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No. 10

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FROM PANOPOLIS

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PREFACE

The papyri here published comprise two of the longest continuous texts which have survived from the period of Roman rule in Egypt. The most extensive and best-preserved papyri are not necessarily the most important—the lengthy roll in a literary hand so often turns out to be merely Homer—but by a chance which might be called fortunate, or, in the case of Sir Chester Beatty, characteristic, the present papyri proved to contain official correspondence at a high level, dating, moreover, from a crucial period in the history of Roman Egypt, and indeed of the Roman Empire; and I am deeply grateful to Sir Chester Beatty for entrusting me with their publication.

A brief account of the papyri was communicated by me to the Ninth International Congress of Papyrology at Oslo in 1958 (since printed in Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology, Oslo, Norwegian Universities Press, 1961, pp. 194-9) and I had hoped that the publication would have followed at not too long an interval. Unfortunately, pressure of my official duties, especially after appointment to my present post in 1961, seriously impeded progress, and the delay is only partially compensated by the fact that I have thereby been enabled to avail myself of a number of important publications which have appeared in the interim.

I should explain that, with Sir Chester Beatty’s full approval, I have made it my principal aim in this publication to reproduce as accurately as possible the text of the documents. To have attempted to provide a full commentary and discussion of their contents would not merely have inflated the size and cost of the work, but would have still further delayed its completion, perhaps for many years. It should therefore be understood that the notes appended to the texts, and the brief introduction which precedes them, are not intended to do more than to explain my interpretation of the texts and to draw attention to some of the salient facts which could form the starting-points for more detailed research.
PREFACE

It remains for me to thank Sir Harold Bell, Professor E. G. Turner, and Professor A. H. M. Jones for a number of good suggestions in the text, and the Oxford University Press for their unfailing care and helpfulness, but responsibility for the contents of the volume remains my own. Finally, I should mention that on completion of the publication, the papyri themselves, hitherto deposited for my use in the British Museum, will be transferred to the Chester Beatty Library, 20 Shrewsbury Road, Dublin.

For the convenient citation of these papyri I would suggest the abbreviation 'P. Beatty Panop.'.

October 1963

T. C. SKEAT
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frontispiece

at end of volume
INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE PAPYRI

AMONG the Greek papyri acquired by Sir Chester Beatty at various dates during a period of twenty or thirty years prior to 1957 was a roughly made papyrus codex (Plate I), largely blank, but containing here and there a few tax-receipts bearing dates between A.D. 339 and 345, issued to a certain Besas Antoninus Alopex of Panopolis, and to members of his family. The codex consisted of a number of sheets of papyrus, doubled over to form a single unwieldy quire. The leaves, unsecured by any form of sewing, were extremely thick, and examination quickly revealed that they were formed from two thicknesses of papyrus gummed together. In some places where the adhesive had loosened its hold, it could be seen that the whole of the inner surfaces were covered with writing, in which could be deciphered references to the Panopolite nome and to other nomes of Upper Egypt.

Publication of the tax receipts, for the convenient recording of which the codex had been manufactured, forms no part of the plan of the

\[1\] The idea of a codex for collecting the tax-receipts accumulated by a private individual or his family may have developed from the rolls of tax-receipts of which a number of examples have survived from the early part of the fourth century (cf. P. Merton ii. 88, introd.; P. Cair. Isidor. 41, &c.).
INTRODUCTION

present publication, but in order to give some idea of their nature, the texts of the two receipts illustrated in Plate I will be reproduced here:

δυ(όματος) Βησαὸς Αντωνίνου Ἀλώπικης εὐ’ ἵδικτ(ίνως)
χρυσοῦ τελωνικοῦ γράμματα ἄμαιν
τρίτον διδόκατον τετρακαιεικωστόν
tετασακακωστόγκτων ἐν(έ)μηκσουστέκτον(ν),
γί(νεται) γρ(άμματα) < ἱλαῖες, Μεσορή ἐγ.
Θεόδωρος ἐξ(έδωκα).

δύ(όματος) Παυσανίως Αλώπικης ὑπὲρ
καταδίκης Κλεοπάτρου μεροθέις
ἐίς χλαμύδ(α)ς, χρυσοῦ γρ(άμματα) αἱ μόνῃ.

5
μετὰ τὴν ὑπ’αὐτίαν τὸ β’ καὶ τὸ α’’, Μεχείρ κα’’
Κόλλοφοδος ἐξ(έδωκα) τὴν ἀποχ(ήν).

The consulship mentioned in the second receipt is the second consul­ship of Constantius and the first of Constans, i.e. A.D. 339, and the date of the receipt must therefore be 15 February 340. The 13th Indiction mentioned in the first receipt must accordingly be the year A.D. 339–40, and the actual date of the receipt 16 August 339.

Since the writing on the inner surfaces of the leaves, i.e. those which had been gummed together, promised to be of much greater interest than the tax-receipts, I proposed to Sir Chester Beatty, and he readily agreed, that the codex should be taken to pieces. This delicate operation, which involved prolonged soaking of the papyrus, was undertaken by Mr. Stanley Baker, Senior Museum Assistant in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, and the results exceeded all expectations. The papyri which had been re-used for the manufacture of the codex proved to come from two long rolls containing official correspondence of the Strategus of the Panopolitai nome, and dating from A.D. 298 and A.D. 300 respectively.

The codex had been manufactured in the following way. The two rolls had been cut up into pieces measuring about 35–40 cm. in length, and pairs of these pieces had been gummed together with the written sides facing each other. The resultant sheets of ‘blank’ papyrus, on both
INTRODUCTION

sides of which the fibres were vertical, were then piled up one on top of the other, and the pile folded over in the middle to form a single-quire codex. The fore-edge of the codex was then roughly trimmed level, with the result that the original rolls as now reconstituted exhibit a number of vertical strips missing at regular intervals (Plates II, III). In addition, as can be seen in Plate I, the corners of the codex were bent up, and in some cases broken off. Otherwise, the rolls are in a remarkably good state of preservation, and many columns, apart from the vertical strips just mentioned, are almost intact.¹

When the sections of the rolls are placed end to end, and allowance is made for the vertical strips missing, the total length of Papyrus 1 (excluding the first two very fragmentary columns) is approximately 610 cm., while that of Papyrus 2 is 518 cm. The height of the rolls varies somewhat, but averages about 25 cm.; the codex seems to have been trimmed at head and tail as well as on the fore-edge, so the original height of the rolls was probably nearer to 30 cm.

The lengths of the rolls just quoted represent their existing dimensions. Before they were mutilated, both rolls were certainly very much longer. This is proved by the fact that the successive columns of writing on each roll were numbered, and although many of the numbers on the surviving portions have disappeared, enough remain for them to be restored with certainty. Originally, then, the surviving columns of the two papyri were numbered as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyrus 1</th>
<th>Papyrus 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Col.</td>
<td>Col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⅠA</td>
<td>KA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⅠB</td>
<td>KB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⅡΓ</td>
<td>ⅡΓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⅠΔ</td>
<td>ⅠΔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⅠΕ</td>
<td>ⅠΕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ⅰσ</td>
<td>Ⅰσ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⅠΖ</td>
<td>ⅠΖ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For a similar example—also from Achmim—of a codex made by re-using rolls of official correspondence, cf. Wilcken, Archiv, viii, p. 304. This instance, a fifth-century codex containing Coptic and Greek religious texts, was made by re-using rolls of official correspondence dating from the reign of Severus.
INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyrus 1</th>
<th>Papyrus 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Col. vili</td>
<td>Col. vili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix IH</td>
<td>ix KH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x IΘ</td>
<td>x KΘ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi KA</td>
<td>xi A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii KB</td>
<td>xii A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii KΓ</td>
<td>xiii A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv KA</td>
<td>xiv A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv KE</td>
<td>xv A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that ten columns are wholly lost from the beginning of Papyrus 1, and no less than twenty from the beginning of Papyrus 2. In both cases, furthermore, the rolls break off imperfectly at the end, and there are no means of telling how much is missing here. At any rate, the total length of Papyrus 2 must have exceeded 1,380 cm., or 45 feet.

Accompanying the codex were a large number of fragments, nearly all of them from Papyrus 1, which had come from the outer pages of the codex as these had disintegrated. A good many of these fragments were eventually pieced together to form Papyrus 1, cols. i–ii, as here published. In addition, a number of fragments of at least two earlier columns of Papyrus 1 remain, but so little of the text survives that very few can be placed with any certainty, and in any case no continuous sense can be obtained. They have accordingly been omitted from the present publication.

§ 2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

So much has been written in recent years about the revolt in Egypt of Lucius Domitius Domitianus\(^1\) that it would be impossible to attempt to summarize it here. Suffice it to say that thanks to the discovery at Karanis of a number of papyri and ostraca dated in his reign, we now know that, at Karanis at any rate, he was recognized as Emperor from 24–28 August to 23 November. At Tebtunis he was recognized as late as 2 December (P. Michaelid. 24). The difficulty resides in identifying

\(^1\) For the most recent discussion see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, 1962, pp. 44–61. References to the principal articles of earlier date are given ibid., p. 44 n. 1.
INTRODUCTION

the Julian year in which these events took place. As Boak and Youtie showed, there is in the year 296 at Karanis a notable gap in datings by Diocletian and his colleagues, between 11 July 296 and 15 December 296, into which the period of the usurpation could be neatly fitted; they therefore concluded that the revolt of Domitianus took place in A.D. 296, and they rejected the arguments of A. C. Johnson in favour of A.D. 297.

Vandersleyen, however, has pointed out that there is a very similar gap in datings by the Tetrarchs at Karanis in 297, extending in fact from 23 July 297 to 11 January 298, into which the period of usurpation could equally well be fitted. He claimed, furthermore, that dating of the revolt to 296 was ruled out by two documents, O. Mich. 77 (from Karanis), of 19 August 296, and P. Michaelid. 23 (from the Fayum, but not more precisely located), of 9 September 296, both of which date by the Tetrarchs. These documents do not appear to me to be quite so conclusive as Vandersleyen makes out, since the former antedates, even if by only a few days, the earliest dating by Domitianus, while the latter may come from some part of the Fayum where the change of allegiance took place a few days later than at Karanis.

Of the remaining arguments put forward by Johnson, and echoed by Vandersleyen, in favour of 297 only one can be mentioned here. This relates to the Edict of Aristius Optatus (P. Cair. Isidor. 1), published on 16 March 297. Johnson maintained that the reforms initiated by the Edict, so far from constituting a measure of pacification after the extinction of the rebellion, actually preceded it and were indeed one of its prime causes, since the principle of uniformity of taxation which it introduced alienated the middle and upper classes who had long enjoyed various reliefs from the full burden of taxation.

Whether this interpretation is correct or not, it is certainly remarkable, if the Edict was issued immediately after the crushing of a long and bloody rebellion, that it should not contain the slightest allusion to these events. Moreover, if the collapse of the rebellion and the capture of

2 Oxyrhynchus still recognized the Tetrarchs on 9 August 297 (P. Oxy. 1571).
3 P. Lond. 958 dates by the Tetrarchs on 28 Sept. 296, but its provenance is unknown.
INTRODUCTION

Alexandria occurred in February 297, it is difficult to see how the far-reaching reforms promulgated in the Edict could have been worked out in time for publication only a few weeks later. On both these counts the Edict becomes more comprehensible if its issue preceded the revolt.

We must now turn to the present papyri. Neither makes the slightest reference, direct or indirect, to the recent insurrection; but certain inferences can be tentatively drawn. For instance, it is known that after the fall of Alexandria, Diocletian travelled up the Nile and arranged for the retrocession of the southern frontier of Egypt to Aswan. From Papyrus 1 (September 298) we learn that Diocletian has not yet reached Panopolis, but is expected there shortly. If the revolt of Domitianus had been finally crushed in February or March 298 this would be a reasonable interval for the restoration of order and the preparations for the visit to Upper Egypt; if, on the other hand, the revolt had been suppressed in February 297, there must have been a delay of at least eighteen months before Diocletian reached Upper Egypt, and this seems unlikely.

Apart from these general considerations, there are a few details in Papyrus 1 which might be construed as evidence of disturbances in recent months. Is it, for instance, merely a coincidence that when the δεκάπρωτοι are ordered to make issues of grain to military units, they are told to supply it from the produce, not, as might have been expected, of the current or of the preceding year, but of the year before that, i.e. 296–7? If the revolt of Domitianus had intervened it might well have been impossible to collect the taxes in kind for the year 297–8. Similarly, the order mentioned in 1. 72, that the overdue registers from the neighbouring forts should be demanded back to the month of Tybi (27 December 297–25 January 298) would be more intelligible if this terminus ad quem represented the date when the normal processes of civil government were resumed at Panopolis. Again, if the explanation I have tentatively put forward of the mysterious πασαλωτικὰ πρόσωπα (1. 155, n.) is not wholly wide of the mark, the existence of these ‘wanted persons’ would be more understandable six rather than eighteen months after the suppression of the revolt. Other references to confiscations (1. 206)

1 In Papyrus 2. 32–35 arrears from the harvest of 296–7 had still not been collected.
and arrests (1. 150, 226) may point in the same direction, though in none of these cases is there any evidence connecting them with the rebellion.

Lastly, there is the reference to the opening-up of the large bakery near the theatre at Panopolis, in order to supply bread for the troops ‘just as last year’ (καθ’ ὁ καὶ πέρυσι), as we are told in 1. 375. This phrase implies that there had been large bodies of troops in Panopolis the year before (see note ad loc.) and these might conceivably have been part of the forces which regained the Thebaid for Diocletian.

What role did Panopolis play during the revolt of Domitianus? Here we are entirely in the realm of conjecture. We know from the letters of Paniskos that Coptos, despite (or because of?) the punishment it had suffered after the earlier revolt, joined the usurper. In Papyrus 1, the Strategus had only recently taken up his post (1. 90), and though he makes several references to his immediate predecessor (ἀρχηγός, 1. 68, 91, 97, 100), he nowhere mentions him by name. Had he in fact sided with the rebels? Throughout Papyrus 1, moreover, the general mood of the municipal authorities during the preparations for the visit of the Emperor appears to have been one of sullen hostility, and the ἑσεβὴς ἐπιθυμία was awaited with a marked lack of enthusiasm.

The most important evidence provided by these papyri, however, relates to the part played by Diocletian in the Persian War. It is impossible to enter here into a discussion of the origin and progress of this conflict, but it may be recalled that the first campaign, entrusted to Galerius (no doubt because Diocletian was fully occupied in Egypt), ended in a disastrous defeat for the Romans. Diocletian was thus obliged to summon reinforcements from the Balkan legions, and with this reorganized army Galerius advanced through Armenia and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Narses, who was forced to sue for peace. It must have been in this second campaign that the Romans occupied Nisibis, the only event which can be approximately dated. The Syriac chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (ed. W. Wright, 1882) records that the Romans occupied Nisibis in the Seleucid year 609. The Seleucid year has various alternative starting-points, but Joshua uses that commencing on
INTRODUCTION

1 October, and year 609 thus extended from 1 October 297 to 30 September 298. Although Joshua wrote some two centuries after the event, his evidence seems to be reliable, as he corroborates it by mentioning that Nisibis remained in Roman hands for 65 years, i.e. until its evacuation by Jovian in A.D. 363.

It has always been difficult to evaluate Diocletian’s share in these operations. Certainly he can have played no active part in the first campaign. But in the second it has been claimed that, while Galerius came down from the north, Diocletian made a cautious advance eastwards into Mesopotamia, eventually joining forces with Galerius at Nisibis. This meeting, if it ever occurred, must have taken place soon after the capture of the town by Galerius, that is to say, at the latest in October 298; and to allow time for the military operations which preceded it, and time occupied in travelling, Diocletian must have quitted Egypt at least some months earlier.

Such a time-table is completely contradicted by the evidence of Papyrus 1, in which we find that at the end of September 298 Diocletian was expected to arrive in the near future at Panopolis. In the papyrus preparations for the Imperial visit are being pressed on with vigour, but some of the measures ordered, such as the collection of supplies for the troops accompanying the Emperor, or the repair and refitting of ships to provide additional transport, must have taken some weeks, and Diocletian’s expected time of arrival at Panopolis cannot have been much earlier than the end of October 298. If we allow a minimum of two months after this for the continuation of his voyage up the Nile, the arrangements for the evacuation of the Dodecaschoenus, and return to Alexandria, we see that he cannot have left Egypt before the end of the year 298; and the Constitution dated at Antioch on 5 February 299 must have been issued by him very shortly after his arrival in that city.

On this basis, Diocletian cannot have participated actively in the Persian War, a conclusion which is in remarkable agreement with the picture drawn by Lactantius (De mortibus persecutorum, c. 9), who describes him at this period as remaining in the background, awaiting the outcome of events (in Oriente subsistens et auctupans exitus rerum).
INTRODUCTION

No doubt the apparent inactivity of Diocletian inspired gibes at his supposed timidity; in reality, of course, it was only common prudence to build up and maintain a strategic reserve in the base areas.

All these conclusions are based on the supposition, discussed above, that the revolt of Domitianus broke out in the summer of 297 and was extinguished early in 298. If in reality these events took place a year earlier, there would have been ample time for Diocletian to play an active part in the Persian War and subsequently return to Egypt for the final stage of pacification of that country. To determine, once and for all, the date of the revolt of Domitianus is therefore one of the most urgent tasks facing the historian of this period.

§ 3. THE DIVISION OF EGYPT

It has long been known that during the reign of Diocletian, the unity of the Nile valley, which had endured since the conquest by Augustus, was brought to an end, and the country divided into several provinces; but it is only in recent years that evidence has come to light of the extent and timing of these territorial changes.

The segregation of the Thebaid as an independent province under a Praeses can now be traced, in Papyrus 1, as far back as September 298, and from the same papyrus we also learn, for the first time, that the new province was itself subdivided into an Upper and a Lower Thebaid, each under the control of an ἐπίτροπος or Procurator. The Praeses at this juncture was Julius Athenodorus, and the two Procurators Aurelius Isidorus for the Lower Thebaid and Philo for the Upper.

Meanwhile Lower Egypt, i.e. Egypt outside the Thebaid, apparently retained its unity under the Prefect of Egypt at Alexandria until the year 314–15, when it was subdivided into the two provinces of Aegyptus Jovia and Aegyptus Herculia. This innovation was short-lived, and

2 ἡ ἀνωτέρω Θηβαίς, ἡ κατωτέρω Θηβαίς. Elsewhere we occasionally find the expression ἡ ἄνω Θηβαίς (cf. [ἐπί]τροπος Θηβαιός ἄνω in P. Strasb. 262), but in the present papyri the comparatives ἀνωτέρω, κατωτέρω are invariably employed. Latin official usage may have been the same, to judge from Diospoli provincia[e] T[h[e]ba]i[d]os super[i]gris in P. Abinn. 1. 5.
3 The fundamental study of this question is by Mlle J. Lallemand, ‘La Création des
INTRODUCTION

lapsed in 324, when the two provinces were reunited, an arrangement which subsisted until 341, when the former Aegyptus Herculia was re-established under the name of Augustamnica.

We have seen that the Thebaid was divided into two sub-provinces, each under a Procurator; and since in earlier days the government of Lower Egypt had been divided between two Epistrategi, of the Delta and of the Heptanomia, it might be asked whether a similar subdivision was introduced in the Diocletianic province of Lower Egypt. There is some evidence to suggest that this was in fact the case. Thus in P. Oxy. 2114, of A.D. 316, we hear of letters written by ἡ ἐμελία τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ἐπτανομίας Ἀθηναίου Γρηγορίου, while the ἐπιτροπή τῆς Ἐπτανομίας is mentioned in the undated *P.S.I.* 1422. I have also come across a note by Sir Harold Bell of an unpublished papyrus, a petition addressed Ἰσχαυροτίτις Ἀπολλώνιῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ Ἐπτανομίας, from an inhabitant of Takona in the ninth pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. With these references as a basis we can perhaps identify Ἰσχαυροτίτις, the ἐπιτρόπος some of whose letters to the Strategus of the Arsinoite nome are preserved in Wilcken, *Chr. et Rom. Kaiserzeit*, 186 and in *P.S.I.* 1125 (A.D. 302), as Procurator of the Heptanomia, with which the Arsinoite nome was traditionally linked. Similarly, in P. Merton ii, dating probably from about A.D. 309, where we find the words κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Ἀθηναίου Σαραπίων ἐκ γραμμάτων τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπιτρόπου, the second official mentioned may well be the Procurator of the Heptanomia.

Nevertheless, this interpretation is not without its difficulties. If, prior to 314–15, Lower Egypt was in fact divided into two sub-provinces, each under an ἐπιτρόπος, we should expect these areas to correspond, more or less, with the later provinces of Jovia and Herculia. On this supposition, when Jovia and Herculia were created, we should expect the ἐπιτρόπος to disappear, and be replaced by Praesides. But, as we have


2 Cf. also the Procurator in *P.S.I.* 449 (c. 312).
INTRODUCTION

seen, the ἐπίτροπος Ἑπτανομάχος is found as late as 316. Detailed discussion of this question is, however, beyond the scope of this Introduction.

How long did the division of Upper Egypt into an Upper and a Lower Thebaid last? P. Vindob. Boswinkel 14 is a fragmentary letter beginning ἧφθος ἐπίτροπος ἐξάκτηρι Ἑρμοῖοραίον. Now all the letters from the ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαιῶν copied into Papyrus 2, and the original letter P. Lond. 1260 (see below, p. 153) give the Procurator’s title in full, and we might therefore conclude from the absence of τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαιῶν in P. Vindob. Boswinkel 14 that by the date of this document the Upper and Lower Thebaid had been reunited under a single ἐπίτροπος, himself subordinate to the Praeses. Unfortunately the papyrus is not dated; but C. H. Roberts has conjectured that it was written in A.D. 323.¹

If, then, the Thebaid at this period was administered by a Praeses with a single ἐπίτροπος as his second-in-command, Lower Egypt might have been similarly governed, and this might explain the survival of the ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἑπτανομάχος after the creation of Aegyptus Herculis. But P. Vindob. Boswinkel 14 is a slender basis for such far-reaching hypotheses.

More interesting, perhaps, is the question of the date, or, it may be, the two dates, when the Thebaid was separated off from Egypt, and when it was divided into two ἐπιτροπῶν. For the period before September 298 we can only speculate. Vandersleyen² has indeed suggested that in the Edict of Aristius Optatus, the ἀρχοντες mentioned in l. 15 are the Praesides of the Thebaid and Libya. This cannot be proved, but if it could, the separation of the Thebaid would be pushed back to a date anterior to 16 March 297. There remains, however, a papyrus of even earlier date which may throw some light on the question. This is P. Oxy. 43 recto, of February 295, now numbered P. Lond. 748 in the British Museum.³ The important military accounts which it contains have been subjected to a penetrating analysis by W. Ensslin,⁴ but the

¹ 'A Footnote to the Civil War of A.D. 324', J.E.A. xxxi, 1945, p. 113. Cf. also P. Ryl. iv, p. 105.  
INTRODUCTION

passage to which I wish to draw attention here is in the last column (col. vi, ll. 1–15), which Grenfell and Hunt print as follows:

\[\text{Boutr}^{1}...[\]

\[\ldots\text{Hρακλ}[\varepsilon\delta \]

\[\kappa\varepsilon\text{o}.\]

5  \text{δος τοι}[\varepsilon]

\[\lambda[.].[\]

\[\ldots\text{λι}(\tau\rho\alpha\iota)] \sigma\]

\[\text{Παλαιτιψω}\]

\[\alpha\kappaολονθίωσ\]

10  \text{Hρωδια[ν]}

\[\deltaος \alphaχύρ[ον\]

\[\tauινοις [\]

\[\tauοις τοι[\varepsilon \gammaαλ[........................]\iota \sigmaεως\]

15  \text{Hρωδι[αν],[............],του \'Ηρω-}

\[\muένου \ld(\tau\rho\alpha\iota) \sigma\]

What strikes the eye immediately is the repetition of the termination \text{δος} in ll. 5 and 11, and of \text{Hρωδιαν} in ll. 10 and 14. I should add that, in my opinion, the traces at the beginning of l. 4 can be read as \text{ρωδι}[, i.e. they might be part of the name \text{Hρωδιαν}.

To begin with l. 14, the dots printed slightly underestimate the size of the lacuna, and I think that \text{Hρωδι[αν]}\varepsilon [\text{διασημοτ}]\acute{\epsilon}του \'Ηγουμένου could well be got into the space. Next, I would propose to interpret the repeated \text{δος} in ll. 5, 11, not as part of, e.g., \text{Πολεμαίδος} (cf. col. iii, 3, 9), but as the termination of \text{Θηβαι}'\text{δος}'; and I would suggest the possibility of restoring ll. 3–5, 10–11 respectively as follows:

\[3'\text{H}-\]

4  \text{ρωδι[αν]}\acute{\epsilon}του \'Ηγουμένου \text{Θηβαί}-\]

5  \text{δος}.\]

10  \text{Hρωδι[αν]}\acute{\epsilon}του \'Ηγουμένου \text{Θηβαί}-\]

11  \text{δος}.\]

1 This should no doubt be restored as \text{boutrωναρίος}, i.e. \text{boutrωναρίος}.
INTRODUCTION

If these suggested restorations are correct, the Thebaid must have been separated from Egypt as early as Feb. 295.¹

It now remains to consider the organization of the Lower Thebaid, with which the present papyri are primarily concerned. In this we are assisted by Papyrus 2, some of the documents in which are circular letters addressed either to the Strategi of a number of specified nomes, or, in one case, to all the Strategi of the Lower Thebaid. This last passage is unfortunately mutilated, but by combining it with the other lists, in which the nomes are mentioned in a stereotyped order, we can reconstruct the full list of the nomes of the Lower Thebaid with virtual certainty. In the following table the names of the nomes have been left in the genitive case in which they appear in the papyrus. In each case, before the name of the nome, ἄρπαττός is to be understood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. 9–10</th>
<th>2. 35</th>
<th>2. 126–7</th>
<th>2. 255</th>
<th>2. 258</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἄρπαττός τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς</td>
<td>ἄρπαττός τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν</td>
<td>ἄρπαττός τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν</td>
<td>ἄρπαττός τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν</td>
<td>ἄρπαττός τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἰεροπολίτου</td>
<td>Ἰεροπολίτου</td>
<td>Ἰεροπολίτου</td>
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<tr>
<td>Αντιούς</td>
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<td>Κουσαίτου</td>
<td>Κουσαίτου</td>
<td>Κουσαίτου</td>
<td>Κουσαίτου</td>
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<tr>
<td>Τύφλίτου</td>
<td>Τύφλίτου</td>
<td>Τύφλίτου</td>
<td>Τύφλίτου</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἀντιασισόπολίτου</td>
<td>Ἀντιασισόπολίτου</td>
<td>Ἀντιασισόπολίτου</td>
<td>Ἀντιασισόπολίτου</td>
<td>Ἀντιασισόπολίτου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Θωσίτου]</td>
<td>[Θωσίτου]</td>
<td>[Θωσίτου]</td>
<td>[Θωσίτου]</td>
<td>[Θωσίτου]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Lower Thebaid thus comprised nine nomes, extending from the Hermopolite and Antinoite nomes in the north to the Panopolite and Thinite nomes in the south.²

In later centuries the capital of the Thebaid was located at Antinoopolis, but in the present papyri there is no direct evidence to indicate

¹ If Herodianus was really Praeses of the Thebaid, can he be identical with the Ἀδρήλιος Ἰερόδων ἄρπαττός Ἰεροπολίτου Σταυροδέης, an undated edict by whom is preserved in P. Oxy. 1186?
² See below, pp. xxxiv, xxxvi, for the extension of the Panopolite nome along the right bank of the Nile up to and including Keneh.

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where either the Praeses of the Thebaid or the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid normally resided. It is noticeable that whereas a single letter from the Procurator to the Strategus of the Panopolite nome reached its destination via the Strategus of the Thinite nome at Ptolemais (2. 27), at least three separate consignments of letters arrived at Panopolis ἀπὸ διαπομπῆς στρατηγοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου (2. 32, 208, 250), which suggests that the latter was the normal route for correspondence other than that delivered by direct messenger. This implies that the seat of the Procurator was further north than Antaeopolis, which presumably limits the choice to Hermopolis and Antinoöpolis. The decisive argument in favour of the former seems to me to lie in the fact that in the lists of nomes discussed on p. xix above, the Hermopolite nome, wherever it is mentioned, is invariably given pride of place. In 2. 230 the words of the Procurator, μὲρισίως δὲ παρ’ ἐμοὶ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐρμοπολίτου are perhaps ambiguous, since although the passage might be taken as implying that the Procurator resided in the Hermopolite nome, all that it really proves is that the Procurator was personally present in the Hermopolite nome when the complaint was made. If his seat was, for example, at Antinoöpolis, the Procurator might have been on a visit to the Hermopolite nome at the time.

There is no evidence at all for the location of the residence of the Praeses of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, but if the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid resided at Hermopolis, there is some reason for thinking that this may also have been the headquarters of the Praeses.

If Hermopolis is accepted as the centre of the administration, some important consequences follow regarding the speed of official communications at this period. Although Hermopolis is some 120 miles distant from Panopolis, we find letters written in Hermopolis being delivered in Panopolis not merely on the following day (2. 197, cf. 203, 207), but actually arriving on the very day on which they were written (2. 109, cf. 116, 126, 134). Such speed could only have been secured by well-organized relays of horses, and even so is a remarkable achievement. Full details of the transmission of these letters are given in § 4 below (pp. xxiii–xxv).
Lastly, the position of the Prefect of Egypt during this period of change must be considered. In neither of the two papyri is the Prefect specifically mentioned, although references to Alexandria occur. The only possible exception is 1. 272–5, a letter from the Strategus addressed, in the abbreviated manner usual in this roll, simply ἔγειμων, while the text of the letter ends with the address ἔγειμὼν κύριε. Since elsewhere in these papyri the Praeses of the Thebaid invariably bears the title of ἡγούμενος, it would be unwise to assume that ἔγειμων is simply a synonym, despite the fact that it is widely used to signify Praeses in other documents of this period. If ἔγειμὼν in 1. 272–5 does in fact refer to the Prefect of Egypt at Alexandria, it constitutes an addition to the not very impressive evidence which suggests that, even after the division of Egypt, the Prefect retained certain limited powers of intervention in the government of the other provinces.  

§ 4. THE STRATEGUS AND HIS CORRESPONDENCE

In view of the key position in the administration of Graeco-Roman Egypt which the Strategus occupied for more than five centuries, it is remarkable that so few specimens of the registers of official correspondence, whether of the Strategus or of other leading officials, have so far come to light. From the Ptolemaic period, P. Teb. iii. 701 (235 B.C.) is, as the editors remark, ‘a valuable specimen of the day-books kept in government offices’, and they quote a number of similar texts, to which might be added P. Lille i. 3, a register of letters dispatched by Horus, Basilicogrammateus of the Arsinoite nome, about 215 B.C. For the Roman period there is an almost complete dearth of such records for the first two centuries, the earliest apparently being P. Flor. ii. 278, a register of letters dispatched by some high military official, mainly to strategi, in A.D. 203. Apart from this, and B.G.U. 8 of A.D. 248, all the examples I have noted seem to date from approximately the same period.

2 For the latest summary of this evidence see C. Vandersleyen, op. cit., pp. 110–14.
3 On the date see A. Stein, Archiv, vi, pp. 214–16, and P.S.I. vi, p. 94.
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as the present papyri. These include: P. Oxy. 2228 (A.D. 285?), containing letters to the Strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome from Aurelius Mercurius, perhaps the Prefect;¹ P. Amh. 137 (A.D. 288–9), containing letters addressed to a Strategus, presumably of the Hermopolite nome since the papyrus was found at Ashmunen; P. Oslo ii. 83 (A.D. 300); and P.S.I. 1125 (A.D. 302), containing letters to the Strategus of the Arsinoite nome from Annius Diogenes, perhaps the Procurator of the Heptanomia.²

Very few conclusions can be drawn from these meagre fragments, and we must now turn to the present papyri. The two rolls here published are quite different in character. Papyrus 1 contains copies of letters sent out by the Strategus of the Panopolite nome, either to his superiors in the official hierarchy or to local officials and employees. The roll is written in five or six different hands, which are constantly changing, and I regret that I have not found it practicable to indicate the places in the text where changes of hand occur. No doubt, after intensive study, it would be possible to determine which portions of the roll were in the handwriting of each of the various scribes, but since all were presumably clerks in the office of the Strategus, the matter is not of great importance.

More interesting is the fact that throughout Papyrus 1, the text of each letter, with a very few exceptions, is followed by the word σεσημιώματι, or an abbreviation thereof, written in a hand different from any of the clerks, and thus presumably in the autograph of the Strategus himself. The function of these notations is obscure, but the fact that they are added after every one of the long series of identical (except for the names) letters appointing officials of the annona (1. 276–331) suggests that it was a check on the dispatch of the letters. In one or two cases where σεσημιώματι is not found the omission is perhaps accidental (e.g. 1. 189), but in other instances it may be significant. Thus, the letter in 1. 120–7, which is cancelled by two large encircling brackets, is not marked σεσημιώματι, whereas the near-duplicate in 160–6 is. Neither of the two versions of the long letter to the Procurator, complaining of the attitude


² Cf. p. xvi above.
of the local Senate (1. 230–40, 264–71), is followed by σεσημίωμαι, possibly indicating that eventually no such letter was dispatched, the Strategus having decided to accept the situation and make the best of it (cf. 1. 230–40, n.).

What is more difficult to explain, if Papyrus 1 is a register of outgoing correspondence, is the fact that where copies of documents are stated to be enclosed, the text of them is not reproduced (1. 5, 60, 106, 123, 128, &c.). Presumably the text of such enclosures was preserved in the rolls of incoming correspondence, and it was therefore unnecessary to copy them out.

The second roll is of an entirely different character. It appears to be written by two hands very similar in character, though differing somewhat in the size of the writing. It consists entirely of correspondence received by the Strategus, Apolinarius, from Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. Apart from the contents of the letters, this roll provides some interesting data about the speed and frequency of postal communications between leading officials of the administration, since not only are the letters themselves dated, but the dates on which they were received are noted in every case—a very necessary precaution on the part of the Strategus, when we realize how little time was allowed for compliance with some of the orders issued by the Procurator (cf. 2. 282, n.). The speed of communications has already been touched upon in the preceding section, where reasons have been adduced for believing that the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid had his office at Hermopolis, about 120 miles distant from Panopolis. Against the background of this conclusion, a summary may usefully be given here of the letters in Papyrus 2, showing the date of the writing and the date of reception in Panopolis in each case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
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<th>Date of Reception</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mecheir 7</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mecheir 5</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Tybi 2[-]</td>
<td>Mecheir 9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tybi 29</td>
<td>Mecheir 13</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Mecheir 4</td>
<td>Mecheir 14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Date of Letter</th>
<th>Date of Reception</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Mecheir 2</td>
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<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Mecheir 3</td>
<td>Mecheir 16</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Mecheir 4</td>
<td>Mecheir 18</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Mecheir 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Mecheir 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>[        ]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>79</td>
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<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>[        ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Mecheir 10</td>
<td>Mecheir [1]6 (?)</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>[        ]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>167</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>Mecheir 23</td>
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</tr>
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<td>191</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>228</td>
<td>Mecheir 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Mecheir [21?]</td>
<td>Phamenoth 3</td>
<td>208</td>
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<td>249</td>
<td>Mecheir 2</td>
<td>Phamenoth 1</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
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<td>255</td>
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<td>Phamenoth 3</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
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<td>265</td>
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<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Phamenoth 5</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Phamenoth 4</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Phamenoth 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Finally, a note on the Strategus himself. In Papyrus 2 he is named Apolinarius. In Papyrus 1 the name of the Strategus is never mentioned, and there are no a priori reasons for identifying him as Apolinarius, since the association of the two rolls merely indicates that they were kept in the office of the Strategus. Nevertheless, it is possible that the Strategus of Papyrus 1 was in fact Apolinarius. He had recently been appointed Strategus, and had only taken up his post a few months earlier—say in the summer of A.D. 298. If the appointment was for the normal period of three years, he may well still have been in office during the period of Papyrus 2 (February–March 300), and thus identifiable as Apolinarius.

§ 5. THE ARMY

Papyrus 1 is largely concerned with preparations for the forthcoming visit of Diocletian to Panopolis, preparations which consist principally of arrangements for provisioning the body of troops accompanying the Emperor. We are not told either the number of these troops or the length of their expected stay, and it is therefore impossible to draw any firm conclusions from the fact that 1,000 artabas of lentils and 10,000 sextarii of διος are ordered to be bought up for this purpose (1. 245). In P. Oxy. 1920 a soldier's daily ration of wine is 2 sextarii, and if we assume that the visit was to last for at least one day, the Emperor's bodyguard cannot have exceeded 5,000 men, while if his stay exceeded one day, the number of men must have been proportionately less. There were, in addition, a certain number of troops already stationed in the city (1. 132–3, 154).
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Against this paucity of information must be set the long list of appointments (1. 276–331) of officials for the collection and distribution of a special annona destined to supply the needs of the visiting troops. These appointments are listed in tabular form in the note to 1. 276–331 (p. 124 below), where also attention is drawn to some of the principal points which emerge from the data, which might well form the starting-point for a new study of the administration of the annona in Egypt at this period.

The only military unit named in Papyrus 1 is the Cohors I Apamennorum, which must have been stationed in the neighbourhood of Panopolis. In the Notitia Dignitatum it is located at a place called ‘Silili’ which has not yet been certainly identified (cf. 1. 46–48, n.).

In addition to the Cohors I Apamennorum, there are three fortified posts (φρούρια) which the Strategus was responsible for provisioning. One of these, under the command of Eudaemon, is described as the κάστρα περὶ Ψυάβλα (1. 386), or, alternatively, κάστρα περὶ Τοετώ καὶ Ψυάβλα (1. 406), so may have been situated between the two latter places, the location of which is discussed in § 7 below. Its garrison consisted of, or at any rate included, a detachment of the Ala Hercilia Dromedariorum (2. 168–9). Another fort, under the command of Papas, was situated at Thmoō (1. 392, 2. 37), some 4 miles up river from Panopolis (cf. p. xxxvi below); its garrison consisted of the Ala I Hiberorum. The third fort is known to us only through the name of its commander, the tribune Menippus (1. 40, 74); there is nothing to indicate its location or garrison, unless the Cohors I Apamennorum mentioned above was stationed there; in that case its location would be the as yet unidentified ‘Silili’.

We now pass to Papyrus 2, and here the most striking feature is the long series of orders issued to the Strategus to supply money or provisions to a wide variety of military units scattered throughout the Thebaid. Unfortunately the text of the one letter which might have enlightened us as to the reasons for these orders (2. 51–56) is defective, but enough remains to suggest that they were occasioned by some great emergency, and were certainly not part of any normal procedure. An analysis of these orders, in tabular form, is shown opposite, and from this it will
## INTRODUCTION

### ISSUES TO MILITARY UNITS IN PAPYRUS 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Title of Unit</th>
<th>Where Stationed</th>
<th>Nature of Issue</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Legio II Traiana, vexillatio</td>
<td>Apollinopolis</td>
<td>Donative (22 Dec.)</td>
<td>1,386,250d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>vexillatio</td>
<td>Ptolemais</td>
<td>Donative (Consulate)</td>
<td>546,875d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>lancearii</td>
<td>Ptolemais</td>
<td>Donative (20 Nov.)</td>
<td>1,097,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative (22 Dec.)</td>
<td>1,097,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Salgamon, oil (2 months)</td>
<td>3,596 sext.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Salgamon, salt (2 months)</td>
<td>3,596 lit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>equites</td>
<td>Tentyra</td>
<td>Stipendium (1 Jan.)</td>
<td>15,000d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative* (20 Nov.)</td>
<td>2,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative* (22 Dec.)</td>
<td>2,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative (Consulate)</td>
<td>93,123d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>Legio III Diocletiana, vexillatio</td>
<td>Syene</td>
<td>Salgamon, oil (4 months)</td>
<td>8,280 sext.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Salgamon, salt (4 months)</td>
<td>8,280 lit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>lancearii</td>
<td>Panopolis</td>
<td></td>
<td>50 lbs. silver, 4 folles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>soldiers from</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stipendium (1 Jan.)</td>
<td>343,300d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Vexillatio legionum orientalum</td>
<td>Potecoptus</td>
<td>Donative (20 Nov.)</td>
<td>2,496,250d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative (22 Dec.)</td>
<td>2,496,250d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Ala II Herculia Dromedarium</td>
<td>Toeto-Psimabla</td>
<td></td>
<td>21,000d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative (20 Nov.)</td>
<td>53,750d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative (22 Dec.)</td>
<td>53,750d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ala I Hiberorum</td>
<td>Thmih</td>
<td>Stipendium (1 Jan.)</td>
<td>73,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stipendium (4 months)</td>
<td>23,600d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>Cohors XI Chamavorum</td>
<td>Pemanu</td>
<td>Stipendium (1 Jan.)</td>
<td>65,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stipendium (4 months)</td>
<td>32,866d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Equites sagittarii</td>
<td>Potecoptus</td>
<td>Donative (20 Nov.)</td>
<td>32,500d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Donative (22 Dec.)</td>
<td>32,500d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Arrears of donative only

be seen that some of the units were stationed at a considerable distance from Panopolis. We cannot conjecture the reasons for these arrangements, and it is certainly difficult to understand why, for instance, the detachment of Legio II Traiana at Apollinopolis Magna could not have been paid from local funds. That a unit as far distant as Syene should figure in the list is more understandable, since the supplies were in kind, consisting of oil and salt, which may have been difficult to obtain locally. The situation here, in fact, resembles that in P. Oxy. 43 recto where consignments of ἀγρυπνον are dispatched from Oxyrhynchus to far-away Elephantine.

But perhaps the most interesting feature of these payments is the opportunity they give for estimating the strength of the units concerned. Here the starting-point is the brilliant observation of Professor A. H. M.
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Jones, that, without exception, all the amounts of the donatives are divisible by 625. The number of cases involved precludes the possibility of coincidence, and we may thus conclude that 625 denarii was the basic rate of donative per man. At first sight this figure seems remarkably low when compared with the donatives of upwards of 5,000 denarii of which we hear in historical sources, while the rapid depreciation of the currency towards the end of the third century renders the discrepancy even greater. It must, however, be borne in mind that the enormous donatives of which we have record were extraordinary payments, e.g. on the accession of an Emperor, whereas the donatives mentioned in the present papyrus were related, for the most part, to annually recurring events, such as the birthday of Diocletian or the anniversary of his accession. We can, moreover, reasonably infer that the corresponding anniversaries of Diocletian’s colleague Maximian, and also of the Caesars, were celebrated in the same way, and the total number of donatives in regular issue at intervals throughout the year may have been considerable. In these circumstances the amounts of the donatives would have to be restricted within reasonable limits.

If, then, we accept the basic figure for a donative as 625 denarii, how far is it legitimate to use this to deduce the size of a unit? Literary references to donatives always speak of them as flat rates, and so far as I am aware, there is no evidence that the higher-paid ranks and officers received larger donatives in proportion. In any case, the proportion of soldiers in the Roman army who received more than the basic rate of pay seems to have been remarkably small. There would appear, therefore, to be reasonable grounds for thinking that the strength of the present units can be estimated by dividing the total amount of donative issued by 625.

We can, moreover, test this hypothesis in several ways. The stipendium for 1 January issued to the Equites promoti of Legio II Traiana at Tentyra was 18,000d. From the donative issued to the same unit, its strength can be calculated as \(\frac{93,125}{625} = 149\). The average rate of

1 Disregarding the amounts for arrears of donatives for 20 November and 22 December, which give the clue to the total amounts of these donatives.
stipendium is thus \( \frac{18,000}{149} = 121^d \). approximately (this figure graphically illustrates the extent to which donatives overshadowed stipendium, with the result that the latter formed only an insignificant proportion of the soldier's total emoluments). From this figure of 121\(^d\), we turn to the Cohors XI Chamavorum at Penum. This is the only place where this unit is recorded as having been stationed, and we may reasonably suppose that its entire strength was located there. The stipendium issued to it amounted to 65,500\(^d\), and if we assume that the unit was a Cohors quingenaria, we get an average stipendium of \( \frac{65,500}{500} = 127^d \), a figure very close to the 121\(^d\), deduced in the case of the Equites promoti. This coincidence suggests that the general lines on which these calculations are based are correct.

This result leads on to a further conclusion, since if the figures for stipendium for Ala I Hiberorum and Cohors XI Chamavorum correctly reflect their respective strengths, that of the Ala would be \( \frac{73,500}{65,500} \times 500 = 560 \) approximately.

A different method of approach is to consider the amounts of oil and salt issued for salgamum. On the basis of the donatives issued to them, the lancearii of Legio II Traiana at Ptolemais consisted of \( \frac{1,097,500}{625} = 1,756 \) men. The amount for salgamum issued to the same unit is 3,596 measures of salt and oil, for two months. For one month, the figure would be 1,798 measures, so close to 1,756 as to suggest that the basic rations under the heading of salgamum were one measure each of salt and oil per man per month. On this basis, the approximate strength of the vexillatio of Legio III Diocletiana at Syene, which received salgamum of 8,280 measures for four months, can be calculated as \( \frac{8,280}{4} = 2,070 \) men.

It must be emphasized that the foregoing calculations are put forward as provisional suggestions only, and further and much more
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extensive study of the data is required before really reliable results can be expected.

§ 6. TAXATION AND FINANCE

Throughout these papyri we find the Strategus exercising his traditional authority over the levying of taxes and the accounting for them to the central government. Every month he has to forward to his superior detailed accounts covering the three principal sources of revenue, designated the ἀγρυκός, the στικός, and the ἄνωνικός λόγος. But apart from the wealth of detail concerning the collection and distribution of the annona provided by Papyrus 1 and discussed in § 5 above, these papyri do not add greatly to our knowledge of the level of taxation or the mechanism of its collection.

The malpractices both of tax-gatherers and of taxpayers are a familiar theme of official correspondence of all ages. To quote some typical examples, we hear of the arrest of certain ἐπιμεληταὶ ἤχων denounced by one of their number (1. 347–51), while in 2. 68–71 the entire body of δικάπρωτος is taken into custody to await the arrival of the Catholicus. Various officials connected with the survey of lands for the census are similarly ordered to be detained pending the visit of the Catholicus (2. 86–91), while landed proprietors who had understated their holdings not only have to pay up the sums due, but receive a severe warning for the future (2. 145–52). Frauds over the sale of ὑπόλογος land, which caused a public disturbance in the Lycopolite nome, are condemned, and the administrative machinery is overhauled to prevent their repetition (2. 128–44, 156–60). The criminal actions of certain collectors of the annona, who, instead of collecting their dues in kind had exacted exorbitant sums of money in lieu, are roundly condemned, along with other abuses, in a public proclamation (2. 229–44).

In the sphere of finance, the order for the monthly collection of gold provides us with one new fact of prime importance, namely the official price of 60,000 denarii for the pound of gold. This is not only remarkably close to the figure of 50,000 denarii laid down in the Maximum Price Edict of the following year, but gives colour to the suggestion put forward
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some years ago that 50,000 in the Edict is a mistake for 60,000 (cf. 2. 216, note).

Any lingering doubts about the precise significance of the term ἀττική (sc. δραχμή) are now finally dispelled. As had already been surmised, this is nothing more than a synonym for denarius, and is regularly employed in these papyri to denote denarii in numbers less than a myriad (cf. 2. 30–31).

A new puzzle, to which I can offer no solution, is posed by the references to money payments being made to, or accepted by, the state bankers προφάσει βαλλαντίων. The nature of this practice and the reasons for its reprobation by the government are left unexplained, except for the statement that it somehow defrauded the taxpayers. There can be very little doubt that βαλλάντιον is the Greek equivalent of the Latin follis, and that the practice condemned is in some way connected with the original sense of follis as literally a bag or sack containing a standard quantity of small coin. The follis itself, the Latin word being this time simply transliterated, appears in 2. 299–308, where, despite the mutilation of the text, we are given the important information that its value was 12,500 denarii.

§ 7. PANOPOLIS AND THE PANOPOLITE NOME

It cannot be said that our knowledge of Panopolis itself—ἡ λαμπρὰ καὶ λογισμωτάτη καὶ σεμνοτάτη Πανοπολιτῶν πόλις, οὗ Πανοπολιτῶν λαμπρότατη καὶ ευσκεκοτάτη πόλις, to quote two of the grandiose titles accorded to it in P. Oxy. 2476 (A.D. 288)—is greatly increased by the present papyri. We do indeed learn that it possessed a theatre (1. 333, 375) and a δημοσίου λογιστήριου or counting-house, used also as a temporary place of detention (1. 228, 346, 350), and we also hear something of the local industries, notably shipbuilding, references to which occur in both papyri passim, metal-working (1. 213–15, 342–6), and textiles (2. 20–26), but this virtually exhausts our information. Any additional source of knowledge is thus especially welcome, and this is provided by a papyrus in the Geneva collection (P. Gen. Inv. 108) published by Professor Victor
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Martin in *Recherches de Papyrologie*, ii. 1962, pp. 37–73, under the title ‘Relevé topographique des immeubles d’une métropole’. This papyrus consists of a fragment of a once extensive roll, containing lists of buildings arranged street by street, with the names of their owners or occupiers, and, in many cases, the professions or trades they pursued. The city to which the papyrus relates is nowhere mentioned, but Professor Martin identifies it as Panopolis, a conclusion which is now confirmed by the fact that one of the houses listed (A, II. 13) is stated to belong to the sons of Θεόδωρος Θέωνος Φαγρίωνος, who appears in 1. 284 as an ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ διαδότης ἀρτου for the τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως; and if further confirmation were needed, it might be sought in the occurrence of the apparently otherwise unattested name Υίωθεος both in 1. 307 and in the Geneva papyrus (D. 9).

For the details which Professor Martin has patiently extracted from the papyrus, and which give us a valuable, however imperfect, picture of Panopolis at this period, the reader must be referred to the publication.

Some further details concerning Panopolis in the third century A.D. may, I believe, be found in a papyrus published in 1929 as P. Got. 7. This is an agreement between three glassworkers and the local Senate to provide glazing (νουμενάρια, i.e. lumenaria) for the baths attached to several public buildings, and it may be convenient to reproduce the entire text here:

\[
\text{folios}
\]

"XXXII"
It is true that the editor dates the papyrus to the fourth century A.D. and gives its provenance as Koptos, but both these assertions are open to question. The amount charged for the glazing, viz. 6dr. 6ob. per (square) cubit (reduced from 8dr.) shows that the papyrus comes from a period before the great inflation at the end of the third century, while the statement that two of the glassworkers come from Koptos merely means what it says, and by no means proves that the Senate addressed was the Senate of Koptos. The way is now open to reconsider a point considered, and rejected, by the editor, viz. the possible identity of Δήμητριος Θέων ὁ καὶ Δημήτριος έναρχος πρόεδρος with Δήμητριος Θέων ὁ καὶ Δημήτριος ἀρξας βουλευτῆς who appears in P. Got. 4, of A.D. 253. Since the papyri were part of the same lot, the identity seems extremely probable. The provenance of P. Got. 4 is not stated, but in l. 16 we find a reference to Ψώνων1 έξ ἀνήλικω ὁ τὸν τῆς κώμης, and Psonis (see below, p. xxxvii) is known as a village in the Panopolite nome. I therefore conclude that P. Got. 7 dates from the middle of the third century A.D. and comes from the Panopolite nome (as P. Got. 3 also does) and that the baths and the public buildings to which they were attached were situated in Panopolis. In l. 4 ἄφτης accordingly means ‘citizenship’ (of Panopolis).

The topography of the Panopolite nome has been made the subject of a pioneer study by H. Gauthier in Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, iv. 1905, pp. 39–101, and x. 1912, pp. 89–130, followed by an index of places mentioned, ibid. xi. 1914, pp. 49–63. Although not all Gauthier’s conclusions have found acceptance, these articles as a whole have not yet been superseded.

The Panopolite nome, as delimited by Gauthier, comprised an area on the right2 bank of the Nile, centred on the metropolis, and an area

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1 Rejecting the editor’s suggested restoration δήσων, i.e. δήσων, which makes no sense in the context.

2 The course of the Nile at this point varies so much in direction that the usual distinction between eastern and western banks is inappropriate here.
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on the left bank facing it, and including among other localities the sanctuary of the Tripheion\(^1\) at Wannina, near the modern Sohag. In addition to these two areas the nome possessed an enormous extension up river, extending along the right bank as far as and including the town of Kaine (Keneh), beyond which it bordered on the Coptite nome. On the north, the part of the nome on the right bank extended up to the border of the Antaeopolite nome, while the portion on the left bank was bordered on both north and west by the Aphroditopolite nome. On the south this portion on the left bank reached to the frontier of the Thinite nome, which ran just to the north of the Thinite metropolis, Ptolemais.

Gauthier’s conclusions must certainly be modified in so far as they concern the Aphroditopolite nome, since they are based on the erroneous location of Aphroditopolis at Itfu, whereas, as every papyrologist now knows, it was situated much further north, at Kom Ishgau. We also know that the Aphroditopolite nome\(^2\) lost its separate existence early in the second century A.D., as is clear from the papers of Apollonius, Strategus of Apollinopolis Heptacomeia from 113–14 to 120 A.D.\(^3\) By the time of Apollonius, Aphroditopolis, though still retaining its former designation, was merely a town in the Apollinopolite nome,\(^4\) and this is still the position in the present papyri, where we find the Apollinopolite nome taking its place among the nomes of the Lower Thebaid (p. xix), whereas the Aphroditopolite name is not mentioned. Further changes took place in the later Byzantine and Arab periods, but with these we are not concerned.

It was therefore the Apollinopolite nome which formed the northern boundary of that part of the Panopolite nome which lay on the left bank, but there is no reason to think that it also formed the border on the west, intervening between the Panopolite nome and the desert. It also

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\(^4\) P. Bremen 42, introd.
seems clear that at this period the Antaeopolite nome did not extend to
the left bank of the river, though it certainly did in the Arab period. In
2. 258 (see also p. xix above) we find a list of nomes which had been
ordered to provide transport animals for the Catholicus, who had
obviously been making a progress in the Upper Thebaid and was now
returning to Alexandria. This list, which names the nomes from north
to south, omits the Antinoite, Hypselite, and Antaeopolite nomes, but
includes all the others in the Lower Thebaid. It is clear that the
Catholicus intended to travel down the left bank of the Nile, entering
the Lower Thebaid at the Thinite nome, and passing successively
through the Panopolite (i.e. that part on the left bank of the Nile),
Apollinopolite, Lycopolite, and Hermopolite nomes; the Antinoite and
Antaeopolite nomes were not involved because their territories lay wholly
on the opposite bank, while the omission of the Hypselite nome may be
due to its small extent and relative insignificance.

Apart from this aspect, Gauthier’s conclusions regarding the bound­
daries of the Panopolite nome are in agreement with the data of the
present papyri, so far as these go. Of the two references to Kaine (2.
153–5, 277–80), neither gives any definite indication as to whether it
was included in the Panopolite nome. Gauthier’s theory of this long
riverine extension has, moreover, been challenged as regards the
Pharaonic period, though admittedly this does not affect the position
in Graeco-Roman Egypt. This theory can be considered further in
connexion with the distribution of the toparchies of the Panopolite nome,
to which we now turn.

That the Panopolite nome was divided into six toparchies emerges
both from the list of letters addressed to the δεκάπροτοι of the several
toparchies in 1. 131–9, and from the long series of appointments of
annona officials in 1. 276–331 (cf. the table on p. 124), which is clearly
intended to cover the entire nome. The names of the six toparchies
are given as follows:

1. ἀνω τοπαρχία.
2. μέση τοπαρχία.
3. τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως (αλ. τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως καὶ Αραβίας, 1. 328).

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4. τοπαρχία συνορίας Τοετώ.
5. τοπαρχία Πακέρη (αl. τοπαρχία Πακέρη Ψεινάβια, 1. 136, 318).
6. τοπαρχία Φενέβδεως.

The location of the τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως is obvious. The addition, in one instance, of the words και Ἀραβίας might be taken to suggest that this toparchy included not only Panopolis and its immediate neighbourhood, but all the territory on the right bank, including the extension up to Kaine postulated by Gauthier. This is admittedly possible, but it seems to me unlikely that such a lop-sided division would have been adopted, with five toparchies on one side of the river and only one on the other. The long extension, of some 70-80 miles, would also have been a very unwieldy unit. My own suggestion is that the territory on the right bank was divided into the three toparchies, ἀνω τοπαρχία, μέση τοπαρχία, and τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως, the ἀνω τοπαρχία comprising Kaine and the most distant part of the extension while the μέση τοπαρχία may have been centred round, e.g., Lepidotonpolis.

This arrangement is perhaps partially confirmed by 1. 395-9, in which the δεκάπρωτοι of the μέση τοπαρχία and the τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως are ordered to supply wheat to the fort of Thmoo. Thmoo lay about 4 miles up river from Panopolis, and therefore is likely to have been situated in the τοπαρχία μητροπόλεως. The next nearest toparchy on the same side of the river would have been, under the scheme suggested above, the μέση τοπαρχία, precisely the one to which the second order was directed.

The remaining three toparchies must, on this view, all have lain on the left bank of the river, and their names indicate that this was in fact the case. The τοπαρχία συνορίας Τοετώ must have been situated on one of the borders of the nome, and since Τοετώ is frequently mentioned in the Aphrodito papyri, the border in question must have been that to the north. Τοετώ cannot have been very far distant from the modern Tahta, which may in fact conceal its name. Near Τοετώ was a Roman fort, garrisoned at this period by the Ala II Herculia

1 Τοετώ is not discussed by Gauthier in his articles mentioned on p. xxxiii above.
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Dromedariorum. Several times this post is designated the κάστρα Τοετῶ καὶ Ψινάβλα, suggesting that it lay between Τοέτω and Ψινάβλα, which therefore must have been fairly close to each other. The τοπαρχία Πακέρκη must have been situated on or near the northern frontier, since it is once (1. 136) referred to as the τοπαρχία Πακέρκη Ψινάβλα. Ψινάβλα itself, to which Nestorius was exiled, and where he died, is frequently mentioned in the papyri, including papyri from Aphrodito, but its locality is unknown. The fort of Τοέτο-Ψινάβλα also served as a μανσίο on the main highway down the left bank of the Nile (1. 263, cf. ‘Ψινάυλα’ in the Antonine Itinerary).

The celebrated ‘Epistle of Psenosiris’ (P. Grenf. ii. 73 = Wilcken, Chrest. 127) was written at Τοέτω. Since the letter refers to the transfer of the πολιτική to the (Great) Oasis, it might be argued that Τοέτω should be sought near the edge of the desert, but the argument is inconclusive.

The remaining toparchy is the τοπαρχία Φενεβόθεως. If, as suggested above, the other two left-bank toparchies lay towards the northern border of the nome, it is probable that Phenebythis, celebrated as the birthplace of the grammarian Horapollon, was situated towards the south, where the Panopolite nome bordered on the Thinite nome just to the north of Ptolemais. To the references to Phenebythis must be added P. Got. 3, a document addressed to the Strategus of the Panopolite nome in A.D. 215–16 by a fisherman describing himself as ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ Φενεκ. The last letter must clearly be a cursive β misread as κ, and the editor’s reading should be corrected to Φενεβόθεως. The fact that a fisherman resided at Phenebythis perhaps indicates that the village was on or near the Nile.

The toparchy of Phenebythis probably included the Tripheion, already mentioned, and possibly also the village of Ψονίς, often mentioned in mummy-labels and also in P. Got. 4 discussed above (p. xxxiii). The name of Ψονίς has lived on in the modern Βασσυνα, and thus provides us with one of the few toponymical fixed points in this area. Ψονίς, like Ψινάβλα, was a μανσίο on the Imperial highway (1. 262).

¹ For the Panopolite Πακέρκη cf. P. Oslo iii. 126, 6 and P. Michaelid. 29, 7.

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§ 8. STYLE, LEXICOGRAPHY, AND ONOMASTICS

This section, to a greater degree even than its predecessors, must be restricted to the briefest survey, since full analysis of any of the topics mentioned would extend far beyond the limits of this Introduction.

During the Greek millennium in Egypt the language of documentary texts underwent profound stylistic changes which have been largely neglected by papyrologists. Schubart, indeed, has devoted some pages of his *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (pp. 197–213) to this subject, and has sketched in the general evolution of styles with his usual perceptiveness. Zucker has also contributed a brief article, ‘Über Sprache und Stil frühbyzantinischer Urkunden’ to the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxx, 1930, pp. 146–55, and in more recent years H. Zilliacus has again focused attention on these questions in a series of studies, especially his *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen*, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, xv. 3 (Helsingfors, 1949; pp. 110), which, despite its limited title, deals fundamentally with the origins of the so-called Byzantine style. For a more general survey, the article by Ramsay MacMullen, ‘Roman Bureaucratise’, in *Traditio*, xviii, 1962, pp. 364–78, forms a useful introduction.

With the work of Zilliacus particularly in mind I have made a small innovation in the indexes to this volume by the addition of a special index (Index IX) of *Ehrenabstrakta*, which I hope will prove useful. It appears to me to be particularly desirable to segregate these from the General Index because their significance was gradually reduced until they ended in utter meaninglessness. This is very far from being the case in the present papyri, which represent only the initial stage of the process, the epithets being, for the most part, carefully chosen and appropriate to the context.

However, the special value of the present papyri resides in the fact that they have preserved for us a considerable number of virtually complete texts, emanating from the bureaus of officials of high importance. If we omit fragmentary or mutilated letters, duplicates, and letters to
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a number of addressees using an identical form of words, there remain for study some 50 letters from the Strategus, 33 letters or public notices issued by the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, and 4 (one an extract only) from the Catholicus, and this constitutes a considerable body of material. As might be expected, the letters are unequal in quality. Those of the Catholicus and the Procurator exhibit a tightly knit and highly developed style, with long, heavily loaded dependent clauses and subclauses preceding the main verb, free use of the optative, final clauses correctly employed instead of the slovenly ὑπέρ τοῦ or πρὸς τὸ with the infinitive, &c. The letters of the Strategus, on the other hand, are marked by faults and changes of construction, repetitions, anacoloutha, &c., to a degree which suggests that they may in the first place have been dictated.

Nevertheless, apart from the use of honorific epithets and phrases which are simply a part of the spirit of the age, these letters are for the most part couched in clear and direct language, far removed from the emotionalism of contemporary Imperial manifestoes. The public announcements of the Procurator naturally display more feeling, but this is always kept within reasonable bounds.

The vocabulary of the papyri presents several features of interest. The influx of Latin words is, of course, expected, and to the common, mostly military, terms we may add such examples as ἀστὴρ, δομάτιον, ἵμαγινεφέρ, λωρίζει, μάτριζε, μονιφεζε, ὀρδυνάς, ὀριεντάλως, παγάνος, πραιτέριτος, σαλγαμός, σοῦμος, σουπερνουμεράριος, φαβρίζε, and φόλας. On the Greek side the occurrence of ἀλλᾶς and its derivative ὀλλᾶδίτης, a messenger in the cursus publicus, should be noted; βαλλάντιον in a context which still defies explanation; the operation ἐκστασις, and the operator, ἐκστρώσις, I have ventured, with much hesitation, to connect with bedding arrangements; the precise meaning of ἐκτάκτος and ἐκτάκτως, which led to a sharp difference of opinion between the Strategus and the Senate of Panopolis, equally eludes ourselves; ἑπίνεως occurs in a context which enables us to discard the ghost-word σεῖνος; ἑπταγής and ἑχύρωσις are

1 See the comprehensive collection of material amassed by S. Daris, 'Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d’Egitto', Aegyptus, xl, 1960, pp. 177–314.

xxxix
INTRODUCTION

a very rare word and a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον respectively; θεραπεία and θεραπεύω are employed to denote some technical process of shipbuilding; μητροκομία appears for the first time, surprisingly enough, in the papyri; the mysterious pair νησιωτικός and πασσαλιωτικός apparently derive from place-names; the noun περιφορά acquires a new and more plausible meaning; the derivation of στολάρχης is here at least clearly seen to be στόλος and not στολή; and finally the noun ὑπονόστησις, denoting the recession of the Nile flood, supplements the recent appearance of the verb ὑπόνοστεῖν.

Lastly, the proper names. Professor Martin has shown, in his article referred to on p. xxxi above, how much interesting information can be extracted from this source, and the present papyri offer a much more extensive selection of names, mainly of the more well-to-do natives of Panopolis and its nome. In these names we find the local deity, Min, under his Greek names of Pan and Perseus (Πάνισκος, Πανόδωρος, Περσεύς); his consort Triphs (Πετετρίφις, Τριφιώδωρος), and the third member of the triad, the child-god Colanthes (Κόλανθος). Among unusual or rare names may be noted Ἀρχων, Προστάτης, Υἱόθεος, and Φαγρίων. The solitary Σωτήρ bears witness to the proximity of Ptolemais. There do not appear to be any specifically Christian names.

The names found in these papyri are not, of course, typical of the population at large. As already mentioned, most of them come from the upper and middle classes, nearly all are masculine, and they include relatively few of purely Egyptian extraction; on the whole it is probable that the Geneva papyrus published by Professor Martin offers us a more representative cross-section of Panopolite nomenclature at this period.
NOTE ON METHOD OF PUBLICATION

The editorial conventions here used are those commonly employed, e.g. in the publications of documentary texts in the volumes of the Oxyrhynchus papyri. It should, however, be noted that the diaeresis commonly placed over the letters t and v has been disregarded.

No notes have been made in the text where changes of hand occur (see pp. xxii, xxiii above).

The abbreviations are those in normal use in papyrological publications.

The figures in heavy type, 1, 2, refer to the papyri published in the present volume.
TABLE OF DATES

For convenience, a table of the dates in the Egyptian calendar mentioned in the papyri, and their equivalents in the Julian calendar, is subjoined.

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This is cursively written here and throughout the papyrus, and it is possible that the more correct  may be intended; I have not thought it necessary to notice the misspelling, if such it be, throughout.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

[.................................]...

17 [.................................άναγγελαμεν διο[......]. γενομε[ν............ εντάξεις τούτοις] τούς γράμματαν ἐπι-

17a [στέλλων,] φίλτα[τοι, ἐν' εἴδ]έναι ἐχουσα[i. Ἰε"] καὶ Λιδ" [καὶ Λξ, Θωθ ..

18 [.................................ε]πάρχου[.....τά γραφεὶάνα τοι [ὑπὸ Αὐρη]ήλιον [Ἰσαίωροι πεπρότου

τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίων περὶ τῶν
[mατρε]ίων [.....]..... ἀπόστιλα]

ἐκλευσας δὲ ἐτέρου

20 [πεμφ]θήκας, [τοῦ] δὲ ὕφ(κυκαλίων) τοῖς ἀπο[σταλέντος].

.......ἐπιθυμ[ο]ύντος καὶ ἐνοχλούν-

[τοσ σων]εχοῦς π[ερὶ τ]ριτοῦτοι [.....]ς[.....]

[.....]τῶν ἀκτούριν κελευ-

[.....]..... ἐντα[φα]ς μετὰ τῶν μ[ατρε]ίων

.....ερας αὐτοῦ τάχινον ἀπο-

[λεε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ Λξ"]

Θωθ[.............]δ". σημείωμαι.

[.............]ώρ[.....]ο[.....]φτολ[.....]κ[.....]φρόντισαν διαδοθοὺς τοῖς ὑπ[θο].

...............[μ]ρ[.....]ς ἀκαλοῦθως τοῖς ἐπιστα-

25 [λει][ια]ν υπὸ Ἀδρηλί[ιν Ἰσδ]όποιρον ἐπιπρότου τῆς κατωτέρω Θη[βαίων ὑπὲρ..

.................]τοι Μαί[ιον εἰς νόμοις Ἀδρη-

[σ]τας υπ[α]τεῖας Φ[αυτο]τοι[καὶ Γάλλοι, δια.........]χαλασ-

τριακοσίας πεν]τάκοντα δύο, παρ' ὁδ λήψει

27 [τάς σων]νήθεσ α[π]ο[ε]ιδας [λεε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ Λξ", Θωθ.. σημείωμα]

χαλασ] τριακοσίας πεντ[ή]

27a [κο][ντα δ[ί]ον.]

COL. ii

[.................................τῷ αὐτ[ο]τῷ τύπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ []

[.................................χ]ριστοῦ[ο] τριακόσιοι πεντάκοντα δύο

30 [...............κομμαθε]ίςας ἐπιστολάς γεγρα[μένα]ς υπὸ Ἀδρηλ[ίον]

Ἐσαῖωροι ἡ[πρότου τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίων]

[.................................περὶ] τοῦ τὰς μάτρικας κατὰ μήρα ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ

ἀποστε[ε]αμι.....]

17a. 1. ἔχοντα. This line, and line 27a below, are not interpolations, but emerged after
the text had been set up, through the identification of further fragments of the papyrus; they
PAPYRUS 1

TRANSLATION

Note.—A series of four dots, thus . . . . , indicates passages which are either wholly lost in the Greek, or are too mutilated to be translatable. No attempt is made to indicate the length of these passages.

(The earlier part of the papyrus (ll. 1–29) is too fragmentary for translation; the translation here given begins at l. 30).

. . . letters delivered written by Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid . . . concerning the collection and dispatch of the

have been numbered 17a and 27a respectively in order to obviate extensive changes in the numeration of the lines. 19. 1. ἀπέστειλα. 21. 1. ἀκτον(ἀ)ρι(α)ν. 23. 1. ἀπέστειλα. 27a. See note on l. 17a above. 29. 1. χίλιοι. τριακόσιαι corr. from τριακόσια.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

[......] ἀναλύσκεσθαι καπτ.[..] ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ κατετα

[......][......] ἄλλων περὶ τ'οὐ συνωνήσασθαί φ'ἀκης μὲν (ἀρτ.) ὥς οἴκους
dὲ [(ξεστών) (μυραδά]] ἄλλην περὶ

[......] τηρ.[......]ς ἀμα[.ἐξ]αρτείας [.....εἰσὶν περὶ τῆς τῶν

[πλο]ῶν

[Δι]-

tὰς κ'ἐλευθερεύσας ἀνώνυμας

[......] μετρ.,[......]ς προστεθή[κα] τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰδεῖαν καὶ

[εμι.][......][......]

[......] ἑναί τοῦς ἀπο[......][......].[...] μηθαν ὑδροπυρακτῶν τῶν ἀμφοβητ[ου]λέουν

ρρ[προ]εδρόφοι μιᾶν περὶ τῆς τῶν λαχάνων ὑπηρεσίας ἔμοι καὶ Πανίσκων ἑπείκ[τ]υ

πλοῖον

[......] ἡ τ'ής ποιότητα [τῶν] πλοίων. ἄλλ[ην] Ἐβδαίμονι ἐπάρχον ἐν κάστρως Τοστίω

[κ'αὶ Ψωμῆ]λα[......]


[άλλην Ἀμίαμω] ἑπείκτη ἀνώνυμας

[......] αὐτὸν τῆς ἑπείκ[εως] τῆς ἀνώνυμης. ἄλλην Πανίσκων ἑπείκτη περὶ ἑπ[τ][α]κεύ[ή]

πλοῖον.

[μιᾶν] μὲν στρατηγοῖσι καὶ [δεκ]απρώτοις τῶν ἑγ[γε]γραμμένων νομῶν π(ερὶ) τοῦ τῶν

τῆς φορολογίας εἰ.

[......].[......]. ἄλλην στρατη[γο]ύς τῆς ἑπτεροπῆς π(ερὶ) τοῦ μηκέτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι

ἀπαιτητάς καὶ ἐπὶ μελετᾶς

[τ']ήν λουτήν π(ερί) τ'οῦ σ[ι]δηρον ἀποτο[ταλή]ναι εἰς τὴν Πανοπολιτῶν πόλιν. ἄσπερ

ἐκλ[α]βιόν']


ἐμαυτῷ. [Λεί'] καὶ [Λιβ' καὶ Λξ'', Θωθ ἱα. σεσημιωμαί.]

Θεο[δ]ώροις ἀκτοναρίῳ [χ]ώρτης ἡ Απαμήνων. ἄς παρέκμησας μάτρικας τρισάσθ

τηρ[οῦ] τε καὶ.

[ρ'][τοῦ διελθόντος] [ἐ]τοὺς ἐκομισμάνην, καὶ τὸ μὲν διαυ[σ] ἀπέστειλα δὶ(ἀ) Σιλβανοῦ

ὄ[φ(φικαλίον)]

[.].[εν. Λεί' καὶ Λιβ' καὶ Λξ'', Θωθ ἱε.

προέδροιοι εἰς τὴν τῶν πλοίων τῶν ταμακῶν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἐξάρτησιν ἄκολουθ[ως τοῖς

κελευθείσιν ὑπὸ Αἰρηλόου Ἰοδώρου]
registers each month . . . another concerning . . . another concerning the buying up of 1,000 artabas of lentils and 10,000 sextarii of sour wine; another . . . the last concerning the . . . of the ships . . . to Didymus, commissioner of the annona concerning the preparation of the supplies ordered in the undermentioned places . . . to be added to the other provisions; and to myself . . . the proper guarding of the irrigation of the disputed . . . to the President, one concerning the supply of vegetables; to myself and to Paniscus, commissioner of the ships . . . the quantity of ships; another to Eudaemon, commander of the fort of Toëto and Psinabla . . . another to Papas, commander, on the same subject; another to Menippus, tribune, on the same; another to Didymus, commissioner of the annona . . . collection of the annona; another to Paniscus, commissioner, concerning the repair of the ships . . . one to the strategi and decemprimi of the nomes specified herein concerning . . . of the tax-collection . . . another to the strategi of the Procuratorial district concerning the order that collectors and overseers should no longer be the same persons . . . the last concerning the dispatch of iron to the city of Panopolis; which letters, after I had taken note of them . . . today, which is Thoth 11th; and some of them I forwarded, and others I am retaining in my office. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 11th. Signed.

To Theodorus, accountant of Cohors I Apamenorum. I have received the registers which you forwarded in triplicate, of wheat and . . . up to Mesore of the past year, and the duplicate I have sent by Silvanus the officialis . . . Year 15/14/7, Thoth 15th.

To the President. For the repair and fitting-out of the ships of the Treasury in accordance with the orders of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator
50 επιτρόποι τής κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶν συνομιστὴν ἥλεθαι τῶν
με[τὰ καλῆς πίστεως υπὲρ λυστελείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ]
τῇ[άτ]ον ταχ[είαν τῇ]ν τῶν πλοίων] σύνοφοι ποιησοῦμεν
[...............................] δημοσία τράπεζ[α]

Col. iii
(traces)

τῷ εὐτυχῶς ἐσομένῳ]
[ἐ]πιθαμίαν τοῦ δεσπο[τοῦ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανῶς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρο]ν
Σεβαστοῦ ἀπάξ καὶ δεῦτε-
55 ρ[ο]ών ἐπετήρια σοι ὡς ταχι[ὸς ἀποδέκτας ἐλε]σθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιμελητάς τῶν εἰδών
[τῶν εἰσι]ντῶν γεννα-
φοτάτων στρατωμένων πρὸς τὸ μ[ηδὲν ἐμπο]διον τῆς εὔσεβεστάτης ταύτης 'χρείας'
γ[ενέθαι, ἐπείδη δὲ μέχρι]
δεύτερο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πέρας ἥχηθ' ψ[πό σοι ἀναγκαίον], καὶ νῦν εἰς τρίτον ἐπιστέλλω σοι
ὄπωρ [τὰ ἀκόλουθα περὶ τῆς εὐ-
σεβεστάτης ταύτης ἐπιθυμίας πράξις, ἀλλὰ καὶ] πέρας τοῖς κελευθερίαις ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίων
'Ἰσιδ[ω]ρίου ἐπιτρόπον τῆς κατο-
tέρω Θηβαίδος ἐπιθῆς. Λευτ[έριος καὶ] Λύξιος, Θωθίς [δι(ἀ) Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου.]
σεσημίζω[μαι].
60 ἀρχ(ω[ν]οι Πανοπολίτων. τίνα εἰς κοινῷ ἐγράφη] ἐμοὶ καὶ ὡμίν καὶ κοντούκτορας
περὶ τοῦ συνπάραξον ἀλλάδας εἰς τὴν τῶν
γραμματιγόνων ὑπηρεσίαν ἐν[τάξιας τούτους] μο[ν] το[ῖς] γράμμασι φανερὰ ὡμίν
ποῦ ὡς ἢ τάχος [ἀκόλουθα πράξῃ-]
Λευτ[έριος καὶ Λύξιος, Θωθὶ [δι(ἀ) Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου]. σεσημίζωμαι.
κοντούκτορας. τῷ αὐτῷ τοιῷπο καὶ ἡρῴνω περὶ τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ. δι(ἀ) Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου.
σεσημίζωμαι.
ἐπιστολῶν κα[ὶ παρ” ἐμοὶ γενομένων]

53. προθέρω apparently corrected. 55. 1. ἐπέστειλα, γενναστάτων. 56. χρείας
corrected from βασιλίας. 59. ίς corrected from τὰ (?). 60. Ράρ. ἀρχισ. 1. κον-
of the Lower Thebaid, it is necessary to select a surveyor who in good faith and for the profit of the most sacred Treasury will undertake the survey of the ships . . . . public bank . . . .

To the President. With regard to the supplies of the *annona* ordered to be stored up in various places in preparation for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler the Emperor Diocletian, the Senior Augustus, I have both a first and a second time instructed you with all speed to select receivers and overseers of provisions for the most noble soldiers who will enter the city, in order that no delay may occur in regard to this most honourable duty. But since up to the present nothing requisite has been achieved by you, now for the third time I enjoin you to take the appropriate measures with regard to this honourable visitation, and also carry into execution the orders of Aurelius Isidorus, the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 16th. By Leon, servant. Signed.

To the magistrates of Panopolis. What has been written jointly to myself, to you, and to the postmasters concerning the transfer of cutters to the postal service, I have enclosed in this my letter and bring to your notice, in order that with all speed you may act accordingly. Year 15/14/7, Thoth . . . . By Leon, servant. Signed.

To the postmasters. In the same form and date on the same subject. By Leon, servant. Signed.

To the Catholicus. The monthly account of money and of the *annona*, and also the table of letters and memoranda of my business for the

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63. *κοινονόκτοραί*.
64–66. In l. margin, opposite three lines, slanting stroke with the words *κεχρονιστοί* [Θώδη].
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

65 ὑπομνημάτων τοῦ Μεσσωρή μη(νὸς) τῷ διμελθόμενῳ ἑδυ[ς] καὶ ἐγς" τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητίαρχοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν

καὶ έτους 5γ" τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Καὶ[να]ταν[τιὼ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπίφανεστάτων Καὶ[αύρων ἀποστειλα]

eis τὴν τάξειν γράφω, καθολικὲ κυρίε ἡμῶν τὸν δε τοικὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀπέστη ἐλα διὰ τὸ μή δὲ[δὲ]δινὴν ἥραθα με, τῆς

μ[εταδόσεως τῶν βιβλίων μη] [δὲβείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ βοηθοῦ τοῦ προστατηγῆσειν] το[λης, πε]ρὶ τὸς καὶ τοὺς ὑπομνήματα παρὰ]

τῇ εἰμὶ μετρώτατη ἐγένετ[ο]ῶν ἀντίγραφον ὑποκολήσας τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μου ἀνα[φο]ρά[γράφω, καὶ διατε-]

70 λ[ης] ἐνεκείμενος καὶ ἀναγκαζόντων] παρ' ἐκάστα τῶν βοηθῶν τῆς τῶν βιβλείων συγκάτασες [ἐπεκεν, ἐς διὸ τὴν μη-

νιαίος συνέισταται καὶ αἱ λοιπά[δες] τῶν ἁγιωτῶν φαίνονται. λιε" λίδ" καὶ λξ", Θωβ ἱ. [σημιώματι.]

ἐπιτρόπω. δεὶ δὲ ἐπέθηκας πρὸς με γραμματ[ων] διέλευσας τᾶς μάτρικας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβίθι μη[νός ἀναζητήρας ... ἀτ... τὴν σὴν ἐπιμέ-

λειαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Θωβ καθ' ἐκαστον μήνα [πάγιας ἐπί τὴν τάξειν ἀποστειλα, οὐ μελλήσας τούς τῶν φρουρίων [ἐπ]άρχων . . . . . . . .

καὶ εἰληφα παρὰ μὲν τοῦ καὶ τοῦ Μενετίπου[ου] τραβουνοῦ μηνῶν ἐπτά, ἀπὸ Μεξερί ἐως Μεσσωρῆ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ [τοῦ] Πα[λία] μηνῶν πέντε, ἀπὸ]


Σιλβανήν καὶ ένι' εἰδεναι ἔχοι σου ἡ ἐπιμε[λεία] γράφω, ἐπίτροπε κυρίε. λιέ" καὶ λιδ" καὶ λξ" [Θωβ ...]

ἐπιτρόπω. κελεύσαντός σου, κυρίε μο[νόν ἄρρ]τοκόπον δ ἀποσταλῆνα εἰς τὰ κάστρα τὰ κελευθέντα ση[...........................]

ἐκ κελεύσας τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημιτατὸν ἤγουμένου τῆς Ὁμβαίδος Ιουλίου Ἀθηνοδότου[ου] ἀπόστηλει αὐτοῦ]

πρὸς Φίλ[νο]να τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς ἀνεκτέρο Ὁμβαίδος καὶ ένι' εἰδεναι ἔχοις γράφων', κυρίε μου. λιέ" καὶ λιδ" καὶ λξ", Θωβ ... σημιώματι.
month of Mesore in the past 14th and 13th year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti and 6th year of our lords Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesars I write to say I have dispatched to your office, my lord Catholicus. But the corn account I have not sent because I have not been able to do so, the transfer of books not having been effected by the assistant of my predecessor as strategus; concerning which notes were made of the proceedings before my Mediocrity, of which I subjoin a copy to this report. And I am continuing to press and constrain on each occasion the assistant concerning the transfer of the books from which the monthly account is composed and the deficits of the *annona* appear. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 15th. Signed.

To the Procurator. Through your letters directed to me you have ordered that the registers back to the month of Tybi should be sought out . . . . and from Thoth onwards should all be forwarded each month to your office, without delay I . . . . the commanders of the forts, and received from the agent of Menippus, the tribune, those for seven months, from Mecheir to Mesore; and from the agent of Papas for five months, from Pachons to Mesore; and from the agent of Eудaemon for three months, from Payni to Mesore; all of which I have handed over to your *officialis* Silvanus whom you had dispatched. And so that your Diligence may be informed I write, my lord Procurator. Year 15/14/7, Thoth . . . .

To the Procurator. You having ordered, my lord, that four bakers should be dispatched to the fort which has been ordered to be . . . . by order of the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, I have dispatched them to Philo, Procurator of the Upper Thebaid; and so that you may be informed I write, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth . . . . Signed.

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corrected from *φενοτε.* 72–75. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words *κρ[η[ρο(νισται)] Θώθ.* 73. l. τάξιν. 77–78. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words *κεκρι[ο(νισται) Θώθ.* 77. *σον. ο* corrected from *α.* 79. l. *ἄνωτέρω.*
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS


Col. iv


80–81. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words [κελ]ῷρ[μ]ισται) [Θ]ῶθ. καὶ (α) corrected from κα. 81. l. γραμμάτων, ὀκτακοσίων. 83. l. ἰσον. There are traces of a possible line preceding this at the top of the column. 85. l. γραφεῖσαι, ἐπιμελείας. 86. l. Πομπήιον. 87. διεκάπρωτον apparently corrected. 1. τοπορχείας.
To the same. You having ordered, my lord, to cause to be paid out to Nemesas and ... and another Nemesas and Hierax ... letters ..., to complete payment for iron to the weight of 800 lbs. ... 30 ..., without delay I caused to be paid out ..., enclosing the copy I write, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 16th. Signed.

To the Procurator. In conformity with the written instructions of your Diligence, immediately ..., and Poemenius the former overseers of wood and ... at Toöto and Psinabla, and also Hermophilus, decem-primus of the toparchy of Phenebythis, ... demanding the fine established by your Clemency and causing it to be credited ... to the Imperial revenues, I write, my lord, so that you may be informed. Year 15/14, Thoth 16th. Signed.

To the Catholicus. Having been appointed, my lord, by your Highness to serve as strategus of the Panopolite nome, I made my way thither without delay. And finding the assistant of my predecessor as strategus engaged upon the books, I retained him for a few days ..., ordered ..., the major discrepancies ..., I might be supplied with another; but in the meantime, a few days earlier ..., the assistant being present with me, of necessity the handing over of the books ..., in order that from them the monthly accounts customarily dispatched might be written up; and

90-91. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κεχρόγνωσις. Θόθ.
90. l. μεγαλέιον. 91. l. προσευκαροδώτα. 93. l. μειζόνων. τόν (20) apparently corrected. εὐπορήθησιν, ε (19) corrected.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

95. σαντος τ' ρ' ύσ με, ἀναγκαῖος τὴν τῶν βιβλίων μετάδοσιν

96. 1. εἰοθότα.

97. 1. συντάσεως.

98. 1. ἐπιελ', οὐχ.

99. 1. ἐπιελ', οὐχ. 100. ἐπιελ', οὐχ. 101. ἐπιελ', οὐχ. 102. 1. συντάσσετα. After the
also what had been concealed by the same assistant of my predecessor. On my making inquiries of him concerning the composition of the books, he put forward the excuse that he neither had the books nor had ever received them from the person who before him had served in the office of the strategus. Since, then, it is impossible for the monthly account to be dispatched without transfer of the books, I was obliged to request information in writing from this same assistant of my predecessor as strategus; and he returned the same answer as before. For the time being, therefore, receiving from him the account of the annona, improperly drawn up, and the money account . . . . the books of these together with the statement I have dispatched to your Diligence, my lord. For the deficiency in the grain stores reported by him was found to be confused and inconsistent with the accounts; and up to now on account of his negligence and irresponsibility I have deferred sending in the corn account . . . . enclosing a copy of the notes of action taken before my Mediocrity I write so that you may be informed, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 16th. Signed.

To the Procurator. In the same form and date on the same subject. Signed.

To the President. For this most honourable and essential duty, namely . . . . to be stored up in each place . . . . the most noble soldiers for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler Diocletian, the invincible, the Senior Augustus . . . . I gave you orders not only once but also a second time, and many times in writing I commanded you in conformity with the letters of Aurelius Isidorus the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid,
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

νον ἄ[παξ ἄλλα] καὶ δεύτερον 'καὶ πολλάκις' ἑγγράφως σοι ἐπέστε ἐ'λα ἄκολουθος τοῖς γραφεῖοι] ἵπτο Ἀὐρηλίου Ἰαυδάρου

Col. v

[ἐπιτρόπου τῆς κατωτεροῦ Θηβαιδος ὡς κατὰ κ[έ][λ]ευσε [..............................]]

[..[......]]

εφ. ........................ιαδος τοις τε ἀποδεκτας καὶ ἐπιμελητάς ἐκ[άστου εἴδους ὃμοι

το]ιεσθαι καὶ φα-


χρείας ἐπ]μυκοῦσης καὶ νῦν

ηπί[εχθη]ν ἐπιστελαὶ σοι ὡς καὶ ὅς τοὺς προκειμένους ἄλη ὑπέρ τρι[ῦ μὴ καὶ

σεαυτο]ν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν κω-

δύνω καταστάθηναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῶν κελευ[θε]οίν ἐννεὶ ἐπὶ

τρὶ τόπον ἀνάκινον

πρὸς τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐπὶ πέρας ἄχθηναι τὸ κελευ[ό]ν ὡς[ῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου.]

Lie'' καὶ Li8''

καὶ Λξ'', Ὄῳ Ἰζ''. σεσημώμαι.

115 Πομπωνίῳ Λύμυκῳ. ἀπéstειλα καὶ νῦν διὰ Ἴερακος ἀρε[τοῦ] ἐπιμελητοῦ εἰς πλοία

dοῦ ἀγωγῆς ἀ[πτ.][ων, ἐνὸς μὲν .. με..]ὑτος ἀγου[η]ς ἀ(ρτ.) φ', ἐτέρου δὲ

Ἀπόλλωνος ἠγου[η]ς ἀ[πτ. του, ἀμφότερον ἀπὸ Πάπα τοῦ Ἰπεινο[λότου νομοῦ,

ἐν μὲν [φα]θοῦσι σὺν αὐτοῖς] φανθοὶ ὅ[λης] κεν-

tηνάρια διακόσια εξήκοντα δύο, χυτὰ δὲ χωρίς φανθῶν ὅ[λης] κεντηνάρια [ἐκατὸν

εξήκοντα δύο:] ὡς εἰναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κεν-

tηνάρια τετράκοσια εἰς τάσαρα, ἀκολουθοῖς τῇ γενομένῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειρογραφ[φίας,

ής τὸ ἀντεγραφον] ὑπεκόλλησα. περὶ δὲ τῶν

ναιλών φθα[σάς] ἐπὶ πρότερον ἀνίψαξα τῷ σῷ μεγαλεῖ ὡς οὐτὲ οὐ πρῶτοι να[τα

ὑπελήφασιν οὔ]τε οἱ νῦν, ὅπως εἰ δοξεῖν

125 σοι κελεύoγις ὑπὸθεν δείητε τῶν ἐξουσιασμὸν αὐτοῖς γενέθαι. ἀμα γὰρ τῇ ἐμβολῇ

[..............................] παρ' ἐκατά ἐνοχλοῦσιν

περὶ τῶν να[ύλων, οὗ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ προσενεῖ ἐθεούλοντο τῷ μεγαλίῳ τοῦ [δια-

στιματῶν ἂ]γομένου τῆς Θηβαιδος

'Ἰουλίου Ἀθηνοδόρῳ περὶ τοῦ τοῦ]. Lie'' καὶ Li8'' καὶ Λξ'', Ὄῳ Ἰζ'.

112. 1. ἑγγράφως.  115. 1. καταστήσας, ἐπεί, ἐργον, ἐπειγόντος.  116. 1. ἡπίεχθην, ἐπιστελαὶ (corrected from ἐπιστάτα), ἐνῃ.  118. ἐκ corrected.  120–7. These
according to the command . . . to appoint the receivers and the overseers of each species of provision all together, and to make report to me; but since . . . done and the requirement becomes urgent, now again I hasten to enjoin you even so to select the persons aforesaid, in order that you may avoid placing both yourself and me in jeopardy, and at the same time make provision for the supplies of the *annona* which have been ordered to be on the spot, so that by all means the command of my lord may be carried into execution. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 17th. Signed.

To Pomponius Domnus. I have this moment dispatched, in the charge of Hierax, ex-magistrate and overseer, in two ships of total burthen 850 artabas, one being the ship of . . . of 500 artabas burthen, and the other the ship of Apollo of 350 artabas burthen, both from Papa in the Heracleopolite nome, in rush matting, by weight including the matting, 262 hundredweight, and loose, without matting, by weight 162 hundredweight, making a total of 424 hundredweight, in accordance with his sworn declaration, of which I subjoin a copy. And concerning the freight charges, even before now I have ventured to report to your Highness that neither the former crew nor the present have received them; wherefore, if it please you, kindly instruct me from what source payment is to be made to them. For at the lading of the ships . . . on each occasion they importune . . . concerning their pay, and indeed it is their wish to approach his Highness the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, concerning this matter. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

ἐπιστάθμιο Πανοπόλ(ῖτον), τῶν γραφέσιν ἡμῖν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοὶ καὶ εἰρηνάρχοις περὶ
tάς τῶν προσόπων παρατ[ομιν; ον] ἀντίγραφον ἐπιδειχθείσας φανερ[ῶν] ἡμῖν
ποιῶ ἢν εἶδοτε καὶ τοὺς κελευθερίας ἀκόλουθα πρᾶξῃ. Λεε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ ΛΣ",
Θῶθ [τῇ, σεσημίωμαι].

130 εἰρηνάρχοις. τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ αὐτῷ. σεσημίωμαι.
δεκαπρώτως μέσης τοπορίσει(α). φρούρ[ε]σατε παραμετρήσατε Νέμεσι Άπολλόνιος καὶ
Πανακίων Πανοπόλου [διαδότας ἁγιώτητας τῶν γεννηματάτων
στρατιωτῶν] ἀπὸ γεννήματος τοῦ διελθ(άντου) ἐνσ" καὶ ἐβ" καὶ ἐς τῆς εὐτυ-
χεστάτης ταῖτης βασιλε[ῖ]ας εἰς τὴν εὐθέναιαν] τῶν τε ἐνθάδε διατριβήν-
των στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν διαύλων, πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας διακόσια γ(νοῦντα)
(ἀρτ.). Σ παρ’ [δὴν] λήμφεσθε τάς οἰκονήμες ἀποχύς, λημματί-
σαντες τάς το[μῶν] ἐκατοστάς. Λεε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ ΛΣ", Ῥῶθ τῇ, σεσημίωμαι.
πυρ[οῦ] (ἀρτ.) [διακόσιων].

135 δεκαπρώτως Φενεβόθε[ῖν] τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ αὐτῷ, πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) διακόσιον.
σεσημίωμαι.

δεκαπρώτως Πικέρκη Ψυμβιλα. τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ πυροῦ (ἀρτ.). ἐκατόν καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ
αὐτῷ. σεσημίωμαι.

δεκαπρώτως μητροπόλ(εως). τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ πυροῦ (ἀρτ.). ἐκατόν καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ αὐτῷ.
σεσημίωμαι. [πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) ἐκατόν].

δεκαπρώτως συνοριάς Τοετό. τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ πυροῦ (ἀρτ.). ἐκατόν καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ
αὐτῷ. σεσημίωμαι. [πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) ἐκατόν].

δεκαπρώτως ἁψυ τοπαρχίας. τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ πυροῦ (ἀρτ.). ἐκατόν καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ
αὐτῷ. σεσημίωμαι. πυρ[οῦ] (ἀρτ.) ἐκατόν.

Col. vi

140 [μαγιστρω...].………….μάγιστρῳ μο[ν]………………..]στὴν Ἰσι-
δόρου τοῦ ποτὲ ἄτομον συνηχόρ.[…
………….η αὐ…………. ἦν τῆς τῆς τῆς τῆς [………………..]ε[ν]πέστειλα ὡς
ἐκδείκνυα. σεσημίωμαι.

Λεε" [καὶ Λ]δ" καὶ ΛΣ", Θῶθ δ[θ].
στρατηγῷ Λυκοπόλ[ῆ] [τοῦ] ἐπὶ ἐπὶ ὑπομνήματος τῶν γενεμέων παρά τῷ [μεγαλεῶν
αὐτοῦ] τῷ διοδεσμητάτῳ ἡγομένου τῆς Ὀθράγδος Ἰουλίου

132. ἐς": ε corrected. 1. διατριβήνων. 132–3. In 1. margin, opposite these lines,
slanting stroke with the word Θῶθ. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139. Opposite each line, in

16
To the billeting officer (?) of the Panopolite nome. Enclosing a copy of what has been written to us, namely to me and to you and to the officers of police concerning the escorting of the persons, I make this communication to you in order that you may be informed and may act in conformity with these orders. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed.

To the officers of police. In the same form and the same date. Signed.

To the decemprini of the Middle Toparchy. See that you measure out to Nemesias son of Apollo and to Hieracion son of Paniscus, distributors of the annona of the most noble soldiers, from the produce of the past year 13/12/5 of this most happy reign, for the sustenance of the soldiers stationed here and in transit, 200 artabas of pure wheat = 200 artabas; from whom you will take the usual receipts, crediting the percentages. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed. 200 artabas of wheat.

To the decemprini of Phenebythis. In the same form and the same date. 200 artabas of wheat. Signed.

To the decemprini of Pacerce and Psinabla. In the same form, 100 artabas of wheat, and the same date. Signed.

To the decemprini of the Metropolis. In the same form, 100 artabas of wheat, and the same date. Signed. 100 artabas of wheat.

To the decemprini of the border-land of Toeto. In the same form, 100 artabas of wheat, and the same date. Signed. 100 artabas of wheat.

To the decemprini of the Upper Toparchy. In the same form, 100 artabas of wheat, and the same date. Signed. 100 artabas of wheat.

(Too mutilated for translation)

To the Strategus of the Lycopolite nome. Since in minutes drawn up before his Highness the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid Julius

1. margin, a slanting stroke with the word θεό.

143. ἔπει ἔπλο: I. ἐπει ἐπλ. D
Αθηνοδόρου ἐκελέσθην διακοσίου πράγματος μεταξὺ Θαίσιος κ[αὶ ἐγγεγραμμένων
ο[νομάτων ὄντων ἀπὸ κόμης Πιντινῷ τοῦ ὑπὸ σὲ νο- μοῦ καὶ τῶν παρατεθ[έντων τῇ ἐμῆ] μετριότητι· οἱ δὲ δὲ 
διδ[ε] ἐξῆρθεν ἀποστείλας ὑπηρέτῃν πρὸς σὲ μετὰ τῶν 
τῶν γραμμάτων ὡς τῶς ἐγγεγραμμένως ἐπαναγκάσῃ ἐνταθὰ ήκε[ι]ν πρὸς 
τὸ πέρα ἐπιστὴν τῷ πράγματι ἀκολούθως οὐς προσέταξεν 
τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ. ἐρρωθήσατο σὲ εὐχομαι, φιλταται. 
Led" καὶ Led" καὶ λζ"", Θωθ [...] ἢστι δὲ· Πικεδ καὶ 
Σιναεπι καὶ Σεμπεασιος καὶ 
καὶ Ταλαοθιος νεότερος. συναπόστειλον δὲ καὶ τὸν κουράτορα τῆς Θαζ[οιος.]
Πυμπονίω Δόμινῳ. Ἀμμώνιος ὦ καὶ Ἀμπέλος κράτιστος δὲ ὕν ἐπέστειλεν [ἐμοὶ καὶ 
Πλουτογενεὶς ἠθέλησεν Ἀργεντίον καὶ οἰκήτην βεβοῦν 
καταλαμμένα καὶ παραδοθέντα αὐτὸ δὲ ἐτοιοθῆς τοῦ κυρ[ίου τοῦ 
τάτου] ἰχνουμένον Θηβαίον του Πιντινοῦ "Πυμπονίων 
παρατεμβθήκα τὸς πῆς τοῦ ἐμοὶ κυρίου ταξιν ὁπτὲ ἀρ[τ][]

[...................................]. καὶ ἐν εἰδέναι ἔχου ὕπο τὸ 
μεγαλεῖον γράφον, κύριε μου. Λε" καὶ Led" καὶ λζ"", Θωθ [...] 

Ἰσιδώρου ἑπτ[η]σιὼν. ὃς τῆς μνημοσύνης ἀπαντηταὶ ἤτοι ἐπιμεληταὶ τῇ[σ... 
διαδόξασις συνεχῶς ἔνοχλημένοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐ-
μὴς μετριότητος τῶν προβῶν τῶν γενεαστῶν 
στρατιωτῶν τῆς ἐνταθή διακε-
μένων ἐνεκεν προβάλλονται κεκε-
λευ[ε][θαὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σής ἐπιμελείας τὸ πασσαλιστικὸν αὐτοῖς συνκρ[παστήσαι,] καὶ 
ἐκ τοῦ δόν μελλόντων σκεδών τῶν στρατι-
ωτῶν ἐνεδρευθήκαν Ἀναγκαῖος ἀναφέρει ἐπὶ πῆς 

τῆς γνώσει[ν ὅπως τὸ] δοκοῦ ὅν σοι 
καλεύσης περὶ τοῦτου, ὕπο μοῦνον 
δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔτερων ἐπιμελητῶν 

σώρᾳν ὅσον 'τὸ κατέπ[ε]γ[ε[ν] τῆς χρείας τοῦ-
τῆς αὐτὸ τότε ἐπερεαν δηλοῦσαι τῇ σή ἐπιμελεία ἑνα ἐνεπτὶ ἐν 

παραστῇ[σοσ, καλεύ]σας 

γενεσθοὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μη ἐνεδρευθήκαν 

tῆς τὴν παλαιαστὸν χρείαν. Λε" καὶ led" καὶ λζ"", Θωθ ἢ". σε[σημωμαίη.

160 μαγάστρων. ἀπέστελεὶ καὶ νῦν "[εἰς πλοῖα δύο]" διὰ Ἰέρακος ἅρξεστος ἐπιμελη[ητοῦ] 
eἰς πλοῖα δύο ἑνὸ [μὲν ...] ὅτως ἐτέρου δὲ Ἀπολλωνίος ἅρμοτέρων

145. 1. φιλταται. 148. 1. νεότερος. 149. 1. Πυμπονίων. 154. 1. γενεαστῶν.
Athenodorus I have been ordered to hear a case between Thaēsis and others named herein, of the village of Psintino in the nome under your rule, and persons subjected to my Mediocrity; but the former, on the contrary, . . . . wherefore I have been obliged to dispatch a messenger to you with these letters, so that you may compel the persons named herein to proceed here, in order that the matter may be brought to a conclusion in accordance with the orders given by his Highness. I bid you farewell, my dear Sir. Year 15/14/7, Thoth . . . . As follows: Piceus and Sensneus and Sempesneous and Talousthius junior; send also with them the guardian of Thaēsis.

To Pomponius Domnus. The most excellent Ammonius also called Ampelius has written to me and Plutogenes desiring that Argentius, together with a slave found absconding and handed over to him by a letter of the lord Governor of the Thebaid Julius Athenodorus, should be sent under escort to your office, my lord; whom . . . . and so that your Highness may be informed, I write, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth . . . .

To Isidorus the Procurator. The collectors or overseers of the metropolis for the distribution of meat and . . . ., continually urged by my Mediocrity for the provisions of the most noble soldiers stationed here, make the excuse that they have been commanded by your Diligence to produce the *passalioticom*, and since thereby the soldiers may, I fear, be embarrassed, I am obliged to bring it to your attention, so that you may give whatever order seems good to you concerning this matter. Nor is this all, but the other overseers are trying to excuse themselves on account of the *nesiioticom*. Considering therefore the urgency of this duty, I have made haste to report the matter to your Diligence, so that if any solution occurs to you, you may command its execution in order that this vital service may not be impeded. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed.

To the *Magister rei privatae*. I have this moment dispatched in the charge of Hierax, ex-magistrate and overseer, in two ships, one being the

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157. σωροὺς corrected from σωροὺς. κατεπέιγων corrected from κατεπίγων. 158. αὐτὸ τὸ ἄρα corrected from αὐτὸ αὐτό. 1. ἐπιμελεία. 160. ἀπέστειλα corrected from ἀπέστειλα.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

ἀπὸ Πάτα τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπόλειτον νομοῦ ἐν μὲν ψειαθείως οὐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ψ' εἰσαὶ ἄθοις ὀλίγης κεντηρίας διακόσια ξέθηκον.

ηὐς ἐπί τοῦ αὐτοῦ κεντηρίας τετρακώσια ἑίκοσι(α) τέσσερα ἀκολούθως τῇ γενναίῃ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ χειρογραφής, ἣς ἀντίγραφόν ὑπεκόλλησα· περὶ δὲ τῶν ναυλῶν θάνατος ἔτη πρότερον ἀνήγερκα τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ ὡς οὐδὲ οἱ προ’ ὅτε ναῦται ὑπελήφασι οὗτος ὡς οὖν ὅπως εἰ σοι δόξει,

ἐν κελεύσεις ὁπόθεν δεχαί τῶν ἔξοδαί(α)μιῶν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. Λει[‴] καὶ Λιδ[‴] καὶ Λε[‴],

Θοῦθ εἰ ἱστημέοιοι, ἄνθρ(ακος) ὀλ(κῆς) κενθηρίας τετρακώσια ἑίκοσι τέσσαρα.

[ἐπιτ[ὑ]δ]σι. κελεύσατος σου, καίμε μου, τὰ πλοία τὰ ταμιακὰ τῶν λιμηθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἀνωτέρω [Θηβαίδος] ἐπίσκεψισθήναι καὶ ἐξαρτισθήναι ἀπὸ τῶν τούτων ταμείων χρημάτων·

πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐσομάνθης ἐπιδημίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλῆτις τοῦ πάντα νεκρῶς προσβατέρων Σεβαστοῦ ἐπέστειλα τῷ τῆς πόλεως προέδρῳ Αὐρήλιῳ Πλουτογένει τῷ καὶ Ἡρόδιῳ συνοφησθήν ἁρπῆς· [οὐ], ἱνα] μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως ὑπὲρ λαυτελείας τοῦ ἱεροτάτου ταμείου ἥ τοίν προφεμείοιν πλοίοις σύροφις γείμηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιμελητήριον [τῶν αὐτῶν] πλοίων τῶν ὑποδεχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ὅμοιας[ν]ὸς τραπέ-

Col. VII

ζης τὰ χρήσια καὶ λογογραφοῦντα τὸ γενόμενον [ἀνάλωμα, ἐν ἡ ἐκ] σαντὸς τρόπῳ τῷ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀναλισκόμενον δε’ αὐτοῦ γ’[ν]ωσθῇ τῇ ἔπομελείᾳ. δε’ καταφρονήσας τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης ταυτῆς χρ’ εἰς ἐπόλεμον α’ γιατί πεσετελεῖ

μὴ ὁδέλειν τὴν πόλιν ἐνισχυθῆναι. πὸς οὖν οὖν τε ἐστὶν τοῦτο τῆς ἐμῆς μετροτῆτος καταφρονήσατο τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἔπος[κέπε]υν γενέσθαι ἥ τῆς ἐξαρτείας πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι; οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέκτας καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν κελευθέντων ἐν διαφόροις τόποις συνο[φησθήνῃ]

ἀνανίων πρὸς ἐσομάσαν τῶν μελλόντων ισιεύειν ἀμα τῷ δεσπότῃ

161–4. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κεχρό(ν)αι

162. 1. ἐπαύμας, ἐπαύμας.

163. 1. χωρίς.

164. 1. μεγάλειος, οὔτε.

165. 1. κελεύσῃς, δεδέχει, κενητηρία.

166–70. These lines are encircled, in the
ship of . . . , the other the ship of Apollo, both from Patas in the Heral-
cleopolite nome, in rush matting, by weight including the matting, 262
hundredweight, and loose, without matting, by weight 162 hundred-
weight, making a total of 424 hundredweight, in accordance with his
sworn declaration, of which I subjoin a copy. And concerning the
freight charges, even before now I have ventured to report to your
Highness that neither the former crew nor the present have received
them; wherefore, if it please you, may you give orders from what source
payment is to be made to them. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed.
Charcoal, by weight 424 hundredweight.

To the Procurator. Upon your orders, my lord, that the ships of the
Treasury requisitioned from the Upper Thebaid should be repaired
and refitted from Treasury funds for the service of the auspiciously
impending visit of our ruler the Emperor Diocletian, the ever-victorious
Senior Augustus, I have commanded the President of the city, Aurelius
Plutogenes also called Rhodinus, to select a surveyor, so that the super-
vision of the aforesaid ships may be carried out honestly and for the
profit of the most sacred Treasury; and also to select an overseer of the
same ships, to receive the money from the public bank and account for
the expenditure incurred, so that by all means the true amount expended
may be made known to your Diligence. But he, in contempt for this
most honourable duty, had the audacity to reply that the city ought not
to be troubled. How, then, is it possible, when this man shows such
contempt for my Mediocrity, for the repair of the ships to be carried out
and provision for their refitting to be made? And not only this, but there
is the appointment of receivers and overseers of the supplies of the
annona which have been ordered to be reviewed in different localities
in readiness for those who are expected to arrive with our ruler Dio-
cletian, the Senior Augustus. Concerning all which matters I have of

1. margin, with a large bracket to indicate deletion. 168. 1. νικώντος.
169. 1. συνοψισθή, αλρείσθαι. 170. 1. γένηται. 171. In upper margin, the numeral
IZ. 1. γενόμενον. 174. επιμελητάς: τας written over a correction. 1. ελευθέραι.
175 ἤμων Διοκλήτιανῷ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Σεβαστῷ, περὶ ὧν πάθετον ἀναγκαίως αὐτῷ ἴνα ὁλόθησα, μὴ ἄρκεσθεις [ταῖς] δὲ ἑπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐνγράφως καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπέστειλα τῷ αὐτῷ προεδρῷ, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν ὀνομασίαν μὴ ποιήσαντος ἐδέχθησα θνητοῖς καὶ ἐπίμελης τῶν κηδεμονίας, ἐντάξεις τῶν ἐπισταλέντων αὐτῷ υπ’ ἐμοὶ ἃ ἠμαρτόμενον ἀν’ ἡγήσατο τοὺς πρὸς συνάντησιν ἐπέστειλεν περὶ τε τοῦ σημαντικοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητῆτος τῶν ταμιακῶν πλοίων, τούτου γὰρ ἠμαρτόμενον ἀνʼ ἡμεῖς ἔγειρον τοῖς πρὸς συνάντησιν ἐπιστελέσας ἐπιχειροῦσαν τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν καταθράπτως τὰ πάντα ἐνεδρεύεταί. [Lieβ’ καὶ Λείδ’ καὶ Λείδ’”, Θωδ γ’. σεσημίσωμαι.

180 συστάται. Αὐρήλιος Ἰασάνη ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατοικίας Θηβαίων ἐκέλευσεν τὰ ταμιακὰ πλοῖα τὰ λημβάνεται, ὡσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντιτρόπου Θηβαιών, ἐπισκευασμοῦ δοθέναι καὶ ἐξαρτισθῆναι ἀπὸ τῷ ταμιακῷ ν ἤρματον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὧν μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως ταῦτα γενόμενα ἐπιστέλλων ὀμοίῳ ὧν ὅσον ἄνθρωπο χρησίμως ἐπὶ στῆν μέρας καὶ περιουσίας καὶ γραμματών ἐμποροῖν ὧν παγάνοιν ὀνομαίσθηται υπὲρ τοῦ τῶν πάσαν λογοφασεῖαν δι’ αὐτῶν γενόμεναι, καὶ τὰ κεκελευκτέων καὶ πάντα ἀποτελφόρησα. Lieβ’ καὶ Λείδ’ καὶ Λείδ’”, Θωδ γ’. σεσημίσωμαι.

Πολυκράτης [συνοφή] τῷ καὶ Πετετρίφῳ Τριαδόλῳ συνοχαστῇ, ἡ κριστιστῇ Βουλῇ διὰ Αὐρήλιον Προυτογένους τῷ καὶ Ρωδίνου ἐνάρχῃ προεδρῷ δι’ ὧν μον ἐπέστειλεν

185 ἐξῆλθεν ἡρήσιμαι σε συνοχασθή’ εἰς τῶν κατασκευασμένων ταμιακῶν πλοίων κατὰ κέλευσιν Αὐρήλιου Ἰισοδόρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς κατοικίας Θηβαιών. ἦν’ ὡς εἰδὸς καὶ ἴδης μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως εἰς δια τῶν ἐξής ἐμπρόσθεν τῶν συνεπεστελάλα καὶ διὰ Καλάνθου ὑπρήτου. Lieβ’ καὶ Λείδ’ καὶ Λείδ’”, Θωδ γ’. σεσημίσωμαι.

Φίλων ἐπιτρόπων, κατὰ κέλευσιν Αὐρήλιου Ἰισοδόρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς κατοικίας Θηβαιών ἐπέστειλα πρὸς τὴν σημ’ ἐμελέλαν διὰ Παχυψίμος στρατιώτων τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐνεγραμμένοις ἀρτοκόποις δ. καὶ ἦν’ εἰδήσει ἐχοῦς, κύριε μου. Lieβ’ καὶ Λείδ’ καὶ Λείδ’”, Θωδ γ’.
necessity been pressing him, and, not being satisfied with this, have also commanded the same President in writing, not only once but many times. And since he has not even yet nominated the receivers and overseers, I have found it necessary to report to your universal Solicitude, enclosing copies, not only of my letters to him, but also of his replies, concerning both the surveyor and the overseer of the Treasury ships. For if this man makes a beginning of disobeying orders, others may try to do the same thing, and through this and his unparalleled insolence the whole administration is endangered. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed.

To the nominators. Aurelius Isidorus, the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, has ordered the ships of the Treasury which have been taken up, being from the Upper Thebaid, to be repaired and refitted from Treasury funds. In order, therefore, that this may be carried out honestly, I order you to nominate a suitable man of much experience and wealth, and literate, from among the country-dwellers, so that the entire accounting may pass through his hands, and all the commands may be executed. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed.

To Polycrates, also called Petetriphis, son of Triadelphus, surveyor. The most excellent Senate, through its President in office, Aurelius Plutogenes also called Rhodinus, as he informs me, has signified its selection of you as surveyor of the Treasury ships being constructed in accordance with the order of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. In order therefore that you may be informed, and honestly enter upon the duties entrusted to you, I have sent you orders by my servant Colanthus. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 18th. Signed.

To Philo the Procurator. According to the command of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, I have dispatched to your
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

190 εἰςὶ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸς ἀπὸ κόμης Φενεβόθεως, Πεσίφρας...οὐ̄ τῶν Ψάνεως, Βήσης Πετεχώντος ἀπὸ συνομίας, Απόκλων Απόλλωνος μιτρὸς Λακωνίδος ἀπὸ Πονὸς πόλεως.

Ἀμμοῦνιον ὑπὸ τῷ καὶ Ἀρμελᾶς. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέστασε ὧτι οὐδὲν ἐλέλοιπεν τῆς ἐμῆς μεταφώτητος οὐδὲ ἐλλάλησεν περὶ τῶν κελευσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου μαγίστρου τῆς πρωτάτης. ἄμα γὰρ τῷ κεκομίσθαι μὲ τὰ γράμματα τὰ γραφήντα εἰς κοινόν ἐμὸν ταῖς καὶ προδότροι τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγαλοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ποὺς ὑπήρετας ἀπὸ τοὺς ὑπηρετησομένους τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ κελευσμένους, καὶ τὸν ἐς ἴδιστόν

εὐφρεντὰ νομικὸ καὶ συνάτας τὲ καὶ νυκτοπρατήριας καὶ εἰ τῇ ἐπὶ[ερον ἢν συν] 

teinon ek tōn γραφήντων πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν μετρασμῆνα δὲ ἢ ἢ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων προσώ-

πων παράστασις γίγνεται εἰς τυγχάνονει ἐντάθη πρὸς τὸ δὲ[.............]εἰκος τοὺς προκεκιμένους ἀναγκασθῆλιν περὶ τούτων τῶν πασαλλωτικῶν πρωτόπων, καὶ αὐ-

τὸς γὰρ ὅσον ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι οὖ ἢ δὲ ἔτεροι τινος ἢ τούτων ἀναζήτησι [καὶ παράστα] 

χιας γίγνεται εἰ μὴ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, εἰπέρ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως τυγχάνονεν καθὼς

περίχει οὐ τὸ ἑπί[σ]ταλμα. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐπέστειλας μοι π[ερὶ τῶν αὐτῶν] 

πρωτόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ βιβλιοφάλακας τῶν ἀρχείων, ἀναγκαίως ἀντιπροσώποι 

καὶ προσάκηθην

σημαίνουν ὅτι ἀμα τῷ ἐπιεδιδωκέφασι τέτευθεν εἰς τέτευθεν εἰπέρ[.............]αν, τὸν δὲ τῶν 

ἀρχείων βιβλιοφάλα[κα], περὶ φή νῦν ἐπέστειλας, ἀναγκαίως καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ 

Λεόντος

Col. viii

200 ὑπηρέτου τῆς .[.[...]διεπερβάλει[α] σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ παντὸς πρὸς τὸ ἑρωτατον 

tαμαίν[ν] ἑξ[ι]ν τὸ βύθων. Λε' καὶ Λιδ' καὶ Ὄλ', Ὄλθ τῇ. σοημ[όμαι]. 

ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑ[πηρέτων] ἀν[ά]ματα. Βηρᾶς Κύδως Περίνος Ψεντοποθις.

190. l. Παυτώνομος, συυρίας. 192. l. ἐλέλοιπεν. 193. l. τε. 194. l. αὐτοῖ. 

195. l. μεγαλεύ. ὑπηρετησομένους corrected from ὑπηρετησομένους. 195-6. l. πρωτόπων. 

196. l. πρωτόπων. 197. l. ἐπί. 198. οὐν: ο corrected. l. πρωτόπων, βιβλιο-
Diligence, by the soldier Pachumis, the four bakers detailed below. And that you may be informed, my lord, I write. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. They are: Pantonymus from the village of Phenebythis, Pesir . . . . from Psonis, Besis son of Petechon from the border-land, Apollo son of Apollo, whose mother is Laconis, from Panopolis.

To Ammonius also called Ampelius. You yourself know that nothing has been, or will be, left undone by my Mediocrity concerning the commands of the most eminent *Magister rei privatae*. For the moment I received the letters addressed jointly to me and to the President here by his Highness, I provided you immediately both with men to undertake the services ordered by you, and with a notary found from among private persons, and nominators and night police and whatever else was relevant of those measures which were communicated to my Mediocrity and through which the arrest of these persons might be achieved, if in fact they are to be found here, with a view to the aforesaid persons being compelled to . . . . concerning these *passaliotic* persons. For you yourself are not ignorant of the fact that there is no other means by which the search and arrest of these persons can be effected except through the persons herein mentioned, if indeed they are to be found in the city as your instruction states. Since therefore you have now given me orders concerning both these personages and the keeper of the records, I am of necessity moved to reply, pointing out that immediately upon your raising the hue and cry for . . . . but the keeper of the records, concerning whom you now write, I have of necessity sent to you in the charge of Leon my servant, so that by all means the most sacred Treasury may be secured from loss. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 19th. Signed. The names of the servants are as follows: Besas, Cylis, Pasnus, Psenptuthis.

199. I. *ἐπισκεδιωκέναι.* 200. In upper margin above this line, the numeral *IH.*
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

Θεοδότος βιβλιοφιλάται, τίνα ἐπέσευλε Αὐρήλιος Αμμάνιος ὁ καὶ Αμπέλιος κράτησεν περὶ βιβλίων διαφεροντων πασαλωτικοῖς προσοφαίοις

ἐνταξάς ἐπιστέλλω ὑπὲρ ἐδέχθαι καὶ ἐκ παντός τρόπου ὑπὲρ λυστελεῖας τοῦ ἑρωτατοῦ ταμείου τὰ παρὰ σοι βιβλία διαφέροντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς

προσώπους ϕανερὰ τῇ ἐπιτελεικῇ αὐτοῦ καταστήσῃς. Λε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ Λξ", Θωθ κ.

205 παράγγελμα. πάραιτα με[τὰ τῷ] ἑκκομίσθην με τὰ γράφματα ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημοτάτου μαγίστρου τῆς προοπάτης Π[ορτοπού-]

νόμον Δόμυνον δι' ὅν ἔτη[ν] ὑπὸ ταῖς καταλήψεις τῶν κατεδχόντων εἰς τὸ ταμίων ὑπαρχόντων ὅνομα καὶ τῶν [ἀπὸ τῆς]

πράξεως ἐπερεξῆς[ν] ἁκολούθως δημοσίᾳ παρέγγυα ὑπὸ ἐκαστος τῶν γραμματέων τῶν ταμιακῶν ὅνομα τὸ μετρόν τὸ

παραπομπέσεως [καὶ τὸ νῦν παρεγκευμένον ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως φανερον καταστήσαι τῇ τάξει. ἀλλὰ ἔπει μέχρι τοῦ δεύτερου αὐτοῦ]

dεῖς προσήλθεν [ἐκ τῶν ὅνομαν, ἀναγκάιως ἐνταξάς εἰς δεύτερον τὰ γραφέα ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγαλού αὐτοῦ παραγγέλλων ἄριστα]

τοῦ γραμματέον[ν καὶ τοῖς] χερεμασίς ἦτοι πραγματευταί τῶν αὐτῶν ὅνομα εἰς τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν τῆς προκειμένου

οἴνου τῆς τοιούτης ἐγγράφως δηλώσαι, ἐδόθη ὅτι ἄν μὴ καὶ νῦν παραχήσουσι τοῖς κελευθήσαι, οὐκ ἔκλειστον νῦν[...].

τῶν προτέθεν[...] 'φανερά καταστήσαι τῷ κυρίου μου τῷ διασημοτάτῳ μαγίστρῷ τῆς προοπάτης. Λε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ Λξ", Θωθ κ'. σεσημάτωσάμαι.

νυκτοστρατήγοις. δι' ὅν ἐπέθεσεν πρὸς μὲ γραμματίων ὁ κύριος μου ὁ διασημότατος ἤγουμεν τὸς Θηβαίδος Ὁλυμπίων Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐκέλευσαν ἐκ παρθὲνος τρόπον ἀναγγέλθησαν Νικ[ῆς] καλλίκεια ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρμοντίθων πόλεως, ἀναγκαίον ὅτι πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἔργασίας, καὶ παρασταθήσεται καὶ παράπεμφθη-

ναι μετὰ τῶν ἐργαλείων πρὸς τῷ μεγαλῷ αὐτοῦ. καὶῷ τά ἀναγκαῖον ἡπίθυμην ἐπεισείλθη ὡς ὅπως τοῦτον ἀνευρίσκετέ παρασταθήσητε ἔνα μή ἀμέληται ἰδιαῖς λέγων ὁ [ο[ν]] ὑποστήριξάς. Λε" καὶ Λιδ" καὶ Λξ", Θωθ κ'. σεσημανοῖς.

Διδύμων ἐπείκτης άναγκης. [ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν μὲν γραμματίων οὐκ ἔχριν σὲ ἀποδεικνύει τῶν ἐνταθῆς ἄλλα τὴν κελευθείον εὐτερποθῆναι ἀνώνων πρὸς ἐτοιομασίαν τοῦ πάντα [μεν]τοῖς]

202-4. These lines are encircled at each end by a large bracket to indicate deletion. 

Θεοδότος corrected from Θεοδότος. 1. ἐπέσευλεν. 204. ἐπιπεδεῖ[τε]. 205. παράγγελμα corrected from παραγγέλμα. 1. κεκομίσθαι. γράμματα corrected from γραμματο (?) 205-6. Πομπωνίου Δόμυνο corrected from Πομπωνίω Δόμανοι. 1. ταμείον.
To Theodotus, keeper of the records. Enclosing the orders issued by the most excellent Aurelius Ammonius also called Ampelius concerning passaliotic persons, I inform you so that you may know and with all possible zeal for the profit of the most sacred Treasury may exhibit to his Clemency the records concerning the same persons. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th.

Public Notice. Immediately after I received the letters of my lord the most eminent Magister rei privatae Pomponius Domnus, enquiring the amount of wine included in the confiscations of goods accruing to the Treasury, together with the expected produce of the vintage, I accordingly made public proclamation that each of the secretaries of the Treasury estates should report to my office the amount already in store and that being produced from the vintage. But since up to the present no one from the estates has put in an appearance, I find it necessary, enclosing for a second time the letters of his Highness, to give notice to all secretaries, accountants, and officials of the said estates within three days to report in writing the amount of wine aforesaid, knowing that if they do not now obey these commands, I shall not hesitate to . . . . notify my lord the most eminent Magister rei privatae. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To the night police. In his letters directed to me the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, has ordered that by all possible means search should be made for Nilus, a smith from the city of Hermouthis, who is required for work in the arsenal, and that he should be taken into custody and sent under escort, together with his tools, to his Highness; wherefore I must hasten to order you to find and detain this man, lest by disregarding these orders you place yourselves in jeopardy. Thoth 20th. Signed.

To Didymus, commissioner of annona. Without my written orders you should not have been absent for the annona ordered to be made ready
Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ, ἀλλ’ εἶναι ἐνταύθα διωκόμω ἁμα ἐμοί τὰ προκείμενα ἐδεὶ τῆς ἀνυνώνης τῶν γερμανικῶν στρατιωτῶν. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ σήμερον ἑσώρα γραμμάτα ἔθεσθε.

Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς καταστάσεως ἑορταῖος περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐτοιμασίας καὶ περὶ κελλαρικῶν εἰδών, ἀναγκαίως ἠπείχθην σοι ἐπιστειλαί ὅπως ἱδί τάχεις ἐνταύθα τῆν ὁρμήν που ἰθηκεῖς πρὸς τῇν.

220 διοίκησιν τῶν προκειμένων εἰδών ἵνα μὴ βραδεῖ τι γένηται περὶ τῆς ἐτοιμασίας καὶ κύδωνος ἐπακολουθήσῃ. εἰδ’ καὶ ὑδάτικον καὶ ἤδε, Θῶθ κ. σεσημάωμαι.

βουλῆ, καὶ νῦν γράμματα Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς καταστάσεως ἑορταῖος 'ἐκομίσθη' δ’ ἧν κελεύει περὶ τῆς ἐτοιμασίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνυνώνης τῶν γερμανικῶν στρατιωτῶν 'τῶν' ἀμα τῆς δεσπότης ἡμῶν [Διοκλητιανοῦ]

τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀνικήτη [Σεβαστοῦ] μελλόντων εἰσεῖναι ἀλλα καὶ περὶ κελλαρικῶν εἰδών. ἀναγκαίας ἐντάξεις τῶν γραφέων ἀντίγραφον περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰδών τῶν κελλαρικῶν ἐπιστελέλα 'ὑ[μῶν]' ὡ[ποί]ς τῶν μὲν εἰδών πρόνοιαν πουησά [τε] τοὺς τε ἀπὸ βέκτας καὶ ἐπιμελήσας ἐκάστης μονῆς καὶ ἐκάστου εἰδοὺς ἠλόμενοι φανεροὶ μοι καταστήσας τέτοια καὶ τῶν κελλαρικῶν τῶν αὐταρκής πρὸς τὸ δυνάμειν αὐτοὺς ἐξεθάνε τῆς ἐγχειρίδιο[μένης αὐτῶν]·

λει-

tουργίας. εἰδ’ καὶ ὑδάτικον καὶ ἤδε, Θῶθ κ. σεσημάωμαι.

225 προεδρὼν. Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμοῦ[ῶν] ὁ καὶ Ἀμπέλιος κράτιστος δι’ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν εἰς κοινὸν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοι ἡθλιόσεν Πτέρειν ὀψεῖτην πρότερον Ἰσιδώρῳ[στό]υ δικη

dεδυκότος νῦν δὲ [τοῦ ἱερου]τάτου ταμίου, ἀναγκαῖον ὅτα τῇ γενομένῃ ἐξετάσια καταλημφάνα ἐνταύθα ἀποστήληται καὶ τήν τάξιν τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυ-

ρίου τοῦ διασμοῦ[τάτου μα]κριντοῦ τῆς πρωγάς Πομπωνίου Δόμουν. ἢ γενομένη καὶ αὐτὸς πρόνοιαν πουησά τοὺς τε ἀκραθ[……………….]τοῦ

πρότερου [---] παρα[σταθέντο]ς καὶ μέχρις δεύορ ἐν τῷ λογοτητήρῳ ὄντος ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου ἐπιστελέλα σοι ἢ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου………….]λεβ

COL. ix

………….…………[………………….]βῆ. λε[κ] καὶ Λε[κ] καὶ Λε[κ], Θῶθ κ. [σεσημίω-

ματ.]

223. ἠλόμενων corrected from ἠλόμενος. καταστήσητε corrected from καταστήσης.

226. 1. ταμείου, γενομένη ἐξετάσει. 227. 1. Πομπωνίου. τε corrected from τα.
in preparation for the visit of the ever-victorious Diocletian, the Senior Augustus, but you should be on the spot organizing with me the aforesaid provisions for the *annona* of the most noble soldiers. But since today further letters have arrived from Aurelius Isidorus, the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, concerning both the same preparations and the supply of comestibles, I must hasten to order you to present yourself here as soon as possible for the organization of the aforesaid provisions, lest delay occur concerning the preparations, with resultant danger. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To the Senate. Letters have just arrived from Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, in which he gives orders concerning both the preparation of the same *annona* of the most noble soldiers who are expected to arrive here with our ruler Diocletian, the invincible Senior Augustus, and also the comestibles. Accordingly, enclosing a copy of what has been written concerning these same comestibles, I am obliged to order you to take measures for these provisions, and to select receivers and overseers for each *mansio* and each kind of provision, and report to me; and also to appoint for the comestibles capable men who are able to execute the duty entrusted to them. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To the President. The most excellent Aurelius Ammonius also called Ampelius, as he has instructed both you and me jointly, desires that Psais, formerly the slave of Theognostus who has suffered punishment but now of the most sacred Treasury, being necessary for the present investigation, should be arrested here and sent to the office of my lord the most eminent *Magister rei privatae*, Pomponius Domnus. In order that you may know and take measures for . . . formerly arrested and up to now remaining in the office, but also this man, I enjoin you so that by all means . . . . Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

230 Ἰσιόδορος ἐπιτρόπῳ. ἀκολούθως τοὺς γραφεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἐπιευκελας ἐπέστειλε οὕτω τῷ τῆς πόλεως προεδροῦ Ἄιδρυλῷ Πλούτογένει τῷ καὶ Ῥωδίνῳ ἐν ἑαυτῷ προεδρῷ πάραστο [ἐπέστιλ] ἑκτάκτως τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς ἐλέσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπαίτητάς τῆς ἀννύχτης, πρῶς τὸ εὑμερῶς τὴν τις ἀπαίτησιν καὶ διώδουν γενέαθαι υπ’ αὐτῶν. ὦ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀνθρώπων ἐνέχρηστο ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεχείων καὶ ἐμποδίζειν τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἐθεινών. δέν ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἀπαίτητας παντών εἰδών {τῆς} μᾶς καὶ ἐκάστης τοπορχίας τῆς εὐ[θειας] ψῆφι ἐν ὀνομασίας καὶ μὴ ἐκτὰ ἀκτούς’ κατ’ εἰδοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὑμερῶς ἡ τα ἀπαίτησις καὶ ἡ μεταβολὴ τῶν εἰδῶν ἡ πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιμελητάς γενέαθαι ἐμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιτομένους.

235 εὐχερεστερὰ ἀποχὰ γραμματία παρ’ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, ὦ δὲ ἐνός καὶ ἐκάστου[[.]] εἴδους εἰ[θετο., καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον σχεδὸν εἰπὲν εἰς-δρεῖται τὸ πῶς, διὸ ἄξιον, εἰς σοι δοξεῖν, γραμμάτωσ πρὸς αὐτὸν καταλήης γενεόθαι αἱ[τοῖς τοῖς ὀνομασθέντας ἀπαίτητος ἐκάστος εἴδους ἐκάστης τοπορχίας ὑπ’ ἐγίναι καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιησάθαι, οὐ μόνον ἀ’[λλα καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμελητάς τῶν εἰδῶν τοὺς αὐ- τοὺς εἰμι παντοῖον εἰδῶν ἐκάστης τοπορχίας. τριτ’ ὄρι’ γὰρ οὕτως γεννομένων ἡ μὲν ἀπαίτητας εὑμερῶς ἐσται, ἢ δὲ διάδοσις τῶν γεναιαντάτων στρατιωτικῶν ῥάδεως παρέχεται, καὶ ἑνα μὴ τα ἐπισταλέντα μοι ὑ[π’ αὐτοῦ] μεθερμηνεύσω, αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπεί-σταλεντον ἀντίγραφον ἐντάξεις ἀναφέρω πρὸς τὴν σήμι τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυρίου ἀκρεῖβιαν. [Λε”] καὶ Λιδ” καὶ Λζ” Θῶθ ἴ. Τριμυδώνορ τῷ καὶ Βραβί τρήτῳ Βραμ Κοράνθου, δι’ ἐν ἑπέστειλεν ἡ κρατιστὴ βουλή δι(ὸ) Αὐρηλίου Πλούτογένους [ἐνάρχου] προεδροῦ ειλετό σε ἐπιμεληθῆ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπικεκαυμένων πλοίων ταμικών κατὰ κέλευσιν Ἀὐρηλίου Ἰσιδοροῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς κατωτέρω Θεμβα[δος:] ὅπως οὖν τὸ εὐγιειερασμένον σοι φημητίμια-τος αὐτιλιβῆ ἐπιστεῖλεται διὰ Κολάνθου ὑπηρέτου. Λε” καὶ Λιδ” καὶ Λζ”, Θῶθ ἴ. [σειμι]λαμι. Θεοφράστου τῷ καὶ Θεογνώστῳ [κ] Ἰλιοδώρου καὶ Θε[ο][δ]όφωρος Ἀρχοντος Ἐρμείου

230. 1. γραφεῖα, Πλούτογένει. 231. ἀπαίτητας corrected from ἀπειτησίας. 1. ἐμιράδος, τε. 232. 1. αναγγέλειν. 233. ἀπαίτητας corrected from ἀπειτησίας. 1. παντοῖος. ἐκτάκτως corrected from ἐκτάτα (?). 234. 1. ἐμιράδος, τε, μέλλειν. 235. 1. γραμματεία. 236. ἄξιοι corrected from ἄξιο. 237. 1. τοπορχίας.
To Isidorus the Procurator. In accordance with the letters of your Clemency I ordered the President of the City, Aurelius Plutogenes also called Rhodinus, President in office, immediately to select the overseers and the collectors of the *annona* separately, in order that both the collection and the distribution may be carried out smoothly by them. But he employed a different means, in order to confound and embarrass the military commissariat. For when he should have appointed the collectors of all kinds of provisions for each and every toparchy together and collectively, and not separately for each kind of provision, in order that both the collection of the provisions and their transfer to the overseers might take place smoothly, and also that those from whom the collections were made might the more easily obtain receipts from them, he nevertheless selected them for each and every kind of provision separately, and thus the whole operation is likely to be brought to a standstill. Wherefore I request, if it please you, to order that letters be written to him, commanding that the collectors already nominated for each provision and each toparchy should act and make the collection in concert, and also that the overseers of the provisions should be the same persons for all kinds of provisions in each toparchy. For if this is done, the collection will run smoothly, and the distribution to the most noble soldiers will be facilitated. And to avoid misinterpreting his communications to me, I enclose copies of them, referring them to your Exactitude, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th.

To Triphiodorus also called Besas, the third, son of Besas son of Coerannus. As it has informed me through Aurelius Plutogenes, President in office, the most noble senate has selected you as overseer of the Treasury ships to be repaired here by order of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. In order, therefore, that you may undertake this duty entrusted to you, this communication is sent to you by the hand of Colanthus my servant. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To Theophrastus also called Theognostus, son of Heliodorus, and

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ΠΑΠΥΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΣ

245 μοι ἐπέστειλεν ἐδήλωσεν ἦρμηδαί ιμᾶς ἀποδέκτα καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν συνουσιμένων

250 ἀρκετὰ τοῖς φιλτάτοις χαίρειν. ἢ κρατίστα τῇ βουλή δι(ἀ) Ἀδρηλί(ῶν)] Πλούτον-

246 γένους ἐνάρχου προέδρου δι’ ἐν

247 ἄρχων ἀρταβζον χειλῶν, ἀρχώς δὲ ἐξετῶν μυρίαδα μίαν

252 ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ ταμείου χρημάτων πρὸς ἐτομαιασίας τῆς ἐυτυχίας ἐσομενῆς ἐπιθημίους

248 τοῦ δεσποτῶν ἦμῶν καὶ] πάντα νικῶντος τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως

253 Διοκλείτανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ [υ]. ἢν’ οὖν εἰδῆται ἤδη πρόνοιαν πονήσα-

256 σθαι τῶν ἐγχειρευόντων ἦμῶν, ἐπιστελλέται ἦμιν διὰ Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου.

257 ὡς δ’ αὖ πρότερος ὑμῶν κομίσθηται τάδε τὸ ἐπίσταλμα, τῷ ἐτέρῳ μεταδότῳ. Λε”

καὶ Λιδ” καὶ Λζ”, [Θωθ] ὑ. σεσήμωναι.

258 Ἔρμεῖα. Πανίκακον ἐπιμελητὴν λαχάνων(ν). δι’ ἐν μοι ἐπέστειλεν Πλούτογένης ἐναρχὸς

προέδρος ἐδήλωσεν ἦρμηδαί ιμᾶς σε εἰς ἐπιμελεῖαι λαχάνων πρὸς ἐποιμασία-

260 ἀτα τῆς ἐυτυχίας ἐσομένης ἐπιθημίας τοῦ δεσποτῶν ἦμῶν καὶ πάντα νικῶντος Διο-

κλείτ[α]νοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ. ἢν’ οὖν εἰδῆς καὶ ἠδη τὴν

261 δέοσαι ἐπιμελεῖαι ἦμιν κατάθεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπευθύνων πονήσας γενέσθαι, ἐπιστελ-

λεταὶ σοι διὰ Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου. Λε” καὶ Λιδ” καὶ Λζ”, Θωθ ὑ. σεσήμωναι.

262 Φιλοξένου νομικαρίῳ. ὁ κύριός μου διαστημότατος ἐργομένος Θεοβάδος Ἰούλιος Ἀθηνó-

ωρος ἐκέλευσεν μετὰ τὰς οὐ[ή]ς ἂν ἄλλας δύο σκάφους στὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπι-

263 πηγεῖ σεῖς ταῖς τῶν διὰ τὸ πλοῦτο τὴν ὀρθομαρίαν ποιομένου γραμματοφόρου

ἐξοντας τοὺς ἰδίους [ὑ[οῦ]τας] προστάζας τὴν μὲν μὲν ἄπ’ ὧ’ ἀυτῶν ναυτῶν

ἐπετεισθήναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν

264 λοιπῶν ναυτῶν ἑπ[.] 254] σε [οὐν εἰδῆς] καὶ ἠδη πρόνοιαν πονήσας

γενέσθαι τοῦτον

265 πάντων ἐπιστελλεται σοι διὰ Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου. Λε” καὶ Λιδ” καὶ Λζ”, Θωθ ὑ. σεσήμωναι.

266 Ἐκτρωστῇ. Ἐρακιύ τῷ καὶ Τριφυδώρῳ Ἕρακλείτου διὰ Πλούτο-

γένους ἐνάρχου προέδρου δι’ ἐν ἐπ[έ]στειλεν] ἐδήλωσεν ἦρμηδαί σε εἰς ἐκτρωσιών

ἐπὶ τῆς

μεταπόλεως [πρὸς ἐτομαιασίαν] τῇ[ς] εὐτυχίας ἐσομενῆς ἐπιθημίας τοῦ δεσποτῶν

267 ἦμῶν Διοκλείτανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ. ἢν’ οὖν εἰδῆς

268 ἅρματα: τ’ corrected from α. 1. χιλίων. 246. χρημάτων: α corrected from

ν (?). 1. ἐπιθημίας. 247. 1. εἰδῆτε. 248. ὠς. 1. ὠς. 1. τόδε. 249. 1. ᾿Ερμῖα.

249–50. 1. ἐτομαιασίαν. 251. ἂ of ποιήσεως corrected. 252. 1. σκαφάς (?). στὴν
Theodorus son of Archon son of Herminus, ex-magistrates, greeting, dear Sirs. As it has informed me through Aurelius Plutogenes, President in office, the most excellent senate has notified me that it has selected you as receivers and overseers of the supplies to be bought up, viz. $1,000$ artabas of lentils and $10,000$ sextarii of sour wine, from Treasury funds, in preparation for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler the all-conquering divinely-beloved monarch Diocletian, the Senior Augustus. In order, therefore, that you may know and make provision for the duties entrusted to you, this communication is sent to you by the hand of Leon my servant. And whichever of you receives it first, let him transmit it to the other. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To Hermias, son of Paniscus, overseer of vegetables. In his communication to me, Aurelius Plutogenes, President in office, has notified me that you have been selected for the post of overseer of vegetables in preparation for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler, the ever-victorious Diocletian, the Senior Augustus. In order, therefore, that you may know and cause the necessary oversight and disposition to be carried out by those responsible, this communication is sent to you by the hand of Leon my servant. Year 15/14/7. Thoth 20th. Signed.

To Philoxenus, lawyer (?). My lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid Julius Athenodorus has ordered, in addition to the existing cutters, two other skiffs, with their own crews, to . . . . and lie at the service of the letter-carriers who make their journey by water, commanding that one of them should be made ready for this service by the sailors themselves, and the other . . . . by the nome together with the rest of the sailors. In order, therefore, that you may know and at once make provision for all these matters, this communication is sent to you by the hand of Leon my servant. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To the superintendent of bedding, Hierax also called Triphiodorus son of Triphiodorus. The most excellent senate, in its communication to me, has notified me that you have been selected for the superintendence of bedding in the metropolis in preparation for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler Diocletian, the Senior Augustus. In order therefore that you may know and at once make every provision for the duty

\[\text{γενεσθαι corrected from γεναι.}\]
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Col. X

καὶ ἦδη τὴν πᾶσαν πράνοιαν ποιήσας τῆς ἐγχειρισθέντας ἐμελείας ἐπιστέλλων σοι διὰ Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου. Λε" καὶ Λιθ" καὶ Λε" Θωθ. τοις τεσσαρίματι.

Διδύμω τῷ καὶ Ἀρσεκράτῳ Διδύμῳ ἑκτερήσεως ἕκτασιν ἐξουσίαν διὰ τὴν Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου τοῦ Διοκλήτιαν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ. Λε" οὖν ἐδής καὶ ἦδη ἀντιλάβεις τοῖς ἑγχειρισθένται ἐσομένην ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ διαστότος ἕμων αὐτοκράτορις Διοκλήτιαν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ. Λε" οὖν ἐδής καὶ ἦδη ἀντιλάβεις τοῖς ἑγχειρισθένται τοῖς τεσσαρίματι σοι διὰ Λέοντος ὑπηρέτου. Λε" καὶ Λιθ" καὶ Λε" Θωθ. τοις τεσσαρίματι.

Θεόν Ἰθαδύρω τοῖς καὶ Απολλωνίαν ἑκτερήσεως μονῆς Ἡσύ[νες (περί) τοῦ αὐτοῦ] τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῷ τῷ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τεσσαρίματι.

Καμίῳ Διοκλήτιον ἑκτερήσεως μονῆς φρουρίου Λεύβια τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ τῷ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τεσσαρίματι.

Ἰσιδόρῳ ἀκολουθίας τοῖς γραφείσι ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἑπεκείας ἐπεστε[ειδα τῇ τῇ] πόλεως προέδρῳ Διοκλήτιον Πλούτουγεῖν τῷ καὶ Ροδίῳ ἑκτάκτων τοῖς ἀπαίτητας ἐλθάτι καὶ τοῖς

διαδότας ὑπῆρτο ἀποδέκτας τῆς ἀνώνυμης πρὸς τῷ εἰμαρὼς τῇ τῇ ἀπαίτητας καὶ διάδοσιν γενέσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. δὲ ἂλλη ἀφορμὴ ἐχρήσατο ὑπὲρ τοῦ συγχέουν καὶ ἐνε-

dρεψθείσαι τῷ στρατιωτικῷ εὐθενίαν. δεόν γὰρ αὐτὸτόν ὄμοιον τοὺς ἀπαίτητας παντοῖοι εἰδὼν μᾶς καὶ ἐκάστης τοπαρχίας ὅφ’ ἐν ὑστερόνκαι καὶ μὴ ἑκτάκτως καὶ καθ’ ἐξος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόχου τὴν ἑπεκείας καὶ τὴν μεταβολῆς τῶν εἰδῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδέκτας ὑπῆρτο διαδότας γενέσθαι, δ’ ἐν ὑστερόν καὶ ἐκάστον ἐκόμων ἐξος ἐξεδρεύεται τὸ πάντα διοῦ ἀνείπω οὐκ ἐξείπεν, πρὸς αὐτῶν γράμματα κελεύσθη τῇ γενέσθαι, ὡστε αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὑστερόν ἑκάστης ἀπαίτητας

μὲν ἑκάστης τοπαρχίας παντοῖων εἰδὼν ὁμοίως τῇ ἀπαίτητας προσέφερατο, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδέκτας ὑπῆρτο διαδότας ἑκάστου ἐκόμων ὁμοίως εἶναι τῆς πάσης ὑστεράσεως, τῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅλου νομοῦ. τοῦτον γὰρ ὠς τῶν γενεμένων ἥ μὲν ἀπαίτητας εἰμαρὼς ἑσταί, ἢ δὲ διάδοσιν τῶν γενεσίας ἑκάστων στρατιωτῶν ῥοής παρέχεται.

259. Διδύμω (2°): I. Διδύμων. 260. I. αὐτοκράτορος. 261. I. ἀντιλάβη τῶν ἑγχειρισθέντων. 262. I. αὐτῷ. 264–8. In l. margin, opposite these lines, two slanting strokes with the words κεχρόνυσαι Θωθ. 265. Πλούτουγεῖν corrected from 34
entrusted to you, I send you this communication by the hand of Leon my servant. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To Didymus also called Harpocration, son of Didymus, superintendent of bedding of the Tripheion. The most excellent senate, in its communication to me through Plutogenes, President in office, has notified me that you have been selected for the superintendence of bedding of the palace in the Tripheion for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler the Emperor Diocletian, the Senior Augustus. In order therefore that you may know and at once undertake the duties entrusted to you, I send this communication to you by the hand of Leon my servant. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

To Theon, son of Isidorus also called Apollonius, superintendent of bedding for the mansio of Psonis, on the same subject; same date and form. Signed.

To Casius Dioscorus, superintendent of bedding of the mansio of the fort of Psinabla; same form and date, on the same subject. Signed.

To Isidorus. In accordance with the letters from your Clemency, I have ordered the President of the city, Aurelius Plutogenes also called Rhodinus, to select the collectors, distributors, and receivers of the annona separately, so that the collection and distribution may be carried out smoothly by them. But he employed a different means, in order to confound and embarrass the military commissariat. For when he should have appointed the collectors of all kinds of provisions for each and every toparchy together and collectively, and not separately for each kind of provision, in order to speed up both the collection of the provisions and their transfer to the receivers or distributors, he nevertheless selected them for each and every kind of provision, and through this the whole organization is, I fear, frustrated. Wherefore I request, if it please you, to order that letters be written to him, so that the collectors already nominated for each toparchy should make the collection of all kinds of provisions in concert, and that the receivers or distributors of each kind of provision should act together for the whole territory, both the city and the entire nome. For if this is done, the collection will run smoothly, and the distribution to the most noble soldiers will be facilitated. And to

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καὶ ἕνα μη τὰ ἐπισταλέντα μοι μεθερμηνεύον, ἀντίγραφον ἐν]τάξας ἀναφέρω πρὸς τὴν σήμερον κυρίων ἀκρείβαν. Λευσίνη καὶ Λευσίνη καὶ Λευσίνη, Ὁδὴ κα. ἤγεμόν. Ζυληθάνιος Πανίκου καὶ Ταῦτα ἄδελφή, ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ [Τοετώ] συννόρισ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ, δηλώσαντες ἔκκεκλήσθησιν ἀπὸ Αππιοῦ Προστάτου προεδρεύσαντος ἀκτίνος ἰερότατον ταμείου ἀκολούθος τοῖς ἐπισταλέντι μοι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, ἐνταγμένης τῆς ἐπι- δοθέας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων τραχείᾳ ἀποχής τοῦ κατα- βληθέντος προστίμου ὑπὲρ ἐπικουλήσεως μυκητικό γράφων, ἤγεμόν κύριος.

275. Λευσίνη καὶ Λευσίνη καὶ Λευσίνη, Ὁδὴ κα. σεσημίζομαι. πρόστιμον κατὰ[ἀβέβλητα]()].

Βησιά 'Ιερακισσόλωνος τοῦ καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Τριμιδάκου] 'Ισιάδωρος Καλλιμάχου άρξ(ας. ἡ κρατία)τῇ βουλῇ διὰ Πλούτοτέονσιν ἐνάρχ(ον) προεδροῦ δὲ ἄν μοι ἐπιστευτέλει εἰπατέρυ ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτήσις κρέων μέσης τοπαρχίας τῆς εὔμνοις ἐσομέ- 
γῆς ἐπίδομας τοῦ δευτήτορον ἦμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ προβεβετέρου Σέβαστον. [καὶ] ἐν 'δοῦν εἰδήτη καὶ ἐξήνη ἐκεῖθε τῆς ἀπαιτήσιως ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν διὰ Δέων ήπιρέτων ὥς δὲ ἀν πρόστιμος κοιμηθηναι τὸδε τὸ ἐπίσταλα τῷ ἐτέρῳ μεταδότων ζήσει καὶ ζῆσε καὶ ζήσε, Ὁδὴ κα. σεσημίζομαι.

άχορον ἀπαιτήσεται συννόριας Τοετός Βησιά ( Serie φώνων τοπαρχίας τῆς Χρυσέως). Καὶ Ἄπολικός καὶ Θεόδωρος Αμμονίου τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρώμος σεσημίζωμαι.

280. κρέως διαδότω καὶ ἀποδέκται συννόριας Τοετός Μακάριος Τριμιδάκου καὶ Δάδιος καὶ Προστάτης Κολάνθησι τοῦ καὶ 'Ωράιος τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρώμος σεσημίζωμαι.

άχορον συννόριας Τοετός διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται {συννόριας Τοετός} Πετετρίφιας "Ηρωνος Πέλοπος καὶ Πετετρίφιας καὶ Ἰρωνος Δημιουργοῦ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ μεγάλοισιν σεσημίζωμαι.

οίον τοπαρχίας Πακέρη ἀπαιτήσις καὶ διαδόται 'Ιεράκη καὶ 'Ιεράκης καὶ 'Ιεράκης καὶ Νίλος τοῦ καὶ Εὐθείαμον τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρώμος σεσημίζωμαι.

271. 1. ἄκριβεσθαίν. 273. δεύτερος corrected from δευτερος. αὐτοῖς corrected from αὐτῆς. 274. προαιρόμενος: προσ corrected from ρετ (?) 275. 1. τετρακοσιχλίας.
276. Opposite this line, in the 1. margin, is a short, thick, slanting stroke, evidently a checking mark. ἄρξας: perhaps abbreviated ἀρξας. 279. 1. Ἐνοφόρων. Αμμονίου corrected
avoid misinterpreting his communications to me, I enclose copies, referring them to your Exactitude, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 21st.

To the Prefect. Silvanus, son of Paniscus, and Taous his sister, both from Toëto of the border-land in this same nome, having notified me that they have appealed from Appius Prostates, ex-president, against a judgement wrongly given against them, have in my presence given security to the most sacred Treasury, in accordance with their notification to me; and so that you may know I write, my lord Prefect, subjoining, in a single copy, the receipt for payment of the fine issued to them by the bankers of the public funds. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 21st. Signed. He has paid the amount of the fine, 4625 drachmai.

To Besas, son of Hieracapollon also called Demetrius and Triphiodorus son of Isidorus son of Callimachus, ex-magistrates. The most excellent senate, as it has informed me through Plutogenes the President in office, has selected you as collectors of meat for the Middle Toparchy, for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler the Emperor Diocletian the Senior Augustus. In order, therefore, that you may know and at once take over the collection I send this communication to you by the hand of Leon my servant. And whoever first receives this communication, let him transmit it to the other. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 21st. Signed.

Collectors of chaff for the border-land of Toëto. Besas son of Xenophon son of Triadelpus and Apollonius also called Theodorus son of Ammonius. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of meat for the border-land of Toëto. Macarius son of Triphiodorus and Didymus also called Prostates son of Colanthus also called Horion. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of chaff for the border-land of Toëto. Petetriphis son of Heron son of Pelops and Petetriphis also called Heron son of Demetrius. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and distributors of wine for the Toparchy of Pacerce. Hierax also called Perseus son of Hierax and Hierax also called Nilus son of Eudaemon. Same form and date. Signed.

from Ηπολλωνίου. 280–331. Opposite this line, and each subsequent entry down to and including l. 331, in l. margin, a short, very thick oblique stroke, evidently a checking mark. 280. l. διαδόται. Κολάνθου translated from Κολάντω. 281. l. Δημητρίου, τύπω. 282. l. Νείλος, τύπω.
κρέως τοπορχίας Πακέρκης απαντηται και διαδότε Σερήνος [δ καὶ Β]σοᾶς Απολλωνίου καὶ Ευδαίμονι Σωκράτους τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

άρτου τοπορχίας μητροπόλεως (ἐπιμελητη καὶ διαδότα) Ἡρων ὁ καὶ Ἱερακέφων [……] καὶ Απόλλων Κωλάνθου καὶ Τριαδέλφου τῷ καὶ Κωλάνθου καὶ Θεόδωρος Θέωνος Φαγρείωνος τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

κρέως τοπορχίας μητροπόλεως διαδόται καὶ ἄπο[δέκτα]ς Δοσίθεος ὁ καὶ Μάρκελλος Πολυκράτους καὶ Αίλιος Πανόδωρος τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

Col. xi

κράθης συνοραίας Τοκτώ διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Τριαδέλφους Ευνοφόρτος καὶ Πανόδωρος Ἱερακάππαλλων τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαί(αι).

κράθης [ἀνω] τοπορχίας απαντητα Έρμα(ς) Πανοκίνων καὶ Θεόδωτος ὁ καὶ Φιλοπάτωρ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.)

κρέως [ἀνω το]πορχίας διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Προστάτης Δράκοντος καὶ Βησάς πρεσβύτερος Απολλωνίων τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι(αι).

ο ἤν τοπορχίας μητροπόλεως απαντητα Σωτήρ Πέρακος καὶ Θεότεχνος ὁ καὶ Τριαδέλφους τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

ἀχύρου [ἀνω] τοπορχίας απαντητα Πολυκράτης Παῦλον καὶ Απολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Χράκλεως τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

ἀχύρου [το]πορχίας μητροπόλεως απαντητα Απόλλων Φιλαντισίου καὶ Περσενθ ὁ καὶ Πανοδώρου Πανοδώρου τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

ο ἤν τοπορχίας διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Ἰούλιος Έρμιάς ὁ καὶ Αμβρόφιος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ καὶ Θεόναθος τοῦ τῷ Πέρακος τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

κράθης τοπορχίας Φενεβίδεως απαντητα καὶ ἀποδέκται Θεόγνιστος Κοσπρήτος καὶ Μικαλός Ἰουδόρου Ἐρμείου τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. [σεσημίωμαι]

ο ἤν μέσης τοπορχίας απαντητα Γερμανός Θεοδόρου καὶ Δημήτριος Βησά τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημίωμαι.

283. 1. διαδόται. Ευδαίμονι corrected from ειδαίμον; 1. Ευδαίμονι. 1. τόπων. 284. 1. Ἱερακίων. Τριαδέλφου τῷ corrected from Τριαδέλφους; 1. Τριαδέλφους ὁ. Θέωνος corrected from Θέωνος. 285. 1. τόπων. 286. 1. Δοσίθεος. Πολυκράτους corrected from Πολυκράτους. 287. In upper margin, above this line, the numeral KA'. 1. διαδόται, Ευνοφόρτος. 288. τόπων corrected from τοίς τόπῳ. 289. 1. διαδόται. 290. τόπων corrected from τοίς τόπῳ. 292. 1. Πανοδώρου. 293. 1. διαδόται.
Collectors and distributors of meat for the Toparchy of Pacerce. Serenus also called Besas son of Apollonius and Eudaemon son of Socrates. Same form and date. Signed.

Overseers and distributors of bread, for the toparchy of the Metropolis. Heron also called Hieracion . . . . and Apollo son of Colanthus and Triadelphus also called Colanthus and Theodorus son of Theon son of Phagrión. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of meat for the Toparchy of the Metropolis. Dositheus also called Marcellus son of Polycrates and Aelius Panodorus. Same form and date. Signed.


Collectors of barley for the Upper Toparchy. Hermias son of Panniscion and Theodotus also called Philopator. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of wine for the Toparchy of the Metropolis. Soter son of Hierax and Theotecnus also called Triphiodorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of chaff for the Upper Toparchy. Polycrates son of Paulus and Apollonius also called Heraclius. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of chaff for the Toparchy of the Metropolis. Apollo son of Philantinous and Perseus also called Panodorus son of Panodorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of wine for the Middle Toparchy. Julius Hermias also called Ambrosius and Theodorus also called Theognostus son of Hierax. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and receivers of barley for the Toparchy of Phenebythis. Theognostus son of Copres and Miccalus son of Isidorus son of Herminus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of wine for the Middle Toparchy. Germanus son of Theodorus and Demetrius son of Besas. Same form and date. Signed.

295. Ἱσιδώρου written above and perhaps, though not necessarily, intended to replace, Ἑρμέλου. 296. Δημήτριος written above and intended to replace Θεόδωρος.
oίνου συνήφισας Τιτηρίου διαδότα καὶ ἀποδέκται Γεννάδιος ὁ καὶ Ἰερακίων Σερήνου
πρεσβυτέρου Μαξίμου καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἰέρακος τοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρου Ἰέρακος
τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
ἀχίρω τῷ σαρκώματι Παλέκρη οὗ ταξινεύτα καὶ διαδότα Πανόδωρος Τριφυλιάδος
καὶ Θεοδώρους ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ Σερήνου τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ πτω καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
ἀρτοῦ συνήφισας Τιτηρίου ἀπεμελήτα καὶ διαδότα Πανόδωρος ὁ καὶ Πανόδωρος
Πανόδωρος καὶ Θεοδώρους Θεογνίστου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρωδόν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
ἀχίρω τῷ σαρκώματι Θεοφθίους ἀπαιτήτα καὶ ἀποδέκται Αρτεμίδωρος Βησαρίωνος
Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Θεοδώρους πρεσβύτερος τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
κρέως συνήφισας Τοετώ ἀπαιτήτα Μηδρόδωρος Δοσιδέων τοῦ καὶ Φιλοδήμου καὶ
Ἀρχίου Πανόδωρος Ἀδρηλικοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἔυοκόμου τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
κρέως ἄνω τοσοπαρήξια ἀπαιτήτα Σεπτήμοος Μάγνος ὁ καὶ Φειδοθεράπες καὶ
Κλαύδιος Σερήνου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
κρέως τοσοπαρήξια μητρισόλεως ἀπαιτήτα Σεπτήμων Θεόφθολο Τοῦ καὶ Ἡρώος
καὶ Κύρος Θεοδώρου Δυκαρίων τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ πτω καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
ἀχίρω ἄνω τοσοπαρήξια διαδότα καὶ ἀποδέκται Ἰούλιος Σερήνου ὁ καὶ Αλέξανδρος
καὶ Βησαρίων Ἰερακίωνος τοῦ καὶ Θεόθεραν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
κρέως μέζος τοσοπαρήξια διαδότα καὶ ἀποδέκται Αρτεμίδωρος Τριαδέλφου καὶ
Πομένιος Θεοτόκου τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
οίνου ἄνω τοσοπαρήξια ἀπαιτήτα Σερήνου ὁ καὶ Ἐπτυχυς Ιωθέων καὶ Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ
Ἰάκω Οἰδίπο Αγκρευλόων τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ πτω καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
ἀχίρω τοσοπαρήξια μητρισόλεως διαδότα καὶ ἀποδέκται Απαλλών ὁ καὶ Νέους
καὶ Προσατή Αμυσθάνου τοῦ καὶ Ἰερακίωνος Θεόφθολο τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
οίνου συνήφισας Τοετώ ἀπαιτήτα Βησάς ν(εότερος) Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἀρχίου ὁ καὶ
Τριφυλιάδος Τριφυλιάδος τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ πτω καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.
οίνου ἄνω τοσοπαρήξια διαδότα καὶ ἀποδέκται Αιλιος Σατιάνους Νεῖλου καὶ
Πετερίδος Πανίκου Πρώτου τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ πτω καὶ χρόνῳ. σεσημώμαι.

302. 1. Μητρισόλεως, Δοσιδέου. 303. 1. Φιλοθεράπες. 304. 1. Θεοφθίου.
Distributors and receivers of wine for the border-land of Toëto. Gennadius also called Hieracion son of Serenus the elder son of Maximus and Claudius son of Hierax also called Theodosius son of Hierax. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and distributors of chaff for the Toparchy of Pacerce. Panodorus son of Triphiodorus and Theodorus also called Agathus son of Serenus. Same form and date. Signed.

Overseers and distributors of bread for the border-land of Toëto. Apollo also called Panodorus son of Panodorus and Theodorus son of Theognostus also called Heron. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and receivers of chaff for the Toparchy of Phenebythis. Artemidorus son of Besarion son of Apollonius and Theonas elder son of Theodorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of meat for the border-land of Toëto. Metrodorus son of Dositheus also called Philodemus and Archon son of Panodorus son of Aurelius also called Eutychus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of meat for the Upper Toparchy. Septimius Magnus also called Philosarapis and Claudius son of Serenus also called Artemidorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of meat for the Toparchy of the Metropolis. Septimius son of Theophilus also called Horion and Cyrus son of Theodorus son of Lycarion. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of chaff for the Upper Toparchy. Julius Serenus also called Alexander and Besarion son of Hieracion also called Th . . . . Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of meat for the Middle Toparchy. Artemidorus son of Triadelphus and Poemenius son of Theotecenus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of wine for the Upper Toparchy. Serenus also called Eutychus son of Hyiotheus and Hierax also called Tanion son of Ulpius Agricola. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of chaff for the Toparchy of the Metropolis. Apollo also called Nilus and Prostates son of Demosthenes also called Hierax son of Theon. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of wine for the border-land of Toëto. Besas the younger son of Apollonius and Archon also called Triphiodorus son of Triphiodorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of wine for the Upper Toparchy. Aelius son of Sannion son of Nilus and Petetriphis son of Paniscus son of Protus. Same form and date. Signed.
Col. xii


ἀρτου ἄνω τοπαρχ(ías) ἐπιµεληταὶ καὶ διαδόται Κόλονθος ὁ καὶ Ἐβδόµης Ἀπολλώνιος[υ] καὶ Εὐσίκης Ὁµίωνος τοῦ καὶ Πανίκου τῶν αὐτῶν τύπου καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσηµίωµαι.

ἀρτου τοπαρχ(ίας) Φιλεβώθειος ἐπιµεληταὶ καὶ διαδόται "Ἡρων πρεσβ(ήτερος) Διοκόρου τῷ [Ἁ]μιναρίῳ καὶ Διόσκορου Διοκόρου [Π]ανδόρον [s] τῶν αὐτῶν τύπων καὶ χρόνων. σεσηµίωµαι.

οἶνου τοπαρχ(ίας) Φιλεβώθειος ἀπαιτηταὶ καὶ διαδόται Κλαύδιος Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Αγ[ο]φ[ ...]ς καὶ Ὁμοραταῖος ὁ καὶ Αρχιον Ραδιώνος τῶν αὐτῶν τύπων καὶ χρόνων. σεσηµίωµαι.

ἀρτου τοπαρχ(ίας) Πακέρκη Φιλάβια ἐπιµεληταὶ καὶ διαδόται Θεόδωρος τρίτος Ὁµίωνος Παμούζου καὶ Ἰεράξ ὁ καὶ Ζηνάβιος Ἰεράκος τοῦ καὶ Ἐπαθίδου τῶν αὐτῶν τύπων καὶ χρόνων. σεσηµίωµαι.

ἀρτου μέσης τοπαρχ(ίας) ἐπιµεληταὶ καὶ διαδόται Διόδωμος Νεικομάχου καὶ Φίλ[ί]κων Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Τριαδέλφου τῶν αὐτῶν τύπου καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσηµίωµαι.

κράζης μέσης τοπαρχ(ίας) διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Τειμόθεος Ἡρακλίων καὶ Σιλβανός ὁ καὶ [ ...]ρεῖος Σιλβανός τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσηµίωµαι.

οἶνου τοπαρχ(ίας) μητροπόλεως διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Θεότομος Πετετρίφους Μώρους καὶ Αἰτίων ὁ καὶ Πανδόρους τῷ αὐτῶν τύπῳ καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσηµίωµαι.

κρέως τοπαρχ(ίας) Φιλεβώθειος ἀπαιτηταὶ καὶ ἀποδέκται Ἰερακίων δεύτερος Ἐρμεί[νου τοῦ] καὶ Ἰερακίων καὶ Θεογήνθης Θεοδώρου πρεσ-

βοτέρου τοῦ ἶ Ἰερακίων τῶν αὐτῶν τύπου καὶ χρ(όνου). σεσηµίωµαι.

κράζης τοπαρχ(ίας) Πακέρκη Φιλάβια ἀπαιτηταὶ καὶ διαδόται Πετετρίφου Βησά Ἰερακίως καὶ Διονύσιος Τριαδέλφου Φιλοζένου τῷ αὐτῶν τύπου καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσηµίωµαι.

311. In upper margin, the numeral ΚΒ. ἀπαιτηταὶ corrected from ἀπαιτητῆς.
312. Ἀπολλωνίδης corrected from Ἀπολλώνιος.
313. Πανίκου corrected from Πάνισκος.
316. Πανίσκος corrected from Πάνισκος.
320. ἄρτου corrected from ἄχυρον.
Collectors of barley for the Toparchy of the border-land of Toëto. Euodius son of Euodius son of Petempos and Apollonides son of Apollo. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of barley for the Upper Toparchy. Sarapion son of Heronion and Paniscus son of Leon. Same form and date. Signed.

Overseers and distributors of bread for the Upper Toparchy. Colan-thus also called Eudaemon son of Apollonius and Eutychus son of Horion also called Paniscus. Same form and date. Signed.

Overseers and distributors of bread for the Toparchy of Phenebythis. Heron the elder son of Dioscorus son of Ammonarius and Dioscorus son of Dioscorus son of Panodorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and distributors of wine for the Toparchy of Phenebythis. Claudius Serenus also called . . . and Honoratianus also called Archon son of Rhodinus. Same form and date. Signed.

Overseers and distributors of bread for the Toparchy of Pacerce and Psinabla. Theodorus the third son of Horion son of Pamuthes and Hierax also called Zenobius son of Hierax also called Helladius. Same form and date. Signed.

Overseers and distributors of bread for the Middle Toparchy. Didymus son of Nicomachus and Philon son of Sarapion also called Triadelphus. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of barley for the Middle Toparchy. Timo-theus son of Heraclius and Silvanus also called . . . son of Silvanus. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of wine for the Toparchy of the Metropolitan. Theotimus son of Petetriphis son of Morus and Apion also called Panodorus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and receivers of meat for the Toparchy of Phenebythis. Hieracion the second son of Herminus also called Hieracion, and Theagenes son of Theodorus the elder son of Hieracion. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors and distributors of barley for the Toparchy of Pacerce and Psinabla. Petetriphis son of Besas son of Hierax and Dionysius son of Triadelphus son of Philoxenus. Same form and date. Signed.

1. Νικομάχου. 321. 1. Τιμόθεος. Ἰρίας corrected from Ἰρίας (?). 322. Πετε-τρίφως; s corrected. 1. Μόρου (?). 323. Ἐρμίνου; v corrected from χ. 1. Ἐρμίνου.
At one end of line σεσηλομαι has been erroneously inserted after προσ-.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

κραθής μέσης τοπαρχίας ἀπαιτηταὶ Αριστώνεικος Ανουβᾶ καὶ Ἐρμεῖνος Ἡπάλλωνος [Ἐρμίνιον] τῷ ἀ(ὑτῷ) τύπῳ (θ) καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσημώμαι.

ἀχύρον μέσης τοπαρχίας ἀπαιτηταὶ Πλούσταρχος Σαραπίωνος καὶ Ἰσίδωρος Θέουνος τῷ καὶ [Φιλοπάτωρ] τῷ ἀ(ὑτῷ) τύπῳ καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσημώμαι.

κραθής τοπαρχίας μητροπόλεως καὶ Ἀραβιὰς ἀπαιτηταὶ Ἀπολλώνιος’ ἐκατογνώστου καὶ Ἐρμεῖνος [Βησά’s] Τριαδέλφου καὶ Βισσαρίων Ἡρωνος {σεσημώμαι}.

Βησά καὶ Σάραπάμμιον Ἀρείου τοῦ καὶ Θεόκα τῷ ἀ(ὑτῷ) τύπῳ καὶ χρ(όνῳ), σεσημώμαι.

330 κραθής τοπαρχίας μητροπόλεως διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Παννὸς Ἀρτοκράτορ καὶ Πάνηνος δ[καὶ Ἐ]λάδιος Πανίσκου τῷ ἀ(ὑτῷ) τύπῳ καὶ χρ(όνῳ), σεσημώμαι. ἀχύρον μέσης τοπαρχίας διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται Πτολέμαρχος Ἡρίωνος Ῥαφίζου] καὶ Ἀρτοκράτορ καὶ Ἐρμεῖνος τῷ ἀ(ὑτῷ) τύπῳ (θ) καὶ χρ(όνῳ). σεσημώμαι.

προεδρεύει εἰς τὴν ἐντυχείς συνάνθρωπον ἐπειδήμοι τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἀντίκρατορος Διοκλητιανοῦ τῷ προεβαθμένῳ Σεβά[θ]ητοῦ ἀναγκαίως ἔστω εὐπρεπεσθήκαι καὶ τὸ ἑτέρον μέγα ἄρτοκος[είον] τὸ παραπλήσιον τοῦ θεάτρου ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάς α[τ]ρατι-

Col. xiii

οὐκαὶ ἡνώνας [οὐκεν]χῶς γενέσθαι. τῆς οὖν χρείας ἤδη κατεπείγον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡτε[ξ]θην ἐπειστείλαι ὑμῖν;

335 ὅπως κατὰ τὸ ἑθος τοῦ ἐπείκτην τὸν μετὰ πάσης ἐπιεικείας τῆς τοῦ ἄρτοκοπείου ἐπιμέλητας ποιημένου ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄρτοκοπῶν τῶν μελλόντων εἰκε ἐγράφεσθαι προκομοσμένοι ἀλλυσθαῖ τὸ πεῖρα τρίπτ[θ]ου τούτων γεννασμάτων στρατιωτῶν ἀμέμπτως ἐχειν τὰς ἁνώνας. Λεονιδαί καὶ Λεονίδα καὶ Λεονίδας, Θόδω κ. β. σεσημώμαι.

ανυστάτως μητροπόλεως. ὑπὲρ τοῦτο] μεθοδὸν ἐνεκόπων γενέσθαι τῶν ζητομένων ὑπὸ Ἀμμονίου τοῦ καὶ Μινανδίου κατὰ τὰ δια-

φέροντα τῷ ἱερῷ[τάτῳ] ταῖς ἀκολούθους τοῖς γραφίσει ὑπὸ Πομπονίου Δομνίου ὑπὸ τοῦ διαστημάτου μεγάλου πρατι-

326. 1. Αριστώνεικος, 'Ερμεῖνος, 'Ερμινός. 327. 1. Φιλοπάτωρ. 328. 1. Αραβίας, 'Ερμεῖνος, 'Ερμινός, Βησά. 329. 1. Ἐπιδημίαν. 332. 1. Ἐπισκέψης. 333. ἐστιν corrected from εἰς τὴν (?). 334. In upper margin, the numeral ΚΓ. κατεπείγονθης corrected; εἰ perhaps originally η, and γ followed by κ (?). 1. ἐπιστείλα. 335. ἐπίσκεψην: the letters read as ἐπίσκεψ
Collectors of barley for the Middle Toparchy. Aristonicus son of Anubas and Herminus son of Apollo son of Herminus. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of chaff for the Middle Toparchy. Plutarchus son of Sarapion and Isidorus son of Theon also called Philopator. Same form and date. Signed.

Collectors of barley for the Toparchy of the Metropolis and Arabia. Apollonius also called Theognostus and Herminus son of Besas son of Triadelphus and Besarion son of Heron son of Besas and Sarapammon son of Arius also called Theonas. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of barley for the Toparchy of the Metropolis. Panys son of Harpocras and Paniscus also called Helladius son of Paniscus. Same form and date. Signed.

Distributors and receivers of chaff for the Middle Toparchy. Potamon son of Horion son of Taurinus and Harpocratius son of Sarapion. Same form and date. Signed.

To the President. For the auspiciously impending visit of our master the Emperor Diocletian, the Senior Augustus, it is necessary that the other large bakery near the theatre should be made ready so that the military supplies may be continuously maintained. This requirement now becoming urgent, I hasten to order you to appoint after the usual manner a commissioner who in all honesty will undertake the repair of the bakery and will also provide for the bakers who will have to work there, so that by all means the most noble soldiers may receive their supplies without complaint. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 22nd. Signed.

To the nominators of the metropolis. So that no hindrance may arise
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

340  οὐκέτις ἀναγκαῖον ὅστις τέσσερας ὑπηρέτας τῷ προκειμένῳ δοθήναι τοὺς ὑπηρετησο-μένους τῇ χρείᾳ.

Λει’ καὶ Λοβ’ καὶ Λξ’, Ὄδη κβ’. σεσημίωμαι.

νυκτοστρατηγοὶς, ὁ κύριος μου [διά]μοστοσ ἤγοιμενος τῆς Θηβαίδος Ἰουλίους
Αθηναίων δὴ ὃν ἔγραφεν ἐμόι τε καὶ ἄρχομαι καὶ προέδρῳ τῶν
αὐτῶθι ἐκέλευσαν [πάντας] τοὺς τε ἑπτάθα καὶ {τῷ} ἐν τῷ νομῷ τεχνεῖτας καὶ
eὐδήμονας πρὸς ἐργασίαν περικεφαλῶν καὶ λωρι-
κῶν καὶ κνημίδων πανταχύθεν ἀναξιότηθην καὶ ἀποστάλην πρὸς τὸ μεγαλεῖον
αὐτοῦ. κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἥρείθην

345  ἐπιστεῦσαν ὡμίλῳ τῷ μεμηνημένῳ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κινδύνῳ πανταχύθεν ἀνάζητας ἐν τῷ τῷ
δημοσίῳ λογοστηρίῳ [περιβλήσθημεν πρὸς τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐκέλευσαν.

Λει’ καὶ Λοβ’ καὶ Λξ', Ὄδη κβ'. σεσημίωμαι.

Ἰσιόδωρος ἐπιπρότερος, κελευθανάτος σου, κύριε μου, τοὺς κοινωνίας πάντας Ὀλυμπίουν
ἐπεμελητηρίῳ ἀχύρου τῆς [. . . . .]

ἀλλ’ ἐς ἐντυχεῖτας γενόμενης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵτισαμένου αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ μου
τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγουμένῳ Θη-
βαίδος Ἰουλίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἁρπάζοντι ἀποστάλην πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐπέεικιαν, ἀναγκαῖος οὐς
παρῆκεν εἰ τῷ δημοσίῳ

350  ὁ λογοστηρίῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ[β]λήθυντας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἶναι κοινωνίας ἀπέστειλα[ς], 'ὅτι τὰ
ἀνόμα[τα] ἐξῆς εὑρίσκεται ἀκάλούθως τῇ γενομένῃ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν χειρογραφ[ή]
{δημοσίῳ}, καὶ

[. . . . .] εἰ διέδειν ἔχοις [γράφῳ], κύριε μου. Λει καὶ οδέ', Ὄδη κβ'. σεσημίωμαι. ἔστι δὲ:
Νεῖλος Αἰκίδου, Ἀντώνινος Ἰερακαπόλλιονος,
Βηθαᾶς Θεονᾶ, Βηθαᾶς Ἰερᾶκος, Θεόδωρος Ἑφοράχθου, Ἀμμάνιος Ἁγάθου.

βουλή. πάραμερο πάνω τῷ κελευθαρίῳ ὑπὸ Ἀὔρηλιον Ἰσιόδωρον ἐπηρό[. . . . .]που τῆς
κατορθοῦ Ἐβαίδος τῆς ἐπιστολαίς γενέσθαι παντών εἰδὼν
tῆς ἀναπτυξικῆς εὐθρηκτικῆς ἐπεστείλα[ς] ὑπὸ τοὺς κοινοὺς γραφεῖαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἔμμελειας αὐτοῦ ἀποδέκτας μὲν ἦγοι διαδώτας

355  ἐκτάκτως ἐλέσθην, ἐξαιτητήρας δὲ ἐν ὕδα πάχες, ὅπως εὐμαραθῇ η' τε ἀπαίτησις καὶ
η' διάδοσις γένηται ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑ' ἐνεδρευθῆναι μη-

340. l. τέσσερας. 343. l. τεχνεῖτας, περικεφαλῶν. 347-50. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κεχρόν(υστα) Θοῦ. 347. l. ἐπι-
μελητηρίῳ. 348. l. ἐντυχεῖας. διασημοτάτῳ ἡγουμένῳ corrected from διασημοτάτῳ
in connexion with the persons being sought for by Ammonius also called Ampelius in accordance with the interests of the Treasury, as ordered by Pomponius Domnus, the most eminent Magister rei privatae, it is necessary that four servants should be provided to the aforesaid to give aid in this duty. Year 15/14/7. Thoth 22nd. Signed.

To the night police. My lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, in his letter to myself and to the magistrates and the President here has ordered that all craftsmen and skilled workmen in the nome shall be sought out everywhere, for the manufacture of helmets and breastplates and greaves, and sent to his Highness. Wherefore I am necessarily obliged to command you, bearing in mind your own peril in the matter, to search out everywhere the workmen in the city, and when found, to confine them in the public office, to be conducted to his Highness in accordance with his orders. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 23rd. Signed.

To Isidorus the Procurator. You having ordered, my lord, that all the colleagues of Olympius, overseer of chaff for . . . . , in consequence of a petition sent in by him, and of his having accused them before my lord the most eminent Prefect of the Thebaid Julius Athenodorus, should be sent to your Clemency, I have now of necessity dispatched those whom he had confined in the public office alleging them to be his colleagues; of whom the names are set out below, according to his sworn deposition. And so that you may know I write, my lord. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 24th. Signed. They are: Nilus son of Aquila, Antoninus son of Hieracapollon, Besas son of Theonas, Besas son of Hierax, Theophilus son of Eponychus, Ammonius son of Agathus.

To the Senate. Immediately upon receipt of orders from Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, that preparation should be made of all kinds of provisions for the military commissariat, I ordered you, in accordance with the written instructions of his Grace, to select receivers or distributors separately, but collectors in a distinct category, so that both the collection and the distribution might proceed smoothly.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

dεν τῶν διαφερόντων τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εἰθηνείας. ἀλλ' ἐπεί ἐξω τῶν ἐπέστειλας
ἡθέλησα κατὰ μέν τοπορχίαν ἐνός καὶ ἐκάστου εἰδίους
δύο ἀπαίτηται ἀναδείξεια, διαδόταις δὲ ἤτοι ἐπιμελητέας ὡσαύτως, καὶ ἐκ τούτων
τάχα ἡ χρεία ἐνεδρείεται, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐντάθη
dιακεχικένων συνεχώς ἐναχλούστων ἡμῖν περὶ διαδόσεως κρέσω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
εἰδίων, ἀναγκαίως καὶ νῦν ἐπιστέλλω σου

ἵνα τοὺς μὲν ἄνω μακάδεμας ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐκάστης τοπορχίας ἐκάστος εἰδίους ἀπαιτήτι[ας]
ρημάζας καὶ ποιήσας παντοῖοι εἰδίων ἐκάστης

Col. xiv

360 τοπορχίας τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εἰθηνείας φανερῶν μου καταστήσεις, ὡσαύτως δὲ τοὺς
ἀποδέκτας ἤτοι διαδόταις ἐκάσι[αρ]ίν εἰδίους ὅλου νομίμου τούτου ὁμοί
συνενείμα καὶ ἰδίῳ διάδοχοι ποιήσωσίναν, λέγω δὴ ὁ ὁ[νῖν ἐν ἐκτάκτων, κρέσω ἐν ἐκ-
τάκτω, κραθῆς ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ κ[......]. ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὑραρός τὴν διάδοσαν
gενέσθαι. τούτων γὰρ ὁ[νῖν γενομένων οὐ μὴν ἐπιμελήτης ὁμοί γενομένων τὴν
dιάδοσαν ποιήσοντα [μετα πάσης εὐχερείας, οἱ δὲ ἀπαιτήται ἀκριβ-
βος τὴν τε ἀπαίτησιν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὀυδεμιᾶ ἐνέδρα ὡστε ὑπέρθεσα γίνεται τῆς
τῶν εἰδίων ἀπαιτήτης καὶ διαδόσεως. εἰς καὶ ἰδίῳ καὶ ζῆς, ὅδθι κα.
σεσημάωμαι.

365 [βουλη]. Ὀδαλέριος Μέλας ὁ κράτασος ἐπίτροπος πρωυάτης Ἐθβαδός δὲ ἄν ἐπέθηκεν
πρὸς με γραμμάτων ἐκε[δευ]ευ[δ], ἀμα τοῖς προοδείς προνοηταίς ὁυσι-
ῶν ταμακιῶν ἑτέρως τέσσαρας κατά' σταθήναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν παραπόλλωσθαι τῶν
καρπῶν τῶν πε[ρ]γενέων μένων ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων, κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαί-
ον ἦτεροθήνῃ ἐπιστεῦσεν ὅπως τοῖς κελευθερίας ἀρμόσηθε καὶ τὴν τῶν προ-
κειμένων [ἐςσάφε]ρον ἄνδρῶν ὁμομασίαν ποιήσανθε τοὺς δυνατῶς ἐχοντας
οὐσία καὶ δυνάμει ὡς ἐκελευθερήθη, ἤε' (καὶ)
λιθ' καὶ ζῆς, ὅδθι κα. σεσημάωμαι.

[Μέλαιαν ἐπιτρόπος πρωυάτης, ἀκολούθως τοὺς ἐπισταλείσα μοι ὑπὸ τῆς στῆς ἐπεικίας,
kύριε μου, περὶ τοῦ ἑτέρως τέσσαρας ἀνδρῶν ἐπιστεδείος καὶ ἀξιοχρέος

370 συνκατασταθήναι ἀμα τοῖς προοδείς προνοηταῖς ταμακιῶν ὁυσιῶν ἐπέστειλα τῆς
κρατιστῆς βουλῆς διά Αὐρηλίου Πλο[υτογένους ενάρχου προεδροῦ ἀκόλουθα
πράξας}

356. 1. ἐθηνείας.
362-3. 1. ἀκριβῶς.
360. In upper margin, the numeral ΚΔ.
365. προνοητάς: π corrected from ν.
361. 1. σινείαι.
366. κατασταθήναι

48
without endangering any of the interests of the military commissariat. But since, to judge from the information you have given me, it is your intention to nominate, by toparchies, two collectors for each and every species of provision, and distributors or overseers similarly, and thus the service is, I fear, likely to be endangered, and since, moreover, the soldiers stationed here are continually importuning me concerning the distribution of meat and other provisions, I am now compelled to order you to bring together the collectors nominated by you for each toparchy and each species of provision and appoint them collectively in each toparchy for all species of provisions of the military commissariat, and report to me; and similarly that the receivers or distributors for each species of provision for the entire nome should come together and carry out the distribution here, that is to say, of wine separately, of meat separately, of barley similarly . . . . in order that the distribution may proceed smoothly. For if this is done, both the overseers will by acting in unison carry out the distribution with all possible smoothness, and the collectors will carry out the collection strictly, and in consequence no interruption or delay will occur in the collection and distribution of the provisions. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 26th. Signed.

To the Senate. Valerius Melas, the most excellent Procurator rei privatae of the Thebaid in his letters directed to me has ordered that in addition to the existing superintendents of the Treasury estates, four others should be appointed so that nothing may be lost from the present harvest of the estates. I must therefore hasten to order you to conform with these instructions, and to nominate the aforesaid four persons, who should be adequate both in property and in capability as has been ordered. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 26th. Signed.

To Melas, Procurator rei privatae. In accordance with the instructions of your Excellence, my lord, concerning the four suitable and trustworthy men who are to be appointed additionally to the already existing superintendents of the Treasury estates, I have ordered the most excellent Senate, through Aurelius Plutogenes, President in office, to act in
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

τοὺς προστασιασθείσας ὑπὸ σοῦ τὸν ἐμὸν κυρίου. οἰ δὲ ἀντιπεστελαν κεκελεόθεναι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου τῆς Θηβαίδος Ἰουλίου Ἀθηνοδόρου

μυρίδαν βουλευτικοῦ ἀξίωματος ἐπίσημοιν ὑπάγεοθεὶ ταμιακῆ φροντίδι. αὐτῶν ὁμί τῶν ἐπισταλέντων μοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀντίγραφον ἐνταξιάς ἀναφέρω πρὸς τὴν σήμερον πάντα κηδεμονίαν. Ἡ λεπτὸς καὶ Ἡλικίας θεοθημίων

375 ὡς τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρτοκοπείου τοῦ ἐντος πρὸς τὸν θεάτρῳ ἡ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς προοίμιας τῶν εἰκὸς μελλόντων ἐγκύρας [εἰσεθαίας] ἀρτόκοποις καθ’ ἀπὸ καὶ πέρυς τούτῳ τὸ φρόντις

σμα ἐνεχειρίαθι σοι. διὸ ἡ ἡπείρωσιν ἐπιστελθῆ σοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πάντων πρόωνοις ποιήσῃ πρὸς τὸ ἐκτεθέως τῇ τοῦ ἄρτου εὐθυνείας τοῖς γενναίοιστοις ἐραταώσι μεγαλεῖ. ἔξω καὶ ἐξ ὑπὸ καὶ ᾑτί, θεοθῆ καὶ σεσημίων.

Βιβλία χειροτέχνη πολιτικῶν χρημάτων. ἐπιστολή μίαν γραφεῖσαν σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου τὸν διασημοτάτον ἱπποκρόνον τῆς Θηβαίδος Ἰουλίου Ἀθηνοδόρου περὶ τοῦ τῶν τιμῶν τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος μέρους τρίτον τῇ πάλαι βυρσών ἐξοδιάσματον διεπεμφαίην σοι διὰ Λέοντος ὑπήρξοντος ἡ πιστοὶ τοῖς σάμηδεσιν ἐπὶ ποιήσῃς ἀν-

380 τεγράφαις μοι. ἔξω καὶ ἐξ ὑπὸ καὶ ᾑτί, θεοθῆ καὶ σεσημίων.

Θεοδότορ τῷ καὶ Διδύμῳ Φιλαδέλφου ἄρξ (αντί). ἡ κρατιστὴ βοῶνις διὰ Αὐρηλίου Πλουταγόνου ἐνάρχην προθέρου δι’ ὁμοῖο τὸν ἐπιθέσθαις Ἰορδάνης ἔπαιτις πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσις τοῦ δι[σποτα] ἦμων αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλειστανοῦ τοῦ προεισηγήμου Σχεδιαστοῦ χαρακτέρων εἰς τοὺς γιονομένας θυσίας. ἔξω καὶ ὑπὸ καὶ ᾑτί, θεοθῆ καὶ σεσημίων.

Col. xv

Μικάλης Θεόνος ἄρξ (αντί) ἐπιμελητὴς ζῴων θυσίας τῷ ἀπὸ τὸν τύπου καὶ χρῆμα σεσημίωμαι.

383. 1. γεγονότα. 384. In upper margin, the numeral ΚΕ.
conformity with your instructions, my lord. But they have replied to the
effect that orders have been given by my lord the most eminent Gover-
nor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, that no one enjoying curial rank
should be subjected to a Treasury duty. Accordingly I enclose a copy
of their reply, and refer it to your universal Solicitude. Year 15/14/7,
Thoth 26th. Signed.

.... onus also called Hierax, ex-syndic. The most excellent Senate, as
it informs me through Aurelius Plutogenes, President in office, has
announced that you have been chosen to superintend the building of the
large bakery near the theatre, and to make provision for the bakers who
will work there, just as last year this same duty was entrusted to you.
Wherefore I hasten to inform you so that you may make provision for
all these matters, in order that the supply of bread to the most noble
soldiers may be zealously procured. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 26th. Signed.

To Besas, accountant of the city funds. I have forwarded to you by
Leon my servant one letter, written to you by my lord the most eminent
Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, concerning the defraying
of the price of the one-third share of the hides due to be borne by the
city. On receipt of this letter please write to me in reply. Year 15/14/7,
Thoth 26th. Signed.

To Theodotus also called Didymus son of Philadelphus, ex-magistrate.
The most excellent Senate, as it has informed me through Aurelius
Plutogenes, President in office, has reported that you have been selected
together with Miccalus son of Theon as overseer of the animals required
for use in the places ordered for the auspiciously impending visit of our
ruler, the Emperor Diocletian, the Senior Augustus, and intended to
supply the sacrifices due to take place. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 26th. Signed.

To Miccalus son of Theon, ex-magistrate, overseer of sacrificial
animals. Same form and date. Signed.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

385 Φιλοξένου νομικαρίου. ὁ κύριός μου ὁ διασημότατος ἤρωμενος τῇ[ς Θηβαί[ας][δ]]ος Ἰούν- λιος Αθηνόδωρος ὑπ' ἄνε γράφανε ἐκεῖνους β' χρόνους ἀποσταλμένα Εὐδαίμο[ν] ἐπάρχον διακεμένον ἐν κάστροις περί Ψινάβλα πρὸς ἐξήρωσιν πυλῶν καὶ πυλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς κάστροις ἐλ μὲν τέλειαν εὐθέτειν [ἐ]χοισιοκτονόι, εἰ δὲ[ξ]

390 Ἀθηνόδωρος, μίας μὲν ἔμοι περὶ βουραίος εἰς ἐξήρωσιν πυλῶν καὶ[ι πυλῶν], τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ Βῃσά χειροτο[π]εί περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουραίοις, ἐκομισμένην σήμερον βεβρο- 

μένι[ς]

ὑπὸ μικὸν καὶ λεκαβημένας. καὶ τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ πολλῷ ἔμαντό, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ[ν]

τριβοδώρῳ καὶ Ἰερακίων καὶ τοῖς κοινωνίσσις ἐπιμελητέοις κραθῆς. [φροντίσα]τε 

τεραμετρήσας τοῖς ὑπὸ Παπάν ἐπαρχ(ον) στρατιῶτας διακεμένοις ἐν κάστροις 

Θηβῶν
diā Ἀνουβίωνος σοῦμοι ὑπὲρ μηκῶν δύο, Ἄθω καὶ Φαῦ(φο), κ' ρυθῆς μοδίους 

'Iταλικοὺς δισχειλοὺς ἐξακοσίους δέκα, παρ' ὅδε λήμβασθε ἄποχα γράμματα. 

Ἰε' καὶ Λίδ'' καὶ Λζ'', Ἄθω κζ. σεσημί(ωμαί). κραθῆς μοδίους δισχειλοὺς 

ἐξακοσίους δέκα.

395 δεκαπρώτους μέσης τοπαρχ(ἰας). φροντίσασε παραμετρήσαι τοῖς ὑπὸ Π(απάν ἐπαρχ)ον 

στρατιῶτας διακεμένοις ἐν κάστροις Θηβῶν διά Ἀνουβίωνος σοῦμοι ὑπὲρ 

[μ][ηφ]ο[ν]

dύο, Ἄθω καὶ Φαῦ(φο), ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐπισταλείσι μοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [ἀν]τ[ῷ] γε' [ἐ]μμ(άτων) 

εἰς'' καὶ ἰβς'' καὶ ε深深的 εὐθειστάτης ταῦτας βασιλείας πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) ἕκατον' ἑκοσιο-

νότον.

390. βεβρομένας: first β corrected from α.
391. κζ corrected from κζ (?) .
392. ἐν corrected from ἐκ.
393. I. δισχειλοῦ. 
394. I. δισχειλοῦ. 
395-7. In
To Philoxenus the lawyer (?). My lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, in his letters to me, has ordered that hides should be sent to Eudaemon, the Prefect stationed at the fort near Psinabla, for the strengthening of the gates and posterns of the fort, to the number of 28 if they are complete skins, or 44 if cut square. Of necessity, therefore, I hasten to order you so that you may estimate the proportion of the two-thirds share due to be borne by the nome, and report back to the office. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 26th. Signed.

To Horion, cavalryman, stationed at the fort of Toëto-Psinabla. The letters which you delivered written by my lord the most eminent Prefect of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, namely one addressed to me concerning hides for the strengthening of gates and posterns, and the remaining one to Besas the accountant concerning the same hides, I received today nibbled by mice and mutilated. The former I am retaining here, the latter I have given to the aforesaid Besas. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 25th.

To Triphiodorus and Hieracion and their colleagues, overseers of barley. See that you measure out to the soldiers under the Prefect Papas, stationed in the fort of Thmoö, through Anubion, summus, for two months, Thoth and Phaophi, 2610 Italic modii; from whom you will receive a form of receipt. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 27th. Signed. Barley, 2610 modii.

To the Decemprimi of the Middle Toparchy. See that you measure out to the soldiers under the Prefect Papas stationed in the fort of Thmoö, through Anubion, summus, for two months, Thoth and Phaophi, according to the orders given to me by him, from the produce of the year 13/12/5 of this most fortunate reign, 128 1/2 1/3 1/4 artabas of wheat, from whom you will receive a form of receipt; and credit the percentages to the Treasury. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 27th. Signed. 128 1/2 1/3 1/4 artabas of wheat.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

δεκαπρώτους μητροπόλ(εως) τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ. (ἀρτ.) ἐ[κατόν], (γίνεται) πυρ(οῦ) ἐκατόν.

400 τῇ κράτιστῃ βουλῇ. τὰ ἐπισταλέντα μοι υφ’ ὦμοι τῇ χθές πε[ρὶ τοῦ κεκε[λ]εθθαὶ τῶν κύριῶν μου τὸν διασημότατον ἤρωμενον τῆς Θαβαίδος 'Ιουλίου Αιθρόδωρ[ον]

μηδένα βουλευτικοῦ ἄξωματος ἐπειλημμένου ὑπάγεσθαι τα[μακή] φρον[τί]δει εντάξας ἐπιστρή ἅφηγεν πρὸς Οβαδίρυν Μέλανα τῷ κράτιστῳ ἐπίτροπ[ον]

προσα[ντὶς] Θαβαίδος ἐν εἰδέναι ἔχοι ἡ περὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ πρόνοια. ἢν κομματύμωφις ἀντίγραφεν κελεύων δείξῃ συνοικίασα ἐτέρ[ο]ς ἀνρας τέρσας ἀξιωχρόνου[ς]

ἀμα τρίς προσόδι εἰς τὴν τῶν ταμειακῶν χωρίων ἐπιμέλειαν. [καὶ ἐν μιᾷ μεθ'] ἀντιμη[νίω] τὰ γραφέντα μοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, εντάξας ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστέλλω υμῖν ἀκόλουθα

πραξαὶ ὑπὲρ λυπηστείας τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου. Λες" καὶ Λες’ καὶ [Λες", Θόθ πέ. σε[γ]ημίωμαι.

405 βουλῇ, ὁ κύριός μου ὁ διασημότατος ἤρωμενος 'τῆς' Θαβαίδος 'Ιουλίου [Αιθρόδωρος δὲ' δὲ [ἐ]γραψεν ἐκέλευσεν βύρας ἀποσταλήματι πρὸς Ἠβερσίμων ἐνπαρχον δη[κε-]


399. In l. margin, opposite this line, slanting stroke with the word Θόθ. 400. τῇ apparently corrected. 401. l. φροντίδα. 403. l. τομακών. 405. 'Ιουλίου corrected from ειουλίος (?). 1. ἐνπαρχον.
To the Decemprini of the metropolis, same form and date. 100 (one hundred) artabas of wheat.

To the most excellent Senate. The letter sent by you to me yesterday concerning the order given by my lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid Julius Athenodorus that no one enjoying curial rank should be subjected to a duty of the Treasury I enclosed in a letter and referred to Valerius Melas the most excellent Procurator rei privatae of the Thebaid, so that his universal Providence might be informed. On receipt of which he wrote in reply ordering that you should nominate four other responsible men, in addition to the posts already existing, for the superintendence of the Treasury lands. And to preclude misinterpretation of what he has written to me, I enclose a copy, enjoining you to act accordingly, for the profit of the most sacred Treasury. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 27th. Signed.

To the Senate. My lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid Julius Athenodorus in his letters to me has commanded that hides shall be sent to Eudaemon the Prefect stationed in the fort near Toëto and Psinabla, for the strengthening of the gates and posterns of the forts, to the number of 28, if they are complete skins, or, if cut square, 44 . . . .

(Papyrus 1 breaks off)
PAPYRUS 2

Col. i

[άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίστροφος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος στρατηγού] ἐς τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χαί(πειν) [..................................................] ὦν τὸ ἀπαραλτητὸν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων[ν]


[±55 letters] ἐφρόντισα καὶ στοιχ[είων] περὶ τῶν κατάπλου τῶν δημοφιλῶν διαχειρισμῶν πλοίων ἔγνως μὲν ἐξ ὄν[....]

[±55 letters] ἐπέστειλα, πρὸς ἅ οὐδὲν ἄξιον σπουδὴς παρ’ ἕμων ἀπήλλα[χθη]. μαθάνο γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα ἄρχη τοῦτον μηδέποι το[π][

[±55 letters] ἃρταβῶν διαχειρίσεων πεντακοσίων ὃς προείρη[ν], ἦμα καὶ ὦν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἁμελίαν καὶ τὴν γενομένην παρ[....]

[±55 letters] μθησαται τάχειον ὑπ’ τῇ Συνήη ἀπαντή[θη]τα. τοσάτοις τοῖς μόνος εὐδεῖος εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαλλόμεν[δ..

[±55 letters] κατὰ καύρον ἀπαντήσατε τὰ πλοῖα ἐως ἀνάγκη] ἀπαντήθησατε, καὶ τῆς ὑπονοοτήσεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῷ[ν]

[±55 letters] ἔρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμασι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. ι[σ]’ καὶ ι[ε]’ καὶ ι[ε]’, (Με[χε]ρ) ζ. ἐστὶ δὲ Ἐρμοπολίτου Αντιούκτου, Χρυσιστοῦ, Λυκος[ολίτου άφη]-

[±55 letters] [λέτον, Ἀπολλωνοπολίτου, Ανταιοπολίτου, Πανοπολίτου, Θωνίτου.] (blank)


6. 1. διαχειρίσεων, ἁμέλειαν. 7. 1. τάχειον. 9. 1. εἰς. 12. 1. πεντακισχείλια.
PAPYRUS 2

Note.—Much of the first column is lost, and the following translation can do no more than give some indication of the general sense.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting . . . . therefore the absolute necessity of the commands . . . . concerning the necessary . . . . commands . . . . since you neither fear lest on each occasion . . . . necessity . . . . I have thought it . . . . and important concerning the sailing down river of the state ships of 2,000 artabas burthen, you have perceived from . . . . I ordered, towards which nothing worthy of notice has been achieved by you. For I learn that the ships up to now have not yet . . . . endanger through your neglect, and instead of 2,500 artabas which I ordered . . . . into each of the ships . . . . 2,500 as I ordered before, in order that even so your carelessness and the resultant . . . . more swiftly arrive at Syene. Only so many, then, immediately . . . . lading . . . . the ships might arrive until there is need for them to be requisitioned, both the fall in the level of the river and the . . . . I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 7th. As follows: Hermopolite nome, Antinoite nome, Chussite nome, Lycopolite nome, Hypselite nome, Apollinopolite nome, Antaeopolite nome, Panopolite nome, Thinite nome.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apollinaris, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. The long-established fine in respect of each month imposed on those who have not rendered the usual accounts . . . . and 5,000 atticae you have been ordered even now by my lord Domnus the most eminent Catholicus . . . . not having sent into the office in time the accounts of the month of . . . ., which immediately you will render and receive receipts . . . . accounts
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

15 [±55 letters] τά ίσα εξοδιάσα ἀναγκασθῆσαι τοῖς κύριοις λόγοις. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῦς χρόνους. ις" καὶ ις" καὶ ης" Μεχείρ...

[άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰασώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Ἐθναίδος Ἀπολυμίαρχος στρατηγῷ καὶ ἑπείκταις πλουσιοίς Πανοπολίτου χαίρειν. εἰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐαυτῶν φροντίδα τινὰ ἔχετε,

[±55 letters] ὑν καὶ πάνθη ἐξαρτεία παρασκευασθῇ[α τῶν ἀνάπτουν σών τάχει ποιήσασθαι ὅπως προορίζασθεν ὑπὸδεῖξαι μενε.

[±50 letters] ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ὡμοὶ πέπρωκατ δηλώσατε διὰ ταχεῖ[ων μοι φρο]ντίσατε, τά τε ἑτέρα πλοῖα εἰ ἑτροπώθη καὶ ἐχθρὸς τι[.

[±55 letters] ἐπιμεληθήτε. ἐρρώσθαι ύμᾶς εὐχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις. ις" καὶ ις" καὶ ης" Μεχείρ ε[.

20 [άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰασώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Ἐθναίδος Ἀπολυμίαρχος στρατηγῷ Πανοπολίτου χαίρειν, στιχάριμα ταρσικάλη [... τὸν ἀριθμὸν διακόσια μέτρων τῶν ὑποτεγμένων δο[.

[±55 letters] ἄνευ τῶν ὑπερθέσεως διὰ προ[σε]τὸν [...] κενέαθο[ν, τοῦθεν προειμένῳ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου στιχαρίζου]

[±55 letters] ἐνπας ἡ[ῇ Ὠ[.][,ατι ὠ[.]].τὶ[ς ὡμοὶ πρόσταγμα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Κασαρών]

[±55 letters] τοῖς ἁλλοὶς διωρίσαμεν, ὅτε ἐπόμενοι ὦ [κύριος] μου Δόμινος ὁ διασημότατος καὶ ἑορτάκτης τοιαῦτα [...]

[±60 letters] ἐρρώσθαι ἡμᾶς τις εὐχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις. ις" καὶ ις" καὶ ης", Μεχείρ [.

25 [±100 letters] χωρίς τῶν...............................

Col. ii

[...... το μὲν στιχάριμα παλαιστῶν [...]. υ ε, τὸ δὲ ἀνάβρολον παλαιστῶν ἔξ χωρίς τοῦ γα[.]

[άλλης καμία θείας ἀπὸ διαπροεράτῃς στρατηγοῦ Θεόνιου, Μεχείρ θ. Αὐρήλιος Ἰασώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Ἐθναίδος Ἀπολυμίαρχος στρατηγῷ Πανοπολίτου χαίρειν.

20. 1. ταρσικάρια. 21. 1. προειμένῳ. 24. οσ εὐχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις. 26. In upper margin, traces of numeral KB (cf. 82, &c.).
of the next monthly period you may be convicted by the accounts sent into the office, not having deposited . . . he will be compelled to pay similar amounts to the Imperial revenues. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8. Mecheir . . .

Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, the Strategus, and the commissioners of shipbuilding for the Panopolite nome, greeting. If you have any concern for your safety . . . and fitted out with complete equipment, make the voyage up river as he ordered, to take on board . . . that this has been done see that you report with all speed. And the other ships, if they have been fitted with oar-thongs and up to what . . . that you may take care. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 5th.

Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. Tunics of Tarsian weave . . . to the number of two hundred, of the measurements given below . . . make it your business without any delay to . . . defraying the price for each tunic . . . close in weave . . . For the divine command of our rulers the monarchs and the most illustrious Caesars . . . ordained, following which my lord Domnus the most eminent Catholicus . . . I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir . . . without the . . . tunic of five . . . palms, but the wrap of six palms without the . . .

Another letter delivered by transmission of the Strategus of the Thinite nome, Mecheir 9th. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. Demand, on
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

[......], σὺν καὶ Ἀμμώνιον [κατὰ] καταφρακταρίους καὶ Πετεθῆς (δεκάδαρχον) καὶ Σαραπίωνα σοφίμου καὶ 'Ιασώδων ἀκτοναρίου [καὶ ...............]. ὁνον μουνιφάκας στρ[ατε]νομένους ἐν εἰλῃ δευτέρᾳ Ἡρκυλαί δρομεδαρίων ὑπὸ Εὐδαίμονα ἐπαρχον φρόντις λέγει ἀρχ[αι] τήρης ἐκαστὸν ὑπὲρ [. . . . . . . .] αὐτοῦ κατὰ κρέμασαι [τοῦ]

κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἔγονείμου τῆς Θηβαίδος Ἰουλίου Λευκοδόρου δινάρα τρισχιλια, ὀμοιὸ τὰς συναγορὰς διναρίων μυριάδας δώρο χιλιῶν [ἀπτικάς], καὶ ταῦτα λημματιῶν τοῖς κυριακοῖς λόγοις τῇ δὲ τάξει φανερῶν καταστῆσαι ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχόμαι πολλοῖς χρῆνοις. ίς καὶ ίς καὶ ίς, Τύβι κ.

ἂλλης κομμশ(είσθης) ἀπὸ διασωμὴς στρατηγοῦ Ανταυοπολίτου, Μεχειρ Ἠγ. Αὐρήλιος 'Ιασώδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρας Θηβαίδος στρατηγοῦ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομίζων χαρέων.


τας [. . . .] γ' ἀρα καὶ ὁ ἐνδοτεσ χρόνος καὶ! [ἡ δοθεῖσα περιφορά τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις.

εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀμελήσετε, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ὑπευθύνου τοῖς [. . . . . .] ἔσεσθε εἰδέναι ὅφελες καὶ ἐλγὼ

35 [μὴ γράφω], ἔρροσθαί ὑμᾶς εὐχόμαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. ίς καὶ ες καὶ ίς, Τύβι κιβ., εἶν ὡς ἐν ἑρμοπολίτου Ανταυοπολίτου του Κοσμίτου Λυκοπολίτου Ανταυο[πολίτου Πανοπο-

λίτου].

ἂλλης κομμεθελείας διὰ τοῦ ἐγγεγραμμένου, Μεχειρ Ἠγ. Αὐρήλιος 'Ιασώδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρας Θηβαίδος Ἀπολυμαρίῳ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀποδέκταις χρημάτων τοῦ Πανοπολίτου χαλ(ρεων).

τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηθῶν δεκάδαρχον ἰππεύους εἰλῃς πρώτῃς 'Ἰβηρῶν διακεμφένως ἐν θρόνῳ φροντίζατε ἐξοδισάσαι [ὑπὲρ συντετυγδὸν Καλαμανθί] Ἰανορροιον ρημύθεσις ὑποτελείς το[ι]ς [δ]εσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κοσμοτανίου καὶ Μαζεμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Κασάρων ἤ τῃ δημαρίων μυριάδας ἐπτὰ καὶ τρια-

χειλεῖς πεντακοσίας ἀττικάς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἀνώνως ὀφειλομένης αὐτοῦ μηνών τεσσάρων ἀπὸ καλαρίων [Σεπτεμβρίων] εἰς τῇ πρὸ μίας καλανδάς

40 'Ιανο[ν]αρ[ρ]ῳ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης ἐβδομής καὶ ἕ ὑποτελείς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαζεμιανοῦ Σεβαστή[νων δημαρίων] μυριάδας δύο καὶ τρια-

χειλεῖς

33. 1. ἀπατηθησετε. 34. 1. ἀμεληθησετε. 38-39. τριαχηλίασ. 40. 1. τριαχηλίασ.
the order of my lord the Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, . . . , from each of the following, . . . and Ammonius, *cataphractarii*, Petēsis, *decurio*, Sarapion, *summus*, Isidorus the accountant and . . . . and (? Amm)onius, private soldiers, serving in the Ala II Herculia Dromedariorum under the command of Eudaemon, Prefect, 3,000 denarii, making a total in all of 2 myriads of denarii and 1,000 *atticae* . . . . and credit the amount to the Imperial revenues, and report to my office. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Tybi . . . .

Another letter delivered by transmission of the Strategus of the Antaecopolite nome, Mecheir 13th. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the undermentioned nomes, greeting. Demand the arrears of corn owing from the harvest of year 13/12/5 without any delay, and credit them to the accounts of the most sacred Treasury. For both the time limit given and the margin (?) allowed to the taxpayers have expired (?). But if you now neglect this, you ought to know, even without my saying so, that you yourselves will be liable . . . ., I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Tybi 29. The nomes in question are: Hermopolite, Antinoite, Cussite, Lycopolite, Antaecopolite, Panopolite.

Another letter delivered by the person mentioned therein, Mecheir 14th. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinaris, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the cavalrymen under the command of Besas, *decurio*, of the Ala I Hiberorum, stationed at Thmoō, on account of pay, for January 1st in the most fortunate third consulate of our rulers, Constantius and Maximian, the most illustrious Caesars, 7 myriads of denarii and 3,500 *atticae*; and for the price of *annona* due to them for four months, from September 1st to December 31st in the most fortunate 7th
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

έξακοσίας ἄττικας, ὁμοί τὰς συγγραμμένας διηραμένοις μυριάδας ὑνέφα καὶ πεντακο-
χευλαὶς ἐκατὸν ἀττικάς καὶ ταῖταις παραβοῦνοι Πανίσκηι (δεκαδιάρχως) ὁπώρια-
tοι καὶ ἄποχα τὰ συνήθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἁπαρθήμεια δέξασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν γράμματα.
ἐρρώθαι υμᾶς εἰςχωμα πολλοίς χρόνοις. ἵσις, ἵσις, Μεξείρ δ’.

[άλ]λων δῆ φοι κοιμθεσιῶν ἀπὸ διαπομήσης στρατηγοῦ Ἀνταυσολίτου, Μεξείρ ἵσις, α’.
Αὐρήλ[ιος] Ἰσαρδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω [Θηβαίδος στρατηγοῦ τῆς]
ἐπιτροπῆς χαίρεις. τῶν ἀποστελλό-
μένων ἐν Συρίᾳ πλοίων δημοσίων δέκα διὰ τὴν τῶν κόμων [κατ’]ακομιδὴν οὐκ
ὑποδεξαμένων πάντας καὶ τῆς κατακομβῆς ἀνακαινιστῆς φήμης ἐδέχθης
καὶ ἔτερα ἀποστα-

45 [λόριν] ὡ[ῦ] τοῖς λαυτοῖς ὑποδεξάμενα κατακομβίσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν:
ἀπερ εἰ μὴ τῶν βοηθειάς ἱκανῆς τῶν ἀνέμων ῥη[.............................]...ν
τυγχανόντων τῶν καιρῶν
παραδεδοικεῖται καθ’ ὑπὸ δεῖδει εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῶν κόμων κατα[κομιδή]θηκεν,
καὶ τῆς ὑπονοοτήτης τῶν ὑδάτων μᾶλλον ὁσμήρι[ας]ναμίην. φορο[μα]
σάτω οὖν ἐκαστος υμῶν, ἄφορον
[τὸ ἀν]αραίτητον τῆς χρείας, τὴν ἐαυτὸν προθυμίαν ἐνδιέκασθαι, καὶ ὑμίνατα τὰ
πλοία, ὅποτε μὴ ἀνάγοιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, [διὰ τὰ τῶν ναυτῶν] καὶ ἐνοικοῦστων
τὰς ἐπινελ-
ους κώμας ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶς ἐπιστὰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀνάξαι, καὶ τῷ πλησίον στρατηγῷ
παραδοῦναι, ἀποχα(ς) τ’ ἐκαστος καὶ δοῦναι ὅποτε τὰ πλ[οία] παραγένοντο
ἐν τοῖς τοπο ὑμῶν ὑμῖν, λαβεῖν.
τε τὰ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόσει. καὶ ταῦτῃ τῆς γνώσεως ἔτι μὴ καὶ ἀντέγραφα τῶν
ἐκδοθησαμένων καὶ ἐκδοθεισιν ἀποχῶν ὑποτάξαν τοῖς γράφου ἰνὰ δόνηται] ἐκάστοτ(ον)
τὸ πρόβουμιν περὶ

50 [τῷ] θείου πτερόσταγμα σφαλμέτερον γνωσθήναι. ἐρρώθαι υμᾶς εἰςχωμα πολλοίς
χρόνοις. ἵσις, ἵσις, Μεξείρ β.’
[τῆς] δρυπῆς. Λυκιῆς, Ἰσαραρδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος[ς] στρατηγοῦς
τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χαίρεις. τὰ εἰς μηνιάον Μεξείρ καταβεβληθέναι ταῖς ἀρχαιῖς
χρήσιματε ἀνέπαφα
[κείμενα] καὶ ἐν ἑβδομάδαις ὑπὸ οἴκου μεταχειρίζεσθαι αὐτ[ῆς] φρος ἀμα τῷ δέξασθαι
τὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ γράμματα δι’ ἐπιμελείας υμῖ[ν] ἑστων κατὰ τὸ θείον πρόσταγμα
περὶ τῆς ἐξο

41. 1. πεντακοσιχλίας; there is a mistake in the arithmetic, and the figure should be ἓπτα-
and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 2
myriads of denarii and 3,600 atticae, making a total in all of 9 myriads of
denarii and 7,100 atticae; and hand these sums over to the decurio
Paniscus, the agent, and take the customary receipts from him at the
counting out of the money. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year
16/15/8, Mecheir 4th.

Two other letters delivered by transmission of the Strategus of the
Antaeopolite nome, Mecheir 15th. The first letter: Aurelius Isidorus,
Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial
district, greeting. Since the ten state ships being sent to Syene for the
transport down river of the columns are insufficient to carry all of them,
and since their transportation is most urgent, it has become necessary
that other ships should be sent to take the remaining columns on board
and bring them down to Alexandria. If these ships do not receive
sufficient assistance from the winds, . . . , they will exceed the time
limit by which the columns must be brought to Alexandria, especially as
the fall in the level of the water is increasing daily. Let every one of you,
therefore, considering the absolute necessity of this task, display his own
zeal, and while the ships are going up river, whenever they are not
propelled by the winds, give his personal attention to seeing that they
are towed by their crews (?) and the inhabitants of the villages of the
river ports, and hand them over to the next Strategus. And let each
of you give receipts whenever the ships reach the boundaries of his
nome, and take the same when he hands them over. This instruction,
accompanied by copies of the receipts to be given and those already
given I have appended to my letter, so that the zeal of each one of you
for the divine command may be more clearly manifested. I bid you fare­
well, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 2nd.

The remaining letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower
Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. See that
the moment you receive this letter, the monies paid in to the banks for the
month of Mecheir lying untouched . . . and place in a separate account
under seal according to the divine command concerning . . . quantity
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

[..........................]ραύν πορύνην[α] δια[..........................]φηστε ού...
[..........................] τὸ παράπαν ύπέρθεσις [.................] ύπὸ τῶν ἀπαί[τη]την τὴν
καταβολὴν

Col. iii

[τε κύδωνον ὑποστηρίσεως πλέοντων γὰρ ὑπονόμεσον ἀφεί[ξε]θαί [.............
..... διο[μάτισθαι καὶ

55 στιστεῖται [τὰ υ[π]ὸ το[ῦ] κυρίου μ[ου] Δόμινον τοῦ διαστημιτάτου καθολικοῦ γρα-
φέτα ὑπῆρ[..........................]...αὐτῶν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τοῖς τραπεζίταις παραγ-
τὸ ἐαυτῷ δ[αφέ]ρον πράττη μετὰ τῆς προσκούσης προνοίας. ἔφρωνθαι ὑμᾶς

τροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολλανίᾳ[το]ῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπὸ ἵππως
χρη-
μάτων Πανοπολί[του] χαί(ρειν), τοῖς ἀναφορομένοις τῇ τάξει τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ
dιαστημιτάτου[ν] ἡγουμένου τῆς Θηβαίδος Ἰουλίου Ληθροδώρου στρατιώταις ἀπὸ
λεγέονος [τῆς] Διοκλῆ[πος] φανερώσει ἐξοδιάσατα ὑπὲρ στιστείον καλαν-
δόν Ιαννακίαρ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐσομένης ὑπατείας
tῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κανονοτίου καὶ Μαξιμανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Κασάρων
τὸ τρ[ῆ]τον δυνάμει τοῦ καὶ τρισχειλίας τρια-
[κο]ψίας ἀστυκᾶς, καὶ ταῦτας παραδοοῦν διασκόρπην

60 (ἐκατοντάρχω) ὡραῖον τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἅπασα τὰ συνήθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαράμιθῃ δήξει, ἑπεί
αὐτῶν γράμματα. ἔφρωθαί [ὑμᾶς εὐχόμαι πτ]ολὸς χρόνιους. 155° 1εαδ' 1ης', Μεχείρ δ.

ἄλλων γὰρ ἀνάθεω(τέων) ὑπὸ τῆς τάξεως, Μεχείρ ὑ. α'. Αἱρῆλιος Ἰουδώρος ἐπίτροπος
τῆς [κατωτέρου Θ][ηβαίδος Ἀπολλανί]αρι[ῦ στρατηγοῦ Πανοπολί]του χαί(ρειν).
ὅπως θὰ τἀξι[όθε]ν ἐπισημανήσῃ περὶ τοῦ μηδένος μηδὲ ἄχρονον
τοὺς μηχανοῦς λόγους τοῦ Τῆβα μηρὸς ἀπεστάλθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ εἰς τὴν τάξιν μιθᾶς
ἐκ [τῶν ὑπό]ταγμένων τὸ μὲν ὀρθῶν ἐπιτίμων αὐτὸς τ' εἰς καταβαλεῖν
ἀπαι[σαὶ] δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς ὑπὸ σε τάξεως

55. 1. τραπεζίταις. 57-60. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with
words κε(χρώνιστα) [Μεχείρ]. 59. 1. τρισχειλίας. 60. 1. ὡραῖον τι. 61-64. In
l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρώνιστα) Μεχείρ.
... no delay whatsoever ... take care that the paying in by the collectors should be expeditious and within the fewest possible days, at their peril and your own. For a great number of army agents are ... to arrive ... donatives and pay ... written by my lord Domnus the most eminent Catholicus ... knowledge and to give notice to the bankers, so that each party may execute its own business with appropriate care. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 3rd.

Another letter, delivered by the person named therein, Mecheir 16th. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money for the Panopolite nome. See that you pay out to the soldiers from Legio III Diocletiana posted in the office of my lord the most eminent Governor of the Thebaid, Julius Athenodorus, on account of pay for January 1st in the auspiciously impending 3rd consulate of our rulers Constantius and Maximian, the most illustrious Caesars, 34 myriads of denarii and 3,300 atticae; and pay these over to the leading centurion, Dioscorus, and take from him at the counting out of the money the customary receipts. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 4th.

Three more letters delivered by the Procuratorial office, Mecheir 18th. The first letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. Learning from what is subjoined the observations which it has made concerning your failure, even up to the present moment, to send in to the office the monthly accounts for the month of Tybi, do you now take care both to pay the prescribed fine yourself, and to exact the same amount from the assistant of your office, crediting the sums to the account of the most sacred Treasury; and also send in the accounts immediately, so that the entire public accounts may not be held up any further
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

βοηθόν, καὶ ἀνέφυγε τοῖς λογισμοῖς τοῦ ἱεροτάτου ταμείου φρόντισον, τοῖς τε λόγοις εὐθέω[σ] ἀπόστειλον ἕνα τὰ πάντα δημόσια βιβλία μὴ ἐνεδρεύοντο ἐπὶ πλέον διὰ τὴν σιν τιθημίαν. ἐφρώσθησι σε εὐχομαι

πολλοὶς χρόνοις. 15” 16” 17” Μεχεῖρ ἤγ. ἄντιγραφον] ἀναφορᾶς ταβουλαρίου.

τῆς προσεχίας τῶν μηνιαίων λόγων τῶν ἀποστελλομένων εἰς τὴν τάξει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξηκούσης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων στρατη-

γών ἐμπροθέσιμοι ἀποστελλάντων. Ἀπολογίαν δὲ τοῦ τοῦ Πανοπολίτου καὶ

Δημητρίου [τοῦ τοῦ . . . ἵπτ] ἄχρα δεῦρο τοὺς μηνιαίους λόγους τοῦ Τοῦμη μηνὸς μὴ ἀποστελλάντων, ἀναγκὴν ἔσον ὑπομνή-

σαι τὴν σιν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ κυρίου περὶ τούτων ἐπειδῆ ἐπὶ πολλὰς προσ-

ἐται[ν] ἡ σιν ἐπιμέλεια τὰ βιβλία διὰ ταχέως ἀποστέλλεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐνεδρεύοντα τὰ καί(τα) μὴν ἀποστελλόμενα ὡς ἴ-

μῶν τῇ καθολικῇ τάξει βρέσου. καὶ ἄξιο τὸ ὀρισθέν ἐπὶ τούτων πρόστιμον ὑπὸ τῆς

σῆς ἐπιμελείας κελεύσαι σε τούτους εἰσενεχείν ἁμα τοῖς τούτων βοηθοῖς, ἢ

ός ξέρῃ σοι δόξῃ, κόρη μου.

ἄλλης. Ἀύρηλιος Ἰσιδωρὸς ἐπιτροπὸς τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολογίαν στρατηγῷ

Παρρησι[λίτου] καὶ(πευ[). εὖ καὶ σαφῶς ἄχρα καὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκ τῶν ἀποστα-

λέγον ποῦ ἐν τῇ τάξει μηνιαίων βιβλίων

καὶ τῆς γενομένης δευτέρας ἐκμετάθεσιν ἀντικρύς τοῖς δεκαπρῶτος τοῖς τοῦ ὑπὸ

σου νομοῦ ἡλεχθῆς πράττ[] ἐπὶ περιγραφῆ τοῦ ἱεροτάτου ταμείου, τοῦτο

de autó καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρ’ ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων

ὑπομνήματος ἐπεισοδιώκημα. καὶ ἄλλοτε συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς φθάσασιν δ[ιοδήμ-

νὸν δὲ, ἢ] ἀλλὸ τοῦ τε οὐδὲν ἐπὶ ἤττον κάκεινο εὐθύνος τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡλικοῦτων

παρασχῆτε, πάντας τοὺς

δεκαπρῶτος ἐν τῇ πόλει καθερίξας ἔχε πρὸς τῆς ἄφθασεως τοῦ κυρίου μου Δέ[

όμου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις. 15” 16”

70 ης, Μεχεῖρ ἤγ.

τῆς λοιπ[ῆς]. Αύρηλιος Ἰσιδωρὸς ἐπιτροπὸς τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολογίαν

στρατ[ηγῷ] Πανοπολίτου] καὶ(πευ[). τὸ μὲν] φακῆς μέτρων ὀπερ προσετάχθης

ἐστὶ τὴν λαμπρότατην [Ἀλεξάνδρειαν] καταστέψω εἰ ἀπε-

στάται δήλωσιν κατὰ ποιαν ἡμέραν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν κατεπέμβαθα τὴν

[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]ο(ent ἃ] ταχεῖαν γενέσθαι ὡς πολλάκις ἐπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος[] μοῦ Δέμνος ὁ διασημότατος

66. ἐπειδῆ ἐπερ corrected from ἐπηθήσετε (?).  Pap. τὰ καμηρα. 68–71. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνωσται) Μεχεῖρ. 70. συγγνώμην
through your slackness. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 13th. Copy of the report of the accountant: The time limit for sending in the monthly accounts to the office having long since expired, and the other Strategi having sent them in promptly, but Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome and Demetrius, Strategus of the . . . . nome not having up to the present sent in the monthly accounts for the month of Tybi, I am compelled to remind your Diligence, my lord, concerning these matters, inasmuch as your Diligence has repeatedly ordered that the accounts should be sent in promptly, so that the abstracts sent by us every month to the office of the Catholicus may not be delayed. And I request that you will order these Strategi together with their assistants to pay the fine laid down by your Diligence; or however may seem best to you, my lord.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. Well and truly, and continuing right up to the present moment, you have been proved guilty, both by the monthly accounts sent in to my office and by the second survey carried out before the Decemprimi of the nome under your rule, of acting to the detriment of the most sacred Treasury, and the same I have myself inferred from the reports drawn up in my office. At another time I might have pardoned what has occurred; but now, in order that both you yourself and equally they may render accounts of such behaviour, do you imprison all the Decemprimi in the city, and confine them there until the arrival of my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 14th.

The last letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. Inform me whether the quantity of lentils which you were ordered to send down to the most illustrious city of Alexandria has been dispatched, and on what
καθολικὸς {προσέταξα[ετίς]}, καὶ χρῆ εἰς τὶς γέγονες βραδυτῆς ἡ ἀμέλεια περὶ τὸ πρόσοστα, τῶν, ἐπεξεξελεύνων τῇ προσεκοιμασίᾳ προσενεχθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ ἀμελητάστατος. [ἐ]πρόσωπαὶ σε εὑρομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις.

76 

ιςος 7ος 7ης, Μεχείρ Ἰδ.

8ο άλλης. Αὐρίλως Ἰσίακος ἐπίπτοσι τῆς κατωτέρω Θεμπαίος Ἀπολονάριῳ ἐπιστήμων Παννυλίοντος χαὶ(ρεω). τὰ δέοντα πὴματα τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξαρτεὶα τῶν δημοσίων συνηγῶν τῶν ἀναγχὸς κατασκευασθῆναι τραγικελοματισμοῦ καὶ διαφημισμοθέν τῶν πλοίων παραγεγραμμένα ...[........................

.............. τοῖς] ναυκλήροις διὰ τῆς σῆς φροντίδος ὑπὸ τῶν χειρὸς παρέχεσθαι προσέταξα-

Col. iv

ἐξεφ' ὁ κύριος ὁ δόμος ὁ διαστημοτὰτος καθολικὸς ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεξιαμενῶν γνώσει πλη[ι]ν μᾶλλον τοῦ ἱστοῦ καὶ κέρως καὶ τῶν δώδυ πηδαλίῳ καὶ ἀγκυρίῳ. [τῆς δὲ μείζονος ακαίρας τῷ μαρμ. τοῖς ὑπὸ στὶς γραμματέων ἕξωδιάσθη διὰ τὸ καταπέδυον τῆς χρείας ὑπὸ τοῦ ταιμε[λίου] ἀναμενόμενον παρὰ τῶν προειρημένων ναυκλήρων καὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς τοῦ ἑρωττὴτος ταιμείου ἀνενεκείνοι φροντὶς-

σον, μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν πλη[ι]ν τῶν προειρημένων μᾶλλον τοῖς τοῦ ταιμείου λογισμοῖς λογισμάμας. 7ος 7ης 7ος, Μεχείρ Ἰδ. ἀντίγραφον: αὐτὸ τὸ μέρος τῆς παρὰ σοφ πρόην διὰ [γραφείσας π]ρός με ἐπιστολῆς ὑποτετάχθαι

76-79. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρώναςα) Μεχείρ. 80-81. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words
date and by which overseer . . . to be executed as soon as possible, as
my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, has repeatedly ordered.
And if any delay or neglect has occurred in regard to this order, the
appropriate punishment must be meted out to the negligent party. I bid
you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 14th.

Three more letters and a proclamation, delivered by Heron the
*commentarensis*, Mecheir . . . . Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the
Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. I
myself expect the surveys of the embankments for the current year,
which I lately ordered to be carried out, to have been completed and to
have been sent in as desired by my lord the Catholicus. Some of you
have already sent the completed surveys into the office of the Procurator,
but if any are outstanding, these must be expedited, since my lord
Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, has given orders in his own
letters that they should be completed with all speed. I bid you farewell,
for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir . . . .

The next letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid,
to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. My lord
Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, has ordered that all the equip­
ment necessary for the fitting-out of the public corn-ships of 3,000 and
2,000 artabas burthen, which have just been constructed, . . . . should be
provided, under your care, by the ship-captains, as you will see from the
enclosed, with the exception of the mast, the yard-arm, the two steering-
oars and . . . . anchors. But as for the cost of the larger vessel, take care to
recover whatsoever amount has been spent by the Treasury in excess of
the estimate because of the urgency of the work from the aforesaid ship-
captains, and credit it to the accounts of the most sacred Treasury,
charging nothing at all to the accounts of the Treasury except only the
aforesaid amounts. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 14th. Copy. This part of the
letter recently written by you to me I have ordered to be subjoined so
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

85 προσέταξα ἵν᾽ εἰδέναι [ἔχοις ὦτι] δὲ ὦν ἐναγχος ἀντέγραφον τὰ καλῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως σοὶ παραστάντα ἐφὴμεν βεβαιοῦμας.

ἄλλης. Ἀὐρήλιος Ὁδόρους ἐπιτρ[οποῖος τῆς κατ' ὅπερ Ἑθβαίδος Ἀπολογερίῳ στρατηγῷ Πανοπόλιτον χαί[ρειν]. ἀντικύρῳ τοῖς ὑποτεγαμένωι καὶ τοῖς προσταθείσιν ὕπο τοῦ κυρίου μου Α[ἴμων τοῦ δ]εκατσημοτότοι καθολικὸς πεισθείς
tὰ μὲν βιβλιά πάντα καὶ τὰς [ἀπογράφας π]άσισι ἀκριβῶς καταστημμάτισιν τῶν τε ἱστοριῶν δυὸ τοὺς μᾶλλον ἐντρεχεστέρους καὶ τοὺς γενομένους γραμματέας ἦτοι. βοηθῆ[ν τῷ Χρυσίττῳ]ν τὸν κηρυστόρος καὶ μέντοι
cαὶ τὸν βιβλιοφιλόκα μεθέκεος ἀποστείλ[το]υν τῇ τάξει ἐκδεξομένους ἀντιανίᾳ τὴν ἀφαξίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου μου καθολικοῦ. ἐρρώθαι δὲ εἰς ὑμάς πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

86-89. In I. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρώνοισι) Μεχείρ. 87. 1. ἀκριβῶς. 88. 1. ἀφαξίω. 92-96. In I. margin, opposite these
that you may know from what I am just now writing in reply that I have been quick to confirm your well-chosen and friendly suggestions.

Another letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. After perusing the enclosed, and in obedience to the commands of my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, have all the accounts and returns sealed up securely, and send them, together with two of the most capable of the juratores and the former secretaries or assistants of the censitor Chrysippus, and also the record-keeper, immediately to my office here to await the arrival of the same my lord the Catholicus. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Macheir .... Copy. What my office has suggested with regard to the books sent in by Chrysippus the censitor and relating to the returns is indicated by the enclosed. Accordingly, so that the true facts may be elucidated, send up immediately upon your receipt of this letter the record-keepers of Ptolemais and Panopolis and two of the most capable of the juratores from each city, together with the former assistants or secretaries who accompanied the censitor, and the returns themselves, sealed up by you.

Proclamation. From the original of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. The commands just issued by my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, evincing his customary solicitude for all classes of men in accordance with the divine decree of our rulers the monarchs and the most illustrious Caesars, providing that if any sums have been offered to the bankers under the name of ballantia, they should be prevented from accepting them, or, if they have already been given, that they should be reported, I have subjoined to this proclamation. Let all responsible officials therefore henceforward take good care not to give anything under the name of ballantia, or, if anything has already been given in the period preceding the publication of this proclamation to apply to the office of the Strategus and report the facts in writing, in order that through my office no more than the actual sum may, for the time being, be recovered from the bankers accepting it and reported to

lines, a slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνισται) Μεχείρ. 92. 1. αὐθεντίας.
92-93. 1. ἐπιδεικνύομαι. 93. 1. τραπεζίταις. 94. γενέσθω: second e corrected.
95. Pap. καθισταν. 96. 1. τραπεζίτων.

71
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

proβες. ἵςδ' ἵςδ' ηςδ'. Μεχε[ιρ ... καὶ το[ν]̄ς τραπεζείτας μηδὲ ἐπὶ βαλλαντίνων προφάσις πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς τὸς εἰσφοράς κατατημένους πάλαι τυγχάνω προστηταχώς, εἰ τι τ[ο[ν]̄ν η[ςδ']].νεύει τ' Λατοπολιτῶν στρατη-
γός κατὰ ταύτῃ ἐπι[δόθεικέν] πρόσαφαν ἀπολαβέτω διὰ τῶν έαυτῷ προσηκόντων,
τὰ δὲ ὑπ' ἕμοι προστηταγμένα καὶ νῦν δῆλα γενέσθω τοῖς συντελεύσαν. κ[α]\[λύτος] δὲ ἐξε[τάσας τὸν τῶν τραπεζειτών
τὰ καὶ]
πραξὶν ὅσων ἃν κα[λὴν ἀνευρ[α]κης τὴν ἐπάνων σφετερισθεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον
tέως ἀπαντήσας ἀναδιδαξόν με περὶ τῆς ποσότητος ὅρων ἐκδεξόμενο[ς].
100 ἁλλὰς κομισθ[εὶσ] ἀπὸ διαπομ(ῆς) [. . . . . .] Μεχε[ιρ] ἵς. Ἀδρήμος Ἰασίδωρος
ἐπίγραμμος τῆς κατοικεὶ τοῦ[ύ]δαιδος στρατηγοῖς καὶ στολα[ρί]χας τῆς ἐπιτρο-
πῆς χαίρειν. ἦς [τῇ εἰθοεὶν] τῇ στρατιωτικῇ ὑπηρετού-
μενος κυβερνήτης καὶ [ναυτᾶς, συ]ννακουργούντων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ
tῶν ἐφεστῶτων αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν, πολλάκις καὶ τ[ο[ὐκλάς] ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐνέδραι
οῦ παρ-
ρετούμενοι ἐφ' τοῖς δ[ρμοὶς τ]ῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐπινίων καμιῶν τὸν πάντα καρθ
ὄρμιόντες καταναλίσκουν πραγματεύομενοι καὶ [. . . . . . . .] εἰς περὶ τήν
στρατιωτικήν
εὐθαῦσαν ὅς ἐκ τοῦτ[ο]ὶ καὶ προστήμας ὑποβαλεῖ καὶ παραπέμψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἱγεμο-
νιά[ν] ἀναγκασθήσαί με. ὅς δὲ έουκεν, ἐπέτρυφ[ε]ν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς [ἡ] καὶ ἀπέτρεψεν ἡ συμμέτρως προσενε-
χθεῖσα αὐτοῖς τευμωρ[ι]α ὑπὸ τὶς ἱγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος, ὡς καὶ
νῦν ταῦτα ἐπιστεῖλα ὑμῖν ἀναγκασθήσαί με ὡς ὅπως τὰ παρασπερ[ο]μένα πλοῦτα
tῆς εἰθοείας μήτε φόρτο[ῦς] ὑπο-
105 δεξάμενα μήτε μήτε [. . . . . . .]. εἰμι ὅλος εἰς τοῖς ὅρμοις τῆς ὧ[ᾶς ὑμᾶς διουκόρουν]
ὀρμεν ἐπιτρέψῃ, 'ἀλλ' εὐθέως μὲν ἐξελαύνει πλεῖον [σπουδάσθητε]; τοὺς
dὲ ἀνθυσταμένους καὶ θρα-
συτέρους εἰν αὐτοῖς φροντίσατε πάρτας ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς με παραπεμφθησιμένους καὶ
dικτύν διώσοντας ἐπὶ τῇ τηλικαύτῃ ἐνέδρας ἀλ[.]π[α][. . . . . .] εὖ δὲ ἔστω ὡς Ἡ
dι' αὐτῶν ἐπιτάγα
ἡ ὅλως μαθῶν μᾶλλοντας δέν[όν] διὰ πάντων σπουδῆς τοῦτο ἐπισχεῖν εὑρίσκομεν
τῶν ὑμᾶς σεβροτύκεια περὶ τὴν οὕτως ἀναγκαίαν κα[λ] ἀνακουργοῦντον.

97. 1. τραπεζείτας. 98. 1. τραπεζεῖτών. 100-3. In l. margin, opposite these
lines, slanting stroke with the words κε[χρόνιστα] Μεχε[ιρ]. 101. 1. συγκουργούντων.
my Mediocrity; and I, as the same my lord the Catholicus has com-
manded, will report to him concerning the matter and await whatever
ruling thereon he decides to give. Publish this. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir
. . . . I have long since given orders that the bankers should not under
the name of *ballantia* overreach those paying in the taxes. If, then . . . .
Strategus of the Latopolite nome has given anything under this pretext,
let him recover it through his own subordinates; and let my commands
now be published to the taxpayers. And do you yourself examine the
practice of the bankers, and whatsoever you find has been appropriated
in good faith, so much only for the time being recover, informing me
of the sum involved and awaiting my ruling.

Another letter delivered by transmission of . . . ., Mecheir 16th.
Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi and
Commodores of the Procuratorial district, greeting. The ship-captains
and sailors in the service of the military commissariat, aided and abetted
both by the superintendents and by the soldiers under whose orders
they are placed, do not hesitate to indulge in many and varied kinds of
malpractices, wasting all their time by continually lying at anchor in
the harbours of the cities and riverine villages, engaging in business and
. . . . concerning the military commissariat. For which reason it has be-
hoved me both to subject them to fines and to send them under guard to
the office of the Governor. It appears, however, that the condign punish-
ment imposed upon them both by the Governor and by my Mediocrity
has proved an annoyance to them rather than a deterrent, so much so that
I am now obliged to forbid you by any means to allow the ships of the
commissariat whilst in passage to moor in the harbours of your adminis-
trative district, whether for the purpose of taking on cargo, or . . . . what-
soever, but immediately be instant to drive them out to sail (?). Those
who withstand you and the more audacious amongst them take care to
send without exception to me, in order that they may be sent under
guard to pay the penalty for such malpractices . . . . And know well that
if either from my own observation or learning from some other source,
(especially when it is your duty to attend to this with all zeal), I should
find that you have displayed too little concern for this so necessary and
important matter, it will be in very truth my bounden duty to proceed
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

ἐπαξίωσ ὑπάρ ὁσ[ν ἐστα. ἔρρο]θαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. 108" καὶ 109" καὶ η" Ἔμεχερ δεκατη ἦ.

ἄλλων (♂) ἀναδοθεισῶν [ὑπὸ "Ἡρωνος κο]μενταρησιον καὶ προγράμματος, Ἔμεχερ κ. α'.

Ἄυρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατατέρα Θηβαίδος Απολωνιαρίῳ στρατ[ηγῷ] Πανοπ[λ]ο(τοῦ) χα[ὶ(ρευ)]. πάντα τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ

Col. v

110 ὑπέρ τοῦ ι" καὶ ἢ" καὶ η" λοιπαζόμενον καὶ τοῦ ὑπέρ τοῦ δὲ ἀνεκάθε[ν χρόνων]

ἐξ ἐστῳ ἐν ἀποθέτῃ ἐφαξ ἐν τοῖς ἐπινεύρις καὶ ἔπι(κα)ροις τόποις τοῦ νομοῦ

διὰ φροντίδος σοι γενέσθω, ἕνα μὴ τῶν πλοίων ἀφθηθέντων πρὸς σε ἐν[дрα τις ἔπι] τὴν ἐμβαλήν γένηται. δεθῇ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὁρᾶς γομομεθάντα τὰ πλοῖα τὸν ἀνάπλουν

ποιεσθαί, οἱ γὰρ γεναινότατοι στρατώτατοι πρωτέρωσι τοῖς εἴδους πλείστων νοσημάτων εφημηχάνουσιν. ἐν οἷς δὲ τόποις ἡ ἀπόθεσις γεγένηται καὶ ἐν ποιοῖς ὀρμοίς
dιὰ ταχέων δῃ-

λέωσι μοι φρόντισον. ἔρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. 109" ι" 110η" Ἔμεχερ ..].

ἄλλης. Ἀυρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατατέρα Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωνιαρίῳ στρατηγῷ

[Πανοπόλις]τοῦ χαίρειν τρισχείλια κ[α]νίδα οἴνου ἐμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸ κατα-

σκευασθεῖν διαχειλο-

115 αγωγὸν πλοῖον ἢ τάχος καὶ ἐξαποστείλαι εἰς τὴν ἀνωτέρα Θηβαίδα δι' ἐπιμελητρο[ν]

ἀξιοχρέου φροντίς σοι γενέσθω[θ]ω. καὶ ὅτι σοι τούτο πέπρακται καὶ κατὰ ποιῶν ἠμέραν

καὶ διὰ τόν χρόνον ἐπιμελητοῦ τῇ τάξει φανερὸν καταστήσων. ἔρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι(p)

πολλοῖς χρόνοις. 108" ι" 109η" 110η" Ἔμεχερ κ.

ἄλλης. Ἀυρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατατέρα Θηβαίδος στρατηγοῦς τῶν ὑπ[ογεγραμμε[ν]ον νομῶν χαί(ρεις). έγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ συνειδῶν αὔτον γεγνήμε-

νον εἴδειας περὶ τῶν γεναινότατων στρατιωτῶν ἑπαξ[α]νόμενον δ) διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν 

108. Pap. εὖ' ἄξιωσ. ἐπ' perhaps corrected from un. 109. In l. margin, opposite this line, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνιστας) Ἔμεχερ. 110. In l. margin, the numeral Κ[Ε]. 114-16. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνιστας) Ἔμεχερ. 114. τρισχείλια,
against you with the severity you deserve. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 10th.

Other letters and a proclamation delivered by Heron the *commen-tarentis*, Mecheir 20th. The first letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that all the arrears of wine due for the year 15/14/7 and earlier years, complete to one sextarius, are lying in store in the harbours and suitable places in the nome, lest when the ships reach you there be a delay in their lading. For it will be necessary for the ships to load immediately and proceed on their voyage up river. For the most noble soldiers are short of their wine rations and becoming very sickly (?). And see that you inform me with all speed in what places the wine is stored, and in what harbours. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir . . . .

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you lade 3,000 Cnidian jars of wine with all speed into the ship of 2,000 artabas burthen which has been built, and dispatch it to the Upper Thebaid in charge of a reliable overseer. And report to my office that this has been carried out by you, and on what date and by what overseer. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 20th.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the undermentioned nomes, greeting. Having from my personal observation realized the cause of the deficiency in the provisions of the most noble soldiers, which is increased by your own negligence, I had long since taken the step of ordering you not to entrust your letters

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διασχίλαγωγόν. 115. ἐξαποστείλαι: εξ corrected. ἀνωτέρω: ω corrected from α. 117–21. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κεχρόνυσται Μεχείρ.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

tás par' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολάς περὶ τῆς ἀναστομηθῆς τῶν εὐθειακῶν εἰδῶν [τοῖς μετα]-
κομίζουσι ταῦτα ἐπιμελήταις, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὑπηρέτου ἀποστέλλοντι πρὸς τοὺς
διαδότας

120 ἡ Φίλωνα τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς ἀνωτέρω Θηβαίδος, ὡςαν ἐκ πλῆρους τὰ ἀποστειλλό-
μενα ἀπαυγηθεῖ. εἰ δὲν δὲ μοι γράφει ο αὐτὸς Φίλων φαίνεσθε μιθέν τούτων
ἐπιστροφὴν των πουραμένοι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐποφειλομένη καθ’ ὑμῶν ἐπ(εξέλευεν)
εἰς καρόν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ταμείευτον. φροντίσατε δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμελήτας
ἀπαντάς τῶν ἱδικτιών κατ’ εἰδος συναγαγόντες ἀπαυγήσαν ἐκκατ[ον δόγμα]
τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἁγίῳ Θηβαίῳ διαδόσεως δὲν ἐπι τόπων παρελθήσειν εἰδῶν, μή μόνον
ἀλλὰ λογογραφείας ἀλλʼ ἐπὶ φοράς τῶν ἀποχῶν ἀς προσήκει αὐτῶν κομίζεσθαι
παρὰ τῶν ὑπεληφθότων, καὶ εἰ μὲν ταῖς εὐφορτί πλήρῃ τὰ ἐγχειρισθέντα
αὐτοῖς διαδε-

125 διακόσια. τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γε ἐνδεδείκτευν τὴν δ[ιάδοσιν]
ποιουμένονς δὲ ὑπηρέτων πρὸς με παραπέμψας, προσκεμένης τῆς περὶ
ἐκάστου
tῶν πεπραγμένων ὑμῖν δηλώσεως τοῖς πρὸς με γράμμασίν. καὶ τοῦ[ο δεὶ ὑμᾶς]
πληρώσαι εἰς ὑμῖν ἡμέρας πεντεκάδεκα ὡςαν παρ’ ἐμοὶ διακριθήν ἐκάστα, καὶ ἐπι-

128 στρέψειας τῆς προσηκούσης τυχόντα τοῦ λοιποῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα γίγνεσθαι [μὴ συμβαίνῃ.
ε]ρρωθῶν ὑμᾶς εὐχόμαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. ἵς ἵς 
Μεχείρ κ. εἰοὶ δὲ.

Κουσατοῦ
Δ[ιεκ]οπολτόν Υψηλάτου Απολλωνιοπολίτου Λαυταπολίτου Πανοπολίτου Θεί-
το[ν].

ἀλλάς. Ἀδρήλου Ἰσιδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἱππ[ά-
τορις τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χαί(ρεων)]. κενήσεως γενομένης κατὰ τῶν Λυκοπολίτων

νομῶν περὶ τῆς
ἐπιστροφῆς ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀφόρου, προσέταξεν ὁ κύριος μου Δόμινος ὁ διαφοροῦσι
καθολικός καὶ τὰς τοῦ φθάνοντος χρόνου προσόδους χρήσαι παρὰ τῶν κατεχο-
κότων ταύτην τῷ ταμείῳ περισσώθηκεν, τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ δεῖδν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν [ἀλλών τῆς]
ἐπιτροπῆς νομῶν προχωρῆσαι. φανερὰς τοῖς γενομένης καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης

130 ἀπαίθης γῆς ἐκ τῆς τῶν κηρυσσόμενων καταμετρήσεως φροντίσατε ἐκαθότος τὰ
dόματα τῶν κτητόρων τῶν διακατεχόντων τὴν ἐπιστροφῆν ἀπὸ ὑπολόγουν

120. ἐπίτροπον: second π corrected from ν (?). 123. 1. λογογραφίας. 124. 1.
ἐνδεδείκτευν. 128-32. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the
words κε(χρόνισται) Μεχείρ 128. 1. κυνήσεως.
concerning the dispatch up river of the provisions of the commissariat to the overseers who convey them, but to send them by messenger to the distributors or else to Philon, the Procurator of the Upper Thebaid, in order that the quantities shipped may be demanded in full. But from what the same Philon writes to me, it appears that you have paid no attention to these matters; whereof due retribution is for the time being reserved for you together with the others. See now that you collect together all the overseers of the Indictions, according to the species of provision, and demand from each of them accounts of the distribution in the Upper Thebaid of the supplies which they had received on the spot, carrying your inquiry not merely to the point of checking figures, but to the actual production of the receipts which they should have obtained from the recipients. And whosoever you find have handed over in full the quantities entrusted to them, give these a clear discharge; but those who have made a deficient delivery send to me under guard of your servants, enclosing in your letters to me statements of your proceedings in each case. And this inquiry you must complete within 15 days, in order that each case may be determined by me, and by the application of appropriate measures similar occurrences may be prevented. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 20th. The nomes are as follows: Cussite, Lycopolite, Hypselite, Apollinopolite, Antaeopolite, Panopolite, Thinite.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi and juratores of the procuratorial district, greeting. A disturbance having occurred in the Lycopolite nome concerning the sown land reclaimed from the derelict category, my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, has ordered that the revenues for the previous years should be recovered for the Treasury from the proprietors, and that similar procedure should be followed in the other nomes of the Procuratorial district. The whole of the land in this category being clearly defined in the survey taken by the censitores, see that each of you as accurately as possible picks out from the census returns the names
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

ἀφόρου ἀπὸ τῶν κήρυσιν μετὰ πᾶσης ἀκριβείας ἐκλαβόντες διὰ γραμμαῖς τῶν ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἀνενεγκεῖν, προσκεμένης τῆς ποσότητος τοῦ ἀρουρηθοῦ κατὰ κόπτην καὶ ὑποστράφηκαν. Καὶ καὶ κόμην ἔνα εἶς ἐργὸν προαχθῆ ἕκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν χρήμα ὧν τὸν ἐρρήμωσε ῥημάτων ἐπισταλμένα, τούτων τὸ ἀντίγραφον συνεξεύκτα. ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἐξελάμβανε τοὺς ἀντιπάτρους καὶ τῶν ἀντικαταστάσεως τῶν κυρίων πεπληρωμένων, διὸ πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοὶ πεπραγμένα συνελέγχει τῆν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ καὶ Σαββάσπου [στρατηγοῦ] κατὰ τοῦ ταμείου πλεονεξίαν, εἰπερ ἀντὶ τῶν δισθένζων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἀττικὸν ἐς ἐτύχχουν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς ὑπολογόν πρότερον γῆς [παθείσης] περὶ κόμην Ἰμαθεῖν τῆς Ἀικοπολίτεων ἐνοφαῖς πέντε ὁλὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοιτα φαίνοντα ἐτέρου τάλαντα ἐπαγγελάμενοι, καὶ ταύτα ἐπεφυλάσσει μηδέπω τῶν ἐνόμων κυρίων πεπληρωμένων, διὸ πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοὶ πεπραγμένα συνελέγχει τῆν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ καὶ Σαββάσπου [στρατηγοῦ]

Col. vi

ἀν ἔχω ὑπὸ δημοσίως κελεύσμασι προτρέφονται σε τὸν βουλαμένους πλέον προσκομιζομένους ὑφελοῦ τοῦ ταμείου· ἀπότελε ὑπὸ τὸ τεταγμένος τῶν ἀστῆριάριμμος πληρωθείν, φημὶ δὲ μετὰ ἐκτὸς παρὰθερεῖν, αὐτὸ τὸ πρὸς σημαίνει πρόπτειν τῇ τάξει, ἐν τῇ ἑβδομῇ ἀντὶς παρὰ ἑμοὶ πληρωθεῖν κυριακή τὰ προσήκοντα, τέχνης δὲ οὐ.. εἰς τ. τοσούτων ὑπερβαλλόμενοι ἐχέσωθωσαν τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ δίς προκρίσεως τοῦ ταμείου, πλὴρ εἰ μὴ τινὲς ἐτέρων ἐπανεξήνει βουληθεῖν τὰ ύπ’ ἑκεῖνον ἐπηγγελθένα. ἐπει δὲ καὶ τοῦ διελθοῦσαν ἀξία νῦν χρόνον λογισμῶν δευτερεύει, γνώριμος τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τότε ταύτην καρποὺμενοι τῆν χώραν, ὑπ’ ἑκεῖνον ὑποποντὸ πρὸς ἄκριτα συνεχεῖ τῷ ταμείῳ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τῆς φορολογίας τεταγμένα μα, αὐτῶν τῶν κατασχητῶν, ἐπει δὲ συνεκάθισαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκδόταις εἰδέας τῆς ἐν υπολόγῳ πρῶτον φερομένης ἐπαρμένης νῦν κατελθήσθαι ὁμ.[...] τᾶ βιβλία τοῦ κηρυκτοῦ σημαίνει, καὶ ἐπ’ ἑκατον παρὰ τῶν τῆς διακατασχητῶν καὶ τῶν νῦν κατατέθων τὸ ἀξίματον γενέσθω τῷ ταμείῳ κατὰ τὰ προερχομένα ἐπεί τοῦ τοῦ προερχομένου ἑνὸμοι καὶ τῆς ἅλης τῆς ὑπὸ σε διουκήσασι.
of the holders of sown land reclaimed from the derelict category, and
reports them to me in writing, specifying in addition the areas involved
according to district, toparchy, or village, in order that effect may be
given to the decisions of my lord the Catholicus. And in order that you
may know the orders communicated by his Highness to my Mediocrity,
a copy of these is subjoined. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year
16/15/8, Mecheir 20th. Copy of the letter of the Catholicus. Your own
proceedings have exposed the fraud of the Strategus Heraclius also
called Xanthippus against the Treasury, seeing that instead of the 2,500
atticae which I received for the land formerly in the derelict category
sold in the neighbourhood of the village of Imouthes in the territory of
Lycopolis, other persons, it appears, had actually offered as much as 45
talents. He had, moreover, sold it despite the fact that the legal number
of proclamations had not been completed. Wherefore it would be good if
by public announcements you were to give encouragement to those who
are willing to contribute additional profit to the Treasury, and when­
ever the prescribed number of auctions has been held, viz. after the sixth
announcement, see that you report the matter to my office, so that when
the seventh auction has been completed by me, the proper measures may
be confirmed; and for the time being let the top bidders at this point (?)
be held to their engagement, without prejudice to the Treasury, unless
other persons should be willing to increase on the amounts which the
former have offered. And since it is necessary to take account of the time
collapsed up to the present moment, find out who they were who then en­
joyed the fruits of that land, in order that both the revenue due in respect
of it and the amounts laid down at the collection of taxes may be re­
covered for the Treasury from the former owners. And since it consists
of the same type of land as that formerly classified as derelict . . . . the
books of the censitor show, see that in that case also the Treasury is
secured against loss by both the former and the present owners accord­
ing to the foregoing instructions, both in the aforesaid nome and in
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

ας ον εξειναι τοις χρονολογεταις έπι τη τουατη γη υποσταις προσφερει κατα το παραδεξμα των ήδη προσδελυβων.

145 ἀλλις. Ἀμήλιος Ἰασώρος ἐπίστροφος τής κατωτέρω Θεβαίδος στρατηγοίς τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χαλ(ρευ). εἰ καὶ κάδυνοι μείζων κατά το εὐλογον εξεδέχετο τοὺς παραλεπιστήτ[ας τήν] έκατον άμπελον ἐν ταῖς μικρῷ πρότερον γενομέναις κα[τά το θείον] πρόσταγμα ἀπογραφαῖς πρῶ τοις τῶν κηνατώ-

145-7. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνονται) Μεξέιρ.
the remainder of your administration, in order that those who desire to
do so may have the opportunity of making offers for such land following
the example of those who have already come forward.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid,
to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. Even though, with
good reason, the extreme of peril awaited those who omitted to include
their vineyards in the recent returns rendered in accordance with the
divine decree before the arrival of the censitores, nevertheless . . . to the
happy state of the times and the . . . towards them, I command you to
make a comparison of all the returns, under each nome and locality, with
the records compiled by the census, in order that those who neglected
to make returns, either in whole or in part, may be detected; from whom,
without the slightest delay, you should demand the wine due for the first
and second Indiction—they should, in fact, be well satisfied at having
escaped, on this occasion, a heavier penalty—in order that this quantity
of wine may benefit the military commissariat and not provide gain for
the evil-doers. And since the survey clearly distinguishes the vine-
yard-land not yet planted at the time of the two aforesaid Indictions, it is
obvious that they are not having to endure any extraordinary inquisition.
See also that you report to me by letter the quantity of wine which will be
 gained under this head, and all your relevant transactions, placing your
own safety in this matter above any considerations of favour or gain. I bid
you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 18th.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid,
to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. Send off immediately
the men who provided the carts and cattle dispatched to Keneh for the
service of the quarries to the receivers there, so that they may receive
back both their carts and their same cattle. And see that you inform me
by letter that this has been done. I bid you farewell, for many years.
Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 19th.

153-5. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνοισαι)
Μεχείρ.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

Θηβαίδος. ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Λυκοπολίτην πεπραγμένων καὶ έἰς γνώσιν τοῦ κυρίου μοῦ Δόμινο τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ ἐλθοῦσαν[

καθολικοῦ ἐλθοῦσαν[ν] περὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ ὑπὸ λόγου ἀφόρου, ὡς αἱρέσεις τῷ ταμείῳ προσηγέχθη, προσέταξεν τὸ μεγαλεῖον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λουπῶν νομῶν τῆς ε[πιτροπῆς] ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλο-

μένοις ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ γῇ ὑ[ποστάσεις] προσφέρειν. ὁποιοὶ τοῖς τοιαύτας αἵρεσεις προσφαγεῖται βούλλονται προσήτωρι τῆς τάξει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς κατὰ τὰ δ[ξέαντα τῶ] κυρίῳ μου τῷ καθολικῷ ὠσ-

ἀν τῶν νεομυσμένων[ν] προκορ]όξεων έξει παρ’ ἐμοὶ πεπληρωμένων τὰ λείποντα πρὸς ἀπαλλήλωμα τῆς κυρώσεως διὰ τῆς καθολικῆς τάξεως καὶ[τὰ τὸν τοῦ] ταμείου νόμον προχωρήσει-

[160] ev. prothés. 155" 165" γης, Μ[εχείρ . . . .].

ἄλλων β’ κοιμηθείσων δι(α) τ[ῶν ἐγγε]γραμμένων, Μ[εχείρ κα. μᾶς. Αδρήλος] Ισάρωρος ἐπιτροπὸς τῆς κατου[τροῦ Θηβαίος Ἀπολλονίων ορτρογγυ καὶ ἀποδέκταις Χρημάτωρ] Πανοπολίτοι καὶ[ρεῖν]. τοῖς ὑπὸ Ο[νάλειρον πραιτόντων [ιππεῖας] σαγγαρτίοις διακειμένοις εἰ κάστορας τῆς Ποτα-

κόπτου φροντίσατε ἐξοδάσατι ὑπὲρ δωκασίον τῆς πρὸ δεξαδίῳ καλανδὼν Δέκε]μβρίων κρατήσας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Διοκ[λήτιαν] τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης καὶ εἰ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλήτιαν καὶ [Μα]ξείμανον [Σεβαστ]ὸν ἰεραρίων μυριάδων τραί-

κοντα καὶ διασχέλως π[εντακοσίας ἀττικάς] καὶ ὑπὲρ δωκασίου τῆς πρὸ δέκα μᾶς καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων γεγέβλου τοῦ αὐτῆς [δεσπότου ἡμῶν Διοκλήτιαν] τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου (Σεβαστοῦ)

Col. vii

[165] τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπατίας ἰεραρίων μυριάδων τραίκοντα καὶ διασχέλως πεντακοσίας ἀττικάς, ὡς συναγομένοις ἰεραρίων μυριάδων εἰς ὑπάντων καὶ πεντακαχειλίας ἀττικάς καὶ ταύτας παραδόθην Ὑσαβαθ. [.] . . . .] καὶ Μαξίμῳ ἰππεὶ ὁπανάτορας καὶ ἀποχα δέσασθαι παρ’ αὐ-

τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαρθιμήτη γράμματα. ἔρροθαι ὡμᾶς εὐχομαι πολ[λοῖς χρό]νοις. 155" καὶ 165" καὶ 170" Μ[εχείρ ἤ].

156–60. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνιστα) Μ[εχείρ. 164. In upper margin the numeral ΚΖ. 1. διαχείλια. 165. 1. ὑπατείας, διαχείλια. 166. 1. πεντακαχειλίας.

82
PAPYRUS 2

The proclamation, from the original of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. As the result of events which have occurred in the Lycopolite nome and have come to the knowledge of my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, concerning land from the derelict category, for which a bid was made to the Treasury, his Highness has ordered that also in the remaining nomes of the Procuratorial district it should be allowable for those who wish to make offers for such land. Those therefore who wish to make such bids should apply to the office of the Procurator, in accordance with the decisions of my lord the Catholicus, so that when the six auctions ordained have been completed under my supervision, the formalities remaining for completion of the confirmation of title may be carried out through the office of the Catholicus in accordance with Treasury law. Publish this. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir . . . .

Two more letters delivered by the persons mentioned therein, Mecheir 24th. The one letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the mounted archers under the command of the praepositus Valerius, stationed in the fort of Potecoptus, on account of donative for the accession of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on November 20th in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 30 myriads of denarii and 2,500 atticae; and on account of donative for the birthday of the same our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on December 22nd in the same consulate, 30 myriads of denarii and 2,500 atticae, making a total altogether of 60 myriads of denarii and 5,000 atticae. And deliver these to Varthan . . . . and Maximus, cavalryman, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting of the money. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 13th.

83
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

άλλης. Ἀυρήλ[ο]ς Ἰσιδωρος ἐπίπτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαιδος Ἀπολυ[α]ρίων στρατηγῷ καὶ ἀποδέκταις χρημάτων Πανοπολίτου χαί(ρεω). τοῖς ὑπὸ Εὐ-
δαιμονα ἐπαρχὸν ἱππεῖσιν ἐλῆς β’ Ἦρκουλιας δρομεδαρίων δι[ακειμὲνος ἐν Τουτῳ καὶ Τιμάβια φροντίσατε ὑπὲρ δωνατίου

170 τῆς πρὸ ιβ’ καλαινὸν Δεκεμβρίων κρατήσεως τοῦ δεσπότου Ἰμ[ων Δ]υκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβύτερου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης ἡ καὶ ἐ υπὲρ δωνατίου τῆς πρὸ δέκα μᾶς καλα[νδῶν 'Γ]αρπαρίων γενελίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεσπότου ἰμῶν Δυκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβύτερου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπατείας δηναρίων μυράδας [πέντ]ε καὶ τρισχείλιας ἐπτακοσίας πεντήκοντα ἀττικάς, καὶ ὑπὲρ δωνατίου τῆς πρὸ δέκα μᾶς καλα[νδῶν 'Γ]αρπαρίων γενελίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεσπότου ἰμῶν Δυκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβύτερου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπατείας δηναρίων μυράδας [πέντ]ε καὶ τρισχείλιας ἐπτακοσίας πεντήκοντα ἀττικάς, ὑπὸ τὰς συναγώγων κυβρίων μυράδας δέκα καὶ ἐπτακωχειλίας [πέντ]ε ἀττικάς, καὶ ταύτας παραδόνων Πετερίῳ (δεκαδάρχῳ) ὑπημ-


ἀλλων δ’ κομισθεῖσιν δι(ά) τῶν ἔγγεγρασι(μένων), Φαμενώθ ἀ. α’ Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδωρος ἐ[πίπτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαιος Ἀπολυαρίων στρατηγῷ καὶ [ἐ]πείκταις πλοιοποιεῖαις Πανοπολίτου χαί(ρεω). τὸ κέρας δὲ περ’ Χεὶ’πει ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατασκε[να]μένου διαπολιαγωγοῦ πλοῖον ἐξαρτήμαν κομίσασθε διὰ Τυράννου [τοῦ βασιλέων].

τὰ γὰρ κυπαρίσσια ἔμελα εἰς τὴν τῶν πιθαλίων κατασκεψιν εἰκός ύμᾶς ἐκ[ποιεῖ] ἀπὸ τοῦ Αντιαπολίτου εἰληφθέναι, ἐρρώθαι ὑμᾶς εἴχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

ἰς" ἑρ" ἡς", Μεχερὶ ἑρ. 

180 ἀλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδωρος ἐπίπτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαιδος Ἀπολυαρίων στρατηγῷ καὶ ἀπὸ[δέκταις χρημάτων Πανοπολίτου χαί(ρεω). τοῖς ὑπὸ Λεόντιον πραιτόσι-

τον στρατιῶτας οὐδελλιτίασος λεγεῶν δευτέρας Τραπάνης διακειμένοις ἐν Ἀπολλώνοις ἅρῳ φρον[ῆσθαι ἐξοδιάσαι ὑπὲρ δωνατίου τῆς πρὸ ἑπτά μᾶς καλαινὸν Ἰανουαρίων γενε-

θλίου τοῦ δεσπότου ἰμῶν Δυκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβύτερου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης.

171. 1. τραχίλιας. 173. 1. τραχίλιας. 174. 1. ἐπτακωχειλίας. 177-8. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, enclosed with two large round brackets, the words ἁνεδὸθη | ὑπὸ τοῦ στρα- | τηγοῦ. 177. 1. πλοιοποιείαις. κέρας: written above κρέας deleted.

84
The other letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the cavalry of the Ala II Herculia Dromedariorum, under the command of the Prefect Eudaemon, stationed at Toëto and Psinabla, on account of donative for the accession of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on November 20th in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 5 myriads of denarii and 3,750 atticae; and on account of donative for the birthday of the same our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on December 22nd in the same consulate, 5 myriads of denarii and 3,750 atticae, making a total altogether of 10 myriads of denarii and 7,500 atticae. And pay these over to the decurio Petēsis, the agent, and take written receipts from him at the counting out of the money. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 13th.

Four more letters delivered by the persons named therein, Phamenoth 1st. The first letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the superintendents of shipbuilding of the Panopolite nome, greeting. The yard-arm which is lacking for the fitting-out of the ship of 2,000 artabas burthen now under construction please receive by the hand of Tyrannus the ship-captain. The cypress wood for the construction of the steering-oars you have no doubt received long ago from the Antaeopolite nome. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 5th.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Stratagus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the soldiers of the detachment of Legio II Traiana under the command of the praepositus Leontius stationed at Apollinopolis Superior, on account of donative for the birth-

\[\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsiloni: \text{corrected from } \lambda\varepsilon\tau\iota \iota. \]
\[1. \delta\alpha\gamma\chi\lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\nu\delta, \varepsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\nu. \]
\[179-80. \text{In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words } \kappa\epsilon(\chi\rho\omicron\nu\iota\sigma\tau\iota) \pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\omicron\theta. \]
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

[τής ζ καὶ] ζ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ήμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
Σεβαστῶν

dηναρίων μυρίδας ἐκατὸν τραύκοντα ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐξαικεσιλείας διακοσίοις [τῇ πεντή]-
κοντα ἀττικάς, καὶ ταῦτας παραδοσῶν Κολλούδη (ἐκατοντάρχης) σουτερ-
νουμεραρίῳ

cαι Γεροντίῳ σημαφόρῳ ὀπινιάτορι καὶ ἄποχα δεξαμεθαν παρ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ [τῇ]
ἀπαριθμήσει γράμματα ἐπ᾿ ἐμὲ] δὲ ἀνενεχεῖν. ἐρρώθησα ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πολλοῖς

185 χρόνοις. 1ςς" 1ςς" ἦςς", Μεσχερ κ.γ.

ἀλλὰς. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσαάκ(ω)ρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολλναρίῳ στρ[ατηγῷ]
καὶ ἀποδέκταις χρημάτων Πανοπολίτου χαὶ(πε Tac.), τοῖς ὑπὸ Μουκιανὸς πραιτό-
σιτον στρα-
τιάς κυβερνητῶν ἐνεπιφώνων διαφόρους ὀριστικῶν διακεμένοις [ἐν κάστροις]
tῆς Ποταμίστου φρούτταστε ἐξοδιάσατε ὑπὲρ στιπεδίου τῆς πρὸ ἰβ’ καλαν-
δῶν Δεκεμβρίων κρατήσασε τοῦ δεσποτῶν ημῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου
Σεβαστοῦ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης ζ καὶ ζ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ημῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν δηναρίων μυρίδας διακοσίας τρεισαρ-
κόντα ἐνρεῖα καὶ ἐξαικεσιλείας διακοσίας πεντήκοντα ἀττικάς καὶ ταῦτας

παραδοθηκαί
c

Col. viii

190 Δρακοντῶν (ἐκατοντάρχω) ὀρδανάτῳ καὶ Χαρυκίῳ συγνήθερι ὀπινιάτορι καὶ ἄποχα
δεξαμεθαν παρ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαριθμήσει γράμματα ἐπ᾿ ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνενεχεῖν.
ἐρρώθησα ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πο[λ]λοῖς χρόνοις.

ςς" 1ςς" ἦςς", Μεσχερ κ.γ.

ἀλλὰς. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσαάκ(ω)ρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολλναρίῳ στρατηγῷ
καὶ ἀποδέκταις χρημάτων Πανοπολίτου χαὶ(πε Tac.), τοῖς ὑπὸ Μουκιανὸς πραιτό-
σιτον στρατιώταις ὀρχειλατλιῶν λε-
γεώνων διαφόρων ὀριστικῶν διακεμένοις ἐν κάστροις τῆς Ποταμίστου φρούττ-
σατε ἐξοδιάσατε ὑπὲρ δοματίου τῆς πρὸ ἰα’ καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίῳς γενεθλίῳ
tοῦ δεσποτῶν [ημῶν] Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ
πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης ζ καὶ ζ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ημῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν δηναρίων μυρίδας διακοσίας τρε-
σαρκόντα ἐνρεῖα καὶ ἐξαικεσιλείας διακοσίας πεν-

183. ἐξαικεσιλείας. 184. ἴσαμεφόρῳ. 189. ἐξαικεσιλείας. 190. In
upper margin the numeral K.H. 192. ὀριστικῶν. 194. ἐξαικεσιλείας.

86
day of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on December 22nd in
the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and
Maximian, the Augusti, 138 myriads of denarii and 6,250 atticae, and
pay these over to the supernumerary centurion Colluthus and the
signifer Gerontius, the agents; and take written receipts from them at
the counting out of the money, and forward them to me. I bid you fare­
well, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 23rd.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid,
to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite
nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the soldiers of the detachment
drawn from various Eastern legions under the command of the prae­
positus Mucianus, stationed in the fort of Potecoptus, on account of
donative for the accession of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus,
on November 20th in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers
Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 249 myriads of denarii and 6,250
atticae, and pay these over to the leading centurion Dracontius and the
signifer Choricius, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the
counting out of the money, and forward them to me. I bid you farewell,
for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 23rd.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid,
to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite
nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the soldiers of the detachment
drawn from various Eastern legions under the command of the prae­
positus Mucianus stationed in the fort of Potecoptus, on account of
donative for the birthday of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus,
on December 22nd in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers
Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 249 myriads of denarii and
πάπυρι Αττικάς καὶ ταῦτα παραδοθοῦναι Κ[……]ω (ἐκατοντάρχω) καὶ Φηλίππω
συγνότερον ὑπονομέαν καὶ ἀποχα δέξασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαραβήσει
γράμματα ἐπ’ ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνεφευρεῖν. ἔφροθα[ι] ἡμᾶς εὐχαμι
πολλοῖς χρόνοις. 15§, 16§, 17§, Μενελάρ κ[ ]

αὖθισ β’ κομοθ(εισῶν) διὰ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, Φαμενο[β]. Αὐρήδιος Ἰσιδώρος
ἐπιτρόπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολλωνίᾳ στρατηγῷ καὶ ἀποδέκταις
χρημάτων Πανοπλοῦτον χα[λ]τ(ειν). ὕφεστάσις ἐπ’ αὐ-
τῆς ὄρας ὑς ἂν ἔδει τὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ γράμματα κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου μου Δόμινο
τοῦ διαστομίστου καθολικοῦ Δεοτίνῳ πραποτήτω ἐπίπεδων προμότων λεγεῶν
β΄ Τραιανής δια[κειμένων] ἐν Τεντήρᾳ

ὑπὲρ πραετέρων δωνατίων τῆς μὲν πρ’[δ] δεκαδίνῳ καλειδό[ν] Δεκεμβρίων κρατή-

ημῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σ[εβαστοῦ] δημαρία διασχείλει πεντάκοσια, καὶ
ὑπὲρ δωνατίων τῆς πρὸ δέκα μιᾶς καλειδῶν Ἰανούαριον γενέθλιον τοῦ αὐτῶν
δεσπότου ἡμῶν [Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]
tῆς αὐτῆς ὑπατείας δηµαρία διασχείλε [πεντάκοσια], καὶ ὑπὲρ στισενίων καλειδῶν
Ἰανούαριον τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης 7 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμια[νοῦ τ]'] ὑπὸ εὐφανεστάτων
Καίσαρον δημαρία μᾶρα ὀκτακοσία, [ὁμοὶ τὰς] συναγοράν δηραρίων μεραίδαις
dιόν καὶ τρισχιλίας ἀττικάς διὰ Μάριων (ἐκατοντάρχων) καὶ Ἀμμωνίων ἐπίπεδων
ὁπινατόρων καὶ ἀποχα δέξασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαραθήσει γράμματα. ἔφροθε[θαι] ἡμᾶς εὐχαμι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. 15§', καὶ 16§', καὶ 17§', Φαμενο[β].

ἀλλης. Ἀυρήδιος Ἰσιδώρος ἐπιτρόπος τῆς [καπωτέρ] ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας στρατηγῷ
καὶ ἀποδέκταις χρημάτων Πανοπλοῦτον χα[λ]τ(ειν). τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐλεούσαν πραιτό-

δων ὑπεύθυνοι ὑπὲρ ὑπατείας τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης
tρίτης ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτων [Καίσαρων] δηραρίων μεραί-
das ἐνεκαὶ τρισχιλίας ἐκατόν ἐκ[οσιπέντε] ἀττικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα παραδοθοῦναι Μάριο
(ἐκατοντάρχων) καὶ Ἀμμωνίων ἐπεὶ ὑπονόμως καὶ ἀποχα δέξασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαραθήσει γράμματα[τα]. 15§', καὶ 16§', καὶ 17§',

198. δέξα: 1. δέξασθε. 200. ἰ. διασχίσα. 201. ἰ. διασχίσα.
6,250 *atticae*, and pay these over to the centurion C . . . . us and the *signifer* Philippus, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money, and forward them to me. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir . . . .

Two more letters delivered by the persons named therein, Phamenoth 2nd. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out, the very moment that you receive this letter, according to the command of my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, to Leontius, *praepositus* of the *equites promoti* of Legio II Traiana stationed at Tentyra, on account of arrears of donative for the accession of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on November 20th in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 2,500 denarii, and on account of donative for the birthday of the same our ruler Diocletian, the Augustus, on December 22nd in the same consulate, 2,500 denarii, and on account of pay for January 1st in the most happy 3rd consulate of our rulers Constantius and Maximian, the most illustrious Caesars, 18,000 denarii, making a total altogether of 2 myriads of denarii and 3,000 *atticae*; make payment through the centurion Maron and the cavalryman Ammonius, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 1st.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the *equites promoti* of Legio II Traiana under the command of the *praepositus* Leontius stationed at Tentyra, on account of donative for the most happy 3rd consulate of our rulers Constantius and Maximian, the most illustrious Caesars, 9 myriads of denarii and 3,125 *atticae*, and pay these over to the centurion Maron


PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

210. Ουσία εύνοιας διακόμησαν τοις πλοίοις ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν θανάτοις πλοίοις πρὸς

215. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσθανωρὸς ἐπίστροφος τῆς κατωτέρως Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγοῖς τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χαῖρε(στε). τὸν πεταγομένον κατὰ μήνα ἑκτέμπεσθαι χρυσὸν εἰς τὴν

208-10. In I. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρώματα) Φαμένωθ. 209. l. ἐγχαράκτητο. 211-14. In I. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρώματα) Φαμένωθ. 211. l. περοτίνων (see com-
and the cavalryman Ammonius, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 1st.

Three more letters and two public notices transmitted by the Strategus of the Antaeopolite nome, Phamenoth 3rd. The first letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. If it should be so desired by the ship-captains, let the emblems of the gods in each city be carved, as is customary, upon the prows of the ships before they are launched, the costs being borne by the ship-captains. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 23rd.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. Let each of you compile a detailed list of the persea and acanthus wood which has been sent to the most illustrious city of Alexandria and to the city of Nikiu, and let it be sent immediately to the office of the Procurator, specifying how much of each kind of wood was sent down, and of what dimensions, and by what overseer or conductor, by what ship-captains, and on what day. For my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, is anxious to have this information to compare with the production figures of the shipyards there. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 21st.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the Procuratorial district, greeting. The amount of gold commanded to be sent each month to the office of my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, must by all possible means be bought up and dispatched, by urgent order of the same my lord the most eminent Catholicus, who has prescribed that, in accordance with the divine regulation of our rulers and sovereigns and the most illustrious Caesars, only 40 talents may be disbursed for each pound of gold. Whatever amount therefore is due in respect of the months of Tybi and Mecheir, take care to buy up immediately and send down to me by the persons named herein, and for the future observe the same procedure each

mentary). 212. l. Ἰδέας. 215-18. In l. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνισταί) Φαμενώθ. 217. l. μηρών. 218. l. γενομένω.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

Col. ix

220 έκάστης λόγος τοῦ προκηρυχθέντος ἁπαραθημένος καὶ ἀπαραθημένος τάλαντα δύο λογίσας σήμερα τῇ ραπτῇ γεγραμμένος. Εἴ δὲ γὰρ ὡς ἂν εἰ ὧν ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ τελείῳ φυλάξατε ἥ καὶ κατά μήνα

tόν χρυσὸν ἐμπροθέαμον ἀποστείλλετε, παραπεμφθήσαντε πρὸς τὸν κυρίον μου." Δόμυον τόν διασημότατον καθολικόν, κάδυνον οὗ τῶν τυχόντα ἐπὶ τοῖς

tηλειοφόροις ὑποστηρίζομενον, ἐρρώσατε ὑμᾶς εἴχομεν πολλοῖς χρόνοις. 158ος καὶ 168ος, καὶ 118ος. [Μεσειρί] κα.

όλλου. ἐξ αὐθεντικᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑστέρου ἐπιτρώπου τῆς κατωτέρου Θυβαίδος, τὰ μὲν τῆς ἔγραψαν τοῖς κατὰ νομῶν χωριστείκτας περὶ τοῦ χρῆσασθαι
tοσιτηθεὶς σπουδὴ εἰς τὴν τοῦ(v)

χωριστὼν καὶ διωγμὸν ἐπιμελείαν ὡστε μὴ μονὸν τὰ εἰσωθήτα ἄπεργαξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τινὰ ἄλλα [ἐγγὰ δόκειον χρῆσαι, μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεδίων ἀρδεόν τὸ
de χρόνῳ ὁπόσα συμβαίνει
dιὰ ποικιλὰς αἰτίας παραμελεθήντα, κακεῖνων τὴν δέουσαν ποιεῖσθαι αἰτιῶν, τῆς ἱδρύσας σύνθεσα τοῖς ὑπενθύμοις φυλαττομεῖσθαι, ἀκόλουθον δὲ ἐνόμισα καὶ

ματι προκαλέσασθαι τοὺς ἔκασταὶ ἐρχομένοι κτήτοράς τε καὶ γεωργούς ὄμοι δὲ καὶ
dεκαπρώτους, ὥστε μάλιστα δὲ τῆς φορολογίας κάδυνως διενήργησε, ὡστε εἰ
tι τοιόντο συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς νομί-

dεύτερη συμβέβηκέν

cεν. οἵμαι γὰρ κακεῖνοις μεμεριμένοις τῶν παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἐντολῶν μὴ ἐν δεύτερον θήσε-

ξῆν τοίνυπται ἐπιμελείαν. κελεύω δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τوبة μου τὸ πρό-

γράμμα [ἐνα]

μὴ μονῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ νομοῦ μητροκομημάτων ἀντίγραφα(φα) καθ’

έκαστην προθέτευμα, ὡς ἄν απαντήσεις εἴδεις τά προστεταγμένα, "προθέτες", 158ος καὶ 168ος καὶ 118ος, Μεσειρί κα.

219. In upper margin the numeral ΚΘ.

220. 1. ἐμπροθέαμος. 221. 1. ὑπο-

στηρόμενοι. 222–5. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words
month. In the case of the present transaction, let it be your care to reckon up the talents in excess for each pound of the prescribed amount and account for them to two bankers (?). For know well that unless you take precautions to secure the Treasury from loss, and be vigilant to dispatch the gold punctually every month, you will be sent under guard to my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, exposing yourselves to no common danger for so great an offence. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 21st.

The public notice, from the original of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. I have sent appropriate instructions in writing to the overseers of the embankments in each nome about their devoting so much zeal to the care of the embankments and canals that not only may the customary operations be completed, but also that any other works which may appear useful for the irrigation of the fields, but which in lapse of time have for various reasons been neglected, may now receive the necessary renovation, without prejudice to the authority of any of those responsible. I have now thought it appropriate in addition by public notice to appeal to the proprietors and farmers in all localities, and at the same time to the Decemprimi, who are primarily exposed to the risks involved in tax-collection, asking that if they should consider any such measure profitable to them, they should apply to the Strategi and overseers of embankments and surveyors, indicating those works which could usefully be undertaken but have hitherto suffered neglect; for I suppose that the latter, being mindful of my commands, will give first priority to such a duty. Furthermore I order the Strategi to post up copies of this my public notice not only in the city, but also in each of the chief villages of the nome, so that all persons may be acquainted with these orders. Publish this. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 21st.

κε(χρόνισταί) Δαμενῶθ.  224. 1. σύμπασι.  226. 1. προσέναι.  μὴν: μ' corrected
1. ὑποδείκνυτε.  227. 1. τοῦδε μοι τοῦ προγράμματος.  228. 1. εἰδεῖν.  

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I

PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἐξ αὐθεντίας Δαυδῆλου Ἰσοδώρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος.

230

πάσης μὲν ἄργυρο[λογία]ς ὑπόθεσαν παντάπασαν ἀνήρτηθαι ἁμνη ἀτε ἐκάστης

ποιοτίτα ἐκ θείου νόμου περιορισμένης. μέμησες δὲ παρ’ ἑμοὶ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῦ

Ἐρμοπο[λῇ]οβ ἐμα[υ]θὸν τινα τῶν πρακτήρων τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εὐθείας

νομοὺς τοῖς ἀπαιτήσεως προσενεχθεῖς ὡς τινας μὲν τολμήσα τοιαύτας μείζ[ῶ-

235

νος]· κατ’ οὗτος τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι οὕνειδος παρά τῶν ὑπερθύμνων ἀρχέρων

ὑπὸδέξασθαι, καὶ ταύτα ὦν γροθοῦν ὅπώς ἡ θεία δρᾶσιν διατίπωσις, ἀλλὰ

πολυπλάθινως καὶ π[ή]νωρ ἀφόρ[η]τον τοῖς συντελεσθαί, ἐτέρους δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς

κρυθής καὶ τῶν ἄχρων

μή τοῖς τεταγμένοις μέτροις κεχρημένοις ἀλλὰ μείζονως, καὶ βλάβην οὐκ ὀλέγην

τοῖς κ[ε]τάγοραι] παρεχομένως. ἁλλ’ εἰ καὶ ἐπ’ ἑκατέν η ἰδέουσα εὐπρέφεια

καὶ κατα τοῖς

νόμους προσεχώρησεν, σ[μ]ιμως ἐκεῖθεν στοχασάμενος μὴ ἄρα καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τῆς

ἐπιτροπῆς νο[μ]οῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνα γέγονοσθα, προσπαγγεῖλαι πάσι διὰ

τοῦτο τοῦ προγράμ-

ματος ἀκόλουθον ἐνόμισε, τ[οι]ς μὲν πρακτήρων ὡστε τῶν τοιούτων παντελῶς

ἀπέ[χε]σθαι, ἄρ’ ὅπως ἄχρι ξημιᾶς ἐπισταρφησμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ περὶ φυχῆς

ὑποστηρισμένους

κίνδυνον εἰ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τηλεύτῃ θυραθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γε συντελεσθαί μή ἀνέχεσθαι

τῷ[ν τοιούτῳ] ἀπαιτήσεων, ἄλλ[λ’] αὐτά τὰ εἰδῆ προεοσθαί τὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιω-

τικήν εὐθείαν

προαυροῦντα οὕτως ὁ[ν]π[ὲ]ρ καὶ διατετῶνται. διὰ δὲ φροντίδος δὲ γενέσθω τοῖς

στρατ[ή]γοις πιθάναν πρόφασιν ἀπληστείας τῶν ἀπαιτοῦντων περιελείν, καὶ

τὸ μὲν κρέ-

ας μή ἐπιτρέπειν ἀλλαχὼσ[ι] παραδιδοσθαί τοῖς ὑπολαμβάνονσι ἄλλ[λ’] ἐπ’ αὐτῆς

τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα σταθμῷ τῷ δικαιοτᾶτῳ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ

ἄχριν καὶ τὰς κρατᾶς

παράδοσιν οὕτω προχωρεῖν [ν] ὡς προστίθητεν, καὶ κοφώσις ἐκαστον τότε

καὶ εἰκάσει ἄλλα [μήν τά] μέτρα δημοσίᾳ γνωμονίσαι, καὶ κατασκευήθεντα τῇ

δημοσίᾳ σφαγιδὶ ἀποκλεῖν.
The remaining public notice, from the original of Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. I had supposed that every pretext for extortion of money had been wholly removed inasmuch as the divine decree has limited to a stated figure the amount of each tax liability. But complaint having been made before me in the Hermopolite nome I learned that certain of the collectors of military supplies had so recklessly carried out their collection that certain of them had dared, against the orders of their superiors, to accept from those liable money in lieu of the meat which ought to have been supplied, and that too not equivalent to the amount laid down in the divine regulation, but many times greater and completely intolerable to the tax-payers. Others, moreover, in the case of the barley and the chaff have been using not the authorized measures but larger ones, inflicting thereby no small loss upon the proprietors. And even though the requisite proceedings according to law have been taken against these persons, nevertheless, making it my aim to ensure that similar incidents do not occur in other nomes of the Procuratorial district, I have thought it expedient to call upon all by means of this public notice, enjoining the collectors to abstain completely from such actions, understanding that should they be detected in such enormities they will not merely be visited with financial penalties, but will be facing the risk of capital punishment; and the contributors, on the other hand, must not submit to such demands, but furnish the provisions destined for the military commissariat precisely as laid down by regulation. Let the Strategi also deprive the collectors of every excuse for extortion, and not allow the meat to be handed over to those due to receive it anywhere else than in the city itself, and that too by the fairest possible measure. And so that the delivery of chaff and barley may proceed in proper manner, publicly standardize the baskets to hold 25 lbs. each, and also the measures, and sealing them with the public seal lock them up in each toparchy, or if possible each village, in order that the taxpayers may use these standard measures and no advantage may be taken of them. And let the country-dwellers abandon the practice which, it has
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

240 σθαί καθ' ἐκάστην τοπαρχεῖ[αν], εἰ δὲ ὅλων τε καὶ κόμης, πρὸς τὸ γνώμιον χρῆσθαι τοι[τοις το]ύς συντελοῦντας καὶ μηδεμιὰν καὶ' αὐτῶν πλεονεξίαν προχωρήσαι. προεσθέ-
αθωσαν μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο οἱ ἱγρο[ι]κοὶ ὀπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πανοπολίτου ἔτι τολμᾶντει εἰς 
ἐμὲ ἦκεν: [οὐ γὰρ ἐ]μβούσιν οὕτε τροφᾶς ζῴων ἡ ἄλλη τών των τουαύτην κατηλίαν ὑπομένειν 
ουδένα χρή, ἀλλ' ἀσταθῶς τὰ τῆς συντελείας μέχρι μόνων τῶν ἐκ τῆς θείας 'δια'-
tυπάσεις[ς] τεταγμενών, εἰ δὲ μετὰ τίρμης μου τὴν παραίνεσιν ἡ τυχε τῶν 
πρακτήρων τοῖς 
αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν βουληθείετ' ἡ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνδιάζοντες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέποσιν τι 
παράριστον γὰρ γνεσσιῆν, ὁ αὐτίος διαφανὴςμενος ἐκπεμφθησεται πρὸς τῶν 
κύριὸν μου 
Δόμου τῶν διασημότατον καθολικὸν εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπεξελεύσεως. προβῆς. 15ς καὶ 
16ς καὶ ης' Μεχείρ ΄. 

245 ἀλλὰς κομισθ(εῖσθ)α διὰ τοῦ ἑγγεγρ(αμμενοῦ), Φαμενᾶθ. Α. Ἀδρύλλος 'Ισάκωρος ἐπίτρο-
πος τῆς κατοικείρου Θηβαϊδος Χ[πολυαρί] ο στρατηγοῦ Πανοπολίτου χαί(ρειν). 
τοῖς ὑπὸ Προκλήζαντων πραιτόσιτον στρατιώτας οὐδὲλλα-
tίτων ἄγενεών τρίτης Διοκλητιανῆς διακεμένων ἐν Σοῦμῃ φροντίσον παρα-
μετρήσαι [εἰς σολ]γαμοῦ λόγον μηκῶν τετσάρων ἀπὸ καλενδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων 
εἰς τὴν πρὸ μᾶς καλη-
δῶν 'Ιαπ(ν)αρίων τῆς εὐτυχεστάτης χ καὶ ε ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διο-
κλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξ(ιμανοῦ) Σεββαστῶν ἐλαίων μὲν λίτρας ὀκτακασχελώς διακο-
σίας ὑδαΐκοντα.

COL. X

ἀλων δὲ ἐξοστα Ἰταλικῶς ὄ[κτακασχε] ἔλκος διακορίῳ ὡδικήρητα διὰ 'Ορίονος 
συγνήφερον τοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἀποσταλέντος, καὶ ἀποχα δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτήῃ ἐπὶ 
τῇ 'αραμετρήσῃ| ηραμιματα 
ἐπ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἐρρ[ὸσθαι ὑμᾶς] εἰ[χ]χομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις. 15ς iς 16ς ης' 
Μεχείρ ΄.

250 ἄλλων ΄ κομισθ(εισθ) α ὑπὸ διαπομπῆς στρατηγοῦ Αντιαισαλίτου, Φαμενᾶθ γ. α'. 
Ἀδρύλλος 'Ισάκωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατοικείρος Θηβαϊδος στρατηγοῦς τῶν 
ὑπογεγραμμε[έ]ων νομῶν χαίρειν.

240. 1. τοπαρχεῖαν, γνώμιοι. 240-1. 1. προεσθόσαν. 241. 1. κατηλίαν. 
245-7. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κέχ(ρόνισται)
come to my notice, they still dare to perpetrate in the Panopolite nome; for no one ought to submit to charges for guards or for fodder for animals, or any other imposition of this kind, but to limit their payments to the amounts laid down in the divine regulations. And if after this exhortation of mine any of the collectors should decide to continue in their evil ways, or the Strategi in collusion with them should permit any unlawful act to occur, the guilty party on being detected will be sent under guard to my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, to receive just retribution. Publish this. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 1st.

Another letter delivered by the person named therein, Phamenoth 1st. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you measure out to the soldiers of the detachment of Legio III Diocletiana under the command of Proclianus the praepositus stationed at Syene, on account of pickling materials for four months, from September 1st to December 31st in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 8,280 litrae of oil and 8,280 Italic sextarii of salt, through the signifer Horion who has been dispatched for this purpose, and take written receipts from him at the measuring out and forward them to me. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 2nd.

Two more letters delivered by transmission of the Strategus of the Antaeopolite nome, Phamenoth 3rd. The first letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the undermentioned nomes, greeting. Construct immediately the so-called ‘hurdles’ which

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247. 1. ὀκτακισχέλιας. 248. In upper margin the numeral Α. 1. ὀκτακισχέλιος.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

touš kalophmiouc ypargathous [touš ἀρ]µόδαι δυναµένους τοῖς ἐναγχος κατασκευασθείας διαγεγειλα[γ]µας τοῦ τοῦ πλοίου ύψηλους πρὸς τὸ ύποδείξαται τὰ πλοία ἀχύρου [τὸ χωρ]ῶν καὶ πυκνοῦν

ὡς ἀν ἀραιῶν ὄντων πῖς γυράθηλαν µέρος τοῦ ἀχύρου διαρέσθαι, καὶ δηλούντι περιπέφημα ἐκ ξύλων ἐπιπηδεῖον εἴθ' ὁν δυνὴρον οἱ γυράθαθο[/. . . . . . .]·

θείντες τὴν χρεια

αν ἐντελῶς πληρώσαται, αὐτὴ[ς ὃρας] κατασκευάζοντες καὶ τὸ ἱκανὸν τῆς χρειας πληρώσαντες παράδοτε τοῖς ναυκλήρως καὶ κυβερνήταις τῶν πλοίων. ὁ γὰρ [κύριος] μου Δόµινος ὁ δια-


255 εἰρόθεσθαι ὡς εἰχόµει πολλοῖς χρόνοµοις. ἰες" ἵες ης", Μεχεῖρ ἑπ. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἐρµοπολίτου, Ἀντινοῦτος, Κουσατίου, Ἀλκοπολίτου, Ἀπολλωνιστοῦ (του), Καταναπολίτου (του), Ἐπικονιότου, Θυνίτου.

τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀύρηδος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος στρατηγοῦς τῶν ύπογραµµάτητων γρµῶν χαῖ(ρεων). τὸ κτήθη δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ ὁφθαλ-

κεόν· τοῦ κυριοῦ μου διασκοµµ-

τάτου καθολικὸµν µικρὸν ἐµτ[ροθεν] προσετάξηθη παρασκευάζει, ἔχειν ἐν ἐτούµω

πρὸ τῆς ἐπαµφόραν αυτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεις κητηµῶν διὰ φροντίδος ὁ

υµῖν] γενέσθω. εἰρόθ·

οθαὶ ὡς εἰχόµει πολλοῖς χρόνοµοις. ἰες" ἵες ης", Μεχεῖρ ἑπ. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἐρµοπολίτου, Κουσατίου, Ἀλκοπολίτου, Ἀπολλωνιστοῦ, Πανωλύτου, Θυνίτου.

ἄλλων θ κοµµαθ(εισών) Φαµενῶθ.. α'. Ἀύρηδος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος Ἀπολλωνιστοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀποδέκταις χρηµᾶτων Πανωλύτου χαῖ(ρεων). τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τινωτα[τα] πραπόστολον

260 στρατιώταις λαγχαρίοις ο[µβ]υθελάττων] µεγεύων β' Τραπανής διακεµένους ἐν Πτολεµαϊδί φροντίζατε ἐξοδίασατε ὑπὲρ δοµατίον τῆς πρὸ τῇ καληρῶν Δεκεµ-

βίων κρατήσατος τοῦ

δεσπότου ἡµῶν Διοκλήτιαν] τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ τῆς εὐσυχετάτης ζ καὶ ἔπαιπεις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡµῶν Διοκλήτιαν καὶ Μάξιµον [Σεβαστῶν
dηφαρ]ῶν μυρίάδας

251-3. In 1. margin opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνωται) Φαµενῶθ. 251. 1. διαγιγαγαγοῖς. 252. 1. διαρρέοιη. 258. Ἐρµοπολίτου: E corrected from ρ. 1. Ἀπολλωνιστοῦ.
PAPYRUS 2

can fit on to the ships of 2,000 artabas burthen just completed, of a height which will enable the ships to carry the full capacity of chaff and closely woven, because if loosely woven part of the chaff would seep through, and stanchions of suitable wood to which the ‘hurdles’ must be fixed in order to serve their purpose fully, and when they have proved satisfactory (?), hand them over to the ship-captains and helmsmen of the ships. For my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, having found a shortage of chaff in the regions of the Upper Thebaid, has ordered that this commodity should be transported thither with all possible speed by the aforesaid ships. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 28th. The nomes in question are: Hermopolite, Antinoïte, Cussite, Lycopolite, Apollinopolite, Antaeopolite, Panopolite, Thinite.

The remaining letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to the Strategi of the undermentioned nomes, greeting. The animals which a short time ago you were ordered to prepare for the service of the office of my lord the most eminent Catholicus, see that you have in readiness before his return, taking them from the animals in the cities. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Mecheir 24th. The nomes in question are: Hermopolite, Cussite, Lycopolite, Apollinopolite, Panopolite, Panopolite, Thinite.

Nine more letters delivered, Phamenoth .... The first letter: Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius the Strategus and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the lancearii of the detachment of Legio II Traiana under the command of Tinton the praepositus stationed at Ptolemais, on account of donative for the accession of our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on November 20th in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

[Text]

265 ὑμᾶς εἴχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις οἰσ. 15 77 καὶ ιες" καὶ ης", Φαμενώδ 7, ἀλλὰς. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωνιάων στρατηγῷ Πανοπτο[π.] ὠργ. χαίρειν, τοὺς ὑπὸ Τύτωνον πρασσόσιτοι γεγοικοστάουες στρατιώτα, ἡς ὁδεξ' ἀλλὰς ἀποθέντες

β' Τραισίης δικαιεῖσθαι ἐν Πτολεμαίδι φρόντισον ἐξοδίασαι κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου μου Δόμνου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ {Πομπονίων Δόμνου} ὑπὲρ διωματίως τῆς ἐνυγχεστάτης τρίτης ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ὑμῶν Κλωνστατίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων 
καπρῶν δηραίων μυριάδας πεντῆκον δόν ἐκατοσια[σίς ἐβ.]βομήκοντα πέντε ἀττικάς, καὶ ταὐταὶ παρα[δοῦναι] Ἀπολωνιαίων ἐκατοντάρχῳ σοφοπουμεραίῳ καὶ Μαχαιρίωματος στρατιώτῃ ὁπινατοράν καὶ ἄποχα δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν γράμματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαρκημέθει,

270 ἐπ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνεγκείνειν, ἐρρώθεισα σε εἴχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις. ιες" καὶ ης" καὶ ης", Φαμενώδ ἐ.

ἀλλὰς. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωνιάων στρ[ατηγῷ] Πανοπολίτου καὶ ἐπεικείται πλουοποιεῖσας χαί(ρειν). ναυπηγοῦς ὄκτω τῶν θεραπευόν ἐνυπηρμόνων ναυμακὴν ἐνδιδέως ἀπο-στείλατε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πτολ. ἐμαίδιν πλουοποιοὺς ὅπως καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῶς κατα- 
σκευασθὲν ἐναγχος διαχωλωγοῦν πλοίον σὺν τάχει τῆς βεραπείας τιχ'χειν 
δ' μιμηθῆ, ἐρρώθεισα ὑμᾶς εἴχομαι πολλοὶς χρόνοις'. ιες" 
1ες" καὶ ης", Φαμενώδ δ.

263. 1. ὑπατείας. 264. ὁπινατοράι: first o corrected. 269. 1. Ἀπολωνιαίων. 271–3. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε(χρόνοισαί) Φαμενώδ. 271. πλουοποιεῖσας. 272. The interlineation is placed partly above the
Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 109 myriads of denarii and 7,500 atticae; and on account of donative for the birthday of the same our ruler Diocletian, the senior Augustus, on December 22nd in the same consulate, 109 myriads and 7,500 atticae, making a total altogether of 219 myriads of denarii and 5,000 atticae; and pay these over to the supernumerary centurion Anubion and the cavalryman Sarapion, agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 3rd.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the most noble soldiers of the detachment of Legio II Traiana under the command of Tinton the praepositus stationed at Ptolemais, by order of my lord Domnus, the most eminent Catholicus, on account of donative for the most happy 3rd consulate of our rulers Constantius and Maximian, the most illustrious Caesars, 52 myriads of denarii and 6,875 atticae; and pay these over to the supernumerary centurion Apollonianus and the soldier Athenodorus, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money, and forward them to me. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 5th.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, and the overseers of shipbuilding, greeting. Send immediately to the shipbuilders at Ptolemais eight shipwrights skilled in the operation of caulking (?), so that the ship of 2,000 artabas burthen just completed there may be caulked (?) as soon as possible. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 4th.

end of this line, and partly over the beginning of the next; it has been printed here in its proper syntactical position.

101
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρας Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωλάρω στρατηγῷ
Πανωπόλιτον χαί(ρεων), φρόντισον ἐξοδιάσας τοὺς παρὰ σου κονδυλίκτορας ὑπὲρ τε τροφῆς κτήμαν καὶ μισθοῦ βασιλέων

275 ἐτὶ μὴν καὶ ἀλαχτών ὁπερημοίμενῶν τῶν δημοσίων δρόμων ὑπὲρ μηνὶς τεσσάρων ἀπὸ Τίβη εἰδος Φαμμοῦδι συνολοῦσας τῇ ἐπισκοπέσθαι υπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφ[αφόρα τ]ὰ συναγεῖον
τοῦ ἀργυροῦ τάλεματα εἰςκαλτείξα καὶ δ[η]νάρια χίλια, καὶ ἀποκα παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπ’[ι] τῇ ἀπαρθισμένα γράμματα ἐπ’ ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνενεχεύκει, ἐφρώσθαι σε εὐχόμαι πολλοίς χρόνοις. [ἰςς καὶ ἰςς καὶ ηςς], Φαμενόθ ὑ.

Col. xi

άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρας Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωλάρῳ στρ[ατηγῷ]
Π[ανωπόλ]ίτου χαί[ρεων]. ±40 letters

ἀπόστειλον ἐν Καυμῇ παραδοθησόμενα τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀποδέκταις: ὃ ἐνχειρι[θ]...........
............]π[ ±30 letters]

τῆς τάξεως πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδέκτας, ἐτὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Φλώνα τὸν τῆς [ἀνωτέρας
Θηβαίδος ἐπίτροπον]. ἐφρώσθαι σε εὐχόμαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. [ἰςς καὶ ἰςς καὶ ηςς], Φαμενόθ δ.

άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρας Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωλάρῳ στρατηγῷ

εὐχόμαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. [ἰςς καὶ ἰςς καὶ ηςς], Φαμενόθ δ.

285 άλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδώρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρας Θηβαίδος Ἀπολωλάρῳ στρατηγῷ(ὡς
Πανωπόλ]ίτου χαί(ρεων), τοὺς ὑπὸ Τίτωνα πραπόστον στρατιώτας
λαγχαρίδος οἰκειολατρεὺς λεγεών β’ Τριακά[ն] διακεκιμένοι καὶ Πολεμαῖδι
[φρόντισον] παραφηγεῖν εἰς σαλαχαμοῦ λόγων μηνὰς δύο ἀπὸ καλε[νῶν]
Νοεμβρίων είς τὴν πρὸ μᾶς καλε[νὸν] Ἰανουαρίων τῆς εὐθυχεστάτης ζ καὶ ζ
[ὑπαιτείας] τῶν δετοποτῶν ἡμῶν Διακ[η]τιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ

276. 1. τάλαντα. 277-80. In 1. margin opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε[χρόνισται] Φαμενόθ. 278. ἐνχειρι[θ]: 1. ἐνχειρι[θ]. 281-4. In 1. margin opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κε[χρόνισται] Φαμενόθ.

102
The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the carriers on account of fodder for animals and hire of guards, and also for the sailors in the service of the public cursus, for four months from Tybi to Pharmouthi in accordance with the application handed in by them, money totalling 26 talents and 1,000 denarii; and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money, and forward them to me. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 3rd.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. . . . send to Keneh to be handed over to the receivers there; with which entrusted . . . . of the office to the same receivers, and in addition to Philon, Procurator of the Upper Thebaid. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 4th.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. Send 800 artabas of lentils in substitution for chaff to the most illustrious city of Alexandria within five days in charge of a reliable overseer, reporting to the office of the Procurator on what day and by what overseer they were dispatched. For you should know that unless they are dispatched within these five days so as to be in time for the lading of the seagoing ships, you will be in danger of no ordinary kind. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 4th.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you provide to the lancearii of the detachment of Legio II Traiana under the command of Tinto the praepositus stationed at Ptolemais, on account of

281. 1. ἀμείβων. 283. 1. ἀπεστάλησαν. 285-8. In l. margin opposite these lines, slanting stroke with the words κεχρόνοιται Φαμενώθ.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

Σεβαστών ἐλαίου μὲν λίτρας τρισχίλια πεντακοσίας ἐνενήκοντα ἢ μόνας, ἀλ[ὼν 
δὲ ἑξάτας] ἰταλικοὺς τρισχείλιους πεντακοσίους ἐνενήκοντα.

ἐξ δὲ Αννοβίωνος (ἐκατοντάρχου) σουπερνομεραίον καὶ Σαραπίωνος σημιμόρφου 
tῶν εἰς τούτο ἀπο)σταλέτων, καὶ ἀπόχα δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ 
περι[δ]ή-

290 seι γράμματα, ἐπ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνενεχείν. ἐφρονθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. ἵς" καὶ 
[ες" καὶ ης"] Φαμενοῦ ἦ.

ἄλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαιδος Ἀπολυναρίῳ στρατηγῷ 
καὶ ἀπ[οθέκου] χρημάτων Παννοπολίτου χαί(ρευ). τοῖς ὑπὸ Οδρον τρι-
βοῦνον στρατιῶ-

295 ταις χώρτης ὡς Χαμιδώνων διακεμένοις ἐν Πεάμον καταντικρὸ Λιβδῶν φρονύσιον 
ἐξοδιάρμυ ὑπὲρ στεινοῦ καλενδῶν Ἰανουαρίων τῆς 
eυτυχεστάτης ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν 
[ἐπάφα] κευτάτων Καισάρων τὸ τρίτον δημαρίων [δημαρίων] μυρ[α] 
ἀδιακεκρίματος καὶ διαμελίδας τρισχίλιας πεντακοσίας (ἀπτικάς), καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἀνάκοινος 

300 καλενδῶν Ἰανουαρίων τῆς ευτυχεστάτης ξ καὶ ἦ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν 
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστάρχη δημαρίων μυριάδας 
τρίς καὶ διαμελίδας ὀκτακοσίας ἐξήκοντα ἢ ἀπτικάς, ὡμοῦ τὰς συνογομένας 
[δημαρίων] μιριάδας ἐννέα καὶ ὀκτακοσίλιας τρισχίλιας ἐξήκοντα.

ἐξ ἀπτικάς, ἀπὸ παραδοχὴν Αννοβίων (τιμαγ[ί])ναρφεὶ καὶ Σιλουανῷ στρατωτῇ 
[ἀπονάταρα κ[αι] ἀποχα τὰ συνήθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαραθήμει δέξασθη 
παρ' αὐτῶν γράμματα. ἐφρονθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις. ἵς" καὶ ἵς" καὶ 
ης", [Φαμενοῦ θ.

305 ἄλλης. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσιδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρου Θηβαιδος Ἀπολυναρίῳ στρατηγῷ 
[Πανοπολίτου] χαί(ρευ). ή... ἐφθεος τούχη τῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέων 
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἀνικήτων καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ 
tῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων παρασχεθήμενο προσέταξε[ν]
Οδαλερινῷ πὸ τῷ πραιτορίῳ τῶν παρα διακεμένων γαναικαστάτων στρατ[ιωτῶν 
πεντάκοστη καὶ ἀργυροῦ φόλλες τέσσαρας, οἱ εἰς τὸν τάκτια πρακτονταρία [καὶ 
pickling materials, for two months from November 1st to December 31st in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 3,596 *litrae* of oil only, and 3,596 Italic *sextarii* of salt, through the supernumerary centurion Anubion and the *signifer* Sarapion, who have been dispatched for this purpose, and take written receipts from them at the handing over, and forward them to me. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth 3rd.

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus, and the receivers of money of the Panopolite nome, greeting. See that you pay out to the soldiers of the Cohors XI Chamavorum under the command of the tribune Ursus, stationed at Peamou opposite Abydus, on account of pay for January 1st in the most happy consulate of our rulers Constantius and Maximian the most illustrious Caesars, for the third time, 6 myriads of denarii and 5,500 *atticae*; and on account of the price of *annona* owing to them from September 1st to December 31st in the most happy 7th and 6th consulate of our rulers Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, 3 myriads of denarii and 2,866 *atticae*, making a total altogether of 9 myriads of denarii and 8,366 *atticae*; and pay these over to the *imaginifer* Anubion and the soldier Silvanus, the agents, and take written receipts from them at the counting out of the money. I bid you farewell, for many years. Year 16/15/8, Phamenoth . . . .

The next letter. Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, to Apolinarius, Strategus of the Panopolite nome, greeting. The divine fortune of our rulers and sovereigns Diocletian and Maximian, the invincible, and of Constantius and Maximian the most illustrious Caesars, has commanded to be provided to Valerianus, the *praepositus* of the most noble *lancearii* of Legio III Diocletiana stationed with you, 50 lbs. of silver and 4 *folles* of money, which makes 33 talents and 500
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

μ[α]τος καὶ μουλύνοις. περὶ δὲν ἐδέξαν γενέσθαι πρὸς σε γράμματα ὡς [τὸ μὲν ἀργοὶ]μον ἐν τοῖς τριακοσιαρίωι ταλάντοις καὶ δηνα[ροὶ]ς
π[ε]γείρασιςς εὐθέως ἀπαρθήμητης, τὸ δὲ τετράπωλον μετὰ τοῦ ὀχρ[ματος καὶ] τοῦ ἕμμικχου εἰ ὑδὸν τε συσ...μεγὰς ἀπὸ ταμ[ποκό]ς

Col. xii

305 χρήματων
καὶ[
φο[
ἐφ"ροσθαί σε εὐχομαι κτλ.

310 ω[
ημ[
δή[
ρατ[
σε εὐχομαι κτλ.

315 ἄλλης κομ[ισθείσης]
δεκ[
ἀπ. [
το. [
τοιρ[elian

320 θε[
διμ[
κα[
ἀπ[

325 τε[
το[elian
ὑπο[
ἐπ[elian
π[

330 ἄλλης κομ[ισθείσης]

327-9. In 1. margin, opposite these lines, slanting stroke with faint traces of the words κε(χρόνισται) Φαμενώθ.

106
PAPYRUS 2

denarii, together with a team of four mules and a carriage and driver; concerning which it is my duty to write to you, in order that you may pay out immediately the money, amounting to the said 33 talents and 500 denarii; and the team of four mules with the carriage and driver if possible from Treasury funds . . . .

(the remainder is too mutilated for translation)
NOTES ON PAPYRUS 1

1-27a. This column, or what remains of it, has been built up from a number of small fragments. It was actually Column xi of the roll in its original state (cf. Introduction, p. ix above), and the numeral Iα originally stood above i.

1-4. This letter was addressed to a single person (cf. ἐξούς, 3) who must have borne a title of some length, possibly ἔπιστάμβων Πανοπόλιτου (cf. 128).

1. τίνα εἶς κοινόν. For the restoration cf. 60.

2. The traces before ω are confused; I cannot read either δεσμωτηρίῳ or λογιστηρίῳ.

5. ταῖς ἀννώναις is difficult. If, for example, ἐπιμεληταῖς is restored, it becomes necessary to amend ἀννώναις to ἀννώνης. [τοῖς πρὸς] ταῖς ἀννώναις would obviate this, but such an expression is not found elsewhere.

8. Perhaps [αυστάταις], cf. 180. Note that the abbreviation Παναστόλ( ) must denote the nome and not the city, since the form Πανάστολες is not found in these papyri.

8-14. This question, the repair at Panopolis of the Treasury ships brought in from the Upper Thebaid, forms the subject of several letters (49-52, 167-79, 180-3, 241-3), and is of especial interest since it provides a possible clue to the whereabouts of Diocletian, with whose impending visit to Panopolis the documents in Papyrus 1 are so largely concerned. The ships due to be repaired in preparation for the visit are stated to have been withdrawn from the Upper Thebaid, which makes it virtually certain that the Emperor was not in that part of Egypt, since he and his entourage would probably have taken up all available shipping; Diocletian must therefore have been still to the north of Panopolis, making his way up river (cf. Introduction, p. xiv).

10. πρὸς ἐπομαιᾶν τοῦ δεσποτοῦ ἕμων κτλ. The phrase found elsewhere in the papyri (cf. 54, 110, 168, 246, 249, 257, 382), πρὸς ἐπομαιᾶν (or ὑπηρεσίαν) τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἐσομένης ἐποίησις τοῦ δεσπότου ἕμων, is much too long for the lacuna here, if the supplements in 5 and 6 are accepted; in fact we find a briefer expression, πρὸς ἐπομαιᾶν τοῦ πάντα νικῶντος Διοκλήτιανοῦ κτλ., in 217 below.

11. τοῦ προεδριτέρου Σεβαστοῦ. This is a translation of the Latin Senior Augustus, and is regularly applied to Diocletian throughout Papyri 1 and 2. It does not seem to have occurred hitherto in the papyri, although δ προεδριτέρος βασιλεὺς Διοκλήτιανός is found in P. Flor. i. 33, 16. In P. Cair. Isidor. 8 (14 June 309), Maximian was apparently described as Senior Augustus, and the present papyri strongly reinforce the editors' restoration Μαξιμανὸν προεδριτέρον Σεβαστοῦ (or, perhaps, rather τοῦ προεδριτέρου Σεβαστοῦ) in l. 5.

12. ἕιλοπάκτων. For the πάκτων and ἕιλοπάκτων as a species of cargo vessel cf. Aegyptus, x (1929), pp. 131-2.

NOTES ON PAPYRUS 1

15–17a. Apart from the word πωμαρίων in 16 there is no clue to the subject of this letter. Possibly it was concerned with orchards on the Imperial estates, in which case the officials addressed as ψολτατοι in 17a may have been the γραμματεῖς τῶν ταμακῶν οὖσιῶν (cf. 207, 210). For this use of ψολτατος cf. 147, 244.

18–23. For the subject of this letter cf. 31, 39–40, 46–48 and, especially, 72–76. From the last reference it will be seen that the Procurator had ordered the Strategus to send in certain rolls (ματρίκες), presumably accounts of supplies furnished to local military units, since in 46 Ηπ[σο] seems a certain restoration. Of the three commanders mentioned in 39–49, 74–75, Εὐδαίμων, the ἑπαρχος ἐν κάστροις Τοριώ καί Ψυνάβλα, is the most likely addressee here, since Παπᾶ is too short for the lacuna, and the third commander, Menippus, is only τριβωνε, not ἑπαρχος. No doubt similar letters were dispatched to the other two officers, and in fact a small unpublished fragment from one of the lost earlier columns of the roll reads:

Μενίπ[πω
ματρικ]ε


20. ἀπ(τυμπαλίου). No doubt Silvanus, officialis of the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, mentioned in 47 and 76.


23. After νῶν there is a change of hand. The symbol just before the lacuna appears to represent ὑπ(γρήγον), which one expects to be preceded by a proper name, but I cannot read this either as Κόλασθου (cf. 186, 243), or an abbreviation thereof.

24–29. The nature of the supplies concerned in these orders is uncertain. In 27 τριακοσίας is certain, but in 29 the masculine τριακόσιαι has been altered either from or to τριακόσια. If the latter is accepted as correct, the noun it qualifies might be, for example, ἀρτάβαι or λείπαι. τριακόσιαι would be more difficult to explain, though if the cargoes consisted of ἄχυρον, the noun in question might be κόφυμα (cf. 2. 239); in that case ἄχυρον might be restored after ἀποδέκτη in 24, and the whole letter might be connected with that in 5–7.

27–27a. As in other orders for military supplies, the order is followed by a repetition of the amount supplied.

28–32. This column, like the preceding, has been pieced together from a number of small fragments. The length of the lines was approximately 100 letters, to judge from lines 49 and 50, which can be restored with virtual certainty.

30–45. The mutilation of this section is unfortunate, since it apparently consisted of a list, with brief indications of addressee and subject, of letters, at least eighteen in number, received on 11 Thoth from the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid. We learn from 45 that certain of these letters—presumably those of which he was the sole addressee—were retained by the Strategus, while others were forwarded to their final destinations. For this long list of letters, with notes of the addressees and summaries of contents, there is
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

a remarkable parallel in P. Ryl. 78, of A.D. 157. This is a letter, unfortunately mutilated, but addressed to the Strategus of the Busirite nome in the Delta, detailing the contents of various packages (ἀποδείκτης) of official correspondence which the writer (perhaps himself a Strategus) had forwarded.

The present letters, as has been said, numbered at least eighteen; that this is not an impossibly high number is indicated by 2. 259, where we find ten letters arriving simultaneously, all for the Strategus of the Panopolite nome. The present letters seem to have fallen into four groups, those within each group being distinguished successively as μιὰ . . . , ἀλλὰ . . . , ἀλλὰ . . . , and λοιπῇ, which indicates the last (cf. 390, where only two letters are concerned, qualified as μιὰ and λοιπῇ respectively). So far as can be judged in the fragmentary condition of the papyrus, the first group of letters was listed in 30–34, ending with λοιπῇ in the latter line. The second group would have been covered by 35–37, and the third, beginning with μίαν in 38, would have extended from 38 to 41. If [μίαν] is correctly restored before μὲν in 42, this would begin the fourth group, which ended with λοιπῇ in 44.

At first sight it seems improbable that the Procurator would have written to such minor personages as those mentioned in 38–41. But in 38 the words ἐμοὶ καὶ Πανόπολος ἐπικτῇ πλοίον leave no room for doubt that this was a letter addressed jointly to the Strategus and the ἐπικτής πλοίον. For other references to letters emanating from the Government and addressed jointly to the Strategus and other officials cf., e.g., 60, 128, 225, 342; 2. 161, 176. Perhaps the best illustration of this practice is in 1. 378–80, 389–91: here we find the Governor of the Thebaid himself writing separate letters, one to the Strategus and the other to the χειριστὴς πολεμικῶν χρημάτων, about the supply of hides for fortification.

The letter addressed to the χειριστῆς, however, was not delivered to him direct, but to the Strategus, whose covering note, forwarding it to the χειριστῆς, is at 378–80. Note that the χειριστῆς was not expected to reply direct to the Governor, but through the Strategus.

We may thus conclude that in the present list of letters, where the addressee is some local official, the letter would either have been addressed jointly to him and to the Strategus, or duplicate copies would have been sent to him and to the Strategus by the same post.

31. This demand for strict monthly accounting is referred to in more detail in 72–76 below.

32. καπτ. can hardly be read here.

33. περὶ τοῦ συνενθέκασθαι φακῆς κτλ. Restored from 245 below, where ἀποδείκται and ἐπιμεληταὶ are appointed for this purpose.

34. ἐξορκείς, if correctly restored, indicates that this letter related to shipping, as was also the next if πλοίων is accepted.

34–35. Διδάμωρ ἐπικτῆς ἀνώνυμης κτλ. Cf. 40 below. For the sequel see 217–20.

36. μέτρο. (cf. 207) cannot be read.

37. χαρῆς is a probable restoration.

38. For the λεοχάνων ὑπηρεσία cf. 249–51, where an ἐπιμελητῆς is appointed for this duty.
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Before ἐμοί, ἄλλην would have been expected. Πανίσκου ἐπέλεγκτα πλοίων: cf. 41 and, for the title ἐπέλεγκτας πλοίων, P.S.I. 298. 7, where it should clearly be restored.

39-40. These letters to the military commanders in the vicinity of Panopolis no doubt related to the overdue μάρμαρα, cf. note on 18-23.

39. Ἐθαλάμων ἐπάρχω ἐν καστρω Τούτω καὶ Ψηλάβα. The same officer recurs in 75, 385, 435. In 2. 29, 168, he is still in command at Toeto and Psinabla, and part at least of the garrison consists of the Αλα II Herculia Dromedariorum.

40. Διδύμω ἐπέλεγκτα ἄνωσις. Cf. 34-35, n.

41. Πανίσκου ἐπέλεγκτα. Cf. 38.

42. εἰκάστοι might be read at the end of the line, but the traces are really indeterminate. For φορολογία cf. 2. 141, 225, and, for the use of the term at this period, cf. P. Oxy. 1653. 6, n.

43. μψαλτεῖ τωσ αἰσοῦς εἶναι ἀπαραγγέλται καὶ ἐπὶ μελητάς. This is an important administrative ruling and clearly, as the word μψαλτεῖ indicates, an innovation. No doubt the intention was to divide the responsibility so that each set of officials could act as a check on the other. Cf. 230-40, n. For an apparent exception to this regulation cf. 153, n.

44. οἰδήρων. Cf. 80-84. The iron may have been intended for shipbuilding, apparently the principal heavy industry in Panopolis at this period.

46-48. The Cohors I Apamenorum had long been stationed in Egypt, the earliest mention of it in the papyri being in B.G.U. 729, of A.D. 144. In the Notitia Dignitatum it is still found in Egypt, its headquarters being given as ‘Silili’, which it has been proposed to identify as Selino, in the vicinity of Panopolis (cf. Introduction, p. xxvi).

49-52. Cf. 8-14, n.

53-59. Throughout this papyrus the collection of provisions for the troops expected to arrive in Panopolis in company with the Emperor appears as the principal preoccupation of the Strategus. For the restoration ἀμφίδεκτος in 55 cf. 114 below.

60. The correction ἀρχικοῦσα seems inevitable, and this is in fact the only reference throughout the papyrus to ἀρχικοῦσα at Panopolis. Note that the letter received in the office of the Strategus and now being forwarded by him to the ἀρχικοῦσα was addressed jointly to three different addressees; apparently the Strategus retained the original letter on his files, and had copies made to send to the other addressees (cf. 30-45, n.).

ἀξόνήσις is conjecturally restored here on the supposition that the subject of this letter is the same as that of 252-5 below. For the word ἀξόν cf. 252-5, n., and ἀξόνησις in 2. 275.

64. The Catholicus was the supreme financial authority for the whole of Egypt, and it is remarkable that when Egypt was subdivided by Diocletian into several provinces, the financial administration of the country was not similarly broken up. As a result, the status of the Catholicus vis-à-vis the provincial governors was greatly enhanced, and the
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fact that he was now responsible for the appointment of the nome Strategi (cf. 90, n.) emphasizes the commanding position which he now occupied—a position almost comparable with that of the great διοικηταί of the Ptolemaic period. The Catholicus in 1 may have been the Aurelius Asclepiades whom we know from P. Merton ii. 88, col. ii, 5, to have been in office on 9 February 298.

τῶν μεταβάτων λόγων, κτλ. It is well known that the Strategus was required to send in a variety of accounts and returns at monthly intervals to the central administration (cf., for example, P. Lips. 123); what is interesting here is that these returns are here rendered to the Catholicus and not, as in earlier periods, to the Prefect.

68. For this transfer of accounts on the occasion of a new Strategus assuming office cf. P. Oxy. 61, and for the importance of the βοηθῶς in the transaction, P.S.I. 1361.

[δ]ιδωθέως is not a very satisfactory restoration, but the lacuna is so small that no alternative seems possible.

69. τῆς ευής μετρίατης. I have translated this ‘my Mediocrity’, taking it to be a self-depreciatory periphrasis, and the converse of the honorific epithet applied by an official to his superiors. For μετρίατης in this sense cf. P.S.I. 449. 9. In P. Oxy. 1121. 9–10, κατά τήν έμακνήν μετρίατην is translated by the editors ‘In the goodness of my heart’, but I am not sure that here also a self-depreciatory expression is not more likely, i.e. ‘to the best of my poor powers’. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Karanis when petitioning the praefectus pagi qualify themselves as μετρίου (P. Cair. Isidor. 68. 5 and n.; 69. 27 and n; 74. 16) which seems to mean literally ‘of moderate means’, emphasizing the poverty and helplessness of the petitioners. Cf. also 173 below. Clearly the precise significance of both noun and adjective in various contexts requires further investigation.

72–76. For the subject cf. 18–23, n.

72. At the end of the line something like καὶ ὑποαστείλας πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐπιμέ[,] λειαν would be suitable, but the restoration is too long for the available space, unless this line extended further to the right than usual.

77–79. Cf. 188–91 below. The bakers were not actually dispatched until 20 Thoth.

81. αἰνήρω. Cf. 44, n.

82. χῦλας. No doubt agreeing with δραχμὰς somewhere in the preceding lacuna.

82–83. The lacuna between ἔξοδιαθήρων and ὁ ὁ Εἰςοφων may have contained something like καὶ ἡλαβὼν ταῗ ἄποχα γράμματα.

85. I have restored παισθέοις because the alternative, ἰκυκλώθως, is too long for the available space.

86. ἐπιμελητὰς ἔξων. Commissioners for the supply of firewood for military purposes, e.g. for cooking and heating. Cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 35. 8, n.

86–87. περὶ Τοετώ καὶ[ξ] Ψωβόλ[α]. One of the toparchies of the Panopolite nome was designated συνθέως Τοετώ (cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi), but this can hardly be intended here, and it is more likely the fort of Τοετό–Πσινάβλα which is referred to, and κάστρων may have preceded in the lacuna.

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90. This statement that the Strategus received his appointment from the Catholicus and not, as formerly, from the Prefect of Egypt is of capital importance. Of the fact there seems no doubt, despite the omission of οὐδὲ after τοῦ μεγαλίου. This omission may have been merely accidental, or οὐδὲ may have been intentionally omitted as self-evident (as in P. Oxy. 2343, 11). The term μεγαλίου is employed to denote any high official, e.g. the Governor of the Thebaid or the Magister rei privatae; for another example of its use to denote the Catholicus cf. 2. 157.

92–93. I have not found a satisfactory restoration of these lines. In 93, υφ is followed by an apostrophe, and is therefore probably to be taken as the aspirated form of ὑφ. The term μετέχων is commonly used at this period to denote any superior officials (cf. 2. 231, n.), but it is not certain whether that is the meaning here, since μετέχων may simply qualify τῶν διαφερόντων.

At the end of 93 ἐως ἐν έτέρων εὐσπο-ρηθεῖον is a probable restoration; for another example of ἐν with the optative cf. 2. 133.


100–1. The Strategus had already verbally ordered the assistant to produce the accounts; he now repeats the order in writing (ἐπὶ ὑπομνήματοι), so that a permanent written record of the position might remain, which would safeguard him in the event of an inquiry. For ἐπὶ ὑπομνήματοι cf. P.S.I. 452. 17 and n., and cf. l. 20; P. Oxy. 1204. 9; Ἰ.Ε.Α., xxi (1935), p. 246, n. on l. 95; P. Oxy. 2187. 7, 18, 23; and P. Oxy. 2343. 7, where the editors’ note shows that the phrase has not hitherto been fully understood. In the last-named instance I take the meaning to be that the petitioner was instructed to appear in person before the Prefect so that his application could be officially recorded. Cf. also P. Oxy. 2407. 9, 12, 33. In P. Thead. 15. 7 the phrase διὰ τῶν ὑπομνήματοι occurs, while in P. Oxy. 2228. 35 εἰς ὑπομνήματα ἥκειν is found.

101–3. The ἀνανεώκαν and ἀφορμικόν had in fact been dispatched the day before, cf. 64–71.

110. The traces after ἀποτεθήκας are too faint and smudged as to be illegible.

113–14. Something like Ἰουλίῳ Ἀδρενδώρῳ τοῦ διασημιστάτου ὑγιομένου τῆς Θηραδίου would be expected in the lacuna, but the faint traces at the end of 113 and the beginning of 114 do not support this, and it would also be necessary to assume that Ἰουλίῳ, which is clearly written in 114, is a mistake for Θηραδίου.

115. ἐπὶ (I. ἐπεί) was probably followed by, e.g., μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν, but the traces are really illegible. As regards the restoration ἐπίκουσα (I. ἐπειγούσης), it may be mentioned that the words ἐπίκουσα χρεία occur on a small unpublished fragment.

116. καίν ὅς. This should obviously be restored in P. Oxy. 2228. 19, where the editors, though printing καλὸς, remark that it is ‘formed exactly like κανῶς’. Cf. also P. Oxy. 86. 19; 123. 7; and καίν οὕτω in 2. 6.

120–7. The whole text of this letter (cf. critical note) is enclosed in brackets, indicating deletion, but in fact a slightly differing version is found in 160–6 below, with the same date
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(18 Thoth). The letter announces the dispatch of two cargoes, both in charge of an ex-magistrate of Panopolis. The destination of the cargoes is not stated, but since they were apparently to be delivered to Pomponius Domnus, the Magister rei privatae for the whole of Egypt, it can hardly have been other than Alexandria, where that official is likely to have resided. On the nature of these cargoes see 165, n.

120. Πομπονίων Δόμνιος. Pomponius Domnus was the Magister rei privatae, i.e. the supreme administrator of all royal domains throughout Egypt. Immediately below him in the official hierarchy was Valerius Melas, the ἐπίτροπος πρωνάτης Θηβαίδος, a title which presupposes the existence of at least one other ἐπίτροπος πρωνάτης, for Lower Egypt. Valerius Epiphanius, Magister privatae Aegypti et Libyae, occurs in the undated C.I.L. iii. 18. Cf. also P. Oxy. 1410. 2–4, n.

In P. Oxy. 1204. 12 (19 August 209), we find Pomponius Domnus promoted to the office of Catholics, a post which he still holds throughout 2. His immediate successor as Catholicus was presumably the Valerius Euethius who held this office c. 302–4, cf. P. Cornell 20–20 (a); P. Oxy. 2187; Lacau, Annales du Service, xxxiv (1934), pp. 29–32.

πλοῖα δύο. These ships were presumably private and not Treasury ships, and the proper names associated with them are presumably those of their ναυκληροί.

121. Πότα τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ. This locality is called Πότα in the second version (161). The same variation occurs in P. Hib. ii. 218 (cf. introduction). Cf. also Παπα in P. Michaelid. 28. 1; and P.S.I. 222. 9.

124. ναυλών. For a general discussion of freight charges see O. M. Pearl, T.A.P.A., lxxiii (1952), pp. 74–79.

πρῶτον. Here clearly employed in the sense of πρῶτερον, a usage of which the most celebrated example is in the Acts of the Apostles, i. 1.

125. ἐνοχλεῖν is normally used with an object in the dative case (though perhaps absolutely in 20 above), and if so something like τοῖς ναυκληροῖς must have stood in the lacuna.

125–6. It is noticeable that this sentence, reporting the complaints made by the sailors at not receiving their pay, and their determination to appeal to the Governor of the Thebaid himself, is omitted from the second version of the letter. Possibly they had withdrawn their threat, or their claims had been settled in the interim.

128. ἑπισταθμῷ. Almost nothing is known of the duties of this official, who is not mentioned elsewhere in the present papyri. It will be observed that his competence extended over the entire nome, since Πανοπολίτου is the only possible expansion, the form Πανόπουλος for the metropolis not being employed here. The fact that here the ἑπισταθμός is concerned with the arrest of persons, and is addressed jointly with the ἐφίραρχος, indicates that he was some kind of high police chief, perhaps the counterpart of the Ptolemaic ἀρχιφυλακίτης νομοῦ. In P. Oxy. 2187. 17 the ἑπισταθμός Marcellinus must be of considerable standing, for in 31 he appears to be regarded as of almost comparable authority with the Strategus, Zenagenes.
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128–9. It is almost certain that the πρόσωπα whose custody is here in question are the mysterious πασσαλωτικά πρόσωπα, for whom see 155, n.

131–9. The decemprimi were not concerned with the collection of the annona, which was independent of the normal State taxes (Van Berchem, L’Annone militaire, p. 163), and it is therefore surprising to find them here handing over quantities of grain which had been collected as taxes to officials of the annona. The decemprimi addressed in this series of letters are those appointed for the six toparchies of the Panopolite nome (cf. Introduction, p. xxxv).

132–3. εὐθένειαν τῶν ἀστρατιωτῶν. The normal phrase is ἡ ἀστρατιωτικὴ εὐθένεια, and the different phraseology here is caused by the necessity to define the ἀστρατιωται in question.

It is difficult to distinguish in these papyri between the forms εὐθένεια, εὐθένεια, and εὐθενία, which appear to be employed interchangeably. Cf. also 2. 100, n.

134. ἐκατοστάς. In 397 we find the more explicit λημματίσαντες τῶν ταμείων τὰς ἐκατοστάς. These percentages are presumably the usual 10 per cent. added to taxes collected by the decemprimi, cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 41. 35, n. and references there.

135, 136. At the ends of these lines σεσυμίωμαι may have been followed by πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) ἑκατόν as in 137–9.

140–2. As the words μάγιστρε μου indicate, this letter was addressed to Pomponius Domnus, the Magister rei privatae, but the remains are too fragmentary for its subject to be determined.

143. Or perhaps rather ἄπαντειλα.

143–8. This letter is of interest as demonstrating the procedure in the case of civil litigation between persons residing in different nomes.

149. Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀμπέλλος κράτιστος. This official is clearly a man of high standing, although his office is nowhere mentioned. From 192–3 and 338–40 we might infer that he was a subordinate of Pomponius Domnus, the Magister rei privatae. Valerius Melas, the ἐπίτροπος προιοντος ὅμηρου is likewise vir perfectissimus (365, 401). In view of the difference in date it seems unlikely that this Ammonius is the same person as ὁ κράτιστος Ἀμμώνιος of P. Oxy. 1191 (A.D. 280) and P. Oxy. 1412. 9–10 (c. A.D. 284).

149. [ἐμοὶ καὶ Πλουτόγενε]. Cf. 193, τὰ γραφέντα εἰς κοινὸν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ προέδρῳ. The President of the Senate of Panopolis is usually given his full name and title, Ἀμφιλίος Πλουτόγενης ὁ καὶ Ῥόδων ἔναρχος πρύτανες, but he does appear simply as Πλουτόγενης ἔναρχος πρύτανες in 249, 256, 259, 276.

153. ἀπαίτηται ἦτοι ἐπιμεληται. This is the only occasion where ἀπαίτηται and ἐπιμεληται are equated, an equation all the more surprising in view of the official prohibition, notified in 43 above, against the same persons holding both offices. Moreover, if διαδοχήσεως is correctly restored in 153, it is difficult to see how ἀπαίτηται can be concerned in this
operation. Possibly, therefore, ἀποδέκται here is a scribal error for ἀποδέκται. Cf. ἀποδέκτας καὶ ἐπιμελητάς in 245 below, while ἀποδέκται and ἐπιμεληταί are also found in association in 174 below. For ἀποδέκτας as a synonym for ἐπιμελητής cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 9. 281, n.

In the interlineation above this line I have restored κρέως, comparing 358 below, συνεχῶς ἐνοχλούσων ἡμῖν περὶ διαδόσεως κρέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰδῶν. Possibly the complete phrase here was τοὺς κρέως καὶ κριθής διαδόσεως, the repetition of initial κρέως having led to the omission of one of the εἰδῶν by haplography.

155. τὸ πασσαλωτικῶν. This is the most baffling problem in the entire papyrus, and its meaning and relevance remain obscure. Obviously τὸ πασσαλωτικῶν must be a collective expression for the πασσαλωτικά πρόσωπα mentioned in 196 and 202 below. Who were these persons, and why were the authorities apparently so anxious to locate and arrest them? The only remotely possible explanation which occurs to me is as follows: in the Antaeopolite nome there was a town named Πάσσαλος or Πασσάλων, the latitude of which is given by Ptolemy, Geog. IV. v. 32, as 27° 30' (H. Gauthier, Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. et du Caire, iv (1905), pp. 90-91). This would place it about 15 miles north of Panopolis, and the πασσαλωτικά πρόσωπα might be natives of this town. Why the authorities should have been so concerned about them we can only guess. We might infer from 199–200 and 202–4 that the principal consideration was financial, i.e. that for some reason they owed money to the State. This hardly seems adequate, however, to account for the extreme concern shown by the officials, and if a more compulsive reason is sought, we may perhaps surmise that Passalos, like Coptos, was one of the strongholds of the recent rebellion of Lucius Domitius Domitianus, and that its entire population had been proscribed. An intensive search for the fugitives might easily disrupt the complicated administration of the ἀννώνη in the way described here. Cf. also τὸ νησιωτικῶν, dealt with in the following note.

157. τὸν νησιωτικοῦ. The restoration appears inevitable, and it seems equally inevitable to see in the expression a parallel to τὸ πασσαλωτικῶν in 155. If the territorial explanation put forward in the preceding note is accepted, a similar interpretation must be placed on the νησιωτικῶν, i.e. it must denote the population of a certain specific island. To an inhabitant of Panopolis there was indeed one island par excellence, the νῆσος Ἀπολλωνίας, known also simply as ἡ νῆσος (H. Gauthier, op. cit., pp. 73–74). Possibly the same island should be recognized in P. Got. 6. 5, where the editor's νῆσ[ια]ν ἀποτελεῖ may well conceal νῆσ[ία]ν Ἀπολλωνίας. If so, this papyrus, like P. Got. 3, 4, and 7 (cf. Introduction, pp. xxxii–xxxiii) must be of Panopolitan provenance. The same island may also be mentioned in P. Oxy. 1543. 4, where the printed text reads ἀπὸ τοῦ (? l. τῆς) νῆσου χιλιαρχῶν.

160–6. This is practically a word-for-word repetition of the letter in 120–7 above, the
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notes on which apply. The principal difference between the two versions, as already noted, is that the final sentence, mentioning that the discontented sailors are proposing to complain to the Governor of the Thebaid, is here omitted (cf. 125–6, n.).

165. ἁνθρ(ακος). This obscurely written abbreviation could hardly have been deciphered without the aid of P. Vindob. Sijpesteijn 1 (A.D. 338) which is also concerned with consignments of charcoal.

167–79. This is perhaps the best and most extensive specimen of the epistolary style of the Strategus. The looseness of construction, repetition, and other faults may be partly due to the letter having been dictated.

173. τῆς ἐμῆς μετράτητος καταφρονήματος. These words taken by themselves might be taken to mean ‘despising my easy-going nature’, but it is clear from parallel passages (cf. 69, n.) that ἐμὴ μετράτητη is simply the normal self-depreciatory periphrasis for the Strategus himself. The same phrase as is found here, καταφρονών μου τῆς μετράτητος, occurs in P. Oxy. 71. 14 (A.D. 305), where the editors translate ‘taking a mean advantage of my forbearance’, though in fact it seems more likely that μετράτητη means ‘my humble station’; cf. also P. Ryl. iv. 659. 7 (A.D. 322), where καταφρονώντες τῆς μετράτητος μου καὶ ἀπραγμοσαίνης is translated ‘in contempt of my meek and unobtrusive character’.


174. ἀποδείκτος καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς. There is no construction for these accusatives, and it seems necessary to assume that something like δὲ αὐτὸν ὑναμύσαι must have dropped out at the end of the preceding line.

175. [τα] ἄτε. ταὶ is of course written for τα. The confusion of τα and ἄτε is very suggestive of dictation.

180–3. From 169–70 it is evident that two officials were to be appointed to supervise the repair of the Treasury ships, a συνοισιώτης to survey the actual work, and an ἐπιμελητὴς to control the expenditure. The present letter refers directly to expenditure (cf. λογογραφείαν, 183), and the appointment here in question must therefore be that of the ἐπιμελητῆς. The appointment of the συνοισιώτης follows immediately (184–7). The appointment of the ἐπιμελητῆς selected by the Senate is in 241–3.

180. συστάτης. On the role of the συστάτης see P. Mertens, Les Services de l’État civil et le Contrôle de la Population à Oxyrhynchos, 1958, pp. 30–45. Hitherto the συστάτης has only been found in papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

182. ἀπὸ παγάνων. This use of this Latin term is apparently unexampled, and raises several problems. Why, for instance, should a παγάνος be specified for this post? And how could the συστάτης, being officials of the metropolis (συστάται μητροπόλεως, 338) nominate a παγάνος at this date, before the municipalization of Egypt had taken place? One possible explanation is that παγάνος may simply denote residence, not status; in other words, a citizen of Panopolis resident, or normally resident, outside the limits of the city. Such a man might be less exposed to corruption, and thus more suitable for superintending the finances of the operation.
188–91. Cf. 77–79 above, in which the Strategus had informed the Procurator that the bakers had already been dispatched. Presumably either that letter was written in anticipation of the event, or some last-minute hitch delayed the journey.

It is remarkable that bakers should have been sent from Panopolis to the Upper Thebaid at the very moment when active preparations were in train to provide bakeries and bakers in the city for the expected visit of the Emperor (cf. 374–7).

195. The word νομικὸς is usually translated ‘lawyer’ or ‘notary’, but in reality his functions are quite uncertain. Here he seems to have been some kind of police official.

196. I have failed to find a convincing restoration in this line. The construction is the common one of πρὸς τὸ followed by an accusative and infinitive. The collective subject τοὺς προκειμένους presumably refers to the assemblage of officials in 194–5. ἀναγκασθῆναι must govern another infinitive lost, or partially lost, in the lacuna. For the παςαλωτικὰ πρόσωπα see 155, n.

196–7. The clumsy repetition, εἰπερ τυρχάνοιεν ἐνταῦθα—εἰπερ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τυρχάνοιεν, is very striking and again suggests dictation.


199. The surface of the papyrus is much damaged and I have not found satisfactory readings for all the traces. After the lacuna Ἰ.χ.ος is presumably the end of a verb, e.g. παρέχω.


202. παςαλωτικὸς προσώπος. Cf. 155, n. The search for these persons was still going on two days later (338–41).

204. φαν[ερὰ τῇ ἐπί]εικία. The supplement, which seems unavoidable, rather overfills the lacuna, and possibly some letters were accidentally omitted. At the end of the line the papyrus is defective, and it is impossible to say whether or not the customary notation σεσημισμένου found a place here.


205. Some emendation seems inevitable here, and probably the simplest is to delete ὅπο. Alternatively, γράμματα could be emended to γραφέντα thus bringing the expression into line with that found in, for example, 85, 209, 230.

206. The confiscations here referred to may have been the aftermath of the recent revolt of Lucius Domitius Domitianus.

211–12. Here again I have failed to fill the lacuna satisfactorily. After ὁκνήσω either νο[ or νε[ is possible, but no noun beginning with these letters suggests itself. In the next line the scribe originally wrote προθεῖναι, subsequently correcting this to προτεῖνι. If προθεῖνι points to an original infinitive προτεῖν[ai, it might be admissible to restore οὐκ ὁκνήσω [ο[ν[ματα ἄ[ν[τ[ [τ[ν προτεῖ[ai καὶ] φανερὰ καταστήματα κτ[.

213–16. For the subject cf. 342–6 below. φαβρίς (= Lat. fabrica) has not hitherto
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appeared in Greek dress in the papyri, but cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s.v. φάρμακα.

217. Διδόμω ἐπείκτη ἀνώνυμο. Cf. 35, 40–41.

219. κελλαρικῶν εἰδῶν. Called εἰδῶν τοῦ κελλαρικοῦ in 222. The Latin equivalent, *species cellarienses*, is found in Codex Theodosianus xi. 28. 9. The *cellarium* is explained in P. Cair. Isidor. 56, intro., as the allowance of wood for heating and cooking made to soldiers, but the meaning here must be widely different. In *Stud. Pal. xx*. 75, a papyrus which, to judge from the prices quoted, dates from about A.D. 340, there are entries such as κρεώ[ν ε]λσ το κελλαρικοῦ (Π. 9), or εἰς τὸ κελλάριον διεξάρμει ήτοι τραγημάτων (Π. 16).

In the *Lausiac History* (c. 14) there is a description of a monk who tended the sick brethren, παντοία ἱστρικά καὶ κελλαρικά ὀγοράζων εὗ τῇ Αλεξάνδρείᾳ, and a number of these comestibles are subsequently specified as σταφίδας, βοδις, ὀλό, σιλέρια, ὃν ἐπιδέονται οἱ ἀφωνιστοῖς. In P. Ryl. 627. 65–89, is an even longer list headed κελλαρικά ὁμοίωσις, and including wine, honey, oil, bread, meat, cheese, and many other comestibles. It is clear, therefore, that κελλαρικά εἰδῆ simply means 'provisions' in the broadest sense. The only difference between these supplies and the *annona* is that the *annona* included supplies other than food, e.g. wood and hides. Cf. the passage quoted in Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis*, s.v. κελλαρικῶν: ἀπέστειλεν αὐτόν ἐν τὸλει Πρωανᾶς τῆς Βαθηναίας διάγεω, λαμβάνοτα ἀνώνυμας καὶ κελλαρικά δαφυλόν.

225–6. The phraseology suggests that Theognostus had been executed, possibly for complicity in the late rebellion, and his goods, including his slave Psais, become forfeit to the State. Psais might, of course, have been in a position to implicate others, and thus a valuable witness in the 'investigation'.

227. The unread traces and following lacuna at the end of the line probably contained the name of another individual who was already in custody.

228. λοιμοτηρίου. Cf. 346, 350, where the δημοσιος λοιμοτήριον is again used as a place of detention. Since the building presumably handled large sums of money, it provided an obvious place of security. There is a curious parallel in the English word 'counter', originally denoting a city court or office, and later transferred to a place of detention attached to such an office.

230–40. Two slanting lines are drawn across the top right-hand corner of the text of this letter, possibly to signify deletion, although elsewhere (cf. 120–7, n.) deletion is indicated by the customary large brackets. However this may be, it is clear that the letter in this form was never sent off, since a revised version (264–71) was prepared the following day. For the question whether either letter was actually dispatched see below.

The general sense of this letter, in its two versions, is clear, and would be clearer still were it not for the fact that the adverb ἐκτάκτως (231, 233, 264, 266, and cf. 361, n.) appears to be used in two different, and indeed almost contradictory, senses.

The word ἐκτάκτως, which appears to be unexampled elsewhere, is presumably equivalent to the expressions ἐν ἐκτάκτω or ὅλ' ἐκτάκτων, which mean 'separately' or 'individually'.

119
In the present instance I take the meaning to be that the President of the Senate had been instructed to nominate the ἐπιμεληταί and ἀπαίτηται in separate lists (ἐκτάκτως), a procedure which would be in conformity with the principle laid down in 43, μετέξει τοὺς αὐτῶς εἶναι ἀπαίτηται καὶ ἐπιμεληταί. It transpires, however, that what the Strategus really intended was that in each toparχία the ἀπαίτηται and ἐπιμεληταί should respectively deal with all the different ἔδος of the ἀννονα. According to the Strategus, the President wilfully misinterpreted his orders, and appointed separate officials for each individual ἔδος (235); and the Strategus complained that the President had so acted although it was his duty παντοῖον ἔδον ὑπ’ ἐν διοικῶσαν καὶ μὴ ἐκτάκτως. Here ἐκτάκτως must mean ‘individually [for each ἔδος]’. The basis of the confusion seems to be that ἐκτάκτως is used to mean ‘individually’ or ‘separately’ either with reference to the different ἔδος of the ἀννονα, or with reference to the different toparchies of the nome. In any case, the possibility of misunderstanding is still obvious to us today, and we may perhaps be less surprised than the Strategus that his orders were not executed in the way he intended.

Now that the nominations had been made by the Senate, the Strategus apparently took the view that it was too late to cancel them altogether and start afresh. He therefore now asks the Procurator to issue orders to the effect that, as regards the collection of the ἀννονα, in each toparχία the officials for all the different ἔδος should act together as a κολλεγίον, thus simplifying the administration. In the case of distribution, the Strategus changed his mind between the two versions of the letter (see below). In the earlier version he proposed that, in each toparχία, the same men should be appointed as ἐπιμεληταί for all ἔδος, while in the later and final version he recommended that, in the case of each ἔδος, the ἀποδέκται ἤτοι διαδόται should act in concert for the entire nome, including the metropolis.

Comparison of the two versions of the letter (230–40, 264–71) reveals a number of differences of text, some of which help to throw light on the situation. It therefore seems desirable to print a full collation here:

231. ἐνόρχυς προέδρῳ
   πάραυτο
   ἐπιμελητάς
   ἀπαίτητας
232. ἕτερος
   ἔμποδὴς
233. [τῆς] μᾶς
   τῆς εὐθενείας
   ἐκτάκτως
234. εὐθερῶς [sic]
   [ἡ ταῖς ἀπαίτησις κτλ.
   ἐπιμελητάς
   μέλλων [sic]
234–5. ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀπαίτομένους
   εὐχερέστερα ἀποχα γραμματία
   παρ’ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν

264. om.

265. διαδότας ἤτοι ἀποδέκτας
   ἄλλη
265–6. ἐπιθέρευθηναι
266. μᾶς
   om.
266–7. ἐκτάκτως καὶ

267. τάχιον
   τὴν τε ἀπαίτησις κτλ.
   ἀποδέκτας ἤτοι διαδότας
   om.
   om.
NOTES ON PAPYRUS 1

236. γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύσης γενέσθαι

236-7. ἀπαντήσας ἐκάστου εἴδους ἐκάστης τοπαρχείας [sic] ὅψ' ἐν εἶναι καὶ

237-8. ὁμοίως ἀλλα καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν τῶν εἰδῶν τοὺς αὐτούς εἰναι παντοτῶν εἰδῶν ἐκάστης τοπαρχείας

239. ὅπ' αὐτοῖ

239-40. αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπισταλέντων

240. Θαθί

Attention may be drawn to some of the more significant divergencies between the two versions. The term ἐπιμελητῶ in the earlier version has been replaced in the later by either ἀπαντήσα or ἀποδέκται (265) or ἀποδέκται ὦ τιμιὸ διαδότα (267, 269). The argument in 234-5, ἀλλα καὶ τῶν ἀπαιτομένων πρὸς λαβεῖν, was omitted altogether in the later version, presumably because the Strategus recognized on reflection that this would not be a very strong argument with the Procurator. Finally, the complete re-writing of the passage in 237—8 illustrates the change of mind on the part of the Strategus to which allusion has already been made. It is noticeable that neither version of the letter bears the notation σημεῖαμαι (cf. Introduction, pp. xxii—xxiii), and this omission makes it doubtful whether either letter was actually dispatched.

231. πάραυτο. This should perhaps be emended both here and in 353 to πάραυτο (which is apparently found in 205), but as I find πάραυτο clearly written in P. Lond. Inv. 2226 (A.D. 306) it may be a genuine variant.

233. εὐθείας cannot, of course, be claimed as an absolutely certain restoration, but it is difficult to see any alternative. Cf. also 359—60, παντοτῶν εἰδῶν ἐκάστης τοπαρχείας τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εὐθείας.

239. ὅνα μοι ... μεθευρήσωσ. Cf. 271, 403, and P. Oxy. 2187. 11, 18.


244-8. Cf. 33, which lists a letter from the Procurator giving orders for the buying-up of these same supplies.

248. ὃς δ' ἐν πρότερος κτλ. For this procedure cf. P. Oxy. 1408. 4–5.

249–51. Cf. 38.

252–5. Cf. 60–62, which appears to relate to an earlier stage of the same matter. It is on this assumption that ἐ[λαδός has been restored in 60.

The text of the present letter appears to be seriously corrupt, and some correction is necessary to extract a meaning. In 252 I have ventured to restore μέτα τὰς ὥς ὅς in the sense of 'in addition to the existing ...'. For this sense of μέτα with the accusative, hardly
recognized by the lexica, cf. P. Erlangen 26b. 60, 70 and μετὰ τὰς ὑπολευθερίας in P. Oxy. 1653. 10-11. The next words, ἄλλας δύο σκάφους, must be corrected either to ἄλλας δύο σκάφη, if, indeed, the words can be taken in isolation; but in fact the immediately following letters, ἑτήριη ἤκα (clearly so written, with a space between them), are wholly intractable. The καὶ can be separated off and read as the copula, but this does not help in resolving the remaining ἑτήριη η. If a bold guess may be hazarded, I would suggest that the whole succession of letters †ακακεμονοτετηρη† is corrupt, and conceals an original infinitive ακεμονοθέρναι.

252. The meaning of the term νομικάριος is quite uncertain. It is usually translated 'lawyer' as if derived from νόμος. In fact, however, it seems clear from 385 that he exercised some special accounting duties in relation to the nome as distinct from the metropolis, and the derivation may therefore be from νομὸς rather than νόμος. For his connexion with the cursus publicus cf. P. Oxy. 154. 10.

ἀλαδας. For ἀλας as a type of small vessel see W. Crönert, Passow's Worterbuch . . ., col. 268, which gives fuller references than Liddell and Scott. Hitherto the word has occurred in only two published papyri, both of the Byzantine period, and in both cases abbreviated to ἀλαδ/ (cf. M. Merzagora, Aegyptus, x (1929), p. 134, who suggests that this abbreviation stands for a diminutive ἀλαδων). In fact the word occurs written out in full in the (unpublished) column iv of P. Lond. 1159 (P. Lond. iii. 112-14), which contains a section headed ἐπὶ ἀλαδαν.

The present occurrence of ἀλαδας in connexion with the cursus publicus proves, as had long ago been suspected, that the mysterious term ἀλαδήτης for certain postal officials is derived from ἀλας (cf. 2. 275, n.).

253. Here also some fairly drastic corrections are necessary, and I suggest ποιομήνων γραμματοφόρων ἑκοῦσας as a means of achieving sense with the minimum of disturbance.

254. ἐπὶ ἰσευνάξειν would be a suitable restoration, but there are other possibilities.

256. ἐκστρωστη. For this word cf. also 259, 262, 263, and also ἐκστρωστη in 260. Neither of these terms has hitherto been found in Greek, and their significance can only be conjectured. ἐκστρωστῆναι, from which they are presumably derived, is itself a ἀπεικονισμένον, occurring only in Diogenes, Ep. 37. 3, κλίναι ἐξετρωστη. The uncomounded noun, ἐκστρωσης, occurs in P. Oxy. 1531. 2, 7 (fifth century) where the editors translate it 'bedmaker', whereas Liddell and Scott, who quote the word from literary sources, render it 'one who gets ready the beds and dinner couches'. ἐκστρώοναι seems to be used in a more general sense in P. Oxy. 138. 32. 22.

The verb ἐκστρωστῆραι not only means to lay or spread bedclothes or coverings, but also to lay or pave a road, and it is difficult to decide which signification is more appropriate here. Either the provision of bedding, or the clearing and levelling of ground, at the various places where the Emperor and his party were expected to make a halt, would be the sort of tasks for which we might expect provision to be made in advance, and although in the translation I have, as a matter of convenience, given the preference to the former interpretation, there is really no valid reason for excluding the latter.
NOTES ON PAPYRUS 1

257. It is not clear why the words πρὸς ἐποιμασίαν have been deleted, since they are required to govern the following genitive ἐπίθηκας. Possibly the scribe began to alter the structure of the sentence (the parallel passage in 260 has simply πρὸς τὴν . . . ἐπίθηκας) but failed to complete the process.

259. ἐκτρώστη. Cf. 256, n.

Τριφεῖον. The restoration is assured by the more substantial traces of the name surviving in 260. The Τριφεῖον was the great sanctuary of Triphis, the consort of Min (Pan), situated on the left bank of the Nile opposite Panopolis. On Triphis and the Τριφεῖον see the articles in Pauly–Wissowa and in H. B. C. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptische Religionsgeschichte; P. Michaelid., ostr. no. 78; V. Martin in Recherches de Papyrologie, ii (1962), 59, nn. 1, 2.

260. ἐκτρώσων. Cf. 256, n.

παλάτιον. It is tempting to think of this as a building specially erected for the Emperor’s visit, but in view of other references to παλάτιον in the papyri it may be doubted whether this was in all cases the origin of the building. There was a παλάτιον at Arsinoē in the third century (B.G.U. 1087. i. 12; iii. 4), while in the fourth-century Stud. Pal. xx. 230, a building account recording the expenditure of various sums in myriads of denarii, there are two references to a παλάτιον, apparently at Hermopolis (cf. P. Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung, p. 114, no. 464), which was certainly a building of some pretensions, since it possessed a gateway (πύλη) and was adorned with statues (ἀνθρώπαι).

262, 263. ἐκτρώστη. Cf. 256, n.

μνησίς Ψάμιας, μνησίς φρουρίου Ψάμια. μνή here represents mansion, indicating that these were stages on the cursus publicus, which in this instance had also been chosen as resting-places for the Emperor during his progress.

264–71. This is the final, revised version of the letter of which the earlier draft is in 230–40 above, where both the letter and the relationship between the two versions are fully discussed.

272. ἡγεμόνα. Cf. ἡγεμόνος κύριε, 274. Elsewhere in these papyri the Governor of the Thebaid is invariably given the title of ἡγεμόνος, and the use of ἡγεμόνα here suggests that the Prefect of Egypt at Alexandria is intended (cf. Introduction, p. xxi).

[Toeto] συνορίας. The restoration is based on the name of the toparchy, συνορία Τοτώ, found in 279, et al.


273. ἁφάλλοις. The depositing of surety in cases of appeal was the normal custom; cf. P. Flor. i. 6. 6, οὐδὲ ἀφαλλάσσων τὸ ταμεῖον ἐδὲ τὸ πρόστειμον τῆς συκοφαντίας.

276–331. The long and exceptionally well-preserved section of the papyrus consists of a complete list of officials appointed for the collection and distribution of the supplies needed for the army units accompanying the Emperor on his forthcoming visit. These individual appointments clearly ran counter to the original intention of the
Strategus, discussed in the note on 230—40 above, which seems to have been that, in each toparcharcy, the same men should act as ἐπιμεληται for all the provisions comprised in the annonae. The appointments actually made by the Senate, however, could be brought into line with the revised proposal of the Strategus (cf. 353–64), which was that within each toparcharcy the collectors of all species of the annonae should work together as a college, while the distributors of each species should work as a college covering the entire nome.

The list of appointments here notified is especially valuable since it gives us, for the first time, a picture of the organization of the annonae throughout an entire nome. Since the appointments are not listed in any coherent order, it seems desirable, for the sake of clarity, to present the evidence in tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>elidōs</th>
<th>ἀνω τοπαρχία</th>
<th>μέση τοπαρχία</th>
<th>τοπαρχία μετροπολίκων (καὶ Ἀραβίας)</th>
<th>τοπαρχία συνορίας Τοσσό</th>
<th>τοπαρχία Φεινέβθεως</th>
<th>τοπαρχία Πακέρες (Ὑσίδλα)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 303</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 276</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 304</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 302</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται καὶ ἀποδέκται 323</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται καὶ διαδόται 283</td>
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<td>κρατῆσ</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 280</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 306</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 286</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 280</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀρτου</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 291</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 292</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 299</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται καὶ ἀποδέκται 301</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται καὶ διαδόται 299</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀρτου</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 305</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 331</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 308</td>
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<td>ἀρτου</td>
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<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 303</td>
<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 293</td>
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<td>ἀρτου</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀρτου</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 288</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 296</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται 309</td>
<td>ἀπαιτηται καὶ διαδόται 316</td>
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<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 312</td>
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<td>διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται 287</td>
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</table>

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As a result of arranging the information as shown above, a general pattern immediately becomes obvious. In the first four toparchies, ἄνω, μέση, μητροπόλεως, and ανυφάδας Τοστιό, the scheme is identical, viz. for all εἴδη except ἀρτος the collection of the annona is made by one pair of officials, called ἀπαίτηται, and the distribution by another pair called διαδόται καὶ ἀποδέκται. In the case of ἀρτος only a single pair of officials are appointed, designated ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ διαδόται, and this arrangement holds good throughout all six toparchies. Finally, if we exclude ἀρτος, we find in the case of the last two toparchies, Φενεβόδης and Πακέρης, only a single pair of officials for each εἴδος, called ἀπαίτηται καὶ ἀποδέκται in Φενεβόδης, ἀπαίτηται καὶ διαδόται in Πακέρης; to this arrangement there is one exception, viz. in the case of οἶνος at Φενεβόδης, where we find, exceptionally, ἀπαίτηται καὶ διαδόται (unless indeed this is a scribal error for ἀπαίτηται καὶ ἀποδέκται).

At present we know much too little about the annona to be able to explain all these variations. In the case of ἀρτος, which did not lend itself to the normal process of collection from individual taxpayers, it is easy to see why the arrangement is likely to be radically different from that of the remaining εἴδη. But it is difficult to see why, in the case of the two toparchies of Φενεβόδης and Πακέρης, only a single pair of officials is appointed. No less puzzling are the discrepancies with other passages in the papyrus: for instance, are the ἀπαίτηται shown as collectors in the ὅραμα μητροπόλεως the same as οἱ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀπαίτηται ἢτοι ἐπιμεληταὶ in 153 (cf. note ad loc.)?

Finally, it should be noted that this long series of commissions are only appointments of persons to act; they give no details of the actual amounts to be raised, the time allowed for collection, the place of storage, or any other similar practical matters. Presumably these were either communicated verbally, or separate orders may have been sent direct to the officials by the Senate, without passing through the office of the Strategus, who may have been content with the bare names of the persons responsible in each case.

278. ἐπίσταλμα. Cf. 198, n.

284. The titles of the officials have been accidentally omitted by the scribe, but can be restored with complete certainty as ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ διαδόται since this is the invariable rule in the case of ἀρτος. It should be noted that here, quite exceptionally, four individuals are appointed instead of the usual pair.

286. The restoration ἄθη[οδέκται], rather than ἄθη[απηταὶ] is certain, cf. the table in note to 276–331 above.

288, 289, 291. The restoration [ἄω] in each case is based on the fact that the μέση τοπαρχία is elsewhere accounted for.

294. τούτῳ Ἑρακλ. The grandfather's name is not normally preceded by the article, but cf. 314 below.

307. Υἰωθέου. This name, hitherto unexampled, also occurs, in the spelling Υἰωθέου, in P. Gen. Inv. 108, D. 9 (Recherches de Papyrologie, ii (1962), p. 45).
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

Ovidius AypiroXaov. Cf. P. Oxy. 2476. 37, 47, where a Marios Athriplos AypiroXalos of Panopolis is found. In P.S.I. 461. 17 (from Oxyrhynchus) where the editors print Ovidia [. . .]kolais, Ovidia [Aypirokolais should perhaps be restored.

316. άπαιτηται και διαδόται. This should perhaps be corrected to άπαιτηται και ἀποδέκται, cf. note to 276–331 above.

Κλαύδιος Σέρηνος ὁ καὶ Αγγ [...]ς. Either the father's name has been accidentally omitted, or the text should be corrected to Σερήνου τὸν καὶ κτλ.

318. Here, and again in 325, the toparchy is called Πακέρη Ψωβία instead of the simple Πακέρη.

328. Here, alone, the toparchy of the metropolis is so called with the addition of καὶ Αραβέλας (cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi).

333. τῷ θεάτρῳ. Cf. 375. For a list of theatres in cities of Graeco-Roman Egypt cf. E. G. Turner, L'Anciennité classique, xxxii (1963), p. 120, n. 3; to this list should be added Memphis (P. Fuad I Univ. xiv).

335–6. ὅπως . . . αἰλήθαι. As occasionally elsewhere, there is a change of construction following ἐπιστέλλαι, from ὅπως introducing a final clause to the simple infinitive.

338–41. Cf. 192–201 above. The names of the four ἐπιρέται are given in 201. It would appear that, because of the urgency of the matter, the ἐπιρέται had actually been selected and had commenced their duties in advance of the formal nomination.

343–6. The urgency of this order for the virtual arrest of all smiths in the territory so that they could be employed on armament production gives some insight into the losses of equipment occasioned by the recent revolt, possibly accentuated by the requirements of the Persian War.

Although the order of the Governor covered all smiths, both in Panopolis and in the nome, the νυκτοστράτηγοι to whom it was addressed had jurisdiction over the metropolis only. Presumably separate orders were issued by the Strategus to local police authorities outside the city boundaries.

344. κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαίον must presumably begin a new sentence, despite the absence of any particle. Exactly the same asyndeton, beginning with exactly the same words, recurs in 366 and 387.

345–6. Here again (cf. note on 335–6) there is a change of construction after ἐπιστέλλαι, from ὅπως with the subjunctive to a plain infinitive (ἀναγκαῖον).

παρενεγκείν (cf. παρῆφεγκεν, 349) seems to mean to detain or imprison, a sense apparently not recognized by the lexica. For the use of the λογιστήριον as a place of detention cf. 228, n.

347–8. Failure to decipher the traces at the end of 347 makes it difficult to construe the text. At the beginning of 348, ως might be the ending of a genitive noun (e.g. διαδόσας), though the division is somewhat unsatisfactory. The following letters, εξ, might be read as the numeral ξ, qualifying κοινωνίας in 347, since in fact six names appear in 351–2;
but it is unlikely that a numeral would have been introduced in this abrupt manner, instead of something like ἐξ τῶν ἀριθμῶν.

350. The interlined passage may have been a last-minute addition to the letter, or it may have been accidentally omitted in copying. It seems clear that the intrusion of the word δημοσίου at the end of 350 is due to the scribe’s eye having strayed to δημοσίος at the end of the preceding line.

353–64. This is the sequel to the letter of which the first draft is in 230–40, the second and final version in 267–71 (see note on 230–40). Here the Strategus orders the execution of the plan proposed in the final version of his letter (267–71), viz. that within each toparchy the ἀπαρτητάς appointed by the Senate should act together and collect all the various provisions in a body, while in the case of the ἀποδέκται ἦσαν διαδόται, those appointed for each εἴδος should get together and act collectively, covering the entire nome. As already pointed out, it is uncertain whether the Strategus ever reported the dispute to the Procurator, and here at any rate he seems to be acting on his own authority. It is noticeable that the present letter is addressed directly to the Senate, whereas the earlier letters are addressed to the πρόδεδρος.

361. ἐν ἐκτάκτῳ. This is obviously the equivalent of the adverb ἐκτάκτως the meaning of which is discussed in the note on 230–40 above.

365–8. Cf. 205–12. The γραμματεῖς and the χειρισταὶ ἦσαν πραγματευταὶ there mentioned are presumably the occupants of clerical posts, whereas the προνοηταὶ were the actual managers of the estates. This order for the appointment of additional officials is the exact converse of the well-known P. Oxy. 58 = Wilcken, Chrest. 378, of A.D. 288, in which a high dignitary, Servaeus Africanus, inveighs against the multiplicity of officials concerned in the administration of the συμμαχία ὁδοίας and orders a drastic reduction in their number.

It is noticeable that these posts in the administration of the ὁδοίας are liturgical, and that nominations to them are made by the Senate (as also in, e.g., P. Oxy. 58).

366. κατὰ τὸ ἄναγκαιον. The absence of any particle is noticeable, but nevertheless this must begin a new sentence, cf. 344, n., and 387 below.

369–93. The request made by the Strategus to the Senate in his letter in 365–8 must have met with an immediate refusal, since he reports the refusal to the Procurator on the same day as his original letter.

372. This ruling by the Governor of the Thebaid, viz. that men of curial rank should not be nominated for Treasury appointments, may perhaps explain why, in 182 above, the appointment of an ἐπιμελητής to supervise the expenditure for the refitting of Treasury ships is ordered to be made ἀπὸ παγάνων. In any case, the ruling must have been known.
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

to the Strategus, who in fact did not specifically ask the Senate to appoint men of curial rank. The refusal of the Senate may have been merely a demonstration of their independence; it was in any case futile, as we learn from 400^4th^-t that the Procurator, when informed of the position, merely ordered them to appoint non-senators to the posts.

375. τῷ θεάτρῳ. Cf. 333, n.

καθ’ ὃ καὶ πέραν. This indicates that large bodies of troops had passed through Panopolis at some time during the preceding (Egyptian) year, which ran from 29 August 297 to 28 August 298 (cf. Introduction, p. xiii).

376. ἐκτεγνός. The restoration is based on P. Michaelid. 20, col. ii, 2–3, πρὸς τὸ ἐκτεγνὸς αἴτ[ῇ]οις ὑπάρχειν τὰ τῆς εἴδουσε. Cf. also P. Oxy. 2228. 40. A possible alternative might be ἐκτελεῖν, but this seems less likely.

379. Cf. 387, τοῦ διμούρου μέρος τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος τῷ νομῷ. This system of apportioning the cost of the anonna militaris between the metropolis and the nome in the ratio 1:2 has appeared before in the papyri, but has not hitherto been correctly explained. Jouguet, Vie Municipale, pp. 413, 441–2, 447–8, suggested that, while one-third was payable by the metropolis, the remaining two-thirds was defrayed by the ἐπιμεληταί themselves, while D. Van Berchem, L'Annone militaire, 1937, p. 162, put forward the hypothesis that the annual amounts due were divided into three four-monthly instalments. Both these suggestions are now seen to be unfounded.

The system of so apportioning the anonna between the metropolis and the nome seems to have been general throughout Egypt. Besides the instance from Hermopolis (C. P. Herm. 92, 93), quoted by Jouguet and Van Berchem, there are the present papyri from Panopolis, while Prof. Amundsen informs me that in P. Oslo iii. 88. 17 (late fourth century) it would be possible to read ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ διμούριον (L. διμούριον) μέρος. In P. Lips. 57. 26 (A.D. 261, provenance unknown), where the editors print τὸ ἐπιβάλλουν τῇ πόλει (ἡμείν) μέρος, it is perhaps permissible to ask whether the symbol read as (ἡμείν) might not in fact be (τριτον).

381–4. It is explicitly stated (383, 384) that the ἐπιμεληταί ζώων were appointed to superintend the supply of animals at sacrifices due to take place during the forthcoming visit of the Emperor. The only other mention of an ἐπιμελητῆς ζώων in the papyri is in P. Oxy. 1626 (cf. also P. Oxy. 1261), which relates to another Imperial visit (or projected visit) to Egypt, in A.D. 325. This latter papyrus gave no clues to the duties of an ἐπιμελητῆς ζώων, and the editors concluded, not unreasonably in the circumstances, that the ζώα in question were beasts of burden. The evidence of the present papyrus leaves no room for doubt that, as here, they were intended to provide victims for sacrifices.

Lactantius (De mortibus persecutorum, x. 1–3) has recorded Diocletian's special interest in taking the omens at sacrifices, and describes the annoyance of Tagis, the Magister haruspicarum, when Christian bystanders, by secretly making the sign of the cross at the appropriate moment, caused the omens to fail. That such sacrifices continued under Constantine, as is evidenced by P. Oxy. 1626, need occasion no surprise, since although
that Emperor forbade private *haruspicia* by a constitution of 15 May 319 (*Cod. Theodos. ix. 16. 2*), public ceremonies remained unaffected.


387. *κατά τό ἄναγκασιν*. For the lack of conjunction cf. notes on 344, 366.

389. *Τούτο Ψυγάμλα*. Possibly *καί* should be inserted between the two place-names, as in 406 below.

390. *λοιπόν*. A good example of the use of *λοιπός* meaning ‘the last of a series’ even when only two items are involved.

390-1. *βεβαιώμενα ὕπό μικόν καὶ λελωβημένα*. A similar mishap, resulting in the loss of a letter, is referred to in an unpublished Zenon papyrus in the British Museum (P. Lond. Inv. 2655): this is an undated letter to Zenon from his brother Epharmostos, beginning ἢν ἔγραψατε ἐπιστολήν Μένων περὶ τοῦ Καλλικώντος κεραμίταυ τού μὲν καταβεβρωκέων. It is remarkable to find this same threat to communications recurring after more than half a millennium.

392. *ἐπιμεληταῖς κραθῆς*. No *ἐπιμεληταί κραθῆς* appear in the list of officials in 276–331 above, and it seems probable that these officers were appointed for the entire nome, not just a single toparchy.

393, 393. *Ανασύλησον οἰκύμην. οἰκύμην* is presumably a military rank, cf. *Σαραπίων οἰκύμης* in 2. 28. It may be a shortened form of *οἰκύμης κουφάτωρ* or chief paymaster, for which see P. Hamb. 39, *passim*, but I know of no other example of such an abbreviation.

395. *μίνης τοπαρχίας*. This suggests that the Middle Toparchy was not very far distant from Thmoo (cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi).


400–4. This is the sequel to the letter in 369–73, which was dispatched on 26 Thoth. Since the letter from the Senate contesting the nomination cannot be later than 26 Thoth,
and is here described as having been written 'yesterday' (τῇ χθέσι), it follows that the present letter must have been written on 27 Thoth, and this date can accordingly be restored with certainty in 404.

405–6. Cf. 385–8. Just as Philoxenus the voýká̂pios had been asked to arrange for two-thirds of this charge to be defrayed by the nome, so in the present letter the Senate was no doubt being ordered to shoulder the burden of the remaining one-third.
NOTES ON PAPYRUS 2

1-25. As will be seen, the first surviving column of this roll is fragmentary, some 55 letters (as can be readily estimated from the certain restorations of 1, 11, 16, 20) being lost at the beginnings of the lines. The ends of the lines have also been lost, but if they were of the normal average length of 130-40 letters, probably not more than 10 letters are missing from the end of each line.

1. The address, as restored, implies that this was a circular letter addressed to all the Strategi subordinate to the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid, and in consequence the full list of names has been restored in 9-10 (cf. Introduction, p. xix). The references to Syene in 7 and the υπονομησης τοῦ πολεμοῦ in 8 suggest that this letter may have been concerned with the transport of granite columns from the quarries at Assuan to Alexandria, a subject of which we hear more in 43-50 below; in this case we might suppose that the adjectives τοσαύτης and μόνας in 7 qualify a lost noun στάς (although the word used in 44 is κλώνας). But 5 suggests that the noun may equally well have been ἀρτάς, in which case the subject of the letter was something quite different.

τὸ ἀπαραίτητον. Cf. 47, τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς χρείας.

3. κατάπλωσις is very doubtfully read, but seems on the whole more probable than ἀνάπλωσις. If the subject of the letter was in fact the transport of the granite columns from Syene to Alexandria (1, n.), ἀνάπλωσις would perhaps be expected, since in 43-50 the Strategi are urged in the first place to speed the passage of the ships up river. On the other hand, the ships were destined eventually to sail down again to Alexandria.

4. τοῦ. Possibly τὸ παράπακα, cf. 53, 84.

5. πλοῖα, if correctly restored, may have been followed, for example, by ἐμβάλλεσθαι (cf. 7).


7. Perhaps θεραπε[υθήσηςα, for which cf. 271, n.; but there are other possibilities.

8. υπονοστήρεως τοῦ πολεμοῦ. Cf. 46 and n.

11-15. Delay in sending in the monthly accounts is a familiar subject in these papyri (cf. 1. 64-71, 90-107; 2. 61-67), and the negligence here displayed by Apolinarius is not sufficient by itself to prove that he was the same person as the defaulting Strategus of Papyrus 1 (cf. Introduction, p. xxv).


Δῶμον τοῦ δικαστικοῦ καθολικοῦ. Pomponius Domnus, who appears in Papyrus 1 as Magister rei privatae, has in the interim been promoted to the office of Catholicus.

13. ἀριστούργω suggests the termination of a Roman month-name, but this is not very likely,
since elsewhere in these papyri the monthly accounts of the Strategus are kept by the Egyptian calendar. προτεῖτου cannot be read.

15. This probably refers to the rule (cf. 62-63, 67) that where a fine was imposed on a Strategus for failure to send in accounts, his βοηθός was mulcted in a similar amount.


17. οὐδὲὶς ἔτησσα cannot be read.

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20–26. These textiles were doubtless military supplies, and may have been contributions under the annona, although the reference to an Imperial decree (22) suggests that this may have been some extraordinary requisition.

22. εὑψαγη. This adjective has hitherto occurred in papyri only in B.G.U. 1564. 10. I have failed to find a satisfactory reading for the letters between εὑψαγη and ὅβηναι; ὅσος ἰππιλόχια, i.e. 'so as to appear double', is possible though not entirely convincing.

23-24. We cannot tell just how these lines were divided, but the words ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσίδдов should probably be transferred to the beginning of 23 (cf. 1-25, n.).

26. ἀνάβολον. Translated ‘mantle’ in Liddell–Scott-Jones (in Addenda and Corrigenda), but six palms is surely too narrow for such a garment, and a wrap or scarf of some kind seems a more likely interpretation.

27–31. It is remarkable that this letter should have been transmitted via the Thinite nome, which lies up-stream from Panopolis and on the opposite bank, if, as seems probable (cf. Introduction, pp. xix–xx), the officium of the Procurator was situated at Hermopolis. Possibly the dispatches for the Thinite nome were more urgent, and the present letter was delivered with them, for the Thinite Strategus to pass on to Panopolis; but the quick and easy communications obviously existing between the Procurator and Panopolis make this solution unlikely. More probably, the letter was included among the dispatches for the Thinite nome by accident, and was forwarded on to Panopolis when the mistake was discovered.

28. Πετετᾶς (δεκάδαρχον). The word δεκάδαρχον (read by Professor Jones) is denoted by the familiar symbol ∆, which also occurs in 41 and 174 below, whereas in 37 the word is written out in full. The same symbol was in use at Dura in A.D. 225 (P. Dura 129). Cf. also P. Abinn. 29, 2, n. and N. Lewis, Chron. d’Ég., xxix (1954), p. 293.

Petētēs, the decurio also appears in 174, where the dative is written Πετετῆς. There is not room here to read Πετετῆς[οί]ς, and in fact the alternative forms Πετετῆς and Πετετῆςοις are both attested, though the former is by far the more frequent.


Since a total of seven soldiers is involved (cf. 30, n.), the text in the lacuna towards the end of the line must have run [καὶ τὸν δὴν καὶ . . . . τὸν . . . .], ως, and μονισθικασ therefore presumably qualifies these two last only.
NOTES ON PAPYRUS 2

μυνιφίκας. Munifices, according to Vegetius, are milites qui munera facere coguntur, i.e. they are ordinary private soldiers performing the full range of normal military duties, as opposed to the beneficiarii who were exempted from the more menial ‘fatigues’.

29. The Ala II Herculia Dromedariorum reappears in 169 below, where it, or at any rate a detachment of it, is found garrisoning the joint forts of Točto and Psinabla under the same Praefectus castrorum, Eudaemon. The Notitia Dignitatum (Or. xxxi) similarly locates the Ala II Herculia Dromedariorum at ‘Psinaula’, i.e. Psinabla, cf. Van Berchem, L’Armée de Dioclétien, p. 67.

ἀπαγγέλαν. This is the only instance in the papyrus of sums being recovered from soldiers, and it is unfortunate that the word following ὑπέφ, which might have given a clue to the circumstances, is lost. It can hardly have been a straightforward over-issue of pay in view of the difference in rank of the soldiers involved. Whatever the cause, the soldiers do not appear to have suffered any reduction in status, since, as noted above, Petëesis is still found holding the post of decurio in 174 below, a fortnight or more later.

30-31. Since 3,000 denarii are to be recovered from each of the soldiers involved, and the total amount recoverable is given as 2 myriads of denarii and 1,000 ἀττικά, it follows that 1,000 ἀττικά are the same as 1,000 denarii, so that the total amount is 21,000 denarii, which means that seven soldiers were concerned.

The identity of ἀττικά with denarii, suggested, e.g., by E. H. Kase, A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection, p. 22, and more recently put forward by A. Segré, Byzantion, xv (1941), p. 249, is confirmed by various passages in the present papyrus (e.g. 200–2 below), which show that the term ἀττικά simply denotes denarii in numbers less than 10,000. For other references to ἀττικά cf. P. Oslo iii. 83, 10, 12; P. Oxy. 2113. 17; P.S.I. 965, 5; S.B. 9253.

33–34. αὐτός. The letters τος are on a detached piece of papyrus which, however, seems to be correctly placed. The traces following must be the beginning of a verb of which Χρόνους and περιφορά are the joint subject; I had thought of εξηκούσα, comparing 64, τής προθεσμίας εξηκούσας, but this is too long for the available space, and in any case the initial traces cannot be read as εξ.

περιφορά. The sense seems to require some such meaning as ‘period of grace’, and this signification can now perhaps be recognized in the only other occurrence of this word in the papyri, viz. in P. Teb. 12. 17: περιφοράν δὲ δὸς Διονύσιον χάριν τῆς εὐθυμηρίας. The editors indeed interpret περιφορά as a kind of surveying instrument, and offer the translation ‘turn-table’; but on the basis of the present papyrus the sentence is more likely to mean ‘Give Dionysius a period of grace in respect of the survey’ [i.e. before beginning the survey], which makes better sense in conjunction with the words which follow, παρακελήκεις δὲ τὸν Διονύσιον ἐπισχεῖν μεχρὶ τοῦ με ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγιωλίας μενέθαι.

34–35. ὅτι αὐτοῖς ὑπεύθυνοι τοῦ. Presumably the Strategi are being threatened with some kind of penalty or amercement in the event of non-collection of the tax-arrears. Perhaps ὑπεύθυνοι τοῖς if so should be restored, comparing B.G.U. 1027, ἀποσταλήσωσι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσοῦ ἀπαυγήσουντες ὑμᾶς.
This is the first of a long series of orders, which occur at intervals throughout the whole surviving portion of the papyrus, issued by the Procurator jointly to the Strategus and the ἀποδέκται ἱππημάτων Πανοπολίτου, for the issue of pay, donatives, &c., to various military units. The arrival of this deluge of orders, which was clearly something quite exceptional and must have taxed the local administration to the limit, is forecast in 51–56, which is dated a day earlier than the present letter (3 Mecheir as against 4 Mecheir), although in the event it took longer to reach its destination.

37. The Ala I Hiberorum is similarly found stationed at Thmòo in the Notitia Dignitatum (Or. xxxi, cf. Van Berchem, L'Armée de Dioclétien, p. 67), where the name appears as Thmou. On Thmòo cf. Gauthier, Bull. de l'Inst. français d'archéologie orientale, iv (1905), pp. 65–67; x (1912), pp. 108–10. Gauthier, who adopts the form Thomu, places it at the modern Essawieh el-Charg, on the right bank of the Nile, 4 miles up river from Panopolis.

38. For the restoration cf. 58, 201, 292. The military stipendium was paid in three instalments, at the beginning of January, May, and September. The first instalment, though nominally credited on 1 January, may not actually have been paid out to the troops until 7 January, to judge from the evidence of the Feriale Duraenum (cf. P. Dura, p. 205). For the September instalment cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 1047, 2–3.

ālaνδῶν. Here and elsewhere it is often almost impossible to determine whether the scribe intended to write καλανδῶν or καλειδῶν, as his medial α and ε are virtually indistinguishable.

39. ήπερ τιμῆς ἀννώνης. Cf. 291–8 below, where another unit, the Cohors XI Chamavorum, receives issues of money, as here, for (a) stipendium for 1 January, and (b) τιμῆς ἀννώνης for the four months September–December inclusive. The τιμῆς ἀννώνης is the cash payment made when the provisions issuable under the annonae, or any part of them, could not be provided in kind. Since the substitution of these money payments opened the door to all kinds of peculation and extortion, the Government tried to prevent them as far as possible by insisting on deliveries in kind, cf. 231–2.

40. ὥσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ. This term, which occurs frequently in this papyrus and apparently denotes a soldier of any rank detailed to collect amounts of cash for the issue of pay and donatives (but not where provisions are issued in kind, such as the oil and salt in 245–9, 285–90), has hitherto been found in only one papyrus, P. Oxy. 2114, 10 (A.D. 316), where Hunt prints the genitive plural ὄσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ. Although ὥσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ would certainly be closer to the Latin original opinatōr, the fact that in the present papyrus ὥσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ is the form invariably used in the highest official circles suggests that this was accepted as the correct Greek rendering. And it raises the suspicion that Hunt's ὅσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ may conceal a misreading of ὥσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the form ὥσπερ ὑπεραφνατορ is found in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus fragment to which Prof.
Turner has drawn my attention. Possibly the same word may now be recognized in P. Erlangen 27 (p. 111). 46, where the entry τῷ πολυτρων can be plausibly restored as τῷ πολυτρων τῶν κώδων.

43–50. This, one of the most interesting letters in the papyrus, concerns the transport of columns from the granite quarries at Assuan to Alexandria. The spirit of urgency which runs through the letter, and the reference to a time-limit by which the columns must arrive in the Capital, leave no room to doubt that the matter was the personal concern of Diocletian himself (cf. τῷ θείῳ πρόστασι, 50), whose infinita cupiditas aedificandi is stigmatized by Lactantius (De mortibus persecutorum, vii. 30). On Diocletian’s building works see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. ‘Valerius’, coll. 2472-5. These columns may also have been the subject of earlier letters, cf. 1, n., 3, n., 17, n.

45. €τρι τόν θνω δοθείας ημών τῶν ψυγών. Cf. 47, n. The lacuna which follows is too long to be restored with any certainty. €τι may be the commencement of an adjective qualifying ἄνέμων, and a restoration such as €τι ιερασιῶν ἢ καὶ ἄνεμων would be possible.

46. ὑπονοοπήσεως. Cf. 8 above. The noun has not hitherto been found in the papyri, but the verb ὑπονοοστέω occurs, in the same sense, in P. Oxy. 2182. 32, where the editor’s explanation is misconceived. Presumably the fall in the level of the river increased the difficulty of navigation.

47. ἀπότε μη ἄναγματο ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνεμων. The prevailing winds in the Nile valley generally are from the north, but in Upper Egypt, especially in the spring, there are occasional spells when the wind blows in the contrary direction, and this, combined with the opposition of the current, would make it impossible for the ships to proceed up river except by towing.

I have restored [διὰ τε τῶν ναυτῶν] on the assumption that the crews of the vessels would normally assist in the task of towing them.

47-48. τούς ἐπινείοις κώμης. The lexica do not recognize the adjective ἐπινείοις, only the neuter noun ἐπινείος; but the present passage is clear proof of its existence, and this is confirmed by its recurrence in 102 and 110 below (τῶν ἐπινείων κωμῶν, εἰ τοὺς ἐπινείοις καὶ ἐπικαλέσας τόπος). The latter passage enables us to recognize the same word in P. Strassb. i. 45. 11, where the editors print the nonsensical σεινείος τόπος (whence the ghost-word σεινετευς has found its way into the lexica). A close parallel to P. Strassb. 45 is P.S.I. 1038, of A.D. 312, where the same word has baffled the editors (cf. l. 11, εἰς τοὺς επι...ιο. τύφυς).

48. ἀποχά(ς). The papyrus clearly reads ἀποχα, but a neuter noun ἁποχαν does not appear to be attested, and elsewhere in these papyri the only forms used are ἁποχή and ἁποχα γράμματα. I have therefore corrected the present reading to ἁποχά(ς), which is the more likely alternative since ἁποχάων appears in the next line.

49. ἐκαστόν(ν). In the papyrus ἐκαστος is quite clear, but with this it seems impossible
to get any kind of construction for the following το πρόθυμον, which must be the subject of γνωσθήναι.

51–56. The mutilation of this letter is unfortunate, since it forms the introduction to the long series of orders for the issue, from local Treasury funds, of pay and donatives to various military units (cf. 36–42, n.); all we can gather is that the situation was one of great urgency, and if κατα το θείον πρόσταγμα is correctly restored in 52, the original order emanated from Diocletian himself.

54. δοματίστουν. Elsewhere in the papyrus the Hellenized form δοματίστον is invariably used. In the present instance we could either correct to δοματίζουσιν, or, which seems more likely, accept it as the genitive plural of δοματίστουν, a form which more accurately represents the Latin donativum. The form δοματίστον in fact occurs in P. Oxy. 1047, 4, while δοματίζον is found in P. Lond. 384. 11 (Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, iii. 201).

55. I have failed to find a satisfactory reading of the traces before αυτόν, and it is thus impossible to say who are the ‘two parties’ (ἐκάτερον μέρος) involved, except that one party was the ἑπτάετε. The other might be the ὁπινιατορεῖς, or even the Strategi themselves. Instead of παραγγέλεις, παραγγέλειν could equally well be read; if so, it must be governed by a verb lost in the preceding lacuna.


Ἰούλιον Αἴγυπτων. In the course of this same year, A.D. 300, Julius Athenodorus was replaced as Praeses of the Thebaid by Aurelius Reginus (cf. Lacau, Annales du Service, xxxiv (1934), pp. 29–32).

58. For the Legio III Diocletiana cf. Pauly–Wissowa, art. Legio, col. 1517, where its creation is linked with the division of Egypt into provinces. Other detachments of this legion, as we learn from the present papyrus, were stationed at Syene (246) and at Panopolis itself (301). For detachments at Andropolis in the Delta, at Ombos (Praesentia), and at Thebes cf. Van Berchem, L’Armée de Dioclétien, pp. 61–62.


62. ἐκ [τῶν ὑποτεθαγμένων. Cf. 82, 89.

63. βοηθόν. Cf. 67 and 15, n.

ἀνένεγκε. Presumably this should be corrected to ἀνένεγκε (<ν> (cf. 83), unless, as Prof. Turner has suggested, a weak aorist form ἀνένεγκεν was intended. But the whole construction of the sentence is confused.

64. The period of grace allowed for sending in these monthly returns seems to have been remarkably short. The date of the report made by the tabularius is not mentioned, but was probably the same as that of the Procurator’s letter forwarding it, viz. 13 Mecheir, by which date, we are told, the time-limit for sending in the accounts for the preceding month of Tybi had ‘long since’ expired.

65. The name of which Demetrius was Strategus must have been one with a fairly short name: Θωνίτου, Κομοςίτου, or Υψηλώτου are all equally possible.
NOTES ON PAPYRUS 2

67. ἡμα τοίς τούτων βοηθοῖς. Cf. 15, n.

68. εὗ καὶ σαφῶς. The restoration is, of course, speculative, but unless, exceptionally, χαίρειν was written out in full, something must have preceded σαφῶς.

69. ἡδήξης πρῶτῳ is also a somewhat speculative restoration, but for ἡδήξης cf. 14.

The nature of the fraudulent practices indulged in by the ηδήξης and the Strategus cannot be determined, but the reference to a 'second survey' suggests that they had falsely understated the areas of arable lands; since taxes collected in kind were assessed on areas, the ηδήξης would have been able to appropriate the difference between the amounts actually collected and those reported to the central authority (based on their own understated areas).

71. For this impending visit of the Catholicus to Panopolis cf. also 88. In 257 the reference to his impending 'return' and the list of nomes through which he was expected to pass suggest that he was now on a visit to the Upper Thebaid and was intending shortly to return down the Nile towards Alexandria.

72–75. For the dispatch of a further consignment of lentils to Alexandria cf. 281–4.

74. προσέταξεν appears to be otiose after ἐπέστειλεν in the preceding line, and has therefore been bracketed. For ἐπέστειλεν, restored in the lacuna, cf. 244; but ἐπιστρέφειαν is perhaps equally possible (cf. ἡ δένουσα ἐπιστρέφεια, 233).

76. "Ἡρωνος κομανταρησίαν. Cf. 109, n.

76–79. Cf. 222-8, a proclamation by the Procurator appealing to the public to volunteer suggestions for improving and extending irrigation works. It is remarkable that this appeal should have been issued after the official surveys of irrigation works had been completed and forwarded to the Catholicus. It seems clear that the Procurator, through whose office the surveys passed, found them unsatisfactory, and determined to forestall criticism on the part of the Catholicus by issuing, on his own initiative, an appeal for supplementary information.

χοιματικὸς σιωπήσεις. Cf. the reference to σιωπήσαται in 226.

77. κατὰ γνώμην has been restored exempli gratia, but must, I think, represent the general sense of the passage. Since the returns were to be sent to the officium of the Procurator, we cannot restore εἰς τὴν τάξιν] here.

81. τρισχυλικά/ωγού. I have restored the singular rather than the plural because I assume that this is in fact the μειζὸν σκάφη referred to in 82. If this is correct, there was only one vessel of 3,000 artabas burthen, the remainder being of 2,000 artabas. In 114–16 however, the Procurator refers to a single ship of 2,000 artabas as if it was the only one of its kind. Possibly this was the only 2,000-artaba ship actually ready for service.

82. εἷς τῶν υποτεταγμένων. Cf. 84–85, n.
The equipment here specified—mast, yard-arm, steering-oars, and anchors—perhaps comprised all those items which could not be provided locally.

84-85. ἀὐτὸ τὸ μέρος κτλ. The content of these lines has completely baffled me. One would expect them to contain the extract from the letter of the Catholicus which is promised in 82 above, and which should have dealt with the fitting-out of the πλοία δημόσια, but in fact ships are nowhere mentioned. The subject of προσέταξα is presumably the Catholicus, and σοι is the Procurator, but the situation eludes me: one is almost tempted to think that the clerk in the Procurator’s office had picked up the wrong document to copy.

86-91. This is an aftermath of the census of 297-8, in the returns for which irregularities had been detected. These irregularities had occurred both at Panopolis and at Ptolemais, but the present letter, to the Strategus of the Panopolite nome, naturally asked for action only in the case of the former; no doubt a similar letter was sent to the Strategus of the Thinite nome ordering him to take similar action at his own nome-capital, Ptolemais.

This and the following letter provide a striking parallel to Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum, xxiii. 6: non tamen isdem censitoribus fides habebatur, sed alii super alios mittebantur tamquam plura inventuri, etc.

87. Χρυσόππου. Restored from 89, q.v.

88-91. This letter, designated simply ‘copy’ (ἀντίγραφον), is apparently a letter, or an extract from a letter, written by the Catholicus to the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid.

88. τὴν ἄφετεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου μου καθολικοῦ. The Catholicus appears to have been visiting the Upper Thebaid at this time, cf. 71, n.

89. Χρυσόππου τοῦ κηριστορος. Cf. 87. The Greek name is noteworthy. Elsewhere the Censitores appear to have been Romans of equestrian rank, cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 2, introd.

92-99. These lines contain a proclamation by the Procurator, followed by an extract of a letter which had been addressed to him by the Catholicus, both condemning the practice of making payments to state bankers ‘under the name of ballantia’ (προφάσει βαλλαντίων). Unfortunately, there is no clue in either document to the meaning of this expression, nor any reason given why the practice should have been declared illegal. The word βαλλάντιων is the equivalent of the Latin follis (cf. Hultsch, Metr. Script., i, p. 144, n., &c., φόλλις, δ καὶ βαλλάντιων καλεῖται), and the original meaning of follis is simply ‘bag’, which then came to mean a follis denariorum, a bag or sack containing a specific amount in coin (cf. 299-308, n., where references to the relevant literature are given). Finally, the name follis was transferred to an actual coin.

The only indication here of the nature of the practice condemned is in 97, where it is stated that bankers, by accepting payments εἰς βαλλαντίων προφάσει, were defrauding persons who were paying in taxes. I think it can be assumed that these βαλλάντια were actual bags or sacks, containing a fixed number of coins, or of a nominal standard value, and it is easy to see how such a means of handling large numbers of coins might lead to abuse, even though it began with no dishonest intention. In fact, as the letter of the
Catholicus shows, exceptions were to be made in the case of payments accepted in good faith, which the Procurator interprets as payments made before the publication of the proclamation.

92. ἑδεντέλας. Cf., for example, P. Lips. 33. ii. 7; P. Oxy. 1410. i, n.; P.S.I. 870. 18.

93. κολλέσαι is not quite the word one would have expected here. I assume that the object of κολλέσαι is ἀστόνες (i.e. the bankers).

95. The construction seems to be somewhat confused. The subject of προσέφερε is the depositor, while τῶντος is the deposit, governed by ἐγγράφως καθαράκται (ai).

97. τῶν τᾶς ἐνήφορας καταπεσμένους. This expression would include not only individual taxpayers (cf. τοίς συντελεσταί, 98) but also the collectors of taxes and other government officials, including the Strategus, who made payments to State funds.

98. οἱ προσήφεροντες is common in the later Byzantine period for ‘subordinates’, but this is a very early example.

99. I have assumed that the original from which the scribe was copying had κατὰ καλῆς, and that the letters τὰ κα were omitted by haplography, and subsequently inserted above the line.

100. The lacuna after διασυμμετόχες is much too short to contain the name and description of the person forwarding the correspondence, unless these were greatly abbreviated.

στολάρχης. Here as elsewhere, both in literary sources and in at least some papyri, the word clearly means ‘captain of a fleet’. In P. Ant. i. 33. 9 (A.D. 346?), however, the editor suggests that alongside this form another word στολάρχης existed, derived from στολή, ‘garment’, not στόλος, ‘fleet’; and this alternative form he proposes to translate ‘controller of clothing’ (cf. also P. Ryl. iv. 592. 8, n.). However this may be, there can be no doubt that στολάρχης here has its customarily accepted signification, and the same is true of P.S.I. 298 and P.S.I. 1424.

ἐνθενεία. Cf. 1. 132, where the continual fluctuation between ἐνθενεία, ἐνθεία, and ἐνθηνία has already been commented upon.

101. ἐπιμελητῶν. That the ἐπιμεληταῖ was travelled with the cargoes for which they were responsible is even more clearly indicated by 116, 119 below.

πολλάκις καὶ πλῆθος. This collocation of adjectives is so familiar that it seems safe to restore it here. It is tempting to suggest that in B.G.U. viii. 1831. 5, where the editor prints πολλάκις καὶ μεγάλων ὑδατημάτων συντετελεσμένων, the correct reading might prove to be πολλάκις καὶ πολίκων κτλ.

101–2. οὐ παρετούμενοι (= παραετούμενοι) is not a very satisfactory expression in this context, although παραετεῖσθαι governing an infinitive is not entirely unexampled. The
misspelling παρέτ- for παρατρ- deserves attention, since it involves a phonetic error of a type not found elsewhere in this papyrus; indeed, I cannot help suspecting some corruption of the text, possibly arising from some confusion between ὑπαρτευόμενοι here and ὑπαρτευόμενοι in almost the same corresponding position in the immediately preceding line.

102. ἐπινευμ = ἐπινευμ. Cf. 47–48, n., 110. The lacuna towards the end of this line may have contained something like, for example, καὶ τολυγώροντ[ες].

104–5. The correction of ὑποδέξομενα to ὑποδέξομενα appears inevitable. The words φόρτους ὑποδέξομενα could mean ‘after having taken on board their (legitimate) cargoes’, but it is difficult to reconcile such an expression with the double negative μήτε . . . μήτε . . ., which suggests two kinds of activity regarded by the authorities as equally reprehensible. If the correction to ὑποδέξομενα is made, the meaning would be ‘in order to take on (private) cargoes’, for the carriage of which they would reap the profit.

After μήτε μὴν in 105, ἀναπσωσόμενα would suit the available space, but there are a number of other possibilities.

πλεῖων I take to be epexegetic. There is a trace of ink between ει and ν, and it might be just possible to read πλεῖων, i.e. ‘driving them on further’; but ἐπὶ πλεῖων would be the more normal expression, and the ink trace may in fact be only a set-off.

106. Possibly μᾶθαι[α]ν [δὲ ληστεία (or some similar noun), but the surviving traces of letters are much obscured by set-offs.

107. τοῦτο ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἐπιχειρεῖν takes the dative in 101, but it can also be followed by the accusative.

108. ὅπορ is rather a literary word, but the reading is quite clear.

Μέχειρ δεκάτη. I cannot explain why the date should have been written twice over, first in full and then as a numeral. The mistake would be easier to understand if the scribe had been copying from dictation, since the person dictating would have had to say ‘δεκάτη’.

109–13. For the dispatch of wine to army units in the Thebaid cf. Wilcken, Chrest. 421 (Hermopolis) and P. Oxy. 2114 (A.D. 316), where τοῦ δηληγατεχείστος οὖν τῆς Θεβαίδος surely means ‘the quota of wine for the Thebaid’, and not, as the editors translate, ‘from the Thebaid’.

109. There is a space between ἄλλων and ἀναδοθείων, probably left blank for a numeral indicating the number of letters delivered. I have therefore restored $^\varepsilon$ at this point, since this is the number actually delivered.

"Hρωνος κοιμεναρχοῖος has been restored because he is the commentariensis who appears in 76, but, of course, it is not absolutely certain that the same person is involved here, though in fact the Notitia Dignitatum usually shows only one commentariensis in the officium of a high official. If the messenger involved was Heron, he must have made the journey between the officium of the Procurator at Hermopolis and Panopolis three times in the space of six days (cf. Introduction, pp. xxiii–xxv).
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112. πραιτέριον. Cf. 199, ὑπὲρ πραιτέριον δονατίον. The present passage confirms the interpretation ‘in arrears with’ which has already been deduced from B.G.U. 1027 = Wilcken, Chrest. 424. 14–16, where we find τοὺς γενναυατόρες πραιτέριον . . . ἐπὶ ταῖς χρεωστομελέναις δανώνας πραιτέριον. The same word occurs twice in P. Michaelid. 29. 5, 15, where, however, it is spelled πρατέριον, a form which has puzzled the editor. Incidentally, this last-named papyrus, which is also concerned with the dispatch of wine to certain soldiers, almost certainly comes from the Panopolite nome, since it mentions both Psonis and Pakerke.

νησιμάτων may seem a bold restoration, but the number of suitable nouns beginning with ν is not large. It seems quite possible that in the absence of wine, the soldiers had been reduced to drinking the local water, which might well have been productive of πλείον νοσήματα.

114. On the varying capacity of the κνίδιον see Segrè, Byzantion, xvi (1942), pp. 571–2.


122. ἰδικτιών. Cf. 148, n.

126–7. The list of nomes comprises all those in the Lower Thebaid (cf. Introduction, p. xix) except the Hermopolite and the Antinoite. Since these are the most northerly of the nomes, it may have been uneconomic to transport supplies from them to the Upper Thebaid; or they may have been too closely under the surveillance of the Procurator at Hermopolis for such malpractices to escape unnoticed.

128. κενήθεικος. Presumably this disorder had arisen as the result of some land-owners evading payment of taxes by taking up land categorized as derelict, though in fact it was capable of a certain degree of cultivation; this might well create a sense of grievance among other taxpayers.

κατά τὸν Ἀικοπολίτην. On Lycopolis and the Lycopolite nome see A. Calderini, Aegyptus, iii (1922), pp. 255–74. For other disorders at Lycopolis see P. Oxy. 1873 and P. Got. 13 (cf. note on 135 below); cf. also 1. 143–8. The compatriots of Plotinus do not seem to have been endowed with any great degree of philosophic calm; perhaps the heresiarch Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis at this very period, was a more typical figure.

129. ἀπὸ ὑπολόγῳ ἀφόρου. This and other references below are by far the latest extant evidence for the continuing existence of this category of land, the origin of which goes back to Ptolemaic times; the next latest reference is in P. Oxy. 1633, of A.D. 275. By the date of the present papyrus the Idiologus had long since disappeared, and the administration of ὑπολόγος, together with his other duties, had apparently passed into the hands of the Catholicus (in P. Oxy. 1633 the Idiologus had already been replaced by the
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Dioecetes). The Strategus, however, continued to be the official in immediate local control.

In the present papyrus there is no trace of the various inducements which at an earlier period had been held out to attract prospective cultivators, and the Government’s only aim seems to have been to secure the largest possible immediate cash return from the sale of such lands.

The present papyrus fully supports the canon enunciated long ago by C. H. Roberts and myself (Aegyptus, xiii (1933), pp. 467-8), that υπόλογος is not an adjective but a noun, and that the expression γῇ υπόλογος, postulated or restored by some editors, has no foundation in fact. Cf. also the phrase κυροβήναι τῶν υπόλογων in P. Philadelphia, 32. It is regrettable that Talamanca, in his study quoted in 137-40, n., still uses the ghost-expression γῇ υπόλογος.

135. I have ventured to restore [στρατηγοῦ] since the sale of υπόλογος was under the immediate supervision of the Strategus. In the present instance it appears that the Strategus, doubtless from some corrupt motive, had sold the land at a price far below its real value and without following the established procedure for the sale. If Heraclius was in fact Strategus of the Lycopolite nome, it is possible that he was the addressee of P. Got. 13, a fourth-century letter from an official named Apollonius (?) to a colleague, Heraclius, who was evidently a high functionary in the Lycopolite nome. In the letter Apollonius complains that an emissary of his, sent to arrest a perfume-seller at Lycopolis, had been set upon by the citizens. The words ὃς ἐν ἔκστατῆς αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν πολιτῶν) suggest to me that Heraclius was the Strategus of the nome. If so, it is not impossible that Apollonius, whose name is only imperfectly preserved, was really Apollinarius, the Panopolite Strategus of the present papyri.

136. τῆς Λυκοπολίτης ἐνορίας, ἐνορία is the technical term for the territory of the nome subordinated to the metropolis after the ‘municipalization’ of Egypt in the early years of the fourth century, but in the present papyrus the nome and the metropolis are still administratively distinct.

136-7. 45 talents would be the equivalent of 67,500 denarii, or twenty-seven times the price for which the land had actually been sold.

137-40. The procedure for these sales by auction of former derelict land is here laid down in detail. Especially noteworthy is the use of the term ἀστη (i.e. the Latin hasta) to denote the actual auction. So far as I know, this word has not previously appeared in Greek dress, except in an unpublished fragment in the British Museum (P. Lond. Inv. 2220), from which I may quote the following (ll. 3-5):

[κειμένου ἀσχολήματος καὶ [μηδὲνός πλε[ον]α αἰρέσιν δόντος

? ἀστη] σήμερον ἐβδομη]

[τῶν ἀστῶν ἐν σοι ἐστιν

The Roman auction practice has recently been studied by M. Talamanca in his monograph, Contributi allo studio delle vendite all’asta (Accad. dei Lincei, Memorie, Ser. VIII, vol. vi, fasc. 2, 1954), who makes use of the bilingual fragment P. Oxy. 2269
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(A.D. 269). Aided by the information in the present papyrus, we may now perhaps identify the succession of auctions in P. Oxy. 2269. 6–12, as five (?) of the six hastae which are here ordered to be held locally (138–9).

139-40. τοῦ τοσοῦτον. τὸ τοσοῦτον cannot be read, and it is more likely that τὸ τοσοῦτον was intended, the o of το being a correction written over some other letter or letters. I take els τὸ τοσοῦτον ἀπερβαλλόμενοι to denote those who had over-bid the remaining competitors—in other words, the highest bidders—and els τὸ τοσοῦτον 'up to this point in the bidding' i.e. at the end of the sixth auction.

140. δίχα προκρίματος τοῦ ταμείου. The same phrase occurs in P. Lond. 1271. 8 (printed below, Appendix, p. 156). Cf. also 143, τὸ ἀγίμου γενέσθω τὸ ταμείου. It is possible to regard these words as a Greek translation or equivalent of the Latin provision in P. Oxy. 2269. 13, praecedentibus commodis fiscalibus, the various possible meanings of which are fully discussed by Miss Wegener ad loc. The present context suggests that the intention of this proviso was that while the highest bidders after the sixth auction were not allowed to recede from their bids, the State was not obliged, even if no higher bidder appeared, automatically to accept the offer. This would safeguard the Treasury from being cheated by a ‘ring’ of bidders who had agreed among themselves to keep the price down to an artificially low level.

141. τὰ ἐν πίνῃ τῇ φορολογίᾳ τεταγμένα. This is an unusual phrase for 'taxes due', but I can see no alternative. For φορολογία see 1. 42, n.

142. This line presents something of a crux. The words συνέστησεν ἐκ ought to mean 'is composed of', but if so it is impossible to find a construction for the infinitive κατελημφθαι; moreover, the two letters immediately following this, ωνί, are singularly intractable. The only suggestion I can make is that συνέστησεν has come to mean something like 'happens'—not very different, in fact, from συμβέβηκεν. This is followed by an accusative and infinitive construction, (ὑπὸ) ἐσπαρμένην νῦν κατελημφθαι, after which I would restore οὐ καί, translating the whole 'Since there have been cases where land formerly categorized in this same class, viz. ἐπόλογος, and now under cultivation, has been the object of sales, as is indicated by the records of the census ...'. Against this interpretation, however, there are two objections: firstly, the meaning attached to συνέστησεν seems to be unexamined, and secondly, it is at least doubtful whether κατελημφθαι ὦνας can mean 'subjected to sales' (but cf. 143, n.).

143. The distinction between διακατασχηκτές and κατέχοντες indicates that a change in the ownership of the land had taken place, and this gives some support to the restoration οὖς οὐς proposed in the preceding note.

144. ὡς ἔειναι. Apparently the meaning is that where lands had (improperly) passed direct from one owner to another without falling into the hands of the State, offers could be made to buy them as if they had in fact been State lands.

The πρόγραμμα in 156–60 should have been copied on to the roll at this point, but has been accidentally displaced.

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145. παραλείπων[ας. The census returns of 297–8 regularly conclude with an affirmation that nothing has been omitted: in Hermopolite returns it figures in the oath given by the declarant (ἐξάμυημι . . . μηδὲν παραλειπόμενα), whereas in those from the Fayum it appears at the end of the subscription (καὶ οὐδὲν παρέλπων).

The question arises whether the census here described as having ‘recently’ (μικρῷ πρῶτερον) taken place is that originally ordered in 297, which was based merely on sworn returns by the landholders, or that following on the further edict (supposed to have been issued before September 299) which revised the census procedure by basing the returns on the results of official surveys (cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 2, introd.). If, as seems more likely, it is the census ordered by the second edict which is here referred to, we must infer from the words πρὶν τῆς τῶν κηροκτόρων ἀφίξεως that there was a hiatus between the issue of the edict and the appointment of the censitores by the central government at Alexandria; and that during this hiatus proprietors continued to send in returns on the old pattern of sworn declarations. After the official surveys had been compiled, it would be easy to detect those who had omitted to include vineyards in their sworn declarations.

146. τῆς τῶν καρπῶν εὐμορίας. The saeculi felicitas is a stock theme with the Panegyrists of the Tetrarchy, but at the present juncture of events there was perhaps some justification for this expression of official optimism. The recent military successes of the Tetrarchs—the crushing of revolts in Britain and Egypt, and the victorious campaign in Africa—had now been crowned by the triumphs of the Persian War. On the other hand, to assure the populace at large that they were enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity (an expedient not unknown to statesmen of a more modern age) was characteristic of the policy of the Tetrarchs, and aroused the sarcasm of Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum, viii. 19 (cf. the commentary of J. Moreau, 1954, p. 254).

The lacuna towards the end of the line must have contained a noun of about 4 letters, followed by, for example, ἄθροισάμενος.

147. παράλαπων[ας. Cf. 145, n. Or possibly some word meaning ‘falsifying’ (παρακοφάντες?).

148. τῆς πρώτης καὶ δεύτερας ἰδικτίωνος. As E. H. Kase, A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection, pointed out in 1933, the regular fifteen-year cycles did not begin until 312, but in the years immediately preceding that date a series of five-yearly cycles (ἐπιγραφαί) was in use. The series of numbered Indictions in the present papyrus clearly began with 297, the date of the census, and the 1st and 2nd Indictions would thus correspond to the years 297–8 and 298–9. The series thus followed on the series of five-yearly ἐπιγραφαί, the fifth ἐπιγραφή apparently corresponding to 296–7 (cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 37, introd.). During this transitional period ἰδικτίων and ἐπιγραφή were used interchangeably, cf. O. Mich. 1008.

153. Καυχή. Mentioned also in 278 below. In honour of the two Augusti this city, the modern Keneh, was re-named Maximianopolis about this time, while Κυσ (Apollinopolis Parva) became Diocletianopolis. In official correspondence such as the present we can be certain that the correct official nomenclature would have been employed, and we can
therefore conclude that these changes of name took place after the date of the present letter. For references to Keneh under its new name of Maximianopolis cf. P. Cairo Preisigke 34.4; Stud. Pal. xx. 84; P. Erlangen 26 A. 56 (p. 60); P. Ryl. iv. 705. 22; P. Apollonos Ano 88. 3 and n.


156–60. As noted above, the correct position for this document is immediately after 144.

158. ὑπηρεσίαι). Restored from 144.

162. ἐν κάστροις τῆς Ποταμίστου. Cf. 187, 193. I have failed to find any trace of a locality of the name of Ποταμίστος, and the only explanation I can suggest, far-fetched though it may seem, is as follows. Coptos was the centre of a revolt against Diocletian—either the rebellion of Domitianus or an earlier rising—and the city was taken and destroyed by the Emperor. I suggest that, as a punishment for the city, it was proposed to abolish its name and substitute another, and that pending a decision on its new name it was referred to officially as ἡ παλεύ Κόπτου, 'the former Coptos'. However this may be, the city soon reappears under its former designation, and the κάστρα Κόπτου of Stud. Pal. xx. 84 verso i. 15 may well be identical with the fort here mentioned.

[ἵππευθος] seems the most likely restoration, especially in view of ἵππει in 166.

162–4. These donatives are granted to the troops in respect of two occasions, viz. the anniversary of the accession of Diocletian (20 November) and the birthday of Diocletian (22 December).

The date given for the accession of Diocletian settles once and for all an old controversy. The fact that the date of 20 November occurs not once but many times in the papyrus, embodied in contemporary letters from some of the highest officials in Egypt, renders its authority absolutely unassailable. The date now established is, moreover, identical with that given by Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum, xvii. 3, for the Vicennalia of Diocletian in A.D. 303.

Now that the question has been finally decided, and we know, as certainly as any date in ancient history, that Diocletian was acclaimed Emperor at Chalcedon on 20 November A.D. 284, it is unnecessary to give a bibliography of the extensive literature on the subject: a good summary of the controversy, with references to the principal articles, is given by J. Moreau in his commentary on Lactantius, 1954, pp. 297–304. Cf. also C. Vander- sleyen, Chronologie des préfets d’Égypte de 284 à 395 (1962), pp. 73–79.

The second date provided by the papyrus, the birthday of Diocletian on 22 December, has hitherto been completely unknown, and throws fresh light on a long-standing controversy. In the Birthday Panegyric addressed to Maximian, the anniversary is repeatedly described as gemini natales, i.e., as an occasion in some way common both to Maximian and to Diocletian. The expression has often been taken to imply that Diocletian and
Maximian were actually born on the same day (though, of course, in different years), but the most recent critics have taken the view that the 'double birthday' was the anniversary of the day in A.D. 291 when Diocletian and Maximian assumed the appellations of Jovius and Herculanus respectively. For discussion see the Budé edition, *Panégyriques latins*, ed. E. Galletier (1949), i, pp. 9-11. However that may be, the present papyrus, which mentions the issue of a general donative to the troops on the occasion of Diocletian's birthday on 22 December, renders it inconceivable that Maximian could have been born on that day, since if the birthdays of the Augusti had coincided it would have been impossible to celebrate the one without the other. The *gemini natales* of the Panegyrist cannot therefore be the actual birthday of the Augusti, and the argument that the occasion in question is their assumption of divine titles is powerfully reinforced.

If the year of Diocletian’s death is accepted as A.D. 313 rather than A.D. 316 (cf. the discussion in J. Moreau's commentary on Lactantius, pp. 421-423), and if, in addition, we accept the otherwise unsupported statement in the *Épitome de Caesaribus* that he was aged 68 at the time of his death, it follows that Diocletian was born on 22 December 244.

After Ὀδηρθαϊ [ὦκατωντάρχῳ] should perhaps be supplied in the lacuna.

168. For Eudaemon the military commander at Toëto and Psinabla cf. 1. 39, n.

169. For the Ala II Herculia Dromedariorum cf. 29, n.

174. For the decurio Peteësis cf. 28, n.

176-9. In the margin against this letter (cf. critical note) stands the note ἀνεδοθη ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Presumably the letter was delivered personally to the Strategus, perhaps by the ship-captain Tyrannus, and the Strategus subsequently handed it over to his secretariat to be dealt with officially. The delay between the date of the letter and its delivery—twenty-six days—is attributable to the fact that the bearer travelled up river in a slow cargo-ship.

176. α' stands for μᾶς, i.e. the first letter in the batch.

176-7. ἐπελκταὶ πλαυσπουλαῖς. Cf. 16, n.

177. τὸ κέρας. Owing to the scarcity of sizeable timber in Egypt, the procuring of masts and spars presented a perennial difficulty, and their appearance in the Coptos tariff has recently been explained as due to the fact that they were imports into Egypt (N. Lewis, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, xci (1960), pp. 137-8).

178. ἐκπαλαι is necessarily a conjectural restoration, but cf. its occurrence in P. Oxy. 938, a document which, to judge from its style and vocabulary, cannot be very far removed in date from the present papyrus.

181. οὐκεξιλλατίωνος. In the fourth century, *vexillatio* denotes an independent cavalry corps (P. Abinn., p. 9, n. 1) but at the period of the present papyrus it was still used for a body of legionary troops on detached duty, cf. W. Ensslin, *Aegyptus*, xxxii (1952), p. 165.

A detachment of Legio II Traiana at Apollinopolis Magna is recorded in the Notitia Dignitatum (Or. xxxi. 34). In the present papyrus, other detachments from the same
legion are the Equites promoti at Tentyra (197, 205), the lancearii at Ptolemais (260), and a vexillatio, also at Ptolemais (266).

187. οἰκεκλαστικοί λεγεάνων διαφόρων ὑπενταλίων. Cf. 192–3. It is noticeable that in the case of this unit, separate orders were issued for each of the two donatives, instead of including both in one order. This difference of procedure may be connected by the very large amounts involved—nearly 2½ million denarii in respect of each donative.

ἐν κάστροις τῆς Ποτεκόπτου. Cf. 162, n.

στιπειδίου, as the context shows, is a scribal error for δωνατίου.


198. κατὰ κέλευσιν ... τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ. Cf. 267–8, n.


199. πρωτερίτου. Cf. 112, n.

206. The restoration εἰκ[οσιά[τε]ρε] is based on the fact (Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxviii) that all amounts issued for donatives are multiples of 625 denarii.

The opinatores here are the same as those in 202 above, and the reason why separate orders should have been issued for these two payments is obscure; both are dated the same day. It is also puzzling why in the former letter there is special emphasis on the urgency of the payment (ἐν' αὐτῆς ὡρας 197–8), while the latter makes no mention of any urgency.

208. κέλευγε. Or perhaps, for example, κ[αθ' δ. The traces of the initial letter, which is all that survives, consist of a vertical hasta with its foot bent round towards the right, suggesting the cursive form of καρπά found in this papyrus.

211. ξύλων περσάνων καὶ ἀκανθώνων. Cf. P. Lond. 1260 (printed in Appendix, p. 153 below), 8, ξύλ[α] ἀ[κάνθων] καὶ περσά[νων]. In P. Lugd.–Bat. ii. 14. 5, where the editor prints ξύλων πυξάνων καὶ ἀκανθῶνων, there can be little doubt that πυξάνων is a misreading of περσάνων. These references suggest that the persea tree, and its use for timber, were not quite so uncommon at this period as has hitherto been supposed. Even so, a growing persea tree was no doubt a valuable property: cf. P. Ant. i. 35, ii. io–ii, where καὶ περ[σα]ν[ων] ἕξκομοιαν εἶκομαίνη should be restored. In the critical note περσάνων has been corrected to περσάνων, but possibly the form περσάνων may be allowed to stand, cf. P. Lond. 1260, 8, n. (p. 155 below).

215–21. The rapid depreciation of the currency towards the end of the third century no doubt resulted in the hoarding of gold and silver, thus reducing the Empire’s stores of bullion. To counter this, provincial governors were apparently ordered to institute regular collections of gold and silver, and the present papyrus indicates that these collections were, nominally at any rate, purchases by the State. The most recent discussion of these collections is in the introduction to P. Cair. Isidor. 69, where the question is considered, without a decision being reached, whether they are connected with the aurum tironicum. The present papyrus proves that as early as A.D. 300 regular monthly collections
PAPYRI FROM PANOPOLIS

of gold bullion were being made throughout Egypt; since the gold was purchased, there can be no question of any connexion with the aurum tironicum, and it is now more doubtful than ever whether the other texts discussed in P. Cair. Isidor. 69, introd. (to which should be added P. Ryl. 616 and P. Strasb. 262) have anything to do with that impost. The present papyrus offers a secure basis for considering the whole question afresh. Cf. also Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum, xxxi. 6: (Galerius) qui iam dudum provincias affererat auri argentique indictionibus factis. For the collection of silver see the Giessen papyrus published by Kalbfleisch in Archiv, xv, pp. 104-5 (reprinted as S.B. 9253); in this document, the date of which is lost, the price at which silver is to be bought is fixed at 8,000 atticae per lb.

216. τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα ἐκάστης λίτρας. This is one of the most important of the new data provided by the present papyrus, giving as it does an official price of 40 talents, i.e. 240,000 drachmae, or 60,000 denarii, for the pound of gold. This is very close to the figure of 50,000 denarii for the pound of gold given in the Maximum Prices Edict of A.D. 301, and provides unexpected support for the suggestion of L. C. West, in Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in honor of A. C. Johnson, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton, 1951, pp. 290-302, that 50,000 in the Prices Edict is a mistake for 60,000. Since, moreover, the aureus was struck at 60 to the pound of gold, the coin would on this basis be worth exactly 1,000 denarii.

218-19. τοῦ ἐκ περισσοῦ κτλ. Presumably the funds from which the gold was purchased were provided by the Fiscus, which allowed the Strategus a sum sufficient to purchase his quota at the maximum rate laid down, viz. 40 talents for the pound of gold. If the Strategus succeeded in buying gold below this price, he had to return to the Fiscus the resultant saving (τὰ ἐκ περισσοῦ).

It is clear that the collection of gold and silver offered ample scope for malpractices, and in S.B. 9253 stress is laid on the voluntary nature of the collection, and it is specifically laid down that the contributors must not be compelled to buy up silver at a higher price than that offered by the State.

219. τοῦ προκαραγγέλτου σταθμοῦ, i.e. the quota laid down for the Strategus to collect in the course of each month.

222. ἄλλου. This is actually the former of the two προγράμματα mentioned in 208. Just as μᾶς appears before the first of a series of letters, even when there are only two of them, presumably ἐνῶ would have been more properly written here.

χωματεπείκταις. For these officials cf. P. Lond. iii. 1246-8; P. Oxy. 1469. 7, n., 20; P. Thead. 20; P. Ryl. iv. 653. 12, 22. Their high status is indicated by the fact that in the last-named text the Praeses orders them and the Praepositus pagi jointly to investigate a complaint relating to irrigation, while the Flavius Olympiodorus alias Asyncretius who appears as χωματεπείκτης of the νοτία μέρη of the Hermopolite nome in P. Lond. iii. 1246-8 was acting at the same time as a Praepositus pagi (P. Lond. iii. 1249; P. Flor. i. 34). In the present papyrus it is noticeable that the Procurator seems to have written to the χωματεπείκται direct, only informing the Strategi after the event of the action he had taken.

148
228. μητροκομίας. Apparently the first appearance of this term in the papyri.

229. τοῦ λοιποῦ (sc. προγράμματος). Cf. 222, n. Here again λοιπός is used for the second of two items.

Δρυπὸς[ολογίας] is not an entirely satisfactory restoration, since the word does not seem to have normally had the pejorative sense here required; cf. however, Δρυποδοξομος in P. Cair. Isidor. 68. 21, and Δρυποδοξός in Wilcken, Chrest. 439, 10.

229-30. ἐς ἤθην ποιόστητα ἐκ θείου νόμου. This is doubtless a reference to the Imperial decree referred to in the Edict of Aristius Optatus (P. Cair. Isidor. 1).

Πρακτήρων. For this term cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 1. 18.

231. μειζόνων. Cf. 1. 93. These passages provide some of the earliest examples of the use of this word in the sense of ‘official superior’. Cf. P. Oxy. 1626. 5, n. In P. Cair. Isidor. 62. 6, 28, of A.D. 296, ὑ μειζόνων refers specifically to the Corrector Achilleus.

232. ὕποδεξαθαί. For the meaning of this verb, i.e. ‘to collect as responsible agent’, cf. P. Abinn. 23. 7–8 and n.

239. κοφίνων ἕκαστον λιτρῶν πέντε καὶ ἕκοσι. These baskets were no doubt intended for the collection of chaff, for we learn from P. Cair. Isidor. 13 that the amount of chaff levied on corn land, whether sown with wheat or barley, was 25 λιτραί to the aroura. By the use of baskets of exactly this capacity it would clearly be much easier for the taxpayers, knowing the size of their holdings, to check the amounts of chaff they were obliged to deliver.

In P. Cair. Isidor. the unit employed by the chaff collectors is the σαργάνη of 150 λিতραι (P. Cair. Isidor. 10, introd.; 13, introd.). In P. Oxy. 43 chaff is measured by κόφινοι of 40 and 20 λιτραί (cf. W. Ensslin, Aegyptus, xxxii (1952), pp. 172–3).


244. The date, Μεθύρι Ἄ, must be a mistake for καὶ, cf. 228.

246. σαλιγμαμοῦ. This Hellenized form of the Latin salgamum, meaning materials for pickling, here appears for the first time. It is also found in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus to be published in P. Oxy. xxxii.

247–8. ἐλατου . . . λέτρας, ἐλατον . . . ξέστας. It is so usual to measure oil in ξέσται that it seems inevitable to conclude that both here and in 285–90 ξέστας and ξέστας have been accidentally transposed.

252–3. The subject of διυπήκονται . . . τῆς χρείας πληρῶσαι is clearly ὁ γυργαθός, and it is therefore natural to assume that τὸ ικανὸν τῆς χρείας πληρῶσαι equally refers to the γυργαθός; if so, πληρώσαντες must be corrected to πληρὼσαντες. This seems the most probable interpretation. Alternatively, if τὸ ικανὸν τῆς χρείας could mean ‘an adequate (amount) for the service’ πληρώσαντες could be retained in the sense of ‘having paid’. But it is very difficult to accept the use of πληρώσαι in two different senses within the same sentence.

253–4. It seems clear from this passage that the Catholicus was actually in Upper Egypt
when this letter was written, and the next letter (256–8) shows that his return journey down river was expected shortly (cf. 71, n.). The letter of the Catholicus in 134–44 is not dated, and gives no indication of his whereabouts at the time of writing. Presumably when the Catholicus was touring the country the καθολική τάξις (159, 215) continued to function at Alexandria, and may even have had the power to issue instructions in his name, at any rate on routine matters.

256–8. Cf. preceding note. The list of nomes in 258 presumably gives an indication of the route which the Catholicus was expected to follow when passing through the Lower Thebaid on his way back to Alexandria. The omission of the Antinoite and Antaeopolite nomes, the territory of which lay mainly, if not entirely, on the Eastern bank of the Nile, makes it clear that from Panopolis onwards he intended to travel down the Western bank as far as Hermopolis (cf. Introduction, p. xxxv).

The list of nomes (cf. Introduction, p. xix) proceeds in geographical order from North to South, and ends with the Thinite nome, which is thus shown to be the southernmost district of the Lower Thebaid.

256. The κτήνη were probably donkeys, indeed the word is consistently so translated in P. Cair. Isidor.

259. ἀλλον θ. There are actually ten letters. The date on which this consignment of mail was received is lost, but cannot be earlier than 5 Phamenoth, the date of the letter in 266–70.

260. These lancearii of the vexillatio of Legio II Traiana are apparently distinct from the vexillatio itself, although both are stationed at Ptolemais and both are under the command of the same Praepositus, Tinton.

266. After στρατηγῷ the words καὶ ἀποδέκτας χρημάτων have been accidentally omitted.

267–8. This is the only occurrence in this papyrus of the issue of a donative for the 3rd Consulship of Constantius and Galerius (A.D. 300). Presumably it was due for payment on 1 January 300, and was thus already two months in arrear.

κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ . . . διασφημοτάτου καθολικοῦ. The authority of the Catholicus for making these payments to military units is invoked only here and in 198 above.

271. θεραπεύων. Cf. θεραπέλας, 272. From the normal meaning of the verb one might infer that the process involved was the repair of ships, but this is improbable in the case of newly-built vessels. From the use of θεραπεύων to denote the process of mumification (cf. Edgar, Archiv, xiii, p. 77; Horapollon, i. 39), I would hazard the conjecture that in the present context it denotes some preservative treatment such as caulking the seams to render the ship water-tight. The θεραπευτής ναυπηγοῦς who appears in the Coptos tariff (O.G.I.S. 674) is explained by Dittenberger as a ship-repairer (so also Reil, Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten, p. 89), but it now seems more likely that he was an expert in whatever technical process is involved here.

Once again, this letter emphasizes the outstanding reputation enjoyed by the Panopolite shipbuilders.
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274.  κοινοκτητορεῖ. Cf. I. 60, 63. τῶι παρὰ σοῦ implies that they were based on Panopolis.

275.  ἀλαδήτων. Cf. Wilcken, Chrest. 405. Here at any rate they are no doubt the crews of the ἀλαδής mentioned in I. 60, 252.

τῶς δημοσίως δρόμῳ. The Cursus publicus or ordinary official post as contrasted with the Cursus velox (δεύς δρόμος).

276. Unlike that of military personnel (cf. however 299–308 below), the pay of these employees is calculated in talents and denarii. The talent = 6,000 drachmae = 1,500 denarii, and 26 talents 1,000 denarii is therefore equal to 40,000 denarii. The conductores therefore received 10,000 denarii a month to cover the expenses named.

The date is added below, on the bottom edge of the papyrus, and should perhaps have been printed as a separate line.

277–80. This letter is too fragmentary for its subject to be conjectured.

278.  Καννή. Cf. 153, n.


καὶ τὸ ἀμελήν. This phrase is most commonly found in connexion with liturgical appointments, where a guarantor undertakes to supply a replacement or substitute for the post. In P. Cair. Isidor. 47. 44, the phrase ἀμελήσκων σῖτου, meaning ‘(barley) in exchange for wheat’ is found.

282.  εἰσάκελπον πέντε. The very short time limit allowed is noticeable. For another example of a time limit of 5 days cf. P. Flor. 83. Despite the extreme urgency of the order, the letter does not seem to have been dispatched the same day it was written (4 Phamenoth), since it reached the Strategus along with other letters of which one (266–70) was written on 5 Phamenoth.

291–2.  στρατιωτὰς χώρης ἀνὰ Χαμαδώρων διακειμένους ἐν Πειάμου καταντικῷ Αβυδῶν. This provides a remarkable confirmation of an entry in the Notitia Dignitatum, Or. xxxi. 61, which places the Cohors XI Chamavorum at Peamou. No such place as Peamou has hitherto been attested, and Seeck was even led to consider whether ‘Peamou’ could be a perversion of ‘Panou’, i.e. Panopolis. The present passage not only vindicates the existence of Peamou, but locates it precisely ‘opposite Abydos’, i.e. on the right bank of the Nile.

292–8. The only other example in this papyrus of an order for the issue of (a) stipendium and (b) ῶμιλη δινώνης is in 36–42 above, where the unit involved consists of equites of the Ala I Hiberorum stationed at Thmoo. In both cases the stipendium is that due on 1 January (cf. 37, n.), while the ῶμιλη δινώνης is in respect of the four months September–November inclusive (cf. 39, n.).

292.  Ἱβιδώνων. There is no doubt about the reading, but I can find no other example of a plural form of this place-name. Possibly it arose through attraction to place-names such as Ὀξυφργχων πόλις.

299–308. The mutilation of this letter is particularly regrettable, since the information it conveys is novel and of great interest. As it is, a number of points remain obscure. It is
probable that the τέχνη of the Augusti and the Caesars, which is stated to be responsible for this remarkable gift to the lancearii of Legio III Diocletiana stationed at Panopolis is merely a periphrasis for the Tetrarchs themselves (cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 126. 4, n.). As a personal gift, such a present would be additional to normal army pay and donatives, and the remarkable arrangements laid on for its transmission to the soldiers emphasize its extraordinary character.

The gift consisted of 50 litrae of silver bullion (δορι scorn), together with 4 folles of money, the value of the folles being given as 33 talents and 500 denarii, i.e. 50,000 denarii. Hence the value of one follis is 12,500 denarii.

The nature and value of the follis is one of the most obscure and baffling problems facing the numismatist and the economist. A good summary of the literature which has grown up around the subject is given in P. Cair. Isidor. 126. 8, n. All that can be said here is that the follis mentioned here is clearly a large sum, having no connexion with the larger copper coin of approximately 10 gr. weight which numismatists seem to be agreed in calling a follis. Since, as we have seen, the present follis has a value of 12,500 denarii, it is a curious coincidence that according to the metrological writers the follis was literally a bag containing 125 coins. If this is the case here, each coin must have been worth 100 denarii. It is, however, very difficult to see how the argenteus, struck at 96 to the pound of silver, can have been worth as much as 100 denarii, though it might well have been worth 50.

As regards the 50 lbs. of silver bullion, if the ratio $N:A$ was $1:12\frac{1}{2}$, 50 lbs. of silver would be worth $\frac{60,000 \times 50}{12\frac{1}{2}}$ denarii = 240,000 denarii, very much more than the total value of the 4 folles.

It is not possible to conjecture why this gift, if such it was, should have been made partly in bullion and partly in coin. Certainly the Strategus had had to find much larger sums in money for military pay and donatives. Nor is it clear why a consignment of such relatively moderate weight should have required a team of four mules to convey it; possibly, however, it was accompanied by some form of armed guard for security purposes. Such a precaution might have been so obvious that it would not have received special mention in the letter.
APPENDIX

I print here the full texts of two papyri in the British Museum which, though both included in vol. iii of the Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum, are there represented only by the briefest of descriptions.

1. P. Lond. 1260.

This papyrus introduces us to another ἐπιτροπὸς τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος, and, possibly, to another Catholicus, though the names of neither of these officials are completely preserved. Described in the Catalogue of Greek Papyri, p. lxix, as a ‘portion of a large document, perhaps a contract for the conveyance of freight’, it is in fact an official letter from the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid to the Strategus of the Hermopolite nome, ordering him to build and equip ten ships of 500 artabas capacity each. Owing to the lacuna in l. 5, and the fact that the date cannot be deciphered, it is not possible to say what particular emergency lay behind the order, but it was clearly a matter of considerable importance.

I should add that, as will be seen, there are several passages where I have not succeeded in finding a satisfactory reading; but even in this imperfect state the text deserves publication.

Hermopolis. 26·5 cm. × 29·5 cm. Late 3rd—early 4th cent. (see below).

[......]ας ἐπιτροπὸς τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος στρατηγὸς Ἰμπολείτου
[......] (blank)
[......] δὲ ὁ ἐν θῆλῃ φοιάν τοὺς γραμμάτους ἀναδιδαχθεῖς ὑπὸ ἔμικα[τ] ὁ κύριος μου διασημό-
[......] τατος] καθαλικος [......]
[......]πὸδωρὸς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαστάτων τριάδα τρί[άκον]α ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀρταβῶν
[......] ναυ-

5 πυρρηθῇναι τῆς μετακομειδῆς ἕνεκεν τῶν ε....κ[......]ων γενέσθαι συν[..][......] διὸ
φρῶν-
[τισον] Ἀμα τῶν ἄραμίσσασθαι μου τὰ γράμματα ζητῆναι ὑπὸ ολο[ν] ὁ νομὸς πλοῦτα δέκα τα
[..........]
[......] ἐκ τ[εντακ][οσίων ἀρταβῶν χωρῆσως κατ[ασκενῶς]μαι, συναθροίσας [..........]
[......] ἐνέργει 

B 7396 153
10 | 15
---|---
1. [ . . . ]αζ. The commonest name with this termination, 'Εραξ, is unlikely here, unless the first three letters were written much larger than normal. Although the size of the lacuna at the beginning of each line is not absolutely certain, the supplements in ll. 14-17 seem sufficiently plausible to indicate its approximate extent. If ‘Εραξ is discarded, some name like 'Ερμώναξ would be about the right length.

The name of the Strategus of the Hermopolite nome to whom the letter was addressed is omitted, as commonly at this period.

3-4. I have failed to grasp the syntax of the initial sentence of the letter. ἐδήσ[λ]ωσα seems unassailable. The latter part of ἀναδίδακτεῖς is very badly rubbished, but enough remains to exclude ἀναδίδαξ-. In ἐμ[ο]δ the μ appears to be a correction, perhaps from ω. The difficulty is to find a position for the main verb of which the Catholicus is (presumably) the subject and which governs εἴων in l. 4. It might have been the first word of the letter, at the beginning of l. 3, but this position seems very awkward. It might have found a place at the end of l. 3 were it not for the fact that ἐποίησα[ο]ς in l. 4 is almost certainly the name of the Catholicus, which must have begun at the end of l. 3.

4. ἐποίησα[ο]ς suggests the name Σαραπόδωρος. No Catholicus of this name is known.
APPENDIX

It might be possible to read the π, of which the second half only is preserved, as ψα, (suggesting, e.g., Διονυσοῦδορος), but this is less probable palaeographically. A Procurator named Valerius Sarapodorus appears in P.S.I. 449 (c. 312).

5. Numerous traces survive of the word preceding γενέσθαι, but I have failed to identify them; they presumably came from a participle on which the following γενέσθαι depends. ἐπιζοµεύων cannot be read.

6. το[. Not το[ ν ἀριθµόν.

8. ἀσκάνθητα seems a probable restoration in view of the association of acanthus and persea wood in 2. 211 and in P. Lugd.-Bat. ii. 14, 5 (cf. 2. 211, n.). The fact that περσοσίων is the form in all three texts suggests that it may be correct, and that it is unnecessary to emend to περσείων. περσείων, the form one would expect, is attested by P. Cair. Zen. 59176, 168 (255 B.C.). The Wörterbuch quotes περσείων for C. P. Herm. 7. iii. 13, but in fact the papyrus reads περ[...]ων, and on the basis of the present texts περ[σο]ίων would be an equally probable restoration.

8–9. The supplements at the end of 1. 8 and the beginning of 1. 9 are of course speculative.

9. τερ[. This could be restored καὶ φά[τερ[ ὑπερκαταστήσας, but there are other possibilities.

9. I have failed to extract any sense from the remains of this line. αχ[ might be the beginning of αχ[π. As regards φιλοτώ[ν, this could be taken either in its literal sense of 'tree-bark' or its metaphorical sense of 'superfluities'.

11. προστάχθησ could be read, but it is difficult to explain the subjunctive. προστάχθης cannot be read. For προσάσασθαι cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 1, 10, where προστάξας is found.

11–12. Possibly ταυνοµαταίς, divided between the end of 11 and beginning of 12.

14. ἐλκύσαν. The available space in the lacuna is so short that the choice of verbs is severely limited. καθελκύσας would be too long, and so would, e.g., θεραπεύοντα (cf. 2. 271, n.).

19. ἔρρω[ῃ[ ἐν ἐξήγομα. The traces are very uncertain, but the valediction must have occurred at this point. There is no room for πολλοῖς χρόνοις to have been added after ἐξήγομα unless the whole was written in a very cursive and abbreviated manner.

From this point onwards the handwriting becomes progressively more cursive, but it is difficult to say whether there is an actual change of hand.

19–21. It is most unfortunate that only a small and indeterminate fragment of the date remains. I have assumed that ἀρους was written out in full, since the traces agree with this supposition, and they could not come from πολλοῖς χρόνοις (see preceding note). The date of the papyrus, fixing as it does the period when the Procurator and the Catholicus named in ll. 1–2 were in office, is so important that some consideration must be devoted to it. I Mecheir is equivalent to 26 Jan., or 27 Jan. in Leap Years. The possible range of years extends from 293 to 305, both included, but some of these are excluded for various reasons. The year 298 is excluded by the fact that the Catholicus at this time was Aurelius Asclepiades (P. Merton ii. 88). The years 299 and 300 are ruled out by the fact that Aurelius Isidorus was Procurator of the Lower Thebaid from at least September 298 to
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March 300. The year 303 is ruled out by the fact that Valerius Euethius was then Catholicus, and he probably already held that office in 302 (C. Vandersleyen, Chronologie des préfets d’Égypte de 284 à 395, p. 77, n. 2), though not necessarily as early as January of that year.

To sum up, the years 293–7 inclusive, 301, 304, and 305 appear to be open. The importance of the date is that, if evidence should subsequently come to light ruling out 301, 304, and 305, the creation of the divisions of the Upper and Lower Thebaid, and indeed the separation of the Thebaid from Egypt, must have taken place before the end of 296. On this topic see the Introduction, pp. xv–xxi above.

2.  P. Lond. 1271

This fragment, described in the Catalogue of Greek Papyri, p. lxx, as a ‘portion of a petition addressed to an official of the Thebaid, with references to the ἕρωτατον ταμεῖον’, is in fact a letter from the ἔπιτροπος προινάτης Θηβαίδος to the Strategus of a nome whose name is lost. Although the name of the Procurator is almost wholly lost, enough remains to show that he was not the Valerius Melas whom we find holding that office in 298 (1. 365). A study of the Magister reiprivatae and his administration, by Professor N. Lewis, is to appear shortly and renders any discussion here superfluous.

Although the amount lost from both sides of the papyrus can be gauged from the certain restorations in ll. 9–11, too much has been lost for any continuous sense to be obtained.

Provenance unknown. 13·5 cm. × 8 cm.  A.D. 301–2.

Proportions [........]ος ἐπὶ ἐπιτροπ(ο)ς προινάτης Θηβαίδος στρατηγῷ.
[........]απολέιτον χαλ[ρ]ιν.
[........]ανὸι ἑρωταῖος λογίμου Αμμαναὶος δι[]
[........]α'ρεαν μισθώσεως προσήργεις
[........]σηρεῖ τοῦ ὕπο σε νομοῦ εξ ὑπαρχάντων πρότερον
[........]ἀξιαγόρον νυὶ τοῦ ἑρωτάτου ταμεῖον
[. . ἐπιακ]εφθήναι. φρονίσαν τοῦ ἔφη[5]
[. . δίχα] προκρίσεως τοῦ ἑρωτάτου ταμεῖον. [ἐφροσθαί σε εὐχομαι.]
[Λῆ' καὶ Λῆ'] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητί[ανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμανοῦ]
[Σεβαστῶν καὶ Λῆ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου]
[καὶ Μα]ξ[.]αν[η] τῶν ἑτταφανεστάτων [Καριάρων . . . . .]

2. 1. ἀπολέιτον.  8. 1. προκρίσεως.

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2. I cannot read Ἰπίστατε. The traces of the letter before τι seem to resemble α. The only restoration which occurs to me is Ἑλθθυε ἀπολίτου, but there is no evidence to suggest that El Kab was a nome-capital at this date.

3. I cannot find a parallel for this use of λόγιος applied to a priest, though it very commonly describes a temple. One is almost inclined to emend the text to ἱερέως (ἱεροῦ) λογίου.

4–6. The present letter apparently relates to an offer to lease (ἀφεσὶν μισθός) certain lands or property which had been confiscated and fallen into the hands of the fiscus, and which the Strategus is now asked to inspect. The procedure here, so far as it can be deduced, appears to be quite different from that for the outright sale of ἔπιλογος as it appears in 2. 128–44, 156–60.

8. δίκαια προκρίσεως ἃν γενέσθαι. Cf. 2. 140, where the same phrase occurs, and note.
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Note. These indexes do not include the excerpt printed on p. viii, or the two London papyri published in the Appendix.

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