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"Kerkeosiris, an Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period", Dorothy J. Crawford, Cambridge 1971 : [recenzja]

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volume to *Greek Papyri*, but is also in its own right a superb palaeographic album containing numerous reproductions of interesting manuscripts that have seldom, and in some cases never, been reproduced before (apart from the photographs mentioned above, see also, e.g. Plates 25, 46, 51, 57, 68, 69, 72). The only objection that might be raised is that the plates are not arranged in chronological order (the *Chronological Table of Manuscripts* given on p. 127 cannot replace it). Even if we concede that it was right to arrange the plates according to literary genres, it might perhaps have been better to keep to a chronological sequence within each genre, instead of arranging the manuscripts according to author.

The inclusion, in the illustrations, of as much as possible of the unwritten areas of the originals is a complete innovation, and is most useful as it gives the reader an idea of the physical properties of the book. An invaluable feature of the book reviewed here is the ample index giving palaeographical terms and points of scribal practice. These are discussed both in the *Introduction* and in the short descriptions of the Plates, which are a real treasure-store of important comments, observations and information.

All in all, these two books by Professor TURNER constitute a unique, masterly introduction to the world of literary papyri.

[Warszawa]

Anna Świderek

Dorothy J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris, an Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, *Cambridge Classical Studies*, Cambridge, at the University Press 1971, pp. 238.

This book by Mrs Crawford is not only valuable for its subject-matter, but also interesting and instructive as regards method as well. Although the author takes as her starting point the very well-known documents from the archive of Menches, village scribe of Kerkeosiris from 120—111 B.C., nevertheless she makes an original contribution (following the line indicated in the *Preface*, p. XI, and the *Introduction*, p. 1) by relating them to the broad context of the ancient Egyptian traditions and the entire history of Ptolemaic Egypt. Owing to the systematic application of this method, this book is not a mere agglomeration of artificially isolated facts about Kerkeosiris, but a true (although of course not exhaustive) account of life in the Egyptian countryside during the reigns of the Ptolemies, when the old was intertwined at every step with the new, and no village was insignificant enough to be cut off completely from the neighbouring villages, or from Alexandria, or from the rest of the country.

Thus in a few sentences in the *Introduction* (p. 1) the author sketches in the historical background — the general situation in Egypt in the 2nd c. B.C. This picture is a mere outline, and perhaps too bare an outline at that. Mrs Crawford quotes the opinions of ancient authors, but does not express her own, and the reader is left with the impression that everything can be explained very simply. She writes: "Nationalism increased; rebellion followed. The rulers... were weak and degenerate themselves". Yet nowadays, as we well know, such simplifications are unacceptable.

After the *Introduction* we come to Chapter II, where the author rightly begins by reviewing the source material. But even this chapter, headed *The Land Survey*, consists of very much more than a mere perusal of the sources. For it sets out in orderly form and brings up to date the body of information now available about cadastre in Ptolemaic Egypt and about the documents (such as land surveys and registers) connected with it. Here Mrs Crawford does not confine herself to Greek times alone but goes back to Pharaonic Egypt as well. She contests that "whilst... a Pharaonic cadastral survey appears well-attested, there are neither classical Greek examples of this operation nor examples from the Hellenistic Near East" (p. 7). Here, too, we have a very interesting account of the ancient Egyptian instruments used still today in actual survey operations (pp. 35—36). The conclusions propounded by the author at the end of this chapter (p. 38) are well-founded, and the caution with which she approaches the problem of a comprehensive cadastre in Alexandria (pp. 34—35) is to be commended. Some objection, however, may be made to the inclusion of PSI 502 in this chapter, as not only is it an early document, but also it concerns a completely specific category of land — the gift-estate of the dioiketes Apollonios.

Chapter III, entitled *Kerkeosiris*, is a captivating one, since it gives us a colourful picture of a little village in the Greek Fayum. The rather extensive account of the Fayum area, and of the reclamation work done there at the time of the first Ptolemies, is appropriate, for even in the specialist literature of today erroneous, out-of-date views on this subject still crop up occasionally. The settlement of the Fayum and of Kerkeosiris itself is the next subject dealt with in this chapter. Relations with the neighbouring villages are discussed next. As regards the general picture of Fayum housing (pp. 46—47), one might add to the references given by Mrs Crawford a book by M. Nowicka, *La maison privée dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque*, Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków 1969, where we find (e.g. pp. 129—139) an extensive account of rural housing.

The next three chapters come under a joint title: *Studies in Land and Population*. Chapter IV deals with the *Cleruchic Land*, Chapter V with *Sacred Land, Cults and Temples*, and Chapter VI with *Crown Land*.

The chapter on cleruchic land begins as usual with a résumé of what is known about this problem. One might be inclined to cavil at a few points here.

For instance one wonders if, as early as the 3rd century B.C., when the cleruchic system was coming into existence, it is justifiable to speak of an "ever-present threat of native sedition" (p. 54)? It should also perhaps be pointed out that Demetrius of Phaleron was a refugee mainly at the court of Ptolemy I Soter, not Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Besides, Lesquier's hypothesis that he had an influence on the emergence of the cleruchic land system in Egypt seems, for other reasons as well, to be rather improbable (see p. 54). Another slight correction is that SB 7986 quoted in footnote 7 on p. 58 is not connected with cleruchic land at all, but with the gift-estate of the dioiketes Apollonios; so Mrs Crawford's statement that "the original cleruchs were not generally considered to be men with a competent knowledge of irrigation, farming and land reclamation" (p. 58) at any rate cannot be based on this document. P. Edfou 8, likewise cited in this footnote, is also too obscure to be used as evidence of the "initiative taken in new irrigation methods by the third-century cleruchy" as the author claims. The section headed *Cleruchic settlement in Kerkeosiris* (pp. 58—75), which is characteristic of the author's method, constitutes a very interesting attempt to depict the development of the cleruchic system in Kerkeosiris as being dependent on political circumstances and events. It should be emphasized that Mrs Crawford never tries to bend the facts to fit her theories. As a rule she merely lists new grants to the cleruchs in the context of political events and dates. In the next subsection, headed *The Cultivations of the Kleroi* (pp. 75—77), the author wisely draws on documents that originally came from places other than Kerkeosiris. But she makes no reference to the Zenon archive, which, it will be remembered, tells us of large-scale leasing out of the kleroi by absent cleruchs, and perhaps even cultivation of some of the plots by the administrators of the gift-estate of the dioiketes Apollonios (see A. Świderek, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* IX—X, 1956, pp. 370—375).

Chapter V, which is on the subject of *Sacred Land, Cults and Temples*, provides us above all with very instructive information on the cults at Fayum and Kerkeosiris (here the author is especially interesting on the cult of Sobek, pp. 86—87). She also argues convincingly that a temple was built to Souchos in Kerkeosiris (pp. 89—90). Another point she stresses is that especially in religious life there is more evidence "for the Egyptianization of Greeks than for the adoption of Greek beliefs and practice by the native Egyptians" (p. 93, see also the author's stringent criticism of Brady's arguments on this subject in footnote 1). Further on in this same chapter we find a discussion of the knotty problems connected with $\gamma\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ and its connection with the temples (see pp. 94—96, where what the author says is interesting but not conclusive) and with $\gamma\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ (pp. 96—98, where we find an interesting attempt to relate the date of the dedication of land to certain political events!) And finally

we have a discussion of problems connected with the cultivation and administration of sacred land at Kerkeosiris (pp. 99—102).

After these two long chapters on cleruchic and sacred land, Chapter VI, dealing with *Crown Land*, is a short one that leaves the reader somewhat unsatisfied, for here Mrs Crawford, according to her own words, gives "only a short summary of the present state of knowledge" (p. 103).

Chapter VII, on *Irrigation and Agriculture*, also begins with some general remarks on Egypt as a whole. First and foremost the author stresses that the state of the irrigation system, and consequently the level of the productivity of the land, was always dependent on the strength and effectiveness of the central government. She next proceeds to discuss irrigation in Kerkeosiris, as well as crops and cultivation (pp. 108—117). In this section we have an extremely interesting compilation of figures illustrating the distribution of various kinds of crops in Kerkeosiris. The author also compares these figures with figures for other villages, both in Fayum and elsewhere (the author draws a comparison here too with the figures known from the time of the Napoleonic invasion — see p. 115). From these figures we see that whereas at Kerkeosiris more than 50% of the whole area was under wheat, this percentage was even higher in other places; the absence here of Egyptian grain such as olyra is typical of other places as well; finally, a characteristic that differentiated Kerkeosiris from other places was a complete lack of olive groves and vineyards. The concluding part of this chapter has many interesting things to say. It deals with the agricultural decline. From her careful study of the papyri Mrs Crawford has several things to say about the decline of land cultivation at Kerkeosiris. "The picture of agriculture as illustrated in the Kerkeosiris surveys is far from healthy" is her opening statement. That there was such a decline is undoubtedly proved by such facts as the lowering of the rents (see figures given on p. 118), the doubling of the area of pasturage, and finally the rise in the area of derelict cleruchic lands and a corresponding decrease in cereal cultivation. Besides, this deterioration in cultivation at the end of the second century is documented for both crown and cleruchic land (pp. 117—121).

In Chapter VIII, headed *Food and Population*, Mrs Crawford essays to calculate the number of inhabitants in Kerkeosiris, the density of population, and even the annual production of wheat per capita or per family. These speculations are no doubt fascinating, but, as the author herself admits, are very uncertain.

Chapter IX deals with *Nomenclature*, that is, the names of the villagers of Kerkeosiris. Contrary to her usual custom, the author does not draw any comparisons with the names used in other villages of the Fayum or in other nomes in Egypt. This is a pity, for, as L. C. Youtie has recently shown (cf. P. Petaus, *Einleitung*, pp. 46—53), even in the Fayum itself there are significant differences between the names used in particular villages. The list

of names used in Kerkeosiris alone does not tell us very much. For instance the name Horos is probably found with equal popularity in all parts of Egypt, whereas that is probably not the case with the name Marres. Mrs Crawford's conclusions as to the nationality of various people seem also to be rather too cautious. As for the "additional information" that can enable us to reach any conclusions on this subject, it would be better to seek this in the family and background of the given person (names, position, occupation, etc.), rather than in the kind of information the author herself thinks apt, such as the date of the papyrus, or type of document (p. 133). Double names, too, sometimes help us to make a fairly good guess as to whether we have to do with a Hellenized Egyptian or an Egyptianized Greek (see now W. P e r e m a n s, *Sur l'identification des Egyptiens et des étrangers dans l'Egypte des Lagides*, *Ancient Society* I, 1970, pp. 25—38).

At the end of the text we find an *Appendix* containing an edition of a fragment forming part of P. Tebt. 152, which was originally published, by description only, in *Tebtunis Papyri* I. The remaining part of the book consists of a bibliography, extensive indexes, and above all twenty-two tables. These tables, which are very clear and systematic, provide an indispensable illustration of the argument, and are integral part of the discussion in the text.

All in all Mrs Crawford's book will make fascinating instructive reading for all who are interested in the life of Hellenistic Egypt. The tables enable the reader to follow the author's argument with ease, while the text provides a really vivid picture of the Egypt of those times, with all its wealth of ancient tradition and its multitude of new neighbourly, administrative, and political interrelationships.

[Warszawa]

Anna Świder ek

Hans H a u b e n, *Callicrates of Samos, A Contribution to the Study of the Ptolemaic Admiralty, with a Samian Inscription Published in an Appendix by Günter Dunst*, *Studia Hellenistica* 18, Leuvense Universitaire Uitgaven 1970.

Callicrates of Samos is a figure very characteristic of his epoch, one of the least well-known periods in the political history of the Greek-speaking world. As nauarch of Ptolemy II Philadelphus he was undoubtedly one of the most powerful and influential men of the Egyptian empire. Yet all we know of him is of recent date, having come from the inscriptions and papyri, for the extant literary sources do not even mention his name. These inscriptions and papyri, however, are very meagre sources on which to build conclusions. For more definite conclusions about the career of Callicrates, son of Boiscus of Samos, we have