610
Heraclius: 610–641
Sasanian Persians occupy Egypt: 619–629
Arab conquest: 639–642

Caliphate of the Rightly Guided Caliphs: 642–661
ʿUmar I ibn Khaṭṭāb: 634–644
ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān: 644–656
ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib: 656–661

Umayyad caliphate: 661–750
Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān: 661–680
Yazīd I ibn Muʿāwiya: 680–683
Muʿāwiya II ibn Yazīd: 683
Marwān I ibn al-Ḥakam: 684–685
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān: 685–705
al-Walīd I ibn ʿAbd al-Malik: 705–715
Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik: 715–717
ʿUmar II ibn ʿAbd al-Azīz: 717–720
Yazīd II ibn ʿAbd al-Malik: 720–724
Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik: 724–743
al-Walīd II ibn Yazīd: 743–744
Yazīd III ibn al-Walīd: 744
Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd: 744
Marwān II ibn Muḥammad: 744–750

Abbasid caliphate: 750–868
Al-Saffāḥ: 750–754
Al-Manṣūr: 754–775
Al-Mahdī: 775–785
Al-Hādī: 785–786
Hārūn al-Rashīd: 786–809
Al-Amīn: 809–813
Al-Maʾmūn: 813–833

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

2. Calendars

The Egyptians used a calendar consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, subdivided into ten-day periods ('weeks'). Historically, the Egyptians reckoned the twelve months as being divided into three seasons of four months each: *akhet* (inundation), *peret* (emergence of crops), and *shemu* (harvest), and dates by this system are found in some of the Egyptian-language texts in this volume. The calendar did not make provision for leap years; its beginning thus shifted when reckoned against the modern modified Julian calendar. In post-pharaonic times, the months have names. The year began with the month of Thoth and ended with Mesore (to give the forms used in Greek texts), with an 'epagomenal' (added) festival period of five days at the end, named in pharaonic texts as the birthdays of specific gods. In the early Ptolemaic period, Macedonian month names were sometimes used, but increasingly Egyptian month names (written in Greek) predominated. Kings dated their reigns from their accession to power to the end of the current year, however short a period that might be, then their year 2 as starting with Thoth 1 following. Documents do not always give the name of the current king or emperor; it is therefore sometimes impossible to convert the ancient dates into modern equivalents. Augustus ended the migration of the year's start caused by the year being approximately 365 1/4 days in length, by adding a leap year every four years; Thoth 1 was thus frozen on 29 August (30 August in leap years).

As regnal dating became more complex from Diocletian on, with multiple concurrent emperors who had different regnal counts, the imperial government pushed the use of consular dating, a system long used in the rest of the empire. Consuls – the two annual magistrates of the Roman state – were inherently problematic as a means of dating in a far-flung empire, because their names had to be disseminated over great distances every year and remembered by thousands of scribes to whom they were unfamiliar. Nonetheless, from 293 CE on consuls' names are widely used to date Greek documents.

In late 313 or early 314, yet another form of chronological reckoning appears, the indiction. The indiction cycle contained fifteen years and was counted from 312; a new cycle thus began in 327, 342, and so on, and the same year number would recur at intervals of fifteen years. A document dated only by indiction number, therefore, while perfectly clear in its original context, cannot be given an exact date now except by other information such as prosopography. Complicating matters further is the start date of the indiction year, which was not standardised: coinciding with the civil year (Thoth 1) in the Oxyrhynchite, beginning two months earlier in the Arsinoite, and starting two months earlier still (Pachon 1) in the Thebaid and many other areas.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Although regnal dating virtually disappeared after Constantine, it was reintroduced two centuries later under Justinian, but now reckoned from the exact date of accession to the throne. An era from the accession of Diocletian also appears in the last third of the fourth century, but it is not used to date papyrus documents until after the Arab conquest; in the fourth century it appears principally in horoscopes and Christian texts. The era of Diocletian and the indiction cycle survived the end of Roman rule in Egypt, while consuls and imperial reigns vanished. The Arab conquerors in their turn introduced dating by the years of the era of the Hijra, Mohamed's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622. The Muslim calendar has twelve months of twenty-nine or thirty days, totalling 354 or 355 days. The Hijra year thus shifts against the Julian calendar by around eleven days each year.

In this book, 367/8 denotes a regnal, indiction, or Hijra year beginning in Julian 367 and ending in 368; 367–369 refers to a period beginning in 367 and ending in 369.

3. Money and measures

Many monetary systems were in use during the long period covered in this book. The Egyptians used terms based on silver weights, the *deben* and the *qite*, and the *shat* (or *seniu*) of 1/12 *deben*. During the Late and Ptolemaic periods, the weight or quality of silver is sometimes specified to be that of the treasury of a temple. In the period when Greek soldiers were in the employ of Egyptian kings, the use of Greek or Greek-style coinage for their pay led to wider use of coined money in the country and (from the 30th Dynasty) the minting of coins in Egypt; Persian coins also circulated.

Large-scale minting in Egypt began with the Ptolemies, first under Ptolemy son of Lagos as satrap for the heirs of Alexander the Great, and after his accession as king, as royal money. Ptolemaic coinage was struck on a Greek model, but using a lighter weight for the silver drachma than the widely used Athenian standard. Gold and bronze coins also were minted, but amounts of money were quoted in the silver currency, in which 6 obols equalled one drachma and 6,000 drachmas one talent. Starting in the later third century, the practice of mixing copper into silver led to a drop in the purchasing power of a nominal drachma; continued debasement led to a complex monetary situation in which prices might be quoted in (debased) silver currency or in bronze.

From Augustus to Diocletian, Egypt remained an isolated currency zone, supplied by the mint in Alexandria with a coinage unique to the province. The standard imperial coinage in three metals in use in most of the rest of the empire is found only in small amounts in Egypt. The monetary unit was still the drachma,

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

in official reckoning equated to the Roman *sestertius*, and the tetradrachm, a 4 drachma piece, equated to the *denarius*. In papyri of the Roman period, however, the *denarius* is virtually absent (apart from military texts); instead, the drachma appears, and for large amounts the talent (6,000 drachmas). The tetradrachm, minted in billon, was the main medium of payment for larger amounts. Its silver content was reduced, particularly starting in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and the quality of imperial coinage deteriorated through the third century.

All this changed with Diocletian's currency reform of 296, in which Egypt was integrated with the rest of the empire. Egypt was provided with a three-part currency: gold coins (*aurei*, or *solidi*) of about 5.45 g; silver coins (*argentei*), of about 3.4 g each; and three denominations of billon coins, the largest (at about 10 g) tariffed at 12.5 *denarii*, doubled in 300 CE to 25 *denarii*. The minting of silver soon ceased, but gold and billon coinage continued, although the gold was minted outside Egypt. Constantine reduced the weight of the gold *solidus* to about 4.5 g, where it remained throughout the Byzantine period. The billon coinage underwent a long and complex history of weight reductions, coupled with changes in its percentage of silver, leading ultimately (under Valentinian) to a standard coin (referred to in the sources as *nummus*), which had only a trace of silver, probably an amount below what ancient technology was capable of detecting.

At any given time, gold coins, which were effectively pure, could be purchased openly for billon coinage. The amount of billon necessary to buy gold depended on two factors: the amount of silver and bronze in the coins, and the relative values of gold, silver, and bronze at that moment. Because the government announced the value of coins, the effect of reducing the size or silver content of a coin without changing its stated value was to increase the nominal value of gold stated in units of account, that is, *denarii*. The results are visible in the papyri chiefly in the vast numbers appearing as the prices of goods and services as the fourth century draws on, stated in drachmas or *denarii*. After 350, gold increasingly became the means of making major purchases, lending money, and fixing future obligations of other sorts; it was, rather anomalously, both money and commodity.

The following abbreviations are used for units of currency in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods: den. (*denarius*), dr. (drachma), sol. (*solidus*), and tal. or T. (talent).

After the Arab conquest, Byzantine money remained in wide circulation in Egypt, but gradually we encounter the new regime's coins, the *dinar* and *dirham*.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

4. The nomes

Egypt had from early times been organised in geographical units described in Greek as *nomoi*, called nomes in English. The list of the nomes, fixed at an early date, is transmitted unchanged in temple texts thereafter. Over several millennia, however, their numbers, names, and boundaries were altered repeatedly. Those that appear in our texts can be seen on the maps from the presence of their chief cities.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Glossary of technical terms

ʿ*abd*: male slave (Arabic).
ʿ*abodah*: slave labour, but also more broadly 'work', 'service', 'service of God' (Hebrew).
actuarius: an official responsible for record-keeping concerning military provisions (Latin).
ʾ*adon*: master (Hebrew).
adscripticius, *-a*: enrolled worker (Latin).
agoranomion: record office (Greek).
agoranomos: civic magistrate responsible for supervision of markets and notarial records (Greek).
ama: female slave (Arabic).
ʾ*amah*: female slave (Hebrew); cf. Aramaic ʾ*mh*.
andrapodon: slave (Greek, lit. 'man-footed creature').
apeleutheros: freedman (Greek).
Apellaios: second month of the Macedonian calendar.
argenteus: standard Roman silver coin introduced in Diocletian's reign.
aroura: unit of measurement of land area used in Egypt, about two-thirds of an acre or 0.27 hectares.
artaba: Persian grain measure used in Egypt, originally about 30 litres; in the Roman period most commonly corresponding to about 39 litres in volume and 25 kg in weight.
Artemisios: seventh month of the Macedonian calendar.
Audnaios: third month of the Macedonian calendar.
aureus: standard Roman gold coin, replaced by the *solidus* in the early fourth century.
Babylonian exile: the forced displacement of people from Jerusalem and Judah, following the fall of Judah to Babylon in 597 BCE.
bak, *-et*: 'slave' or 'servant' (Egyptian, cf. Coptic *bôk*).
ʿ*bd* (pl. ʿ*bdn*): slave (Aramaic).
billon: mixture of bronze and silver used in some coin issues.
bôk, *-i*: Bohairic Coptic term for slave or servant.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Canaan: a name for the region approximately representing the land of Israel in Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources; in biblical sources, the land of Israel prior to the Israelite settlement.

carat: unit of weight, one-sixth of a Roman gram (Greek *keration*), used for 1/24 of a *solidus*.

centenarion: a measure nominally of 100 Roman pounds.

choachyte: mortuary priest, funerary worker.

Choiak: fourth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.

colonus: farmer, mostly used for farmers attached to a particular estate.

comes: 'count', title applied to various officials in Byzantine Egypt.

corvée: French term used for compulsory labour required by the state.

Daisios: eighth month of the Macedonian calendar.

Dead Sea Scrolls: a collection of textual finds from the Judaean desert, mainly second century BCE through the first century CE, most of which are from Qumran caves 1–11. These include multiple fragmentary copies of biblical texts, in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, as well as other Jewish texts from outside the Bible.

deben: an Egyptian weight measure of about 91 grams, equivalent to 10 *qite* or 12 *shat*. It also served as a measure of value when applied to copper, gold, or especially silver.

deme: a subdivision of a Greek city.

Demotic: 'popular', term used to refer to an Egyptian cursive script and language phase.

denarius: coin worth 4 drachmas in Roman Egypt.

despotes: master (Greek).

Deuteronomy: fifth book of the Hebrew Torah; adj. Deuteronomic.

diakonos: servant (Greek).

dinar: gold coin in Islamic Egypt, containing c. 4.5 g gold, rough equivalent of Roman *solidus*.

Diodorus Siculus: a Sicilian historian of the first century BCE who wrote a universal history from mythological times to his own; Book 1 is mainly concerned with Egypt.

dioiketes: 'manager', Greek term used to refer to the Ptolemaic chief royal minister, in charge particularly of finances; in Coptic used for the manager of the *castrum* of Djeme.

dipla: 'double' wine jars (Greek).

dirham: silver coin in Islamic Egypt.

djet: collective Egyptian term for the subordinate personnel of an individual; also *djet* and *nedjet* used to refer to individual subordinates.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

doulagogia: enslavement, slavery (Greek).
doulos, *-e*: slave (Greek).
drachma: Greek unit of weight and basic unit of coinage; it had different weights in various local standards.
Dystros: fifth month of the Macedonian calendar.
ʿebed (pl. *ʿabadim*): slave, servant, connected to the Hebrew verb *ʿabad*, 'to work'.
eleutheros, *-e/a*: Greek term meaning 'free person'.
enapographos georgos: a 'farmer of enrolled status'; the Greek equivalent of the Latin *adscripticius colonus*.
enkatochos: someone 'held' by a god (Greek; see also *katochos*).
epagomenal days: the five (or in leap years, six) days that follow at the end of the Egyptian year, after the twelve months of thirty days each.
epaphe: 'defect' in a slave, the meaning of which is debated; most likely refers to liability to seizure by a third party (see note to **270**).
Epeiph: the eleventh month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.
epigone: in the Ptolemaic period those 'of the *epigone*' were descendants of immigrant soldiers not yet fully integrated into the army. See also Persian.
epistates: supervisor or overseer of some function or group (Greek).
epistrategos: governor of a district of Egypt, under the prefect (Greek).
ergodioktes: taskmaster, supervisor (Greek).
exegetes: a civic official connected to the gymnasium, with various responsibilities including record-keeping and managing the baths (Greek).
Exodus: second book of the Hebrew Torah.
fatā: Arabic term for 'boy', often used for a slave.
Fayyum: district in central Egypt to west of Nile Valley, source of large numbers of papyri; the ancient 'Lake' or Arsinoite nome.
gay: type of Egyptian vessel.
gbr (pl. *gbrn*): Iranian term used in Aramaic for 'man', often as property.
Genesis: first book of the Hebrew Torah.
georgos: 'farmworker', a term encompassing both tenants and waged labourers (Greek).
ger: a resident alien, temporary resident living with or alongside Israelites (Hebrew).
Germanikeios: Greek name of the later ancient Egyptian/Coptic month Pachon.
ghulām: lit. 'boy', slave (Arabic).
Gnomon (of the *Idios Logos*): set of laws and rules governing the work of the head of the *idios logos*, largely concerning status.
grd: worker (Aramaic).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

Greek Bible: a body of translations of books of the Hebrew Bible into Greek and original compositions in Greek, including the Septuagint.

gymnasiarch: office holder in a Greek city responsible for management of the gymnasium and in particular of its supply of oil.

hallur: 0.025 shekels or 1/40 shekel.

Hathyr: third month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.

Hebrew Bible: refers to what Christians term the Old Testament (not including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha).

hel: servant (Coptic).

hem, *-et* (pl. *hemu*, *-t*): 'slave' or 'servant' (Egyptian).

hemhal: primary Sahidic Coptic term for slave.

hem-nesu: 'king's-slave', not clearly distinguished from simple *hem*, used essentially of rural workers, and not actually connected in any obvious practical way to the king.

Hieratic: an Egyptian script.

hierodoulos: lit. 'sacred slave' (Greek).

Hieroglyphic: the classic formal Egyptian script using stylised pictures.

hin: an ancient Egyptian volume measure equivalent to about 0.5 litre, usually applied to liquids.

holokottinos: see *solidus*.

hypomnematographos: record-keeping magistrates in Alexandria, in charge of the examination of slave status (Greek).

idios logos: the 'private account' (Greek) for non-recurring income such as fines and confiscations; the title of the Roman official in charge of it.

indiction: tax year, generally in fifteen-year cycles beginning in 312 CE.

jāriya: female slave (Arabic).

Josephus, Flavius: Jewish historian (37–c. 100 CE); author of *The Jewish War* (a history of the Jewish war against Rome, 66–74 CE); *The Jewish Antiquities* (a history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the beginning of the Jewish war against Rome, 66 CE); the *Life* (an autobiography); and *Against Apion* (a defence of Jewish history and culture and refutation of sources hostile to Judaism).

Judaea: Roman term for territory of Judah.

Judah: the territory of southern Israel; in the monarchic period, part of the united kingdom until the death of King Solomon, when the kingdom was divided into two – the kingdom of Judah in the south (capital Jerusalem), the kingdom of Israel in the north.

ka: soul of sustenance (Egyptian).

kadion: Greek measure of liquid.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

ka(o)yon (also *kooyon*): slave or servant (Coptic).
kapsakion: Greek measure of liquid, perhaps equivalent to roughly 2 litres.
karsh: Persian unit of weight, properly = 83.3 g, but practically treated as 10 shekels.
katoche: the state of being 'held' by a god, detention (Greek).
katochos: Greek for someone 'held' by a god (see also *enkatochos*).
keratia: see carat.
khādim: servant or eunuch (Arabic).
khar: standard sack of grain.
khebsu: ploughed field.
khel, *-et*: lit. 'male child', 'female child'; servant or maidservant (Egyptian).
khem-khel, *-et*: lit. 'young man', 'young woman'; male or female servant (Egyptian).
knidion: a wine measure named after the city of Knidos.
korasion: young slave girl (Greek).
kosmetes: civic official with responsibility for the city's young men in training.
kotyle: 'cup', a liquid measure c. 0.27 litre.
laoi: 'people', the Greek term used for the native Egyptian people in contrast to immigrants.
lashane: a village official (Egyptian).
Leviticus: third book of the Hebrew Torah.
libertus: Latin term for freedman.
liturgy: compulsory service in public offices in Roman Egypt (as opposed to physical labour, see *corvée*).
Loios: tenth month of the Macedonian calendar.
lômi: lit. 'man' or 'person', Fayumic Coptic dialect term sometimes used for slave (cf. *rôme*).
LXX: standard term for the Septuagint (after the legend of seventy translators of the Greek Torah).
ʿlym, *-h*: servant (Aramaic).
mamlūk (pl. *mamālīk*): lit. 'person who is owned', slave (Arabic).
Manichaeism/Manichaeans: a dualistic religion founded by Mani, viewed by some Christians as a heresy.
manumission: the setting free of a slave by their owner. *Manumissio vindicta* is the formal procedure for freeing a slave in the presence of a Roman magistrate.
mariannu: a military class among settled captives in Egypt.
martyrion: shrine to a martyr (Greek).
Masoretic Text: the Hebrew text of the Bible, established by the Masoretes, a succession of scribal scholars in the early medieval period.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

mawlā (pl. *mawālī*): Arabic term used for both patron and client (e.g. an ex-master and an emancipated slave, respectively).
Mecheir: sixth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.
Medjay: nomadic Nubians of the Eastern desert.
Menander: Greek dramatist (c. 341–290 BCE).
Merenptah Stele: Egyptian stele including the earliest reference to Israel outside the Bible; honours the conquests of Pharaoh Merenptah (c. 1200 BCE) in the Canaanite region.
meret: collective term for a subordinate workforce, either agricultural or temple staff (Egyptian).
Meshwesh: a Libyan people.
Mesore: twelfth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.
metronymic: mother's name, used in identification.
ʾmh: female slave, handmaiden (Aramaic).
nedjes: 'little-man', used of persons not integrated into formal client dependence on a great man or institution (Egyptian).
nedjet: see *djet*.
nemeh, *-et*: free or independent man/woman (Egyptian); the plural *nemehu* (*n pa ta en peraa*), literally 'orphans (of the land of Pharaoh)', is used of persons not integrated into formal client dependence on an individual or institution and is translated here as 'independent people'.
N.N.: *nomen nescio*; cf. PN.
nome: geographical and administrative subdivision of Egypt.
nomisma: 'coin' in Greek, used from the fourth century on to refer to the *solidus*.
obol: 1/6 of a drachma.
oiketes: lit. 'inhabitant', household slave (Greek).
oikogeneia: declaration of a house-born slave (Greek).
oikogenes: house-born slave (Greek).
oikonomos: a Ptolemaic official with responsibility for economic matters (Greek).
oipe: Egyptian measure of volume, roughly 19 litres.
ostracon: potsherd or stone fragment used for writing.
Pachon(s): the ninth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.
pagarch: official in charge of (usually) a nome in Byzantine Egypt.
paidarion: diminutive of *pais*, lit. 'small boy', sometimes used to mean slave.
paidiske: female servant, slave; most widespread term for female slave in the Ptolemaic period (Greek).
pais: lit. 'boy', slave; most widespread term for slave in the Ptolemaic period (Greek).
Panemos: ninth month of the Macedonian calendar.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

papyrology: the study of ancient texts written on papyrus and other everyday materials.

paramonarios: a worker tied to his place of work for the duration of the contract (Greek).

paramone, 'remaining with': in the Ptolemaic period, used in the context of delayed grants of freedom; more generally referring to an obligation, often imposed on a debtor, to remain with a creditor (Greek).

patriarchs: the founding male ancestors of Israel: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.

patronymic: father's name, used for identification.

Pauni: tenth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.

peculium: sum of money or property provided to a slave by the master, typically to enable them to operate businesses for the master, or earned directly by a slave through work (Latin).

pekher: an Egyptian type of land.

Pentateuch: Greek term for the Hebrew Torah.

per-aa: pharaoh (lit. 'great house').

per-djet: 'house-of-*djet*', 'house of eternity'; see *djet*.

Peritios: fourth month of the Macedonian calendar.

Persian of the descent (*epigone*): in the Hellenistic period, a status referring to Greeks; in the Roman period, the term refers to contractual parties in a disadvantageous position.

Pesach (Passover): biblical and post-biblical Jewish festival commemorating the Israelites' departure from Egypt.

Phamenoth: seventh month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.

Phaophi: second month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.

Pharmouthi: eighth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.

Philo of Alexandria: Jewish scholar, author of multiple commentaries on the Greek Torah, and of treatises on philosophical and historical topics; led a delegation of Alexandrian Jews to the emperor Gaius (Caligula) (38/9 CE) to address the recent persecution of Jews by Greek opponents in Alexandria.

phollos: form occurring in Coptic texts for *follis*, a small coin.

PN: 'personal name', used to indicate a lost name.

politeuma: a civic-style organisation in Ptolemaic Egypt, usually on an ethnic basis.

pound, Roman: about 323 g.

praefectus: prefect, the governor of Egypt or commander of a military unit.

presbyteros: 'elder', presbyter; term used both for village elders and (later) for Christian priests.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

qite: an ancient Egyptian weight measure of about 9.1 grams, equivalent to 1/10 of a *deben*. It also served as a measure of value when applied to copper, gold, or especially silver.
recto: front of a text or coin.
reverse: back of a coin.
rôme: lit. 'man' or 'person', Sahidic Coptic dialect term sometimes used for slave (cf. *lômî*).
sakir: hired labourer (Hebrew).
Samaritan Pentateuch: a text of the Torah in Hebrew used by the Samaritans, with some significant variations from the Masoretic text.
satrap: Persian provincial governor.
s.c.: *senatus consultum*, a decree of the Roman senate.
scholastikos: imperial legal official, lawyer (Greek).
sed: ancient festival celebrating the Pharaoh marking thirty years of rule and every three years thereafter since the 1st Dynasty.
sedjem, *sedjem-ash*: lit. 'hearer', servant.
sekoma: a wine measure, here probably equivalent to 8 *sextarii*.
seniu: a unit of silver probably equivalent to 5 Egyptian copper *deben*.
sestertius: Roman coin equated to the Greek drachma; see Aids for the reader, 3.
sextarius (Greek *xestes*): unit of liquid or solid volume (for wine, oil, etc.), about 0.54 litres.
shabti: term derived from Egyptian for 'answerer'; figures produced for funerary purposes to represent the deceased at work in the afterlife.
shat: Egyptian measurement, 1/12 of a *deben*, so about 7.6 g.
shekel: Semitic unit of weight = 8.76 g.
shemu: harvest, one of the three four-month seasons of the Egyptian calendar.
Sherden: one of the 'sea peoples', who are documented in Egypt from the New Kingdom.
singularius: a subclerical official in the bureau of a provincial governor (Latin).
Sivan: month of the Hebrew calendar generally coinciding with May–June.
solidus: standard gold coin (from Constantine on, 1/72 of a Roman pound).
soma (pl. *somata*): lit. 'body', sometimes used for slave (Greek).
somation: diminutive of *soma*, lit. 'little body', slave.
stele: stone slab, usually with carved decoration or text.
strategos: 'general', the governor of a nome in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Greek).
talent: Greek unit of weight or money, equal to 6,000 drachmas.
Tetrarchy: referring to the period 293–305, when four emperors headed by Diocletian ruled the Roman Empire.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

thaumasiotatos: adj. 'most wonderful, marvellous'.
Theocritus: a Sicilian poet who wrote in Alexandria (at the Ptolemaic court) in the 270s BCE.
therapaina/therapainis: female servant, maid (Greek).
therapeutes: devoted worshipper (of a god) (Greek).
therapon: slave, courtier, servant (also of God) (Greek).
Thoth: first month of the later Egyptian calendar.
threptos, *-e*: slave raised in the household (Greek).
thurifer: assistant in liturgy who swings the vessel in which incense is burned.
toparchy: an administrative division of a nome.
topoteretes: deputy governor of Egypt in the sixth and seventh centuries.
Torah: traditional Hebrew term for the first five books of the Hebrew Bible.
toshab: settled or resident hired servant or slave (Hebrew).
tremis: one-third of a *solidus*, or eight carats.
tribe: (among other meanings) a division within the citizen body of a Greek city.
Tybi: Greek name of Tobi, the fifth month of the later Egyptian and Coptic calendars.
verna: house-born slave (Latin).
verso: back of a text or coin (cf. reverse).
vir clarissimus (*v.c.*): Roman imperial rank, originally denoting senatorial status but applied to lower statuses in later periods.
wab-priest: category of 'pure' Egyptian priests.
Xandikos: sixth month in the Macedonian calendar.
YHWH: the Hebrew name of God (YHW in Aramaic), traditionally not pronounced, represented in the Hebrew text by the vowels for *adonai*, 'my Lord'; in standard English translations, represented by the word 'Lord'.
zuz: 1/2 shekel.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

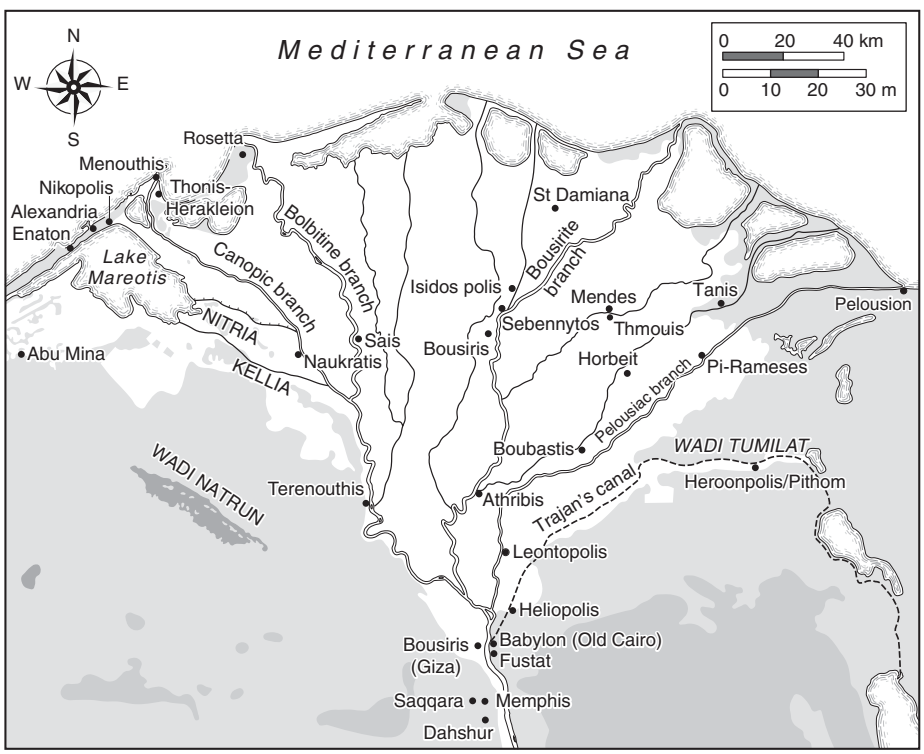
1 Egypt

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



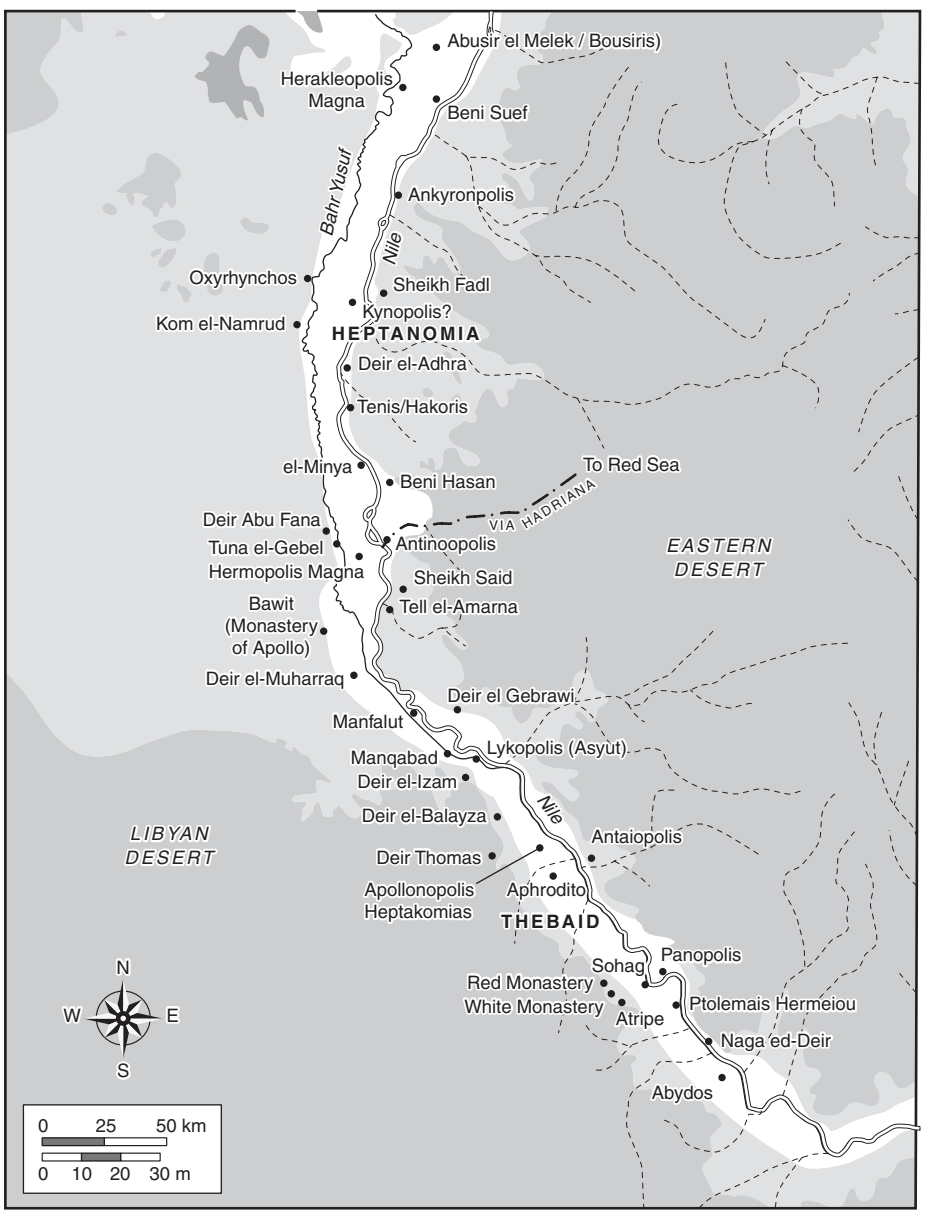
2 Delta

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



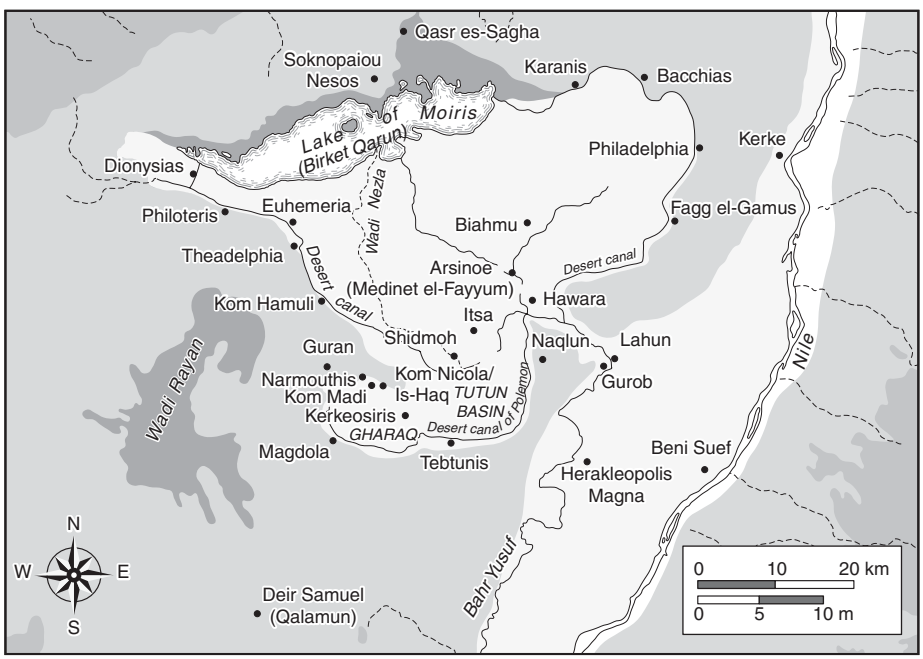
3 Lower and Middle Egypt

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

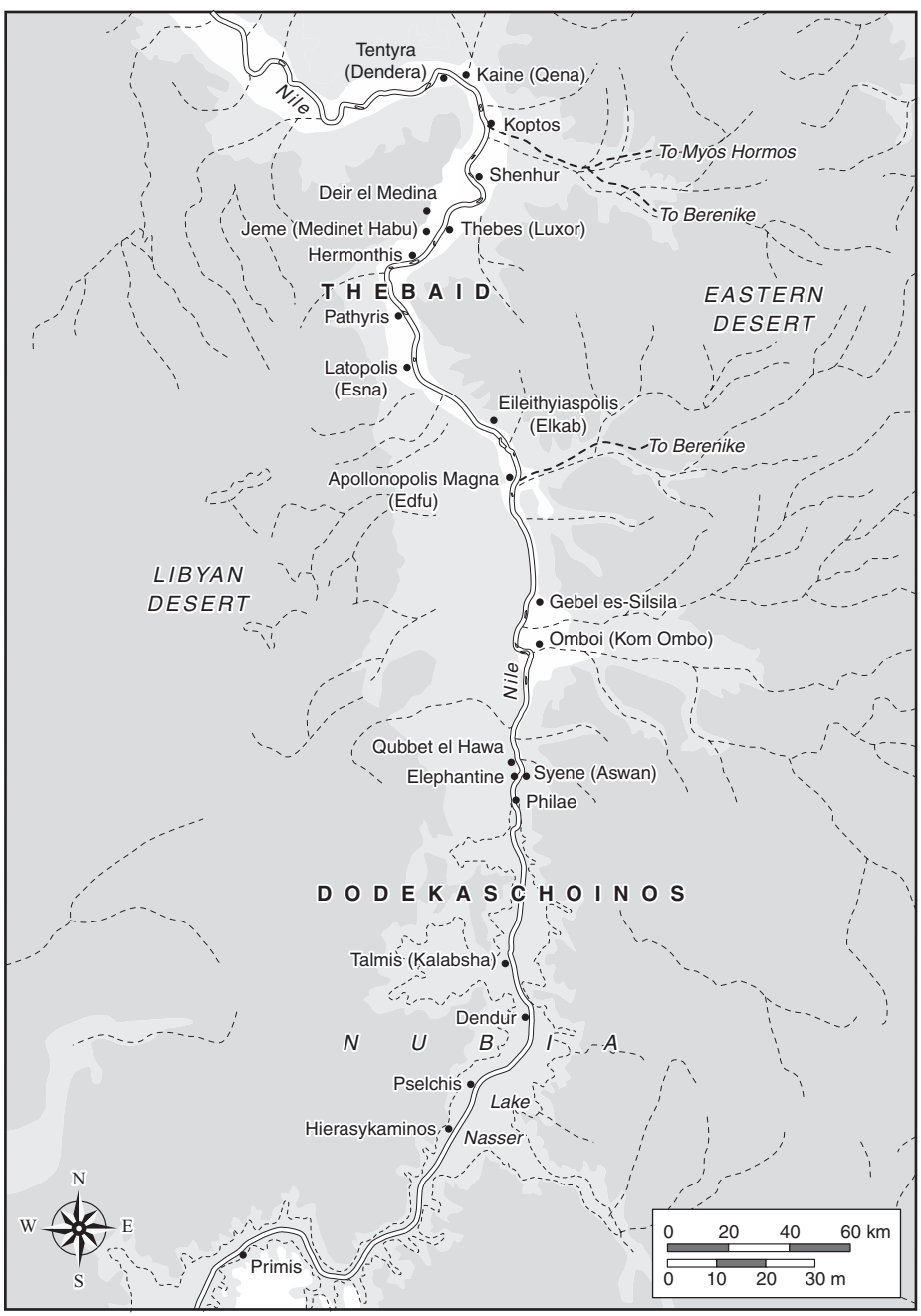
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



4 Fayyum

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

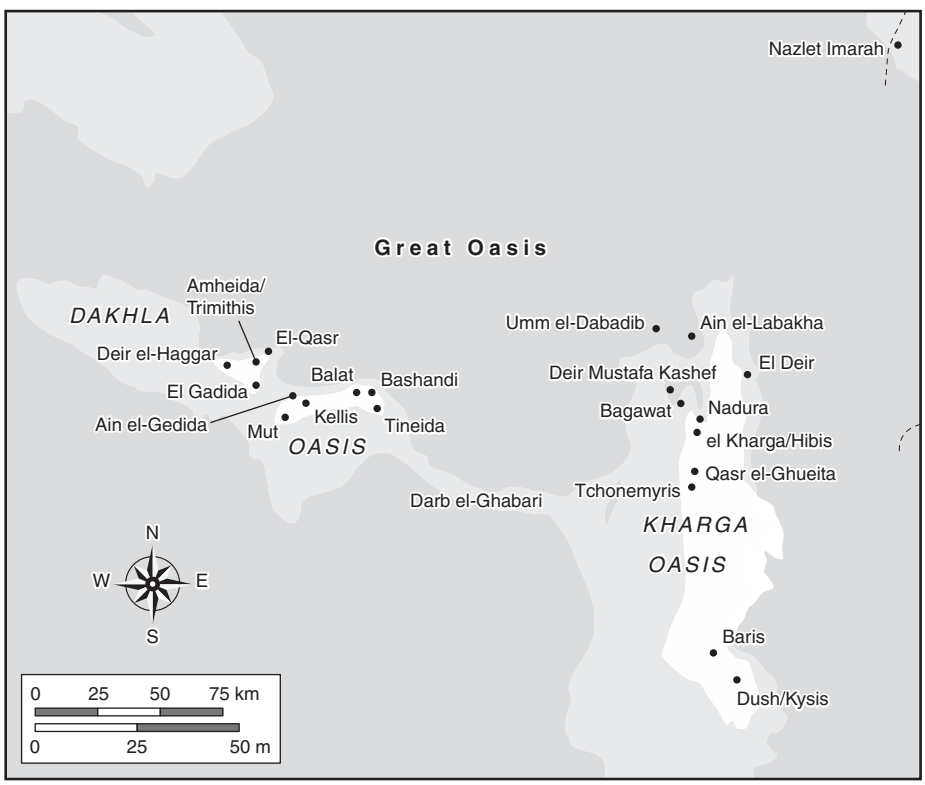
CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



5 Upper Egypt

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



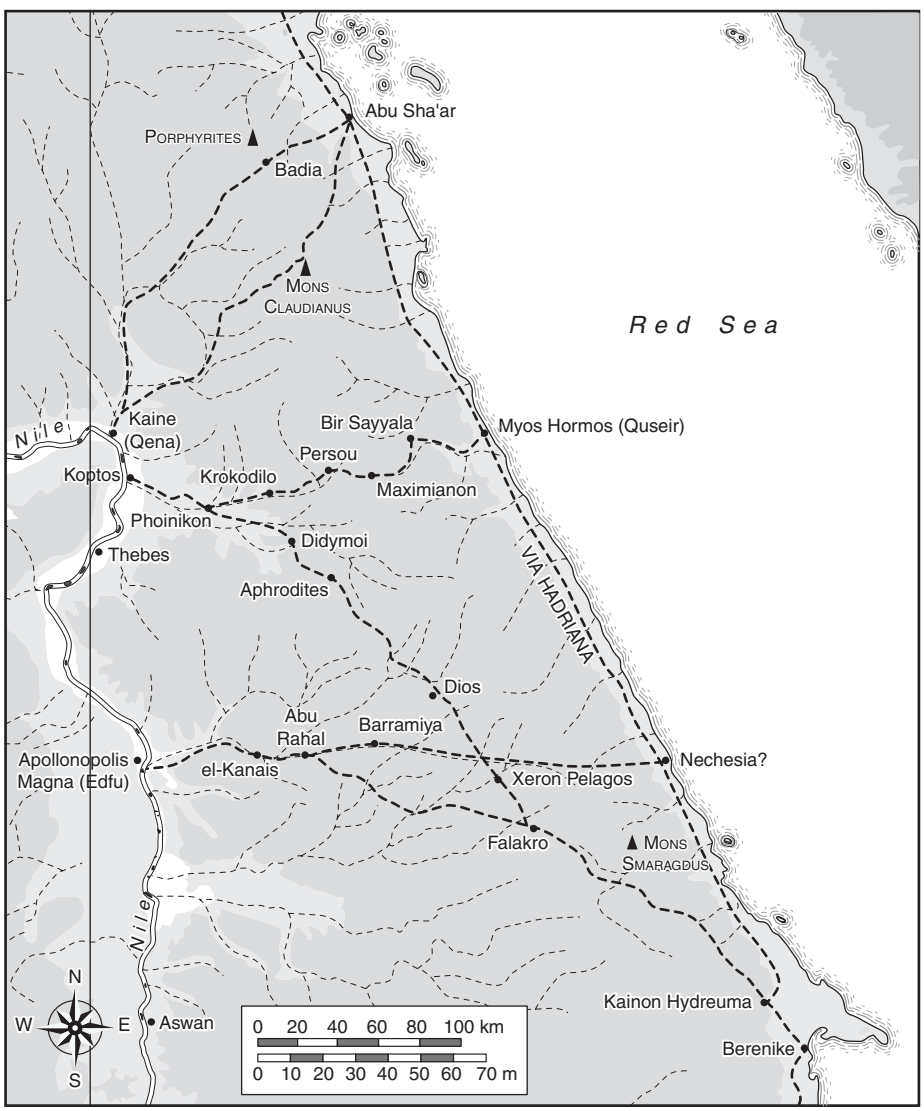
6 Great Oasis

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

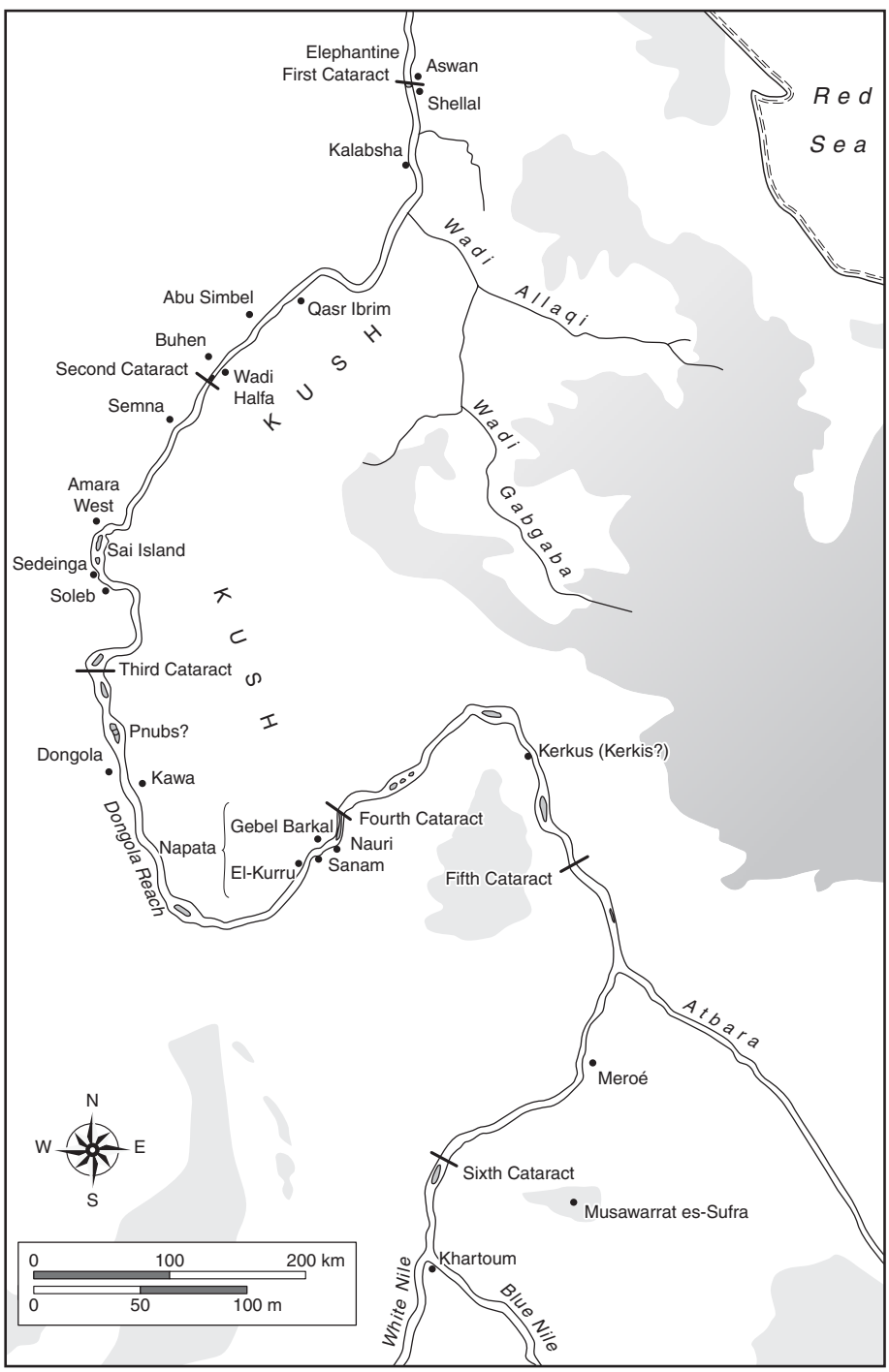
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



7 Eastern Desert

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,
W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



8 Nubia

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information

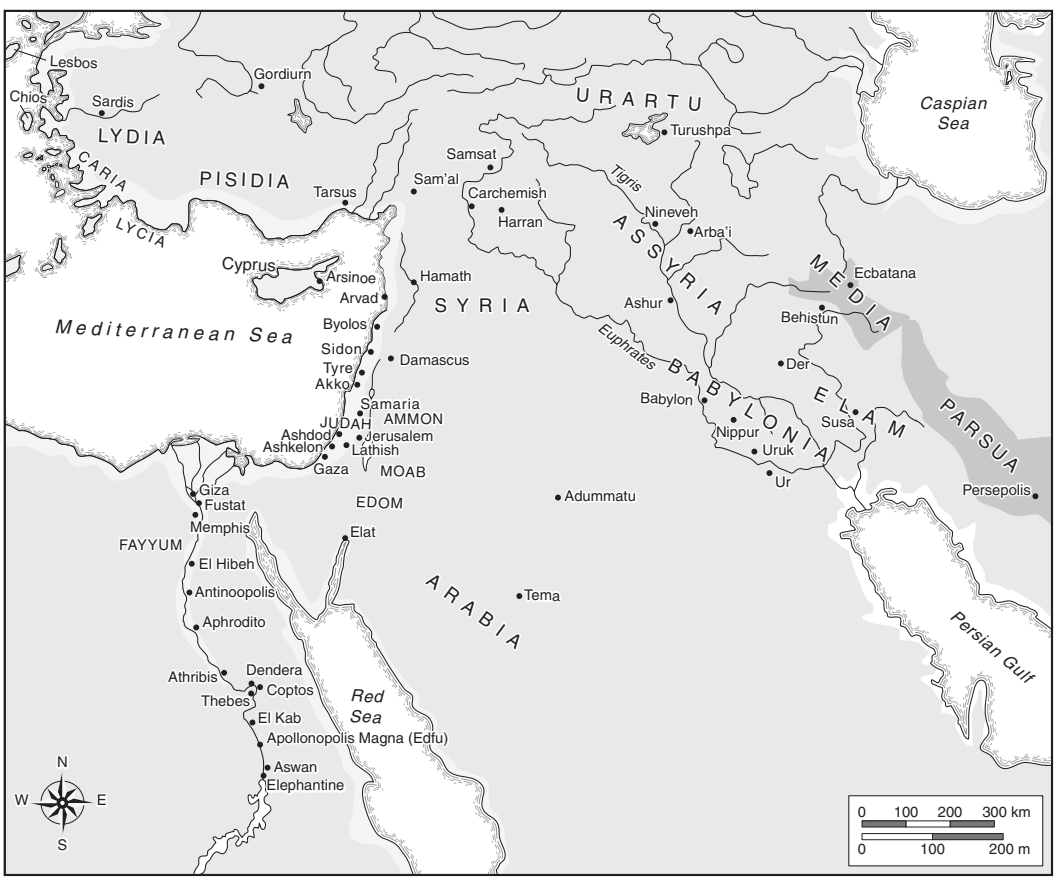
9 The Levant

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03297-2 — Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt
Edited by Jane L. Rowlandson , Roger S. Bagnall , Dorothy J. Thompson , With contributions by Jelle Bruning ,

W. Graham Claytor , Jennifer Cromwell , Christopher J. Eyre , Brian P. Muhs , Sarah J. Pea
Frontmatter
More Information



10 The Aegean and Near East

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org