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Army and Egyptian temple building under the Ptolemies

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Abstract: This paper examines building dedications to Egyptian gods that reveal the interplay between the military and state financing of Egyptian temples. I propose a new model of financing Egyptian temple building with the army as a source of private and local funding. I argue that officers or soldiers stationed in garrisons and soldier-priests were used as supervisors of temple construction for the king and even financed part of it to complement royal and temple funds. Three main conclusions emerge. First, the rather late date of our evidence confirms that temple building was increasingly sponsored by private and semi-private funding and suggests that the army's functions were becoming more diverse. Second, Egyptians were integrated in the army and soldiers were integrated into the local elite. Third, the formation of a local elite made of Greek and Egyptian soldiers acting for the local gods challenges the idea of professional and ethnic divisions.

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1.1 General Context: the role of military institutions within agrarian states¹

The involvement of the Ptolemaic army in the financing and the supervision of temple building devoted to Egyptian gods may at first appear surprising. The army in Egypt after Alexander the Great's conquest and the founding of the new Ptolemaic dynasty (304-30 BC) is often perceived as a purely Greek colonial tool. The financing of indigenous temple's construction is a particularly relevant question because it is at the crossroads of several sets of problems related to the functioning of agrarian states: (1) the nature of their institutions, (2) the maximization of revenues and of military manpower, (3) the related tax burden on the population, and finally (4) the interaction between the different groups composing multi-ethnic societies.

My dissertation *Army and society in Ptolemaic Egypt* aims at investigating these issues and at allowing historians to re-examine and compare the role of military power in relation to the mechanisms of state formation in the contemporary kingdoms. This study sheds new light on how military institutions shaped power structures within villages and between local and central state institutions. It combines the analysis of inscriptions and papyri preserved in Egyptian sand with social theory. This kind of perspective is rare in the often under-theorized field of ancient history and allows me both macro and micro approaches to deepen our understanding of ancient state and society. By examining the socio-economic roles of soldiers, my research shows how the institution of the army had an impact on state structures and society and conversely how the changes within state structures modified the organization of the army. More specifically, evidence points to a time of crisis, transition, and reform around 200 BC. From a Mediterranean point of view, it corresponds to the period of increasing Roman involvement in the eastern

¹ This article is the written version of a paper given at the International Congress of Papyrology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in August 2007.

Mediterranean and the gradual inclusion within the Roman Empire of Egypt's most threatening enemies, the Seleucids. The international function of the Ptolemaic army almost disappeared. From an Egyptian perspective, it coincides with a time of political instability and economic distress partly due to overwhelming expenses to support a series of wars against the Seleucids. On the other hand, Ptolemaic society was becoming demographically stable, with the ending of Greco-Macedonian immigration a few decades earlier and the increasing number of marriages between Greek soldiers and Egyptian women. Most of the Greeks in Egypt belonged in fact to the fourth or fifth generation of Greco-Macedonian immigrants born in Egypt. They might have had some Egyptian ancestors and many of them lived in the Egyptian countryside, where they integrated local social networks and might have become involved in the traditions of the community. As immigration mainly brought Greek soldiers and its end caused a rise in the number of Egyptian soldiers, the army increasingly developed as an engine of socio-economic and cultural integration.

In my dissertation, I build a model of the development of the role of soldiers within Ptolemaic society. The previous scholarship notes Egypt's lack of participation in Mediterranean politics and military actions but ignores the effect of the cessation of immigration and the new relationship between soldiers and society. I argue that the new situation within state and society impacted the army in two particular ways. Its functions became broader – but its military function weaker – and the army became more penetrated by the indigenous Egyptian elite and by soldiers with a Greco-Egyptian background. This chapter demonstrates one aspect of the broader functions of the army by analyzing the documentary material concerning Egyptian temple building. Among the multiple sources of funding, I point out a significant role for soldiers and

officers from the second century BC onward that reveals some of the new functions of the army and the emergence of new behavior among its members.

1.2 Financing Egyptian temple building: the role of soldiers and officers

The broader function of the army can be detected by looking carefully at the funding of Egyptian temple building. The connection between the army and the Egyptian temples has rarely been emphasized in the scholarship. Yet, temple building allows us to investigate how the army, as an institution of the Ptolemaic state, and its members were involved in funding these indigenous constructions. After summarizing the different hypotheses suggested by historians and papyrologists concerning the financing of Egyptian temple building, I present my new model that calls attention to the army as a source of private and local funding. It also sheds light on the ‘blurry borders’ between state, temple, and private sources of funding.

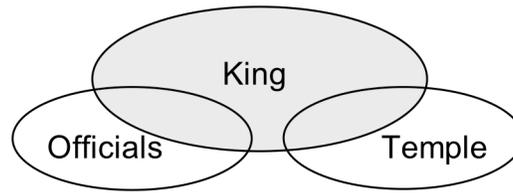
1.2.1 Previews views on temple building and euergetism in Egypt

Scholars generally assume that the king funded Egyptian temple construction.² Recent scholarship³ asserts that the Ptolemies developed an intensive domestic policy of building indigenous temples in Upper Egypt in the second century BC, partially with the king’s money and often with that of the temples, officials, or other individuals. I have schematized this approach in Figure 1, where the gray area indicates the most important agency of financing that has been proposed.

² Stead (1984) 1051.

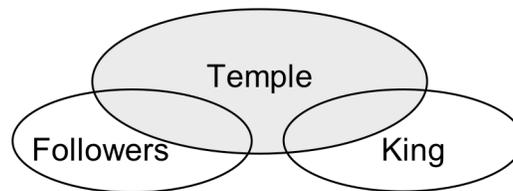
³ Dietze (1994) 72-74, Dietze (2000), Huss (1994), Hölbl (2001), Gorre (2004), and Thiers (2006).

Figure 1: Traditional model of financing Egyptian temple building



Another view was that of Quaegebeur who stressed the role of the temples and their followers for financing temple building. He mainly based his assertion on the general idea that the Ptolemies usually tried to save money. More specifically, in his opinion, the initiative of building came from the clergy, who then probably needed the king's approval.⁴

Figure 2: Quaegebeur's model of financing Egyptian temple building



Recently, Thiers,⁵ in his study on *euergetism*,⁶ argued that Egyptian temple building was organized and sponsored by the priesthood, with the support of the kings when it was advantageous for them. His main point, based on his analysis of sixty-three inscriptions attesting *euergetism* toward the Egyptian temples, was that there was a gradual increase in *euergetism*

⁴ Quaegebeur (1979) looked at the Thebaid where, in his opinion, biographical texts on statues provide evidence to support his point. However, in another chapter of my dissertation, I show that the *mr-mšc* -nome-*stratêgoi* with priestly office(s) usually acted as agents of the king. Thus this group seems to play a more important role as royal officials (and officers) than as priests.

⁵ Thiers (2006), esp. 276-280: his corpus consists only of building dedications to Egyptian gods; he expanded the corpus of 51 Greek inscriptions and one demotic inscription established by Huss (1994) 19-25; Huss thought that these private dedications did not always mean that the benefactors paid for it and that the funds often came from the king.

⁶ I define an act of *euergetism* as a “donation made for the welfare of a given community and, if *ob honorem*, for displaying one's own excellent performance in a given function.”

from individuals (in contrast with the traditional image of the king as *euergētēs*/benefactor).⁷ Noticing the large number of dedicants who were in fact officials and officers, Thiers proposed to call it “*euergētism ob honorem*”, that is, linked to their function in the state.⁸

1.2.2 *New model of Egyptian temple building: the role of the army*

My aim is to bring new insight into the debate by examining temple construction by the army. First, on the basis of my analysis of the inscriptions preserved in temples, I suggest that officers and soldiers financed part of temple building to complement royal and temple funding. Acting as *euergētai*, they were increasing their own political and social capital.⁹ Such behavior, expanding during the second century BC, also indicates a new ideological development among the members of the Ptolemaic army that is not found – at least expressed in this way – in the other Hellenistic armies. Soldiers were increasingly integrated into the life and culture of the Egyptian countryside or simply were of Egyptian origin. Second, I hypothesize that the king’s involvement was made through his army when garrison troops were settled close to the temple walls – in some cases even within – and when officers held offices in the temples.¹⁰ We can only suspect that officers or soldiers could be used as supervisors of the construction and that the army

⁷Especially in the areas where the clergy and the state were not very active in terms of temple building, that is, the Fayyum in the second and first century BC and the Delta in the first century BC. See my discussion on Tanis, in the longer version of this article.

⁸ Thiers (2006) 287-289, based this concept on Veyne (1976) 214 and his definition of the “*largesses ob honorem*” as the practice of the “*magistrats et curateurs qui faisaient de leur bourse tout ou une partie des dépenses de leur fonctions.*”

⁹ They were doing so by demonstrating their loyalty to the king and the temple. This allowed them to legitimate their power through their connections to these institutions, to integrate themselves into the Egyptian *chōra* by taking care of the cult of indigenous gods, and perhaps to obtain promotion within the military hierarchy. I take here ‘social capital’ with its individual focused meaning, defined by Lin (1999) 39 as “investment in social relations by individuals through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental or expressive actions.”

¹⁰ On the precincts of temples used as fortresses, cf. Dietze (2000) 82 and Thiers (1995) 507. I discuss soldiers with priestly offices in the chapter 6 of my dissertation.

served as a convenient institutional structure for achieving the royal building policy.¹¹ However, the evidence shows that over time soldiers played an increasing role in financing part of it.

We have attestations of both royal and private funding but we cannot quantify them and many cases are not easy to determine.¹² However, it is plausible to suppose that people who made a dedication did pay for what they dedicated even if it is not explicitly stated and to contrast such cases with Egyptian temple building without private dedications. I thus propose a new model in Figure 3 where I add the army as a source of private and local financing. I connect the various sources of funding to illustrate the complexity of the phenomenon. The gray area simply shows that I focus on the army in my survey of the sources and does not imply that it was the main sponsor of Egyptian temple building. The sources of funding could thus be public, that is, the state or the temple, or purely private, that is, the wealth of officers, officials, or priests in their private capacity. But in most of the cases, the situation was certainly more complex: both private and public funds were often used to build a temple or part of one. This combined source of funds for the same building is illustrated in Figure 3 by the central area, which I call semi-private funding. I explain my terminology for the types of funding in Table 1 and the sources of funding in Table 2.

¹¹ With the types of sources available, it is difficult to identify who made the decision or from whom the initiative came. Thus I focus on who financed the constructions and I assume that these persons made, at least partially, the decision of building a temple or related constructions. I said “at least partly” because at a higher level these decisions are part of a larger policy coming from the kings or from the priesthood and need the kings’ approval.

¹² For royal financing, cf. the decree of Canopus, l. 5-8 (Greek edition in Bernard (1970) 989-1036), the decree of Karnak in Wagner (1971) 19-20, l. 14-20, under Ptolemy V, and the text of Oureshy attesting that Ptolemy II or VI paid the stone-cutters working for the building of the temple of Satis in Sais, Thiers (2006) 294, note 91; for private financing, cf. the five examples collected by Thiers (2006) 294.

Figure 3: New model of the multiple sources of financing Egyptian temple building

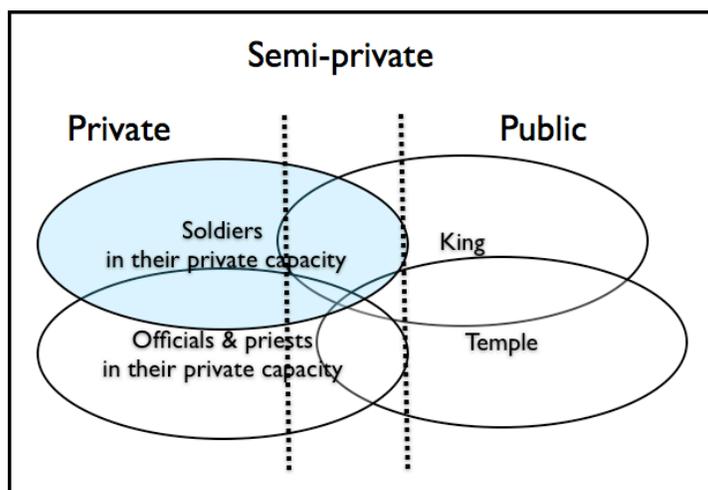


Table 1: Types of *euergetisms*

Type	Definition	Type of funding
Private <i>euergetism</i>	Generous donation made with one's own wealth for the welfare of a given community, without displaying or holding any titles or offices	Private funding = private wealth
<i>Euergetism ob honorem</i>	Generous donation linked to one's own official function for the welfare of a given community and for displaying one's own excellent performance in a given function	Private funding = private wealth only
		Semi-private funding = partly private wealth, partly state or temple funds
		Public funding = state or temple funds only

Table 2: Model of the sources of funding for Egyptian temple building

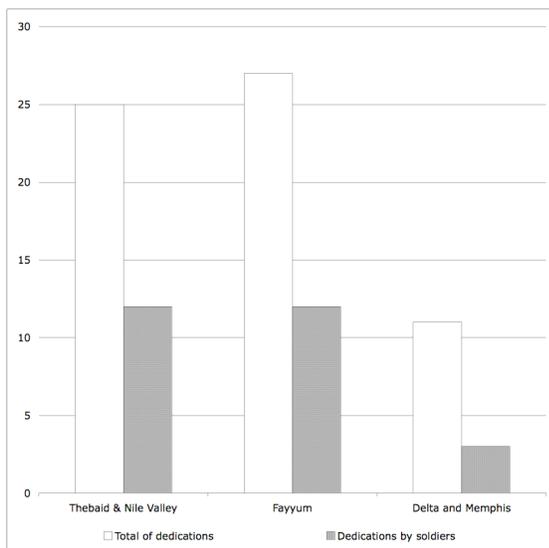
Soldiers	Private wealth of the soldiers or officers
King	State taxes: the most cost-efficient way would have likely been to use directly part of the taxes collected in the nome for temple building in that nome
Officials	Private wealth of the officials
Temples	Temple revenues: revenues from sacred land and from the collection of some taxes in agreement with the government as well as incomes from the <i>syntaxis</i> ¹³

The large proportion of soldiers among the *euergetai ob honorem* led me to focus on their particular role. I represent in Figure 4 the absolute numbers of dedications by soldiers and by regions out of all the acts of *euergetism*. On average, 43% of the attested acts of *euergetism* made in Egypt by Greeks or Egyptians concerning Egyptian temple building come from members of

¹³ The *syntaxis* is a source of income for the temples that was given by the Ptolemies, perhaps to compensate the appropriation of some temple revenues by the state, e.g. the *apomoira*, cf. Stead (1984) 1047, Préaux (1979; 1st ed. 1939) 49, 481. For the *apomoira*, cf. Clarysse and Vandorpe (1998).

the army. Because the *euergētēs* rarely added a clear mention such as “I payed with my own wealth” (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων), there is space for speculation. I assume that private and semi-private funding were the most common but I cannot prove that public funding under the cover of *euergētism ob honorem* never existed. Figure 3 is an attempt to exemplify the multiple possible combinations for funding temple building.

Figure 4: Proportion of soldier’s acts of *euergētism* based on Tiers (2006)



	Total of dedications	Dedications by soldiers	Percentage of dedications by soldiers
Thebaid & Nile Valley	25	12	48
Fayyum	27	12	44
Delta and Memphis	11	3	27
Total	63	27	43

1.2.3 Examples

A few examples of the sources used for my investigation into acts of *euergētism* will be sufficient to demonstrate my points.¹⁴ The documents are inscriptions written in Greek on the dedicated building, honorific decrees, or biographical texts of officials carved in Egyptian hieroglyphs on statues. A Greek inscription from ca. 160-155 BC inscribed on the lintel of the chapel of Haroeris in Kom Ombo (Upper Egypt) is a clear attestation of private funding by soldiers.

¹⁴ A complete list of the documents is to be found in Appendix, Table 4.

On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Kleopatra, the sister, the mother-loving gods, and their children, and for Haroeris, the great god, Apollo and the *synnaoi theoi*, this chapel (σηκόν) [is dedicated by] the infantry and cavalry soldiers and the others stationed in the Ombites, because of their being well-disposed toward them.” (I.Th.Sy. 188, translation Dietze (2000: 79).

In my corpus, one fourth of the dedications are made by groups of soldiers as in the inscription from Kom Ombo, most often with their officers mentioned first. It shows the existence of an *esprit de corps* that was an essential psychological element to be encouraged among soldiers. The capacity of soldiers for collective action is important for my overall thesis concerning the role of the army as an engine of socio-economic and cultural integration.¹⁵ This example is relevant because it shows that the Ptolemaic state was able to use the institution of the army to consolidate mixed groups of Egyptians, Greeks, and foreigners, reinforcing their loyalty to the king and the Egyptian temples. It also reveals local investment and interaction with the community for its welfare. We can read between the lines the integration of soldiers in the life and culture of the *chora* and the integration of indigenous people in the army, both necessary elements to the stability of the Ptolemaic state. Similar examples are not limited to Upper Egypt but are also found at the same time in the Fayyum, an area south of modern Cairo where many soldiers were settled. For instance, Horos, son of Horos, an infantry officer under Ptolemy VI, as well as another officer whose name is lost and their soldiers dedicated the *pronaos* (inner area of the portico) of a temple in Karanis.¹⁶

¹⁵ I use this concept according to Turchin’s theory of ‘asabiya’ defined as “the capacity of a group for collective action,” cf. Turchin (2003) 43 and chapter 3 in general. For him, groups in agrarian society are based on ethnicity and socioeconomic strata. Groups vary in their capacity for collective actions and he conjectures that the success or stability of a state depends on the capacity of its elite for collective actions. The variation can be measured, for instance, by the willingness to provide recruits or pay taxes. In the case of the Ptolemaic soldiers discussed here, the collective acts of dedications by soldiers show their readiness to invest their wealth and thus illustrate their degree of loyalty to the king and the state, and their degree of positive involvement with the local communities, often integrating them within the higher local economic strata.

¹⁶ I.Fayoum I 83 (Herakleides *meris*): the temple could be that of the Egyptian god Pnepheros and Petesouchos; because the inscription is broken in two fragments (unless they are in fact two inscriptions), it is not clear what was the function of the second dedicant, some traces suggest that he or his father was an *hipparchos*; Thiers (2006) no 23, 286, 291.

My model points out that temple building could also be funded both by state-taxes and by the private wealth of an officer. Such funding is labeled as semi-private and is schematized in the middle area of my diagram in Figure 3. A bilingual honorific decree from the first century BC made by the priests of Amon-Ra in Thebes for Kallimachos, who was *stratêgos* (governor/general) in charge of the finance of the Thebaid, *gymnasiarchos* (director of the *gymnasium*) and cavalry commander under Kleopatra VII, celebrates the fact that he constructed the terrace of Amon-Ra temple and provided the temple and its priests with other benefactions. Kallimachos is a perfect example of an *euergetês* but the ambiguity of the formulation in the inscription and his fiscal responsibility suggest that he could partly use state-taxes too.¹⁷ In many cases that I have surveyed, individuals who are officers and priests are involved in temple building. The sources suggest that their private wealth was probably complemented by state and/or temple funds.¹⁸ The maximum of overlap in terms of funding sources, which falls into the category labeled semi-private, is usually found in the biographies inscribed on the statues of men who were both *stratêgoi* and prophets. The constructions mentioned in the inscriptions concerning Panemerit and Picchaas in Tanis¹⁹ (Delta) are among the best examples of the blurring borders of sources of funding.

This rapid survey of the sources already suggests that acts of *euergetism* for Egyptian temple building are attested everywhere in Egypt. Figure 5 and Table 3 represent the distribution of the forty-eight inscriptions of the corpus over space and time and show more exhaustively the

¹⁷ I.Prose 46; Thiers (2006) no 57, 279, 287, and esp. 290; for Kallimachos and his family, see Ricketts (1982-1983). He received extraordinary honors for his benevolence during difficult periods of political crisis and famine. Van Minnen (2000) 444-445 presents two scenarios about what Kallimachos may have done: (1) he paid for imported food during the famine or (2) he exempted the Thebaid from paying wheat taxes, a prerogative which should be only royal.

¹⁸ The mentions of the king at several points in the inscriptions suggest at least some royal intervention and financing; Van Minnen (2000) 437-438; on p. 440 emphasized how *euergetism* “contributed to the “natural leadership” of the elite practicing it.”

¹⁹ For the inscriptions concerning these officials, see Zivie-Coche (1987), (2001), (2004).

important role of soldiers and officers all over Egypt with some nuances. Soldiers seem to have been active wherever garrison troops were settled, which represents only some portion of the roughly one hundred temples built in Egyptian style during this period.²⁰ With regard to the distribution over time, while temple building happened during the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule, we can see that the number of acts of *evergetism* increased in the second and first century BC, under Ptolemy VI.²¹ These results show that two previous assumptions must be nuanced: first, the role of the army was not limited to the south in terms of financing temple building, and, second, *evergetism* was not limited to the Fayyum and to Greek ethnic groups.²²

Table 3: Distribution by period and place of building dedications by soldiers devoted to Egyptian temples

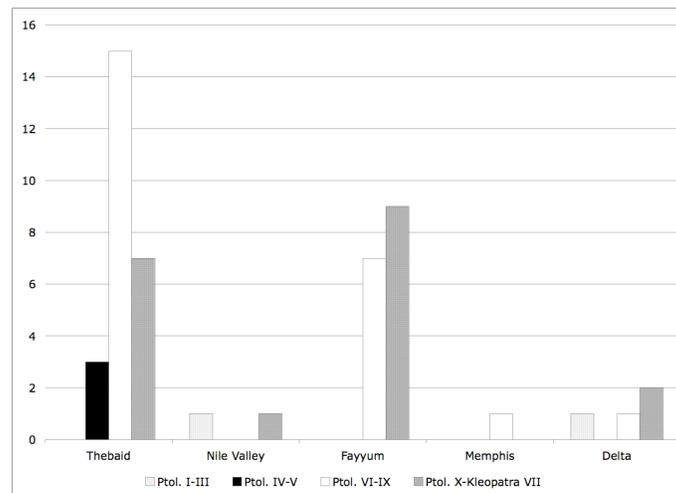
	Thebaid	Nile Valley	Fayyum	Memphis	Delta
Ptol. I-III (304-221 BC)	0	1	0	0	1
Ptol. IV-V (221-180 BC)	3	0	0	0	0
Ptol. VI-IX (180-107 BC)	15	0	7	1	1
Ptol. X-Cleopatra VII (107-30 BC)	7	1	9	0	2
Total	25	2	16	1	4

²⁰ Kurth (1997) gives this number for the Greco-Roman period but it can also be accepted as an evaluation for the Ptolemaic period. Of course we may have lost the evidence for many more of them.

²¹ In Table 3 and Figure 5 and in Appendix, Table 4.

²² Van Minnen (2000) insists on the fact that *evergetism* existed only in the Fayyum and was restricted to the Greek ethnic groups. This bias comes from the fact that he only looked at Greek sources; I am inclined to think that the royal policy of building Egyptian temples also existed in the Fayyum, Memphis and the Delta but on a smaller scale and more indirectly.

Figure 5: Distribution by period and place of building dedications by soldiers to Egyptian temples



1.2.4 Conclusion on the involvement of the army in Egyptian temple building

The question concerning the decision-makers is difficult to solve because of the nature of the sources. By looking at the magnitude of Egyptian temple building undertaken in Ptolemaic times,²³ one can conjecture that the kings initiated the overall policy of temple building for two main purposes: (1) to obtain legitimacy by working in collaboration with Egyptian priesthood and (2) to maintain the good state of temple-garrisons.²⁴ The king could originally have taken benefit from the existing military hierarchy because responsibilities might have accompanied each rank. It encouraged the army to organize, supervise, and finally even to finance indigenous temple building. In practice, it became from the second century BC onward a combination of a general royal program supervised by officers and officials and of individual initiative. Both increasingly

²³ Huss (1994) 26-39; Arnold (1999) appendix, 320-323.

²⁴ Dedication of land to Egyptian gods by soldiers could have been linked to grant of land to soldiers by the king. The same has been suggested for the temple building in Hermoupolis (Appendix, Table 4, no 18) discussed in the longer version of this article. Land dedication is one more illustration of the king using the army as an intermediate, in this case for maintaining Egyptian temples and cults.

overlapped and complemented one another over time.²⁵ Concerning the question of the sources of funding, I am not suggesting that the king or the temples did not finance Egyptian temple building at all.²⁶ I simply point out that soldiers and officers contributed a large share of this funding when they were stationed nearby the temples or when, as in some cases, the temple precincts were used as garrisons. Of course, the general model varies according to time and space and the nuances are discussed in the longer version of this chapter.

In conclusion, this short study provides us with three main results concerning the evolution of the role of the army within state and society. First, the king relied more on private and semi-private sponsoring on the part of his officials and officers from the mid-second century BC onward. This strongly suggests that the army's functions were becoming more diverse at that time. Second, Egyptians were integrated in the army and soldiers were integrated into the local elite. Third, some of the examples suggest the formation of a local elite that comprised both Greek and Egyptian soldiers acting for the local gods. It sheds new light on professional and ethnic divisions that are often over-emphasized by Hellenistic historians. These results confirm that the role of the army within society changed between the third and the second century BC. Soldiers' new behavior was made possible through the ethnic interaction happening within the army and through the socio-economic and ideological integration of soldiers within local populations.

²⁵ In my model, individuals can be priests, soldiers or officials, or even not have any function. One could argue that the phenomenon already existed before the second century and that it was simply not recorded. However this objection is not valid for two reasons. First, some dedications are indeed attested for the third century but their number is insignificant. Second, other similar phenomena such as the *asylia* decrees appear at the same time. These decrees established or renewed the status of the temple as a place of asylum recognized by the king. Members of the army often initiated them, which suggests that soldiers were becoming the protectors or benefactors of local sanctuaries. For a similar interpretation, see Bingén (2007) 272.

²⁶ If Thiers did not encounter many dedications by priests, it is probably because their actions were internal to that of the temples themselves.

Appendix

Table 4: Corpus of 48 texts attesting acts of *euergetism* dedicated to Egyptian temple building

I wrote no 18 in *italic* and did not count it in the corpus because it is not dedicated to an Egyptian temple but to a Greek temple.

I marked in **bold** the text concerning soldier-priests, generally hieroglyphic biographical texts.

	Inscription	Name	Title/Function	Type of work	Dating	Place	Thiers
1	I.Philae I 5	Sokrates, son of Apollodoros, Locrien	Soldier (?)	Block in the temple of Isis	Ptolemy IV	Philae	
2	I.Th.Sy. 309	x	Elephant hunter(s) (?)	Altar for the safety of the elephants to Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrate, Ammon	Ptolemy IV (?)	Philae	
3	I.Th.Sy. 314	Kleon, son of Diogenes	<i>Hegemôn</i> and <i>phrourarchos</i>	Block in the colonnade of the Temple of Isis; dedicated to Isis; for Ptolemaios, master of the Royal Hunt, his wife and his son, <i>archikunêgos</i> and master of the Royal Hunt	Ptoelmy V	Philae	
4	I.Philae I 11	x and the members of the association of Herakles	<i>Phrourarchos</i>	Construction of the temple of Arensnuphis	Ptolemy VI	Philae	no 27
5	I.Philae I 15	Apollonios	<i>Phrourarchos</i> of Philae	Block in the pavement of the temple of Arensnuphis; dedicated to the gods of Philae; second text is an act of adoration to Isis by Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios; for Boethos, <i>epitratêgos</i> , <i>stratêgos</i> , <i>Thebarchos</i> of the Thebaid	Ptolemy VIII	Philae	
6	I.Philae I 20	Demetrios and the troops stationed in Ptolemais, infantry men, cavalry men and sailors, Apollonios being <i>phrourachos</i>	<i>Epistratêgos</i> and <i>stratêgos</i>	Block found in the walls of the court of the temple of Isis	Ptolemy VIII	Philae	
7	I.Th.Sy. 318	Philotas, son of Genthios, from Epidamnos	<i>Phrourarque</i>	Block re-used in the <i>dromos</i> ; dedicated to Isis, Sarapis, Horos, and to the gods of the Abaton and of Philae; for Parthenios, <i>stratêgos</i> of the Thebaid (?)	Ptolemy VIII	Philae	
8	I.Th.Sy. 319 & I.Philae 64	Hermias, son of Platon	<i>Stratêgos</i> and in charge of the finances	Block re-used in the <i>dromos</i> ; dedicated to Khnum, Isis, Hera, Athena, and to the gods of the Abaton	Ptolemy VIII	Philae	
9	I.Th.Sy. 320	Nestor, son of Melanippos, from Phaselis	<i>Phrourarque</i> of Syene, Elephantine and Philae, <i>gerrophylax</i> and <i>stratêgos</i> of this nome	Block re-used in the exterior walls; dedicated to Isis, Sarapis, Horos, and to the gods of the Abaton; for Athenios, <i>stratêgos</i> of the region of Elephantine	Ptolemy VIII	Philae	
10	Assouan 1057	Peteesis	First flag-bearer (military), <i>kalasiris</i> (gl-	Donations to the temples of Philae and Elephantine (harp, bed, doors)		Philae	no 62

			sr), prophet				
11	I.Philae I 25	Philoxenos	Secretary of Phommous (the <i>epistratêgos</i> ?)	Small altar	Ptolemy IX	Philae	
12	I.Th.Sy. 242	Chaireas, son of Melas, Boeotian	<i>Phourarchos</i> of Elephantine	Altar dedicated to Khnub <i>et. al.</i> ; for Boethos, archisômatphylakos and stratêgos	Ptolemy VI	Elephantine	
13	I.Th.Sy. 243	Asklepiades, son of Ammonios, Macedonian	<i>Phourarchos</i> of Elephantine	Monument dedicated to Chnoub <i>et. al.</i> ; for Ptolemaios, stratêgos, and his sons	Ptolemy VIII	Elephantine	
14	I.Th.Sy. 302	Herodes, son of Demophon, and the priests of the 5th <i>phylê</i>	<i>Phourarchos</i> of Syene, <i>hegemôn ep'andrôn</i> , prophet of Chnoub	Inscription dedicated to Ammon-Chnoub <i>et. al.</i> ; for Boethos and for the annual festivals for the royal family and Boetos' birthday	Ptolemy VI	Elephantine-Satis Island	
15	I.Th.Sy. 303	Herodes, son of Demophon, and the association of the <i>Basilistai</i>	<i>Stratêgos</i>	Inscription dedicated to Ammon-Chnoub <i>et. al.</i>	Ptolemy VIII	Elephantine-Satis Island	
16	I.Th.Sy. 188	Group of troops	The infantry men, the cavalymen, and the other persons stationed in the Ombite nome	Construction of the chapel of Haroeris-Apollon	Ptolemy VI	Kom Ombo	no 26
17	I.Th.Sy. 190	Group of troops	The infantry men, the cavalymen, and the other persons stationed in the Ombite nome	Altar dedicated to Souchos and other gods of the temple; for Menandros, <i>archiphylakôn</i> , <i>hipparchos</i> in office, <i>oikonomos</i> of the royal land and <i>epistatês</i> , his son Mikros, among the <i>hipparchoi</i> in office serving in this unit, and for Ptolemaios	Ptolemy VIII	Kom Ombo	
18	<i>I.Herm.Magn. 1</i>	Group of <i>katoikoi hippeis</i>	<i>Katoikoi hippeis</i>	<i>Statues, all the contructions inside the temenos, and the portico; dedicated to Ptolemy III</i>	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	<i>Hermoupolis</i>	
19	P.Haun.inv.407	Group of <i>andreis</i>	<i>Andreis (= katoikoi)</i>	Land to Horus for the construction of his temple	Ptolemy VIII (119-118 BC)	Edfu	
20	PP II 2125	Pamonthes-Plenis, son of Menkere	<i>Stratêgos</i> , "Superior at the head of the men", servant, and prophet of many gods, great priest	Construction of the Ptolemaic portico and construction in the temple of Montou (Bucheum?)	Cleopatra VII	Hermonthis	no 55 and 56
21	PP VIII 2112a	Petimouthes	<i>Stratêgos</i> , scribe of the temple of Paiouenamou, prophet of many gods	Reconstruction of a magazine of Amon	Ptolemy X	Thebes	no 40
22	I.Prose I 46	Kallimachos	<i>Stratêgos</i> and in charge of the finance of Peri-Theban nome, <i>gymnasiarchos</i> , <i>hipparchos</i>	Benefactions in the temple of Karnak, notably construction of the terrace of Amon-Ra	Cleopatra VII	Thebes	no 57
23	PP I/VIII 298	Panas, son of Psenobastis	<i>Stratêgos</i> , prophet of many gods	Construction of the temple of Hathor and many nonuments and temple of Isis and its	Cleopatra VII/Augustus?	Dendera	no 53

				dromos			
24	I.Portes 24	Ptolemaios-Psenchai, son of Panas	<i>Stratêgos</i> , prophet of many gods	Dedication of land to Isis-Thermouthis on behalf of Augustus	Augustus	Dendera	
25	PP I/VIII 265	Pachom-Hierax	<i>Stratêgos</i> (of several nomes), prophet of many gods	Construction of a Chapel	Cleopatra VII ?	Dendera	no 61
26	PP I/VIII 292b	Pamenkhes	<i>Stratêgos</i> (of several nomes), prophet of many gods	Construction (?) in the temples of Edfu, Dendera, Elephantine, Philae, Bigeh, Elkab, and Hierakonpolis	Cleopatra VII ?	Dendera	no 54
27	PP I/VIII 343	Psais, his son Padimin, his brother Patriphis, Pollis, Kolanthos, Hermias, his brother with their children	<i>Stratêgos</i> , agent of Min, prophet, the others have religious offices	Opening of the quarries for the temples of the Panopolite nome	Ptolemy XII?	Panopolis	no 51
28	PP II 2142	Horos	General, governor and prophet	Construction of a portico in front of the temple of Herishef	Pre-Ptol-Ptol. I ?	Herakleopolis	no 0
29	P.Tebt. I 63, l.18-23; P.Tebt. 61a, l. 51-105	Group of troops	<i>katoikoi hippeis</i> and 7-aroura machimoi	Dedication of 130 arouras of land to Soknebtunis	Ptolemy VIII	Fayyum: Kerkeosiris	
30	I.Fayoum III 200	Group	Class of ex-ephebes	Donation of land to Souchos	Ptolemy X	Fayyum: Krokodilopolis or Euhemeria	
31	I.Fayoum III 201	Group	Class of ex-ephebes	Donation of land to Souchos	Ptolemy X	Fayyum: Krokodilopolis or Euhemeria	
32	I.Fayoum III 202	Group	Class of ex-ephebes	Donation of land to Soknebtunis	Ptolemy X	Fayyum: Tebtunis ?	
33	I.Fayoum III 204	Helenos	President of the association	Construction of the <i>peribolos</i> (+ donation of land by the association)	Ptolemy XII	Fayyum	no 50
34	P.Tebt. III.1 781	x	President of the association of the 54-aroura cleruchs at Moeris	Reconstruction of the Ammonion after the extraction of 168 BC	Ptolemy VI	Fayyum: Moeris	no 25
35	I.Fayoum I 83	Horos, son of Horos	<i>Chiliarchos</i>	Construction of the <i>pronaos</i> of a temple in Karanis	Ptolemy VI	Fayyum: Karanis	no 23
36	I.Fayoum III 151	x	<i>Hipparchos</i> of the <i>katoikoi hippeis</i>	Construction of the <i>propylon</i> and all the stone-buildings of the temple of Heron	Ptolemy VIII	Fayyum: Magdola	no 34
37	I.Fayoum I 115	Petosiris, son of Herakles, his wife, and his children	Not mentioned	Construction of the second <i>propylon</i> of the temple of Heron	Ptolemy XII	Fayyum: Theadelphia	no 48
38	I.Fayoum II 107	Agathodoros, Alexandrian, his wife, and his children	Member of the second hipparchy	Construction of the <i>propylon</i> and of the dromos of the temple of Pnepheros	Ptolemy VIII	Fayyum: Theadelphia	no 29
39	I.Fayoum II 108	Agathodoros, Alexandrian, his wife, and his children	<i>Hipparchos</i>	Construction of the door and the bar for closing it	Ptolemy VIII	Fayyum: Theadelphia	no 30
40	I.Fayoum II 111	Apollonios, son of Apollonios, and his children	Not mentioned	Construction of the sanctuary of Premarres	Ptolemy X	Fayyum: Theadelphia	no 39

41	Farid, no XXII	Horpaisis, son of Djedhat, and his children	<i>mr-mš^c=</i> <i>general/laarchos</i>	Construction of the temple of Harmotnis	Ptolemy VIII	Fayyum: Theadelphia	no 33
42	I.Fayoum III 145	x	<i>Laarchos</i>	Construction of an Iseion	Ptolemy XII	Fayyum: Tebtunis	no 49
43	I.Fayoum III 209	Heliodoros, son of Ptolemaios, Macedonian	100-aroura cleruch, <i>epitstatês,</i> <i>archiphylakitês,</i> and <i>kômogrammateus</i>	Construction of a <i>propylon</i> to Pnepheros	Ptolemy X	Fayyum: Theadelphia	no 37
44	I.Fayoum II 135	Apollonophanes, son of Bion, from the city of Antioch	One of the First <i>Philoï</i> and of the spear-bearing <i>chiliarchoi</i>	Ask for the reconstruction of the temple and wall of the crocodile-gods Psonaus, Pnepheros, and Soxis	Ptolemy XII	Fayyum: Euhemeria	no 46
45	PP III 5164	Kallikrates	Chief admiral	Construction of a temple of Isis and Anubis	Ptolemy II	Canopus	no 6
46	PP I/VIII 248	Dorion	<i>mr-mš^c,</i> <i>stratêgos,</i> prophet of Horus-khenty, and priest of the <i>machairophoroi</i>	Restoration of the temple of the Semitic cult of the Idumean <i>politeuma</i>	Cleopatra III	Memphis	
47	Cairo JE 85743	Aristonikos	Prophet, <i>stratêgos</i> (?)	Erection of statues in front of the templs of Amon	Late II BC?	To-Bener	
48	PP I 294	Penmerit	Governor, <i>stratêgos,</i> prophet, Chief of the Royal Treasure	Construction of the sanctuary- <i>mesenet</i> and of the monumental door of the temple of Horus of Mesen; enclosure wall	Ptolemy XII	Tanis	no 42
49	PP I/VIII 306	Pichaas	Governor, <i>stratêgos,</i> prophet	Construction of the sanctuary- <i>mesenet</i> and of four doors and of the enclosure wall of the temple of Horus of Mesen	Ptolemy XII	Tanis	no 43

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