

FEMALE PROFESSIONALS IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

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To Padre Pius-Ramon Tragan as a small antidoron for his
kind services rendered over a number of years.
May many more years in good health be granted to him!

In his recent study *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihrer Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri* (Rahden 2008 = *Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike*, vol. 24 [in two parts, I: viii, 1-394, II: 395-914]), Kai Ruffing presents in its second part a useful catalogue of professions in the sphere of commerce and craftsmanship found in inscriptions and papyri. Ruffing lists the following terms for such professional activities performed by women:

<i>Page</i>	<i>Greek term</i>	<i>English Translation (mostly given or suggested by LSJ)</i>
400	ἀκέστρια	Seamstress
402	ἀλέτισσα / ἀλετρίς	Female person grinding corn
415	ἀλόπωλις	Female seller of salt
417	ἀλφιτόπωλις	Female seller of flour
421	ἀνθυλοπράτισσα	Female seller of flowers
428	ἀρτοκόπισσα	Female baker
440	ἀρτόπωλις	Female seller of bread
446	ἀσπροπώλισσα	Female seller of incense
453	βάφισσα	Female dyer
470	γερδία / γερδίαινα	Female weaver
492	γνάφισσα	Female fuller

<i>Page</i>	<i>Greek term</i>	<i>English Translation (mostly given or suggested by LSJ)</i>
502	γρυτοπόωλίσσα	Female seller of small wares
513	έλαιόπωλις	Female seller of oil
532	ζυτόπωλις	Female seller of beer
538	ήπήτρια	Female tailor
548	ίματιόπωλις	Female seller of clothes
557	καθαροπόωλίσσα	Female seller of bread
567	καπηλίς	Female tavern-keeper
600	κονδιάρια	Female producer / seller of aromatic wine
603	κουρίς	Female hairdresser
613	κυαμοπόωλίσσα	Female seller of beans
628	λαχανόπωλις	Female seller of vegetables
636	λιβανωτόπωλις	Female seller of incense
649	μαγίριςσα	Female cook
660	μελιτόπωλις	Female producer / seller of honey
671	μυρόπωλις	Female seller of perfume
679	ξύλόπωλις	Female seller of wood
710	παντόπωλις	Female huckster
723	πλύντρια	Washerwoman
726	πορφυρόπωλις	Female producer / seller of purple-dyed wool
729	προπινάρια	Female cook
734	ράφίδεια	Female stitcher / embroiderer
741	σησαμόπωλις	Female seller of sesame
758	στεφανόπωλις	Female seller of garlands
763	στυππειόπωλις	Female seller of hemp
770	ταριχοπράτισσα	Female seller of pickles
774	ταρσικάρισσα	Female producer of ‘Tarsian’ textile (only in <i>P.Coll.Youtie</i> II 95.7, but reading incorrect ¹)
792	τέχνιτις	Female slave / crafts-woman

¹ I am grateful to A. Delattre (Brussels) who checked the reading on the original papyrus (kept in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels; a photo is available at http://dgtl.kbr.be:8881/exlibris/dtl/d3_1/apache_media/33036.pdf, scrolling on to Cat. # 1) and found it incorrect. Vid. his note forthcoming in *Tyche*.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Greek term</i>	<i>English Translation (mostly given or suggested by LSJ)</i>
801	τριμιτάρια	Female producer / seller of <i>trimitoi</i> (= garment of drill or ticking)
803	τυρόπωλις	Female seller of cheese
808	ύφάντρα	Female weaver
835	χρυσώτρια	Female gilder

For several reasons it would go too far to assume that this list offers a *complete* collection of *all* professional activities of women in the Eastern Mediterranean world. First of all, Ruffing's title with its explicit reference to «Handel und Handwerk» (= «commerce and craftsmanship») contains an important restriction: he does *not* list the professional or occupational activities of women *outside* these two spheres.² Moreover, it may happen that a profession of a female person attested in (semi-)literary sources does not also occur in documentary sources like inscriptions and/or papyri.³ Furthermore, there are masculine terms for professions that can be attributed to women simply by converting the article ó [term] into ή [term]. Ruffing himself lists some non-Egyptian examples of this practice,⁴ while H.J. Drexhage already mentioned⁵ several other similar Greek terms for women in an occupational or professional capacity, in particular of women working as an έλαιουργός (= 'manufacturer of oil', in *BGU*

² E.g. of women working in the 'service' sector, like teachers, doctors, or wet nurses, or active in some form of religious function, like female priests. Remarkably enough, according to the 'Inhaltsverzeichnis' of his work (vol. I pp. III-V) Ruffing does not present a special discussion of the economic role of *female* professionals in the fields of commerce and craftsmanship.

³ Cf., e.g. *LSJ* s.v. σκυτεύτρια = 'female cobbler', conjectured in Hesychius (ed. P.A. Hansen,), Π 2033 s.v. πεσσύπτη. In general, see H. J. Drexhage, «Vorläufige Liste der bislang ausschliesslich literarisch belegten Berufs- bzw. Tätigkeitsbezeichnungen», *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 23 (2004) 41-65, No. 1.

⁴ Vid. part II, 505 s.v. δικτυοπλόκος = 'weaver of nets', 530 s.v. ζυτοποιός = 'brewer' (see in particular p. 531, fn. 8, for *BGU* VI 1244), 755 s.v. σκυτοτόμος = 'leatherworker', 758 s.v. στεφανηπλόκος = 'plaiter of wreaths') and 767 s.v. ταλασιουργός = 'wool-spinner'.

⁵ In his article «Feminine Berufsbezeichnungen im hellenistischen Ägypten», *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 11.1 (1992) 70-79, esp. 72.

III 892 + *BL* 1:78), an ἰβιοβοσκός (= ‘keeper of the sacred ibis’, in *O.Tait* I 124), and ἰσιονόμος (= ‘warden of the temple of Isis’, in *P.Enteux.* 6) and as ναύκληροι (= ‘ship owners’; for various sources and discussions, cf. Drexhage, «Feminine Berufsbezeichnungen», fn. 5). Besides, Drexhage also mentioned in this article other «masculine professions turned female», e.g. a female θησαυροφύλαξ (= ‘treasurer’, in *P.Mich.* V 226.15-16), a female κεραμεύς (= ‘potter’, in *SB* I 31; cf. below), a female λαχανοπώλης (= ‘seller of vegetables’, in *BGU* I 22.4, cf. l. 9), a female οἰνέμπορος (= ‘wine-merchant’, in *P.Stras.* I 1.3),⁶ while on top of that he produces attestations of various other relevant terms.⁷

It is, again, another matter that masc. professions in -ος may be provided with a fem. ending in -η, cf. the alternation νεκροτάφος / νεκροτάφη (the *DDBDP* lists attestations of the latter in *M.Chrest.* 295 = *P.Grenf.* II 76.2, *P.Bodl.* I 169.1 and *P.Grenf.* II 71.8-9 [all from the Theban Oasis]; add to these three texts *P.Grenf.* II 75 = *C.Pap.Graec.* I 40.1, 22).⁸ Unfortunately, there is no simple way to check how frequently *this* alternation (or similar alternations) occurs in Greek.

Finally, new sources may always produce new relevant terms. Particularly illustrative for this statement is the case of two still unpublished census returns from the Dakhleh Oasis, written in A.D. 132 and 146, in which women are labelled κλωθ(), i.e. they are

⁶ Note that here the term has been abbreviated as οἰν() and that other resolutions are conceivable.

⁷ See the following pages and terms in Drexhage, «Feminine Berufsbezeichnungen», 72: γεώργισσα = ‘female peasant’ (in *P.Batav.* 3.31); 73: ποιμένησσα = ‘herdswoman’ (in *BGU* VI 1289.11) and ἀλύητρις = ‘flute-girl’ (for attestations, cf. *CPR* XIII, p. 56f.); 74: κορσάς = ‘female barber’ (in *BGU* I 9.iv.15); 76: ἐλαιούργισσα = ‘female manufacturer of oil’ (in *SB* XIV 11578.5), ὄρβαροπωλῖς = ‘female vetch-seller’, (in *P.Apoll.* 79.6; term abbreviated and *this* supplement not recorded in the *BL*), and σιλιγνάρια = ‘female baker’ (in *SB* XVI 12281.1), and 77: πλουμάρισα = ‘female stitcher of embroidery’ (in *P.Aberd.* 59.5).

⁸ Here the original Grenfell-papyrus has νεκροταφη, ‘corrected’ in *C.Pap.Graec.* to νεκροταφη<ς> on the basis of the argument that one is dealing here with a iotacistic misspelling of a regular form νεκροταφίς. The so-called ‘regular’ form is based on the entry in *LSJ*, s.v. νεκροταφίς, citing for this word only *P.Grenf.* II 76.2. In fact, here one finds the genitive of νεκροτάφη spelled as νεκροταφίς. None of these terms is listed in Ruffing’s catalogue of professions.

performing some form of spinning activity. Unfortunately, no relevant term for such women is already attested in Greek and we simply cannot tell how one should resolve the abbreviation. Our best options seem to be *κλώθ(ισσα), *κλωθ(ίστρια), or κλώθ(ουσα) (*partic.praes.*), but in the end these resolutions are only speculations.

Even so, the bulk of the terms listed above can be analyzed by a study of the word endings and in particular feminine suffixes, cf. the suffixes in:⁹

(1) in -πωλις: ἀλό-, ἀλφιτό-, ἐλαιό-, ζυτό-, ἱματιό-, λαχανό-, λιβανωτό-, μελιτό-, μυρό-, ξυλό-, ὄρβαρο-/ὄρβιό-, παντό-, πορφυρό-, σησαμό-, στυππιό-, τυρόπωλις;

(2) in -πώλισσα: ἀσπρο-, γρυτο-, ἐλαιο-, καθαρο-, κυαμο- and μυροπώλισσα;

(3) in -πράτισσα: ἀνθυλο- and ταριχοπράτισσα.

All of these words belong to the sphere of commerce, in other words: one is dealing with women who are selling a specific commodity like salt, pickles or clothing or who are running some form of ‘general shop’ (cf. the terms γρυτοπώλισσα and παντόπωλις).

(4) Other terms in -ισσα mentioned by Ruffing and Drexhage, «Feminine Berufsbezeichnungen», are:

ἀλέτισσα / ἀλετρίς	Woman grinding corn (<i>PSI VII 838.8</i>)
βάφισσα	Female dyer (<i>SB I 1957</i>)
γεώργισσα	Female farmer (<i>P.Batav. 3.31</i>)
γνάφισσα	Female fuller (<i>P.Cair.Goodsp. 30.xxix.2,24; P.Cair.Mich. 359.1393; P.Mich. IV.1 223.2900, 225.2440; P.Oxy. XXIV 2425.17, L 3598.8</i>)
ἐλαιούργισσα	Female producer of oil (<i>SB XIV 11578.5</i>)
μαγ(ε)ίρισσα	Female cook (<i>P.Oxy. XXVII 2480.237 + BL IX 196</i>)
πλουμάρισσα	Female embroiderer (<i>P. Aberd. 59.7</i>)
ποιμένισσα	Shepherdess (<i>BGU VI 1289.11</i>)

⁹ I have also profited from consulting D. Hagedorn’s *Konträrindex* (see <http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/Kontr.pdf>) for finding a few terms not listed in Ruffing’s catalogue.

ταρσικάρισσα Female producer of ‘Tarsian’ textile (only in *P.Coll.Youtie* II 95.7, but reading incorrect, cf. above, fn. 1))

Moreover, the *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* by P. Kretschmer & E. Locker (Göttingen 1963²: 71) mentions the following terms in -ισσα which are also relevant for the subject of female professions:

φυλάκισσα Guards-woman (from *LXX* Ca.1.6)
 βαλάνισσα Female bath attendant (from *AP* 5.81)
 κούρισσα Female hairdresser (from *EM* 528.4)
 πωμαρίτισσα Female fruiterer (from *SPP* VIII 809.1)
 καλλιγράφισσα Female calligraphist (from *SEG* 7:196, Beirut, 5/6 cent.).

(5) Then, there appear various words in -ις:

αύλητρίς Flute-girl (cf. *CPR* XIII, p. 56f.)
 καπηλίσ Female tavern-keeper (*P.Fay.* 12.23, *SB* XXII 15236.Fr.2ⁱ.iii.55, XXIV 15973.4, 17;)
 κουρίς Female hairdresser (*BGU* I 57^v.7, *P.Oxy.* XII 1489.9)
 οίνοκαπηλίσ Female owner of a wine-bar (*SB* XXIV 16295.3)
 (ταπιδ)ύφάντις Female weaver (*P.Count* 4.193), of carpets (*P.Count* 28.32)
 τέχνιτις Female slave / crafts-woman (only in inscriptions from Delphi)

(6) a substantial number of words in -ια:

ἀκέστρια Seamstress (*SEG* 18:36.B.3, Athens)
 γερδία / γερδίαινα Female weaver (passim)
 ἠπήτρια Female tailor (*P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 256.19; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1679.5,11; *UPZ* I 91.16, 93.10)
 κονδιτάρια Female producer / seller of aromatized wine (in *SB* XXVI 16490.1-2)

κροταλίστρια	Female castanet-dancer (<i>P.Corn.</i> 9.1, <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV. 2721.6, LXXIV 5015.5-6)
ὄρχήστρια	Dancing girl (<i>BGU</i> VII 1648.1, <i>et alibi</i>)
πλύντρια	Washerwoman (<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXIV 2419.9)
προπινάρια	Female cook (<i>SEG</i> 31:1082, Pessinous, Galatia)
ῥαφίδαία	Female stitcher / embroiderer (<i>Fouilles Delphi</i> II.3 26)
σιλιγνιάρια	Female baker (<i>SB</i> XVI 12281.1)
τριμιτάρια	Female producer of <i>trimitoi</i> (= garment of drill / ticking, <i>IGOccid.Chr.</i> 153)
χρυσώτρια	Female gilder (A. Audollent, <i>Tab.Defix.</i> 69.4)

It is obvious that further search actions, e.g. in the Internet version of *LSJ* for words in -'τρια or -τρίς, may yield even more relevant terms.

Already the list above, however, allows one to establish that next to their various activities in all kinds of commerce (for which, cf. above sub 1, 2 and 3), women were active in:¹⁰

a) the sphere of food production and consumption, cf. terms like:

ἀλέτισσα / ἀλετρίς	Female person grinding corn
άρτοκόπισσα	Female baker
ἐλαιούργισσα/-ουργός	Female manufacturer of oil
ζυτοποιός (ἡ)	Female brewer
κονδιτάρια	Female producer / seller of aromatic wine
μαγ(ε)ίρισσα	Female cook
(οἶνο-)καπηλίσ	Female owner of a (wine-)bar
οἰνέμπορος (ἡ)	Female wine-merchant
προπινάρια	Female cook
πωμαρίτισσα	Female fruiterer
σιλιγνιάρια	Female baker

¹⁰ For this subject, vid. already H.-J. Drexhage, «Feminine Berufsbezeichnungen», 75ff.

b) the textile industry and related activities, cf. terms like:

ἀκέστρια	Seamstress
βάφισσα	Female dyer
γερδία / γερδίαινα	Female weaver
γνάφισσα	Female fuller
δικτυοπλόκος (ἡ)	Female weaver of nets
ἡπήτρια	Female tailor
πλουμάρισσα	Female embroiderer
πλύντρια	Washerwoman
ῥαφίδεια	Female stitcher / embroiderer
σκυτεύτρια	Female cobbler
σκυτοτόμος	Female leather-worker
στεφανηπλόκος	Female plaiter of wreaths
ταλασιουργός	Female wool-spinner
ταρσικάρισσα	Female textile worker (term doubtful)
τριμιτάρια	Female producer of <i>trimitoi</i> (= garment of drill or ticking)
(ταπιδ)υφάντις	Female (carpet-)weaver
ὑφάντρα	Female weaver

c) in the sphere of personal (body) care and related services, cf.:

βαλάνισσα	Female bath attendant
κορσᾶς	Female barber
κουρίς/ κούρισσα	Female hairdresser ¹¹
νεκροτάφη	Female undertaker / embalmer

d) in various other activities and services, cf.:

αὐλητρίς	Female flute player
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¹¹ I have not been able to consult the study of H.J. Drexhage, «Zu den Lebensverhältnissen der *κουρείς* im römischen und spätantiken Ägypten», in S. G. Winkel, K. Ruffing und O. Stoll (Hgg.), *Pragmata. Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Antike im Gedenken an Harald Winkel* (Wiesbaden, 2007; = Philippika. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen. 17), 16-26.

θησαυροφύλαξ (ή)	Female treasurer
ιβιοβοσκός (ή)	Female keeper of the sacred ibis
ισιονόμος (ή)	Female warden of the temple of Isis
καλλιγράφισσα	Female calligraphist
κροταλίστρια	Female castanet-dancer
ναύκληρος (ή)	Female ship owner
ὀρχήστρια	Dancing girl
ποιμένισσα	Shepherdess
τέχνιτις	Female slave / crafts-woman
φυλάκισσα	Guards-woman
χρυσώτρια	Female gilder

What conclusions may be drawn from this? Already more than 70 years ago, in a dissertation sponsored by Friedrich Oertel,¹² its author Lea Bringmann remarked on p. 116 that «In den Gewerben die sich mit der Verarbeitung von Holz, Tierhäuten, Metallen, Steinen und Erden befassen, habe ich bis auf die Töpferei für die durch einen Grabstein aus römischer Zeit eine Handwerkerin bezeugt ist (*SB I 31*: Thaësis T. Eros, *κεραμεύς*, 7 Jahre alt), und vielleicht die Ziegelherstellung (*P.Dem.Zen. 4*; Lieferung von 20 000 Ziegeln von einer Mann und einer Frau) und Glasfabrikation (*P.Got. 7*: Glasarbeiter) gewerbmässig beschäftigte Frauen in Ägypten nirgends angetroffen».

As regards the category of wood (cf. ‘Holz’), female carpenters etc. seem still unattested in Egypt; also for the category of metals (cf. ‘Metalle’), there is no evidence from Egypt featuring female laborers working in this field.¹³

As far as leather (cf. ‘Tierhäuten’) is concerned, Bringmann’s statement is no longer correct since the publication in 1997 of *P.Kellis IV 96*, where in ll. 1550-51 we seem to be dealing with a woman Tsenpsais labelled *σχυτεύς*.¹⁴

¹² *Die Frau im ptolemäisch-kaiserlichen Aegypten* (Diss. Bonn 1939), Kap. III, 91-125: «Die Frau im Wirtschaftsleben», esp. § 2 (103-125): «Erwerb aus beruflicher Tätigkeit», a. als Landpächterin; b. als Arbeiterin, 1. landwirtschaftliche, 2. gewerbliche: als selbständig Gewerbe- und Handeltreibende; sonstige private Berufe; als Priesterin.

¹³ In itself one may argue that such an activity, attested already outside Egypt (cf. above [p. 80] for the term *χρυσώτρια* = ‘female gilder’, occurring in the Attic inscription *JG III 3 69.4*), could have been performed also *within* Egypt.

¹⁴ Cf. *O.Kellis 96.1n* and A. Alcock, «Women Cobblers in a 4th-century Oasis?»,

The three texts adduced by Bringmann for apparently attesting the activity of women in the production of ceramics ('Töpferei'), mud brick ('Ziegelherstellung') and glass ('Glasfabrikation'), each unique for their individual type of activity, remind us of the well-known dictum '*unicum ergo dubium*'; therefore, they deserve further scrutiny.

The first text, *SB I 31*, apparently featuring a female *κεραμεύς*, was re-published in 1988 by E. Bernand in *I.Akoris* 49. Bernand suggests in his commentary to regard the nominative *κεραμεύς* as an error (attested elsewhere frequently enough) for the genitive *κεραμέως* and to combine this with the father's name.¹⁵ This suggestion seems all the more attractive, as it allows us to get rid of a case of child labor, i.e. a female potter of only 7 years old.

The second text, *P.Dem.Zen. 4* (cf. *Dem. BL*, vol. I.A, 407-8) concerns the delivery of 20,000 mud bricks by a man and a woman. There is no clear indication of the precise role of the woman in the production process of these bricks, but it seems well possible that she was, e.g., only counting the bricks produced by her husband. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether she also took part in the (relatively hard) work of the mud brick production process itself.

Likewise, the third case is also unclear about the precise role of the woman concerned. The text in question, *P.Got. 7*, ca 250 C.E., from Panopolis (for the date and the provenance, cf. *BL III 69, V 36*), contains an offer to the town council of Panopolis for providing

Archiv für Papyrusforschung 46 (2000) 50. For other fem. terms for 'cobbler', compare above, fn. 4, in particular also the term *σχυτοτόμος* = 'female leather-worker', referred to there. Further discussion of the phenomenon of 'woman cobblers' (*σχυτεῖς*) is lacking in K. Ruffing's study referred to on p. 79, or in S. Russo, *Le Calzature nei papiri di età Greco-Romana*, Firenze 2004 (= *Studi e Testi di Papirologia*, N.S. 2) 208-213. In fact, it does not seem regular Greek to use a word ending in *-εύς* for some professional or occupational activity of a woman (cf. also below for the removal of a female *κεραμεύς* from our documentation). I should like to express here my gratitude to my colleagues I. Sluiter for referring me to the passage in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, 760 (here the female (!) *τροφός* compares her own activity with that of a *κναφεύς*, respectively a *τροφεύς*; obviously, this is not a clear-cut attestation of the combination *ἦ + -εύς*) and A. van Gemert for referring me to the remarkable word combination *μετὰ τῆς γραμματέως* in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* 432 (*LSJ* s.v. *γραμματεύς* labels this gender transformation 'a joke').

¹⁵ Now read by Bernand as *Π[ε]ρώτος*.

glass for (i.a.) three local bath houses. The offer was made by three persons who designated themselves as ὑελοργοί = ‘glass producers’, viz. (1) a man Aurelius Horos (second name incompletely preserved), (2) his son Aurelius Marinos, and (3) a woman Aurelia Sarapodora alias Didyme.¹⁶ The precise relationship between the two men and the woman is not indicated. Therefore, it is not certain that Sarapodora was the wife of Horos and the mother of Marinos. Be that as it may, Sarapodora is labelled ‘astê’.¹⁷ The precise meaning of this term within a Panopolitan context may be a matter of debate,¹⁸ but so much is certain that through the use of this label Sarapodora apparently indicated that she did not (wish to) belong to the Panopolitan ‘rank and file’. Given what we have seen thus far about women performing some kind of manual labor and given Sarapodora’s special claim for status, it does not seem likely that in this text she was actively working as a laborer / producer of glass (or even that she assumed the role of an artist / glassblower who applied some form of decoration). Rather, one should accept a scenario in which Sarapodora did the administration for some form of family business, while her partners (husband and son?) were doing the actual work of producing glass in a (hot!) oven. In such a scenario, Sarapodora herself probably was the immediate author of the offer made by a small private firm to the municipality of Panopolis to provide glass windows. For the moment, the burden of proof rests with anyone who wishes to contend that women were involved in the actual production of glass, metals, stones, or similar types of commodity.

¹⁶ Cf. Il. 2 - 4: παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίων) Ὠ[ρου(?)] | καὶ υἱοῦ Μαρείνου ἀπὸ Κόπτου πόλεως καὶ Σα[ρα]-|ποδώρας τῆς καὶ [Δ]ιδύμης, ἀστῆς, ὑελοργῶν). I note that in l. 2 one may resolve the abbreviation Αὐρηλ() as Αὐρηλ(ίων), rather than as Αὐρηλ(ίου) (so the *ed.princ.*), as there is no need to assume that after the year 212 A.D. only Horos would have enjoyed the *civitas Romana*.

¹⁷ On this term, cf. D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship During the Roman Principate* (Atlanta, GA 1990; = *American Classical Studies* 23) 13-21, 27-28 and 45-46; surprisingly, the name of Sarapodora is lacking in Delia’s Appendix I, «List of *Astai* and *Astoi* in Roman Egypt» (127-31).

¹⁸ Was Sarapodora (a) a woman who lived in Panopolis while enjoying citizenship of Alexandria or another Greek city in Egypt (e.g. Antinoopolis), or (2) did the term refer to her status *within* Panopolis?

