

DE GRUYTER

John S. Kloppenborg

**GRECO-ROMAN
ASSOCIATIONS: TEXTS,
TRANSLATIONS, AND
COMMENTARY**

III. PTOLEMAIC AND EARLY ROMAN EGYPT

John S. Kloppenborg
Greco-Roman Associations III:
Texts, Translations, and Commentary

**Beihefte zur Zeitschrift
für die neutestamentliche
Wissenschaft**

Herausgegeben von
Matthias Konradt, Judith Lieu, Laura Nasrallah,
Jens Schröter und Gregory E. Sterling

Band 246

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ISBN 978-3-11-070768-7
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-071039-7
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-071044-1
ISSN 0171-6441

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020940478

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;

Detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Preface

This volume, the two already published, and those that are to follow have their origins in a Greek reading seminar at the University of Toronto begun in the 1990s and after a short hiatus, recommenced in 2003. Many of the texts selected for translation were epigraphical and related to associations, guilds and clubs from Attica, Asia and Egypt. The focus on private associations – cultic, professional, immigrant, domestic, and neighborhood – was a function of the conviction that in order to understand the associative practices of the early Christ groups in Asia, Macedonia, and Attica, it was critical to understand the structures, activities, leadership, finances, and recruitment strategies of the many associations that had existed at least since the fourth century BCE and which continued to play an important part in social life well into the high Empire.

Several monographs and larger studies have their origins in this seminar. Most notably, Bradley H. McLean's *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 BC – AD 337)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2003) is the published and greatly-expanded form of the notes he developed as the seminar oriented itself to epigraphical conventions. This work of course built on A. Geoffrey Woodhead's *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (2nd ed.; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and Sterling Dow's *Conventions in Editing* (Greek, Roman and Byzantine Scholarly Aids, 2; Duke University, 1969). Several of the members of the group wrote doctoral dissertations which applied knowledge of Greek and Roman associations to the interpretation of early Christian texts. Richard S. Ascough studied Macedonian associations in his 1997 dissertation, now published as *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and I Thessalonians* (WUNT 2/161; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). Philip Harland's 1999 dissertation focused on associations in Asia to help him reshape thinking about the social context presupposed by the Apocalypse of John and the letters of Ignatius. The revised dissertation was published as *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), and Harland followed this in 2009 with *Dynamics of Identity and Early Christianity: Associations and Cultural Minorities in the Roman Empire* (London and New York: Continuum). Richard Last's *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklēsia: Greco-Roman Associations in Comparative Context* (SNTSMS 164; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2015) compared the Corinthian Christ group with the rich data that is available from the study of ancient associations. And finally, Kloppenborg's *Christ's Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019) mobilizes what is known about associative practices to think about the membership, practices, and civic relations of Christ groups.

This project is organized regionally and describes a spiral beginning in Attica, moving northward to Macedonia and Thrace (vol. 1), then through the Bosphoros region and Asia (vol. 2), and Egypt (vol. 3). Further volumes will treat the Aegean Islands, Syria-Palestine, North Africa, Italy, Hispania, Gallia, Noricum, Germania, Pannonia, Dacia, Moesia, and Roman Britain. They are designed principally to provide a "thick" context for the study of the associative practices of the Christ groups in the cities of the Empire.

Earlier studies of the development of the structure of Christ groups, even when they paid attention to Greek and Roman associations, tended to rely on a tiny handful of inscriptions or papyri in order to contextualize the practices of early Christ groups. This selection routinely included SIG³ 985 = TAM V 1539 (117) (Philadelphia, Lydia), IG II² 1368 (51) (Athens), CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium) and one or two other documents. There is no doubt that these inscriptions are illuminating when it comes to considering associative practices. The dangers of so narrow a database are obvious, however: one might well conclude that these few data typify and define the nomenclature, membership profiles, and activities of *all* associations and infer, as some researchers did, that the several differences between these three or four associations and Christ groups meant that the latter were *sui generis* and that little or nothing was to be learned from a study of Greco-Roman associations. Nothing could be further from the truth. As the selection of inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca included here will show, associations display a wide variety of naming practices, forms of internal governance, membership profiles, activities, and relationships with their host cities. When the range of associations and their practices are seen, it becomes clear that Christ groups could fit rather comfortably within the spectrum of ancient associations, as indeed patristic writers such as Tertullian recognized (*Apol.* 39).

Although a complete collection of association inscriptions and papyri is an important desideratum, it must be stated clearly from the outset that these volumes are not intended as a *corpus inscriptionum orgeonum, thiasorum et collegiorum*. Such a corpus would be unmanageably large, since for Attica alone IG II² includes over one hundred *decreta collegiorum et sodalicioium* (no. 1249–1368), seventeen *catalogi thiasotarum, eranistarum, orgeonum* (nos. 2343–2361) and numerous dedications from various associations. Since the publication of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many more inscriptions have come to light. The publication of *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1972–) has added hundreds of Asian inscriptions mentioning associations. Hundreds of Greek and Demotic papyri and inscriptions from Egypt relate to associations.

The corpus of Latin inscriptions was already huge, as is clear from a simple perusal of Jean Pierre Waltzing's *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident* (Louvain: Peeters, 1895–1900). The corpus of Italian inscriptions and those from the Western provinces has only become larger. Thus, a complete corpus of associations would probably include ten to twenty thousand inscriptions and papyri, and when furnished with notes, commentary, and indices would represent a multi-volume publication taking a decade or more to compile.

Without aspiring to a comprehensive publication of inscriptions and papyri, the present project aims at a representative selection that illustrates the variety of association types, activities, leadership structures, membership profiles, recruitment strategies, and fiscal practices. A relatively small number of association *nomoi* or bylaws are extant and we have included all the Greek and Latin bylaws that are in a reasonably complete state of preservation, as well as one or two Demotic bylaws. For other types of documents, however, we have had to make a selection. Decrees voting honors to members or patrons are particularly plentiful in the epigraphical record, as are dedications of association members to the gods, and funerary inscriptions honoring deceased members and patrons. These tend to be highly formulaic and repetitive. To print all of them would scarcely enhance our knowledge of the general practices of associations. We have, therefore, offered a selection that illustrates the variety of practices, names and internal structures of associations, the distinctive formulae which appear in their inscriptions, and various singular features not attested in the other inscriptions. Other honorific inscriptions and dedications are listed in the notes and indices. Hundreds of membership lists are available, but little would be gained by publishing all of these. We have selected a few membership lists, principally to illustrate a range of membership profiles. Some associations were gender-exclusive clubs, while others included citizens and metics, and yet others included freeborn and servile members. Élite patrons are present in some groups, but not in others.

The reader will quickly note the uneven profile of the dossier on associations. While associations are found in Attica from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE onward, and in Egypt from the third century BCE, most of the evidence from Macedonia and Thrace (and Italy) comes from the imperial period or later. For reasons of preservation, almost no papyri are available from the Egyptian Delta, but many inscriptions have survived. For Middle and Upper Egypt both papyri and inscriptions are available. This also means that some of the data that have the potential to tell us the most about the internal workings of an association – account ledgers and lists of expenditures for monthly meals – are missing from the Delta. Moreover, almost all of the association bylaws from Egypt come from two archives, both from the Fayûm: the Demotic materials from mummy cartonnage and the Greek texts from the Kronion archive from the mid-first century CE.

The bylaws, honorific decrees, membership lists, tomb inscriptions, and dedications included here each illustrate either something typical of associations in general or some feature that is noteworthy or unusual about the association in question. Inevitably, we will have omitted inscriptions that are of importance to the study of particular locales, deities, professions, or ethnic groups. This is the risk involved in any selection from a very large set of data.

The editor wishes to acknowledge the collaboration of Bradley H. McLean in the early days of the seminar and the work of a number of graduate students and now researchers in their own right: Prof. William Arnal, Prof. Richard Ascough, Prof. Alicia Batten, Brigidda Bell, Dr. Callie Callon, Chey Cameron, Prof. Agnes Choi, Michelle Christian, Prof. Jenn Cianca, Dr. Christopher Cornthwaite, Prof. Richard Last, Dr. Rachel McRae, Mark Mueller, Ryan Olfert, Rebecca Runesson, Patrick Stange, Prof. Sarah Rollens, Prof. Ryan Schellenberg, Caleb Upton, and Dr. Erin Vearncombe.

Peter Arzt-Grabner read through the entire manuscript, saving me from numerous errors and infelicities. Matthew Gibbs also reviewed the collection, offering a number of helpful suggestions. Christina Gousopoulos has contributed the lemma ‘Association?’, which evaluates whether the evidence warrants considering the groups featured in each of the entries as “certainly” or “probably” or “possibly” a formally constituted association or guild.

The arrangement of the inscriptions and papyri in this volume is both chronological and regional. The data are divided into three large groupings, the Delta, Middle Egypt (the region around Memphis and the Fayûm), and Upper Egypt. Within each division the materials are presented chronologically.

For the first time in the GRA series, we have included inventory numbers of the Copenhagen Associations Project, which has only recently become available (<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/index.php>). The CAP database includes most of the associations included in GRA III. In the future, we will also include references to the Ghent Database of Roman Guilds (<https://gdrug.ugent.be/>).

This project has been supported by generous funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

John S. Kloppenborg

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Bibliographical Note

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Sigla

Text editing sigla

[]	τ[ω]ν lacuna (restored)
[]	[]ς lacuna (unrestored)
[·3·]	lacuna where the number of missing letters is certain
[— —]	lacuna with uncertain number of missing letters
()	(γίνεται): resolution of an abbreviation
⟨ων⟩	κόρ<ων> letters omitted by accident and supplied by editor
{κ}	{κ} superfluous or erroneous letters or words
[[]]	ἐκ[[χ]] erasure
κ	ἐκ superlinear insertion
ψα	ἐγρ[α]ψα indistinct letter(s)
+	traces of a letter
ν, νν	uninscribed letter spaces
	line break in the inscription

Currency

ⱻ	drachma, drachmae (dr.)	ⷀ	denarius, denarii (dn.)
<	drachma (in some papyri)	/	γίνεται (equals)
—	obol(s)	AU	gold
=	2 obols	AR	silver
ζ	3 obols	AE	copper or bronze
f	4 obols	ob.	obol(s)
L	one-half obol		

NUMERALS

α	1	ρ	100
β	2	σ	200
γ	3	τ	300
δ	4	υ	400
ε	5	φ	500
ς, Ϝ	6	χ	600
ζ	7	ψ	700
η	8	ω	800
θ	9	↑, ϳ	900
ι	10	A, B, Γ	1000, 2000, 3000
κ	20		
λ	30		
μ	40		
ν	50		
ξ	60		
ο	70		
π	80		
ϙ, Ϡ	90		

OTHER SIGLA

L	ἔτει, ἔτους (year)
<i>ed. pr.</i>	<i>editio princeps</i> (first edition)
ph.	photograph
facs.	facsimile
→	see

Abbreviations

1. Periodicals, Series, and Reference works

The abbreviations used are those of *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (second ed., edited by Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, and John F. Kutsko; Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2014). Other abbreviations include:

<i>AAntHung</i>	<i>Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AE	<i>L'année épigraphique</i>
<i>Aeg</i>	<i>Aegyptus</i>
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AnSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
Barrington Atlas	Talbert, Richard J.A., ed. 2000. <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> . Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique
BL	<i>Berichtungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten</i> . Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1922–.
<i>BSAA</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société d'archéologie d'Alexandrie</i>
<i>BSKG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société Khédiviale de géographie (Cairo)</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica anatolica</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
Preisigke, <i>Namenbuch</i>	Preisigke, Friedrich. <i>Namenbuch</i> . Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1922.
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus</i> . Nicosia: Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Department of Antiquities.
YCS	Yale Classical Studies

2. *Inscriptions*

- AGRW Ascough, Richard S., Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds. *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2012.
- AM *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*. Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1896–.
- ASSB Runesson, Anders, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, eds. *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Sourcebook*. AJEC 72. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007.
- CID *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1977–.
- CIG Boeckh, A., ed. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*. 4 vols. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1828–1877.
- CIJ Frey, Jean-Baptiste, ed. *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum: Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. Sussidi allo studio delle antichità Cristiane*. Roma: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1936–52.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae Editum*. Berlin: Georg Reimer; Walter de Gruyter, 1863–.
- CIRB → IBosp
- CJZC Lüderitz, Gert, and Joyce M. Reynolds, eds. *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften 53. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1983.
- DFSJ Lifshitz, Baruch, ed. *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives: Répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues*. Cahiers de la Revue biblique 7. Paris: Gabalda, 1967.
- EKM I.Beroia Gounaropoulou, Loukretias, and Miltiades V. Hatzopoulos, eds. *Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας. Inscriptiones Beroiae*. Vol. I of *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξύ Βερμίου ὁρους και του Αἰζίου ποταμού)*. *Inscriptiones Macedoniae Inferioris*. In collaboration with P. Nigdeli and G. Souri. Athens: Hypourgeio politismou Ethnikon Idryma Ereunwn; Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1998.
- FD Homolle, T. *et al.*, eds. *Fouilles de Delphes*. 6 vols. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1902–.
- GIBM Newton, C.T., E.L. Hicks, and G. Hirschfeld, eds. *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874–1916.
- GRA I Kloppenborg, John S., and Richard S. Ascough, eds. *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*. In *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary I*. BZNW 181. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.

- GRA II Harland, Philip A., ed. *North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor. In Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary II*. BZNV 204. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014.
- I.Alex.imp. Kayser, François, ed. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie Impériale (I^{er}-III^{es} s. apr. J.-C.)*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 108. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1994.
- I.Alex.mus. Breccia, Evaristo, ed. *Inscriptiones nunc Alexandriae in Museo. Iscrizioni greche e latine*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 57. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1911.
- I.Alex.Ptol. Bernand, Étienne. *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 133. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 2001.
- IApamBith Corsten, Thomas, ed. *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*. IGSK 32. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1987.
- IBosp Struve, Vasilii Vasil'evich, ed. *Corpus inscriptionum Regni Bosporani (CIRB): Копныс Боспорскых Надписей*. Moscow and Leningrad: Nauka, 1965.
- ICariaR Robert, Louis, and Jeanne Robert, eds. *La Carie: Histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques. Tome II: Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1954.
- ICiliciaDF Dagron, Gilbert, and Dennis Feissel, eds. *Inscriptions de Cilicie*. Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance 4. Paris: De Boccard, 1987.
- ICosPh Paton, W.R. and E.L. Hicks, eds. *The Inscriptions of Cos*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.
- ID Durrbach, F., P. Roussel, M. Launey, A. Plassart, and J. Coupry, eds. *Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926–73.
- I.Delta Bernand, André, ed. *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. I. Les confins libyques*. Mémoires publiées par l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 91. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970.
- IDionysosJ Jaccottet, Anne-Françoise, ed. *Choisir Dionysos: les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*. 2 vols. Zürich: Akanthus, 2003.
- IEph Wankel, H. and H. Engelmann, eds. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. 8 vols. IGSK 11–17. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1979–84.
- I.Fayum Bernand, Étienne, ed. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill; Paris: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1975–1981.

- IG II² Kirchner, Johannes, ed. *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*. Inscriptiones Graecae II (IG II²). 4 vols. Berolini: Walter de Gruyter, 1913–1940.
- IGLAM Le Bas, Philippe, and William H. Waddington, eds. *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure. I: Textes en majuscules. II: Textes en minuscules et explications*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1870.
- IGRR Cagnat, Rene L., Jules F. Toutain, Victor Henry, and Georges L. Lafaye, eds. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*. 4 vols. Paris: E. Leroux, 1906–1927.
- IGSK Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1972–.
- IGUR Moretti, L., ed. *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per la storia antica, 1968–1990.
- IJO Noy, David, Alexander Panayotov, Hanswulf Bloedhorn and Walter Ameling, eds., *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*. 3 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- IKyme Engelmann, H., ed. *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. IGSK 5. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1976.
- ILS Dessau, Hermann, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916; repr. Dublin: Weidmann, 1974.
- IMétr Bernand, Étienne, ed. *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*. «Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon», 98. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1969.
- IMT Barth, Matthias and Josef Stauber, eds. *Inschriften Mysia & Troas*. Munich: Leopold Wenger Institut, 1993.
- IPerg. Fränkel, M., ed. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. 3 vols. Berlin: W. Spemann; Walter de Gruyter, 1890–1969.
- I.Philae André Bernand, and Étienne Bernand, eds. *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969.
- I.Prose Bernand, André, ed. *La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1992.
- IPrusaOlymp Corsten, T., ed. *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympon*. IGSK 39–40. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1991–1993.
- IRhamnous Petrakos, Vasileios C., ed. *Ὁ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ: Συνοψη τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρευνῶν (1813–1998), II. Οἱ ἐπιγραφές*. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 181–182. Athens: Ἡ ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἑταιρεία, 1999.
- ISabazios Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef, and Eugene N. Lane, eds. *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii (CCIS)*. EPRO 100. Leiden: Brill, 1983–89.
- ISardBR Buckler, W.H. and D.M. Robinson, eds. *Sardis*. VII, 1: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*. Leiden: Brill, 1932.

IScM	Pippidi, D.M., and Iorgu Stoian, eds. <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae. Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor grecesti si latine. Inscriptiile antice din Dacia si Scythia Minor. Seria a doua.</i> Bucuresti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1983–1987.
ISide	Noll, Johannes, ed. <i>Side im Altertum.</i> 2 vols. IGSK 43. Bonn: Habelt, 1993.
IThraceLPZ	Loukopoulou, Luiza D., Maria–Gabriella Parissaki, Selene Psoma, and Antigone Zournatzi, eds. <i>Inscriptiones antiquae partis Thraciae quae ad ora maris Aegaei sita est.</i> Paris: de Boccard, 2005.
ITrall	Poljakov, F.B., ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa: Teil 1. Die Inschriften von Tralleis.</i> IGSK 36/1. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1989.
I.Th.Sy.	Bernand, André. <i>De Thèbes à Syène.</i> Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989.
I.Varsovie	Lajtar, Adam, and Alfred Twardecki. <i>Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie.</i> Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 2. Warsaw: Warsaw University Institute of Archaeology, 2003.
IvO	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia.</i> Olympia 5. Berlin: Asher, 1896.
JIGRE	Horbury, William, and David Noy, eds. <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt, with an Index of Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica.</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
JIWE I–II	Noy, David, ed. <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe.</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–95. Vol. 1: <i>Italy (Excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul</i> (1993); vol. 2: <i>The City of Rome</i> (1995).
Johnson 1936	→ 3. <i>Papyri and Ostraca</i>
LSAM	Sokolowski, F., ed. <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure.</i> Ecole française d'Athènes. Travaux et mémoires, fasc. 9. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955.
LSCG	Sokolowski, F., ed. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques.</i> Ecole française d'Athènes. Travaux et mémoires, fasc. 18. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969.
LSCGSup	Sokolowski, F., ed. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques: supplément.</i> Ecole française d'Athènes. Travaux et mémoires, fasc. 11. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1962.
MAMA	Calder, W.M., E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer and C.W.M. Cox, eds. <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua.</i> 10 vols. American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor. Publications 1–10. London: Manchester University Press, 1928–1993.
Mees 2002	→ 3. <i>Papyri and Ostraca</i>
OGIS	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i> 2 vols, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905.
<i>Pan du désert</i>	Bernand, André, ed. <i>Pan du désert.</i> Leiden: Brill, 1977.
Poland	Poland, Franz. <i>Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens.</i> Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909.

- Portes du désert* Bernand, André, ed. *Les Portes du désert. Recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinoopolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984.
- PPAphr Roueché, Charlotte. *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods: A Study Based on Inscriptions from the Current Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria*. Journal of Roman Studies Monographs 8. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993.
- RDGE Sherk, Robert K. *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969.
- RICIS Bricault, Laurent, ed. *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isaiques (RICIS)*. Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres 31. 3 vols. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2005.
- Runesson 2007 Runesson, Anders, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, eds. *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.* AJEC 72. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- SB Priesigke, Friedrich, Friedrich Bilabel, Emil Kiessling Hans-Albert Rupprecht, et al., eds. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. Strassburg: K. J. Trübner; Heidelberg: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1915–
- SEG Hondius, Jacob E. et al., eds. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill, 1923–
- SIG³ Dittenberger, Wilhelm, and Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, eds. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Nunc tertium edita. Lipsiae: S. Hirzel, 1915–24.
- SIRIS Vidman, Ladislaus, ed. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*. RGVV, vol. 28. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969.
- TAM Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Wien: Hoelder – Pichler – Tempsky, 1901–.
- Thèbes à Syène* Bernand, André, ed. *De Thèbes à Syène*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989.
- UPZ Wilcken, Ulrich, ed. *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Ältere Funde)*. 2 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927–57.
- Waltzing Waltzing, Jean Pierre. *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident*. 4 vols. Louvain: Peeters, 1895–1900.

3. Papyri and Ostraca

ASSB → 2. *Inscriptions*

BGU *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen [staatlichen] Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. Berlin: Weidmann; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1895–.

- C.Pap.Jud. V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, eds. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964. I: 1957 (nos. 1–141); II: 1960 (nos. 142–450); III: ed. V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, and M. Stern, 1964.
- CPR *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*. Vienna: Verlag der kaiserlichen königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei; Brüder Hollinek, 1895–.
- Johnson 1936 Johnson, Allan C. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1936.
- M.Chr. Mitteis, Ludwig and Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. Band. 2. *Juristischer Teil, II Hälfte Chrestomathie*. Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1912, Nos. 1–500.
- Mees 2002 Mees, Allard W. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen*. Monographien, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Kommission bei R. Habelt, 2002.
- O. Bodl. Tait, J.G., and C. Préaux, eds. *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections*. 3 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1930–1964.
- O.Claud. Bingen, J., A. Bülow-Jacobsen, et al., eds. *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca graeca et latina*. 4 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1992–2009.
- O.Deiss. Meyer, P. M. and A. Deissmann, eds. *Griechische Texte aus Aegypten*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1916.
- O.Fay. → P.Fay.
- O.Joach. Preisigke, Friedrich and Wilhem Spiegelberg, eds. *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka: Griechische und demotische Beisetzungsurkunden für Ibis- und Falkenmumien aus Ombos*. Schriften der Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in Strassburg 19. Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1914.
- O.Kellis. Worp, Klaus A., ed. *Greek Ostraka from Kellis*. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 13. Oxford: Oxbow, 2004.
- O.Lund Tsiparis, C., ed. *Ostraca Lundensia: Ostraka aus der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde an der Universität zu Lund*. Lund: s.n., 1979.
- O.Mich. Amundsen, L., Herbert C. Youtie, et al., eds. *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935–1975. I: Ann Arbor 1935; II: → P.Mich. VI; III: → P.Mich. VIII; IV: ed. H.C. Youtie in ZPE 18 (1975) 267–282.
- O.Stras. Viereck, P., ed. *Griechische und griechisch-demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1923.

- O.Tebt.Pad. Gallazzi, C., ed. *Ostraka da Tebtynis della Università di Padova I*. Milan: Istituto editoriale Cisalpino, 1979.
- O.Theb. Gardiner, A.H., H. Thompson, and J.G. Milne, eds. *Theban Ostraca*. University of Toronto Studies, Philological Series. 3 vols. London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913.
- O.Wilck. Wilcken, Ulrich, ed. *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient, 1899.
- P.Achm. Collart, P., ed. *Les Papyrus grecs d'Achmîm à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1930.
- P.Agon. Frisch, Peter, ed. *Zehn agnostische Papyri*. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia 13. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986.
- P.Amh. Grenfell, Bernard P. and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. *The Amherst Papyri*. London: H. Frowde, 1900–1901.
- P.Assoc. de Cenival, Françoise. *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques*. Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d'étude 46. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1972.
- P.Athen. Petropoulos, G.A., ed. *Papyroi tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Hetairieas*. *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis*. Athens: En Athenais Grapheion Demosieumatōn Akademias Athenon, 1939.
- P.Bagnall. Ast, Rodney, Hélène Cuvigny, Todd M. Hickey, and Julia Lougovaya, eds. *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*. American Studies in Papyrology, 53. Durham, N.C.: American Society of Papyrologists, 2013.
- P.Berl.Leihg. *Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri*. 2 vols. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1932–1977.
- P.Berl.Spieg. Spiegelberg, Wilhelm, ed. *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin and Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1902.
- P.Bingen. Melaerts, H., ed. *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii (P. Bingen)*. Studia Varia Bruxellensia 5. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2000.
- P.Bodl. Salomons, R.P., ed. *Papyri Bodleianae I*. Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia 34. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1996.
- P.Cair. Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601–31166 I: Die demotischen Inschriften*. Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 16. Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1904.
- P.Cair.Zen. Edgar, C.C., ed., *Zenon Papyri*. 5 vols. Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1925–1940.
- P.Col. *Columbia Papyri*. New York: Columbia University Press; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1929–

- P.Coll.Youtie Hanson, Ann Ellis, ed. *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*. Edited by Ann Ellis Hanson. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1976.
- P.Dion. Boswinkel, E., and P.W. Pestman, eds. *Les archives privés de Dionysios, fils de Kephala* = Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXII. Leiden: Brill, 1982.
- P.Enteux. Guéraud, O., ed. *ENTEYΞEΙΣ: Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.*. Publications de la société Fouad I de Papyrologie, Textes et documents 1. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931.
- P.Erasm. Sijpestein, Pieter J., and Ph.A. Verdult, eds. *Papyri in the Collection of the Erasmus University (Rotterdam)*. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1986.
- P.Fam.Tebt. van Groningen, B.A., ed. *A Family Archive from Tebtunis* = Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava VI. Leiden: Brill, 1950.
- P.Fay. Grenfell, Bernard P., Arthur S. Hunt and D.G. Hogarth, eds. *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900.
- P.Fouad Bataille, A., O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, N. Lewis, H. Marrou, J. Scherer and W.G. Waddell, eds. *Les Papyrus Fouad I*. Publications de la société Fouad I de Papyrologie, Textes et documents III. Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939.
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4. Other abbreviations

- AGRW ID Associations in the Graeco-Roman World
<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/>
- APIS Advanced Papyrological Information System
- CAPInv. Copenhagen Associations Project Inventory number. See
<https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/assoc/index.php>
- DDDP Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri <https://papyri.info/docs/ddbdp>
- TM Trismegistos database of papyri texts, archives, locations, prosopography, and secondary literature. <http://www.trismegistos.org/>
- TM ARCH id. Trimegistos archive number. <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/>
- TM geo ref. Trimegistos geographical reference. <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/>

Calendars

Macedonian Calendar

Summer

Panēmos, moon of June
Lōos, moon of July
Gorpiaios, moon of August

Winter

Audynaïos, moon of December
Peritios, moon of January
Dystros, moon of February

Autumn

Hyperberetaios, moon of September
Dios, moon of October
Apellaios, moon of November

Spring

Xanthikos, moon of March
Artemisios, moon of April
Daisios, moon of May

The Julian Calendar

Ianuarius (31 days)
Februarius (28/29 days)
Martius (31 days)
Aprilis (30 days)
Maius (31 days)
Iunius (30 days)

Quintilis/Iulius (31 days)
Sextilis/Augustus (31 days)
September/Germanicus (30 day)
October (31 days)
November (30 days)
December (31 days)

The Egyptian Calendar

Prior to the Roman period, the lack of compensation for the leap year meant that the calendar year lost a day every four years against the solar year. From the Roman period, Egyptian months can be coordinated with Greek months. Julian calendar dates are approximate.

Thoth, Sebastos (Aug 29–Sept 27)
Paophi (Sept 28–Oct 27)
Hathyr, Neos Sebastos (Oct 28–Nov 26)
Choaik Iulius (Nov 27–Dec 26)
Tybi (Dec 27–Jan 25)
Mecheir (Jan 26–Feb 24)

Phamenoth (Feb 25–Mar 26)
Pharmouthi (Mar 27–Apr 25)
Pachon, Germanikeios (Apr 26–May 25)
Pauni (May 26–Jun 24)
Epeiph (Jun 25–Jul 24)
Mesore, Kaisareios (Jul 25–Aug 23)
Epagonal Days (Aug 24–28)

Introduction

The documents collected and published in GRA I–II were exclusively epigraphical, for the simple reason that inscriptions on stone, and in a few cases mosaic inscriptions, are all that have survived the climates of Attica, Macedonia, Thrace, the Bosphorus, and Asia. Unsurprisingly the materials in those volumes belonged to the typical spectrum of epigraphical genres: honorific decrees; membership lists (*alba*); bylaws (*leges collegii*); dedications; and funerary monuments. With volume III and with the inclusion of papyrological resources, a more complex picture of associative life emerges, although hardly a picture that answers all of our questions.

This volume of course also includes epigraphical materials. For the region of the Delta, most of the data that bear on guilds and associations are epigraphical, since the climate of the Delta is not congenial to the preservation of papyri. The few papyri that are included in the section on the Delta are all recovered from mummy cartonnage (**159, 168, 169**, see Brashear 1993). For the Fayûm and Upper Egypt, however, papyri and ostraca add new dimensions to our knowledge of associations.

Papyri provide additional insight into the day-to-day operation of guilds. Several account books are extant, offering tallies of the income and expenditures of associations, some for a single meeting, others for meetings extending over a period of months (**187, 193–197, 237, 253, 290–292**). Minutes from monthly meetings allow us to track fluctuations in membership, the presence of guests at some meetings, and the general state of a group's finances (**193, 194**). There is a letter from a member who wishes to resign from an association (**238**) and a letter of someone who has been invited to a cultic association (**240**). There are memoranda that detail the tax obligations of members of occupational guilds (**222**) and documents that show the collective responsibility of guilds to pay taxes. Correspondence from guild secretaries to local officials indicates that some guild members were subject to compulsory services (**233**) and other documents show just how the system of nominations to liturgies functioned (**241, 242**). A large set of price declarations, mostly from Oxyrhynchus, confirm that fourth-century guilds were required to file affidavits confirming compliance with Diocletian's edict on prices (**278, 279, 282**). While epigraphical documents from Attica indicate that some associations functioned as credit institutions, collecting funds to make loans to their members, papyri now illustrate just how loans were

administered and offer examples of receipts issued by the secretaries of associations confirming the repayment of loans (285). Epigraphical documents in GRA I show that associations were keenly aware of the possibility of financial mismanagement by officers; now papyri include complaints of misconduct by members and officers of associations (189, 190, 192).

Papyri also show that membership in many associations implied contractual obligations, both on the part of the association to its members and members to their associations. Several association bylaws empowered their presidents or chief officers to exact sureties from any member who failed to pay dues or, in the case of guilds that collected the *laographia*, other contributions (188, 191, 206, 212, 219). On the other hand, we also have examples of complaints from members alleging that sureties were illegally extracted by the guild president (192) or that an association had failed to deliver the (funerary) benefits that its bylaws guaranteed (189, 190). While we might suspect that Attic, Macedonian, and Asian associations had some of the same powers and liabilities, it is only with Egyptian data that it becomes clear that such powers did exist and were deployed.

In addition to documents produced by associations themselves, there is a wealth of data generated by the village and nome administrative officials that mention guilds and associations. Grapheion registers, including the large archive of Kronion, the νομογραμματεὺς of Tebtynis, provide indications of the volume of documents filed with a village archive relevant to guilds. These archives indicate that a large number of guilds were active in any given year (210, 216, 217). Tax documents provide important insights into how associations, especially occupational guilds, related to the fiscal apparatus of the Roman province and raise the question of whether (and when) guilds became the nodes of tax extraction, responsible for collecting and paying the craft tax (*cheirōnaxion*) and the *laographia* owed by their members (222). It is unclear whether guilds became nodes for tax extraction at the initiative of the state, or whether some guilds began to collect the *laographia* or *cheirōnaxion* as a convenience to their members, and the state eventually recognized the administrative advantages of this practice and made it a norm. In either case, membership in guilds would have become practically if not legally mandatory.

The dossier includes letters of complaint received by local administrators, asked to intervene in tax disputes, boundary matters, internal conflicts within guilds and associations, and records of guild officials submitting nominations for compulsory liturgies (189, 190, 230, 233, 241). Several transcripts of judicial proceedings mention actions taken by or against guilds (236, 266). One papyrus even records a hearing over the attempt of a guild of builders to kidnap an apprentice of the linen weavers' guilds and to force him into their trade (266). A letter from a guild of mortuary workers complains about irregularities in the transport of a corpse (239).

Even when papyrological sources overlap epigraphical documents, some important differences can be observed. A few bylaws are attested epigraphically, famously the Iobakchoi inscription from second-century Achaia (51) and the bylaws of a Roman association at Lanuvium (CIL 14.2112). Yet it is striking that in spite of the fact that many large and powerful occupational guilds existed and thrived in Italy and the Western provinces – the *centonarii*, *tignuarii*, *fabri*, *lenuncularii*, *mensores frumentarii*, *scapharii* and many others –, the only known extant bylaws come from a single guild: the collegium of Ivory and Citrus-Wood Merchants of Rome (CIL 6.33855; Last 2020). Since large occupational guilds often owned property, offered benefits to their members, including tax benefits and the provision of burial funds, they must have had bylaws to regulate admission, the conduct of members, and the benefits that members could expect. Yet only one *lex* is extant. It is unlikely that all others have perished, sacrificed to lime kilns or reused as building blocks, or that their absence is due simply to the accidents of discovery.

It should be noticed that many of the *leges collegii* that are attested epigraphically are often found in conjunction with *other* epigraphical genres: honorific decrees, commemorations, or decrees that introduce modifications or adjustments to a group's regulations: for example, AE 1929, 161; CIL 6.10234; CIL 14.2112; IG II² 1283 (23); IG II² 1328 (34); IG II² 1361 (4); IG II² 1368 (51); IG IX,1² 670 (61); IG XII,3 330; and TAM V 1539 (117). That is, these bylaws may have survived not because it was the normal practice to inscribe the bylaws of associations on stone, but because of the happenstance of the *lex* being attached to other genres. It may be that the normal practice for bylaws in the Latin West was to use perishable materials – wooden tablets, parchment, or papyrus, as it was in Egypt. This might explain why *leges* have for the most part not survived in the West.

Egypt, however, produced many association bylaws, in all instances recorded on papyrus and none combined with other papyrological genres apart from membership lists. They often represent the *yearly* updates of the associations' bylaws that were required to be filed with the local grapheion (188, 191, 199, 206, 212, 219, 253, 284, 285). Membership lists are usually appended to these bylaws, evidently as a way to register those who approved the bylaws (Paganini 2019) and those who could be held responsible to comply with the association's requirements as well as those who were entitled to claim benefits from the association (209, 213, 223, 246, 258, 270, 289). These bylaws are typically framed as being in effect for a single year (hence the need to renew the bylaws yearly). In the case of one Demotic association from Tebtynis, the five yearly copies of its bylaws allow us to see modifications to the bylaws over a course of thirty-four years, from 178 to 145 BCE (→ P.Cair. 30606 [191]).

An obvious question arises with these data: How do we know that an epigraphical or papyrological document attests the existence of an association rather than, for example, simply an informal set of artisans or devotees of a deity?

What markers entitle us to suppose that there was a formally-constituted association?

Collectives devoted to the cult of a deity – for example, Anubis, Dionysos, Isis, Harpokrates, the Judaeon deity, Sarapis, Soknebtynis, or figures of the royal or imperial houses – can be considered to be formal associations, since it would be difficult to interpret a term such as οἱ Διονυσιασταί in another way. Since one of the roles of such collectives was the performance of rites in honour of the deity or ruler that required collective resources, collective control of property, and in many cases, special personnel, it is hard to imagine how this could have occurred without a formal organization for these rites, irrespective of whether the documents mentions key associative vocabulary.

It is worth noting that in the major corpora which collect inscriptions and papyri designated as *collegia*, *thiasoi*, *synodoi*, and other related terms, it is not usual to find Judaeon synagogues or Christ groups included. The Copenhagen Association Project does not list any of the several *synagōgē* or *proseuchē* inscriptions available from Asia, Egypt or Rome in its inventory and includes only P.Ryl. IV 590 (288 = CAPInv 674) for Egypt, which it does not identify as Judaeon. It is fair to say that for the most part scholars have tended to treat the *synagōgai*, *ekklēsiai* and other groups of diasporic Judaeans and Christ devotees as though they belonged to a separate silo of ancient social organisations, notwithstanding the fact that there is a strong overlap in the vocabulary and morphology of inscriptions and papyri of all of these groups. The reasons for this ‘siloing’ of data sets are complicated, in part a function of the institutional isolation of departments of classics and ancient history on one hand, and religion departments on the other, and in part a function of tendencies in theological scholarship to treat synagogues and Christian social formations as *sui generis* and therefore incomparable.

There is, nevertheless, a significant body of recent scholarship that considers Judaeon *synagōgai* and *proseuchē* and Christ groups as worth classifying, at least for heuristic purposes, as associations: for example, Richardson 1996; Runesson et al. 2007; Last 2015; Czajkowski 2019. The counterargument is that *synagōgai* never referred to themselves as associations (i.e., as *collegia*, *thiasoi*, *synodoi*). This contention collides with Josephus, *Ant.* 14.215–16 and 14.235, in which imperial decrees use these terms for Judaeon groups. Philo’s obvious anxiety to distinguish Judaeon diasporic synagogues from other *thiasoi* (*Flacc.* 136–137) also implies that synagogues *were* perceived as types of associations. But there is a deeper methodological confusion in the counterargument. There is no reason to suppose that, say, a *collegium centonariorum* in Umbria (CIL 11.5047) thought of itself as belonging to the same organizational genre as the *Sarapiastai* of P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] or that any other cultic association thought of itself as equivalent to an occupational guild. It is hardly cogent to claim that *we* cannot compare the *centontarii* with the *Sarapiastai* for certain purposes because they would not have seen themselves both as associations.

“Association” is after all not an ancient term at all. Of course, what we call associations employed dozens of self-designations: *ergasia*, *thiasos*, *klinē*, *koinon*, *plēthos*, *synodos*, *synagōgē*, *collegium*, *corpus*, *cultores*, *familia* and a wide variety of collective terms formed from the names of trades or deities. “Association” in English or French and “Verein” in German are *our* terms by which we group certain phenomena as comparable for *our* analytic purposes. Marie-Françoise Baslez has recently, and rightly in my view, observed:

... l’analyse lexicale comparée des documents d’archives transmis dans les *Antiquités judaïques* [of Josephus] révèle que les communautés juives d’Asie Mineure n’étaient pas perçues différemment des autres communautés, thiasos ou synodes, et qu’elles ne s’en distinguaient pas formellement malgré leur souci de marquer leur différence – par exemple en recourant à une terminologie spécifique dans les textes à usage interne, ainsi qu’on l’a relevé depuis longtemps. Les principes de droit auxquels il est fait référence sont toujours les mêmes: la tradition ancestrale, le droit d’usage, la liberté de réunion. (Baslez 2019, 113)

Baslez’s conclusion can apply as well to the Judaeen groups of Egypt. Judaeen associations made dedications to the Ptolemaic rulers (e.g., **154**) just as an association of *synbasiliastai* (I.Varsovie 44; CAPIInv 606); and they employed vocabulary and formulae common in other associations. They looked to all intents and purposes like other cultic associations. For this reason, GRA III, following the lead of GRA I (**73**) and II (**95**, **113**), has included a number of *proseuchē* and *synagōgai* texts (**154**, **156-158**, **161**, **163**, **186**, **276**, **288**).

The issue is more complicated in the case of artisans. It might be questioned whether the mere mention of trades in the plural (e.g., γέρδιοι, κναφεῖς, κεραμεῖς) implies the existence of guilds with a system of elected presidents, rules governing membership, and property such as a guild-hall or temple owned in common. Or are such terms simply a convenient way to refer collectively to all of the weavers or potters in a particular village or to refer to a loosely-organized group of artisans in the same craft, but without any formal structure? To claim that the plural by itself automatically implies a guild would be, in the words of Tran, “ambigu et tendancieux” (2006, 8). And does every mention of a γέρδιος imply that he was a member of a weavers’ guild?

The most secure evidence that a group is a guild or formal association, as Freu has argued, is the appearance of such associative terms as σύνδοξ, πλῆθος, ἐργασία (συνεργασία), τέχνη (συντεχνία), κοινόν, etc., followed by the name of a craft or devotees in the plural (Freu 2012, 231–232). Another secure indication of the existence of a formal guild or association is the evidence of a *lex* or νόμος. This is the case with a number of documents in this collection: BGU XIV 2371 (**253**) P.Cair. 30606 (**191**); P.Lille.dem. 29 = P.Assoc. pp. 3–10 (**188**) (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 (**199**); P.Mich. II 123.vi.18; ix.45; x.6; xi.36; xvi.12; xvii.38 (**216**); P.Mich. II 124 ii.23 (**216**); P.Mich. V 243 (**206**) P.Mich. V 244 (**212**); P.Mich. V 245 (**219**); P.Mich. V 248 (**213**); PSI XII 1265.9, 13 (**280**); and SB III 6704 (**285**); SEG 31:122 (**50**). There are, moreover, such

documents as P.Enteux. 20 (189) (Magdôla, 221 BCE), which refers to the existence of a *θιασιτικός νόμος* (without actually citing those bylaws) and registers from *grapheion* records which list charges for the preparation of bylaws (*nomos*) of shepherds and a *synodos* of builders as well as several other bylaws (P.Mich. II 123–124 [216]).

A third indication of a formal guild is reference to practices that are commonly associated with formally constitute associations. For example, although the salt merchants (*ἀλοπῶλαι*) of Tebtynis (219) do not refer to themselves as a *κοινόν*, they elected a president (*ἡγούμενος*), had a common fund (*τὸ κοινόν*), and observed monthly banquets.

A further indication that a collective of artisans or devotees were more than simply a loose affiliation of persons is the presence of officers, variously called *ἀρχιερεύς*, *ἀρχιπροστάτης*, *γραμματεὺς*, *ἐπιμελητής*, *ἡγούμενος*, *ιερεύς*, *ιεροποιός*, *κεφαλαιωτής*, *μηνιάρχης*, *πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς*, *πρεσβυτέρος*, *προστάτης/προστάτις*, *συναγωγός*, *συναγωγεὺς*, *ταμίας*, *ὕπηρετής*, *φροντιστής* and other such administrative terms. Likewise, the dedication by a group to a patron (e.g., I.Alex.imp. 99 [184]) implies that the group was a formal entity that collected funds, voted honours, and arranged for the cutting of an honorific inscription.

Ownership of property seems also to be a clear indication that the group in question was a formally constituted association, since ownership implies some notion of corporate personality and regulations governing corporate liabilities and responsibilities. This seems to be the case in the collection of *τόπος* or building inscriptions (159, 198, 200, 201, 202, 221, 226, 227, 228, 229, 254, 271). In such cases there must have been a legal framework in place that governed the reciprocal obligations of members to the guild.

Another indication is the interaction of groups of artisans as a collective with the city or with administrative officials. P.Oxy. XII 1414 (272) concerns an arrangement between the city and the linen weavers (*λινόϋφοι*) and linen merchants (*λινέμποροι*) to allow Oxyrhynchus to supply linen in order to pay the *anabolikon* tax. The document treats these two groups as legal entities rather than simply as informal groups of artisans. The same can be said of BGU VII 1572 (233) in which an *ἐργασία* of γέρδιοι (weavers) collectively petitioned a *stratēgos* for relief from conscription of its members. P.Oxy. XLIV 3172 (Oxyrhynchus, 307 CE) is a declaration of an individual who swears that he had never engaged in the sale of donkeys, contrary to the claims of οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ὀνομάγγωνες| (“the [guild] of donkey merchants of the same city”), who maintained that he had infringed “on their trade” (*μετερχόμενόν με τὴν αὐτῶν τέχνην*). Even in the absence of the specialized vocabulary denoting guilds, it is reasonable in these cases to conclude that the groups involved were guilds with fixed membership, and which functioned as legal entities.

There are a large number of price declarations at the beginning of the fourth century CE in which collectivities make formal declarations that they were

abiding by Diocletian's edict on prices, and other documents in which collectivities of artisans made declarations that bore on their liability to taxes (e.g., P.Oxy VII 1029 [263]; P.Leid.Inst.62.3 [283]). In such cases it is reasonable to assume that they made these declarations as formally-constituted guilds.

Freu urges that formulae that designate the artisans (collectively) of a town or village, such as ἀλιεῖς ἀκυχγιαλοῦ Βερνικίδος, “the shore fishermen of Bernikis” (PSI VIII 901 [218]) “testify to the public recognition of these professional groups and are certainly periphrastic formulas designating an association” (2012, 232). By the same logic, the ἀλιεῖς Τεβτύνεως (P.Mich II 123r iii.7 [216]), ἀλιεῖς Διονυσιάδος καὶ Βερνικίδος Θεσμοφόρου (PSI VII 737.7–8, Arsinoites, II–III CE), ἀλιέων τῆς κώμης; (SB VIII 10206, Theadelphia and Polydeukia, 148 CE), ἀλιεῖς ἀπὸ ποδὸς Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου (P.Louvre 1 36, Soknopaiou Nesos), and ἀλιεῖς αἰγιαλοῦ Βερνικίδος (PSI VIII 901 [218], Tebtynis, 46 CE) were also guilds, although in the latter instance there are other indications that they comprised a guild.

It is more difficult to decide whether the simple mention of tradespersons in the plural is a sufficient indication of an occupational guild. Zimmermann (2002, 133 n. 926) listed more than ninety occurrences of κεραμεῖς (potters) in the plural, where other guild-related terms were absent. She concluded, “For the potters in Egypt, although it might be assumed in individual cases that they too could form guilds, there can be no question of a comprehensive guild organization [of potters]” (2002, 133). The κοινὸν τῶν ἐριοπωλῶν (P.Oxy. LIV 3751, Oxyrhynchus, IV CE) was a guild of wool merchants, since they use the term τὸ κοινόν. But that hardly means that all ἐριοπωλαὶ and ἐριέμποροι were guilds with a formal structure.

Zimmerman's caution is well-taken. However, because the salt merchants of Tebtynis (P.Mich. V 245 [219], 47 CE) clearly constituted a guild with bylaws and guild officials, it is rather likely that the ἀλοπῶλαι named in P.Mich. II 128.iii.10 and P.Mich. V 240.i.31, both from Tebtynis a year earlier (46 CE), also belonged to the guild of P.Mich. V 245 or to another guild of salt merchants.

Accordingly, we might imagine a sliding scale of associations. Those that were certainly constituted as guilds used recognizable associative terms; they had bylaws; they engaged in recognizable associative practices (having a common purse, a membership list, common meals, fines and disciplinary practices); they elected officers; and they owned property. Other less formal associations may have been subject collectively to certain taxes (e.g., the χειρωναξίον) but lacked other markers of associative life. And finally, there were informal groups of craftsmen sharing the same or related trades, but in no sense a formal guild. The paucity of data makes it difficult or impossible to determine in many cases where on this spectrum we might place some of the groups recorded in this volume.

Papyrological data enhance the picture of the roles of associations in the Mediterranean in a variety of ways.

First, these data offer a better idea of how trades were organized, especially in the Roman period, and just how many occupational guilds existed in any location. Our knowledge of occupational guilds in the Mediterranean is otherwise very uneven. In Attica, cultic associations are well documented but little is known about occupational guilds there, or even if there were such guilds. More data for occupational guilds are available for Asia – mostly funerary and honorific inscriptions –, and considerably more for Italy and the Western provinces, attested in *alba*, honorific inscriptions, and funerary documents. But for Egypt the data about occupational guilds are seemingly overwhelming. Price declarations and various tax documents reveals the existence of hundreds of occupational groups. Fikhman's 1965 catalogue of occupations in Egypt listed 77 different trades organized as guilds (1965, 122–127) and in a later work he could find more than 190 different trades in Byzantine Egypt (Fikhman 1969, esp. 151). The list of guild contributors to the *vestis militaris* published in P.Genova I 24 in 1974 and the more recent publication of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume LIV* (1987) with its extensive set of price declarations by guilds raise these numbers even further.

Trades were finely differentiated from one another, especially within industries related to garment manufacture, where one finds simple weavers (γέρδιοι), probably working in wool, linen weavers (λινόϋφοι), and ταρσικάριοι, evidently specialty weavers of linen, and carpet weavers (ταπητάριοι). To this list one could add other groups and guilds devoted to the preparation, care, and sale of clothing: wool workers (λανάριοι), bleachers (λευκανταί), linen cleaners (λινεψοί), fullers (κναφεῖς), dyers (βαφεῖς), saddle makers (σαγματοράφοι), and clothiers (καψάριοι). Among merchants in the market place, one finds a similar diversification in merchants dealing with various alimentary products, with guilds evidently specialized in selling bread, coarse bread, fine bread, olives, vegetables, seed-vegetables, fish, garum, fruit, vetch, condiments, and pork.

Second, the sheer number of guilds known from particular locations in Egypt raises the question of what percentage of the labour force in a town was represented by guilds. Philo reports that there were numerous associations in Alexandria (*Flacc.* 1.136: θῖασοι ... εἰσὶ πολὺάνθρωποι). A survey of papyri from first century CE Tebtynis, a town of 4000–7000 inhabitants, indicates the existence of at least twenty-two guilds (Langellotti 2016, 112–115). If typical occupational guilds had 20–30 members, this would represent 17–33% of the adult male population of the town (Kloppenborg 2019a, 33–34). Similar estimates have been made for Oxyrhynchus, where Alston and Alston estimate that artisans made up 28% of the male population (1997, 205). Van Minnen suggests that 30–50% of the Egyptian population were engaged in some craft (1987, 37–38).

The data from Egypt naturally provokes the questions whether labour in other parts of the Mediterranean was similarly diversified and what proportion of the urban population belonged to occupational guilds. Both Ulrich Fellmeth (1990, 52) and Andreas Gutsfeld (1999, 18), for example, have conjectured that a substantial proportion of the sub-elite population in Roman towns belonged to guilds. Of course the data from Egypt do not necessarily have any bearing on the situation of Roman towns. Perhaps Roman Egypt was peculiar. The data available from Italian towns, however, is only epigraphical – and therefore does not include the kind of reportage that is available from Egypt; and it is highly fragmentary. A few locations like Ostia Antica offer a large collection of association inscriptions (Rohde 2012; see the Ghent database of Roman guilds, <https://gdrug.ugent.be/>). But even for Ostia it is difficult to estimate the proportion of the Ostian population connected to guilds, since there is only a very partial set of *alba* for a few Ostian guilds, and none at all for others. Moreover, Ostia does not provide the kind of data about the day-to-day operations of associations that are available from Egypt. Guilds and associations may well have been as common and numerous as they were in Egypt and as Fellmeth and Gutsfeld suggest, but the lack of documentary evidence that papyri supply for Egypt obscures the organization of labour in other locales.

Third, the large numbers of guilds and associations in Roman Egypt challenge the notions that guild membership was routinely suppressed, or that guilds required the formal permission of the Senate or Emperor or praefect to exist. Famously, the request to Trajan of the *fabri* of Nicomedia (in Bithynia, a senatorial province) to form a collegium, ostensibly to fight fires, was refused (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.33–34), but a similar request from Amisus, a free city, to form an *eranos* was approved, presumably because of the status of the city (*Ep.* 10.92–93).

Eckhart (2016, 2017) has cited these data to suggest that there was a general restriction on guilds, in particular in locales under direct Roman rule. The *collegium symphonicorum* in the early first century CE advertised the fact that it had received Senate approval under the *lex Iulia* for performances at the games (CIL 6.2193) and the same was the case with *mensores machinariorum* (CIL 6.85, Rome, 198 CE) and *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum* (fishermen and divers[?], CIL 6.1872, Rome, 206 CE). In Ostia, a few kilometers from Rome, an unknown collegium advertised the same permission (CIL 14.4548, Ostia, 121 CE) and later the *fabri navales* in Ostia and Portus sought permission to meet (CIL 14.168 and 14.169, Ostia, 195 CE; CIL 14.256, Portus, early III CE) as did the *corpus fontanorum* (fullers) in Ostia (CIL 14.4573, Ostia, 232 CE). One might suppose that the same was the case with the *lenuncularii* (boatmen), for whom we have five copies of their *alba* (CIL 14.250 [152 CE]; 14.251 [193 CE]; 14.4567 and 14.4568 [shortly after 152 CE]; NSA 1953, 280, no. 42 [213 CE] and AE 2001, 622 [Ostia, 217 CE?]). Yet it is striking that none of these *alba* bother to record Senate approval of their existence. Even after a rescript from

Septimius Severus clarifying that the S.C. had effect not just in Rome but in Italy and the provinces (D 47.22.1.pr; Perry 2016, 141–142) the formula *quibus ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet* hardly appears.

One of the common denominators for the *collegia* mentioned above is that all served the public good and hence were in little danger of suppression. They were also overwhelmingly (or perhaps exclusively) guilds of freedmen and hence Roman citizens. Noting approval by the Senate perhaps functioned as much as an advertisement of social capital and civic status as it was a defence against possible suppression. The same may have been the case with the collegium of Diana and Antinoüs at Lanuvium (CIL 14.2112). Whether other guilds, such as the *familia Silvani* (AE 1929, 161; Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE) or a collegium devoted to Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Puteoli (CIL 10.1579, II CE), needed to seek permission to exist from the Senate is unknown, since they did not bother to invoke the formula, *quibus ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet*. It may be that they exempted themselves from the need for senatorial permission because they understood themselves as gathering *religionis causa*, “for the sake of cultic rites,” which was an exception to the ban on associations in the S.C. This exemption may not have been part of the earlier *lex Iulia de collegiis* but seems to have been in effect by the first century or at least by 121 CE (Buongiorno 2019). The version of the S.C. cited in the Digest allowed associations founded *religionis causa*, provided that they did not otherwise contravene the *senatus consultum* which prohibited “illicit *collegia*” (*illicita collegia*, D 47.22.1). For Egypt, however, the *senatus consultum de collegiis* was not directly relevant, since *senatus consulta* applied only to Roman citizens, not to provincials, and until the time of Severus, not to the provinces (→ D 47.22.pr. and Buongiorno 2016). (On the application of *senatus consulta* in Italy → Liu 2005).

Egyptian associations were occasionally suppressed. According to Philo, Flaccus disestablished clubs and associations (ἐταίρειαι καὶ σύνοδοι) in Alexandria when they became disruptive (*Flacc.* 1.4). Even later, P.Giss. I 40 (Alexandria, 215 ce) records an order of Caracalla to expel from Alexandria “all the Egyptians, especially peasants (ἄγροικοί), who have fled here from other parts of Egypt and are easily recognizable” because they were disturbing the city (ταράσσουν τὴν πόλιν, ii.16, 21).

The legal basis that Flaccus invoked to suppress clubs and associations is unclear. It is possible that it was the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, an imperial enactment that contained a provision threatening a large fine for those who formed a *synodos* (BGU V 1210.240 §108 (234); P.Oxy. XLII 3014). Czajkowski (2019, 88–89) has drawn attention to Philo’s polemical characterization of *thiasoi*, *synodoi* and *klinai* in *Flacc.* 4, where he states that Flaccus disestablished these clubs which “were holding banquets under the pretext of sacrificing” (αἱ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἰσιτιῶντο). This might suggest that Philo (or Flaccus) was aware of some version of a ruling quoted by Ulpian in the late second century:

sub praetextu religionis vel sub specie solvendi voti coetus illicitos nec a veteranis temptari oportet (Ulpian, *Opiniones* 4 in D 47.11.2).

Under the pretext of *religio* or of fulfilling vows it is not permitted to attempt to form an association (*coetus*), even for veterans.

It is unclear whether the ruling cited by Ulpian was in effect in the first century CE. Nor do we know that the *senatus consultum* was in effect that is reported by Ulpian's younger contemporary, Aelius Marcianus, permitting the formation of associations *religionis causa* (D 47.22.1). Irrespective of the issue of the dating of these enactments, Andreas Bendlin rightly observes that the term *religio* is underdetermined. This "permit[ted] the political authorities to define its scope and limit its applicability to those associations they have declared lawfully constituted, regardless of whether the primary *raison d'être* is or is not religious" (2011, 225).

Nothing suggests that Flaccus's decree applied outside of Alexandria. There were in fact an extraordinarily large variety of associations and guilds in the Fayum in the early 40s, none of which appears to have been troubled in the least by Flaccus's actions in Alexandria. Flaccus's decree likely did not even apply to all Alexandrian associations, but only those that he perceived as the cause of public disorder. That is, his action was a police action, rather than a blanket suppression.

Neither was the decree of Caracalla mentioned in P.Giss. I 40 a blanket suppression of guilds. This suppression expressly exempted pork sellers (χοιρέμποροι), sailors engaged in Nile transport (ναῦται ποτά[μ]ιοι), and the workers who supplied reeds to fuel the baths, but specifically included non-Alexandrian linen weavers (λινόϋφοι) who, the decree says, could easily be identified by their speech and appearance (ὅψεις τε καὶ σχῆμα, ii.29). The linen weavers, pork sellers and *nautai* were typically organized into guilds. Yet their exclusion from the application of this decree suggests that the matter was a police action against certain rural elements that had infiltrated the city prior to Caracalla's visit to the city in 215–216 (see Dio Cassius 77.23 and Łukaszewicz 1990, commenting on BGU I 159 = W.Chr. 408). As with Flaccus's decree in the first century, there is no evidence that the suppression applied to guilds elsewhere in Egypt.

As Arnaoutoglou (2002) has pointed out, there is little evidence of the effect of Roman legislation on associations in Asia (see also de Ligt 2000). In Egypt the Gnomon of the Idios Logos supposedly suppressed the formation of *synodoi*. Yet not only are there a large numbers of guilds and associations in many, perhaps most, Egyptian towns; there are also no extant examples of documents in which an association records authorization from the praefect of Egypt or the nome *stratēgos* for such guilds to exist. Nor do we have petitions of associations seeking such permission. As San Nicolò long ago observed, even though one should expect from the plain sense of Gnomon that Egyptian guilds routinely

sought permission to constitute themselves, “in the numerous documents from this period there is not a single instance of the granting of a concession or of a request for such a concession” (1913–1915, 2:11). He concluded that the complete silence of papyri in this regard implied that the Romans imposed no general restrictions on associations and clubs. Indeed, none of the guilds and associations whose documents we have behave as if they were worried about being suppressed or even imagined that as a possibility. And none of the bylaws that are extant from the early Roman period (199, 206, 212, 219, 284, 285) bother to advert to any rescript or *lex* from which they claim to be exempt. There are records of court actions that involved guild members, but none threaten to invoke the clause of Gnomon of the Idios Logos to disband the association. On the contrary, some guilds, in their interactions with administrative officials, pointed out that their crafts served the public good, αἱ δημόσια... χρήαι (277). As Langelotti 2016 points out, guilds in Tebtynis had regular contact with State officials, sought concessions from the State, and made various declarations to state officials. The regularity of such interactions would seem inconsistent with the suggestion that the State discouraged the formation of guilds. Johnson points out that even in the early Roman period, guilds served as a convenient node for tax extraction (Johnson 1936, 393). Whether this was universally the case in the early Roman period, at least in the third and fourth centuries CE, it was.

It is difficult to square these data about guilds in Egypt with the plain sense of BGU V 1210.240 or to conclude that guilds and associations were banned as a whole, or even needed official permission to exist. It is more likely that the clause from the Gnomon of the Idios Logos was invoked only when it was needed, to control disorder or riot (see below). As Arnaoutoglou (2002) has argued for Asia and Perry (2016) for Italy, there was no outright ban on guilds, and any actions that were taken against guilds were local and temporary. In Italy the State encouraged the proliferation of *collegia* as instruments of social and political control. Arnaoutoglou has argued that the way to reconcile the existence of the Augustan legislation on associations with San Nicolò’s observation is to conclude on the one hand that the Romans simply recognized as legitimate any association that was already in existence in 30 BCE when Egypt came under direct Roman control, and on the other, that associations knew that existing Roman legislation permitted clubs organized for cultic purposes and which functioned to bury their members and simply interpreted this in the broadest fashion to suit their own interests (2005, 202). The occasional banning of *collegia* mentioned by Philo was a matter of police action rather than a general suppression of association. The underdetermination of *religionis causa* allowed a praefect to judge the activities of any association or occupational guild either to fall within or stand outside the scope of the licit exercise of *religio* (Bendlin 2011, 225). That is, the suppression of guilds and associations was *ad hoc* rather than a matter of standing policy.

Fourth, the data from Egypt sheds some light on the activities and perhaps the *raison d'être* for associations. Bagnall (2007, 184) recently cautioned that the wealth of data about associations and such massive works as San Nicolò's *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* should not beguile us into supposing that we know everything about Egyptian guilds and associations. He opines that guilds were mainly fiscal rather than social. This conclusion would be justified if one looked only at the evidence from Oxyrhynchus and especially the flood of price declarations extant from the fourth century (Coles 1987) in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume LIV* (see 278, 279, 282). Yet papyri and inscriptions from the Fayum offer plenty of evidence of cultic associations whose function was not obviously fiscal, and associations of various types that engaged in various forms of sociality, organized especially around monthly or more frequent meals (169, 170, 193, 194, 197, 199, 206, 211, 231, 240, etc.). It is likely that many guilds participated in, and sometimes organized, the funerals of their members, and many were organized around regular communal dining and sometimes cultic activities.

In thinking about the *raison d'être* for private associations it is worth distinguishing between the State's interests in the existence of associations and the interests of those who participated in those guilds. Perry (2016) could well be right that guilds functioned as instruments of social and political control, although one would be hard pressed to find a Roman official who stated as much openly. There is little doubt, however, that occupational guilds were understood to serve the public good, in particular those involved in the weaving craft and in the grain supply. The weavers of Philadelphia (233) were quick to point out in their petition to be exempt from compulsory service that they were performing a public good by fulfilling a contract for δημόσιος ἱματισμός – clothing for the army. Later, a guild of linen weavers (277) advanced the argument that since its production of linen – the currency in which the city's *anabolikon* tax was paid – was an essential service and fulfilled a public need, they should prevail in a case against a guild of builders. It might be added that cultic associations, insofar as they undertook to care for the cult of deities who guaranteed the health and prosperity of the Empire, could also claim to serve the public good. That is undoubtedly the logic of the *libellus* of a priestess of the "Great God Petesouchos" in Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis (W.Chr. 225), who confirmed she had sacrificed to the deity in accordance with the decrees of Decius when in 250 CE the Empire was reeling under a plague. It is likewise the logic of Tertullian's insistence that Christians prayed for the Emperor's health (*Apol.* 30–31). The economy of the Empire was not only a matter of the movement of material goods, but also keeping the gods happy and in that sense, cultic associations were part of that economy.

From the perspective of the State, associations and guilds were convenient nodes for tax extraction and, after Diocletian, efficient ways to obtain compliance with the Edict on Maximum Prices. As indicated earlier, it is still unclear

whether tax practices meant that membership in guilds was becoming obligatory – Sirks (1993) does not think that it was technically obligatory but points out that relief from certain taxes and liturgies would have made membership highly attractive in the late Empire. Carrié (2002) thinks that guild membership was effectively mandatory. Whatever the case, it remains that as early as the time of Tiberius a guild in Egypt was collecting the *laographia* on behalf of its members (212) and in the second century a guild of hieroglyphic carvers was required to make a formal declaration of its membership, presumably for tax purposes (263).

From the perspective of association members, it might be concluded that participation in an occupational guild brought with it some level of financial security (Gibbs 2011). Although ancient occupational guilds are a far cry from modern trade unions, there are occasional instances when guilds protested the incursion of other workers into their area (159), efforts of salt sellers to set minimum prices and to control the sale of salt within the Arsinoite nome (219), and an possible instance of a work stoppage in an alabaster quarry (265).

That guilds from time to time defended their economic interests has encouraged the attempt to apply New Institutional Economics (NIE) to the study of ancient guilds and to suggest that guilds served to reduce transaction costs and thus to lubricate economic activity (Venticinque 2015, 2016). It seems intuitively plausible that membership in an occupational guild made it easier to secure raw materials, exchange apprentices, and manage competition. It is a different matter, however, to suppose that guilds were formed in order to reduce transaction costs. Moreover, since for the most part we lack detailed financial data on the income and expenses of artisans who belonged to guilds, and those who did not, it is impossible to conclude that membership led to a reduction in transaction costs, as NIE predicts (Verboven 2015; Kloppenborg 2019b).

There is less doubt that the attraction of membership in associations, both cultic and professional, brought with it commensality, the security of participating in a “network of trust” in which one could rely upon one’s fellows for support and ethical conduct (Monson 2006), and a sense of “belonging,” so important in an urban landscape where the loss of identity and the threat of social oblivion was an ever-present danger (Kloppenborg, 2019a, chap. 4). In the case of cultic associations, membership also brought with it the social capital and prestige of dining with the god. As a recruit to the cult of Sarapis explains to his father, “it isn’t possible for a person to refuse the Lord Sarapis” (240). Belonging to the divine economy had its benefits.

At times guilds and associations could be a public nuisance, although such charges are usually from writers who reflect the prejudices of the well-born and educated and who caricature the sub-elite as unstable, seditious, and easily aroused (Herodion 4.8.7). Philo, in his initially laudatory remarks on the actions of Aulus Avilius Flaccus, reported that Flaccus dissolved Alexandrian clubs and associations (ἐταίρειαι καὶ σύνοδοι) which, he claims, used the occasion of sacri-

fice as a pretense for drunken insolence in their actions (*Flacc.* 1.4). Philo later says that a sedition was stirred up by a certain Isidoros, who mobilized the θίασοι, noting polemically that such associations had no valid reason for existence except drunkenness at their meetings and ‘dining couches’ (σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι). Isidoros, their συμποσίαρχος and κλινάρχης, aroused these guilds to riot (*Flacc.* 1.136–137). As Czajkowski points out, however, Philo had every reason to draw a strong contrast between those clubs dissolved by Flaccus and Judaeae synagogues, which he assured Gaius, did not meet on the pretext of *religio* to engage in disorderly drinking or to disturb the peace, but to promote *sōphrosynē* and *dikaiosynē* and to collect funds in support of the sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple (*Legat.* 312). Philo was clearly afraid that Flaccus’ ban might extend to Judaeae associations.

Much later a reported letter of Hadrian to Servianus caricatures the Alexandrian plebs as entirely light-minded, unstable, and subject to any rumour (*totam . . . levem, pendulam et ad omnia famae momenta volitantem*, *Historia Augusta* 8) and indeed as a serious threat to the State (*ad summa rei publica pericula*, *Historia Augusta* 22). One might well suppose that the letter has in mind disruptive activities by occupational guilds. Socrates’ account of Athanasius’ governance of Alexandria as bishop reflects the same caricature of the Alexandrians (*Historia ecclesiastica* 4.20) and implies that Athanasius was able to keep the restive Alexandrians under control. Ironically Athanasius himself is said to have mobilized guilds in support of his struggles against the Arians (Haas 1997, 383). That guilds could sometimes be manipulated for political purposes, however, hardly justifies the supposition that the *raison d’être* of guild formation and guild membership was primarily or even dominantly political.

Although elites often paid little attention to associations and guilds, variously regarding them insignificant, a nuisance, or only occasionally as dangerous, the evidence of efforts to suppress them is rare indeed. On the contrary, it appears from the rich evidence from Egypt that associations and guilds were mostly unmolested; they were not only tolerated by the State but were extremely numerous and employed by the State for fiscal purposes. From the point of view of associations and occupational guilds, these organizations provided various forms of security to their members in addition to offering occasions for commensality. Members were often required by statute to assist others in distress; in some instances the guild could provide a surety in the event that members were arrested; and attendance at funerals of deceased members (sometimes their families) was a common provision of bylaws. As Gibbs (2011) guild membership was likely a benefit to handworkers, who could use the guild as a network to secure raw materials, apprentices, and buyers of their products. What was principally on offer was sociality and a sense of belonging.

Throughout, I have used the terms “cultic association” for groups that were organized around the cult of a deity and “occupational guild” for associations

organized around a trade or profession. The term “guild” is, of course, anachronistic and should not be taken to imply that Graeco-Egyptian associations of potters or weavers or fullers, for example, were organized as Mediaeval guilds, with systems of apprentices and functioning to monopolize the commercial sectors of particular towns. The main reason for preferring “guild” is to relieve what would otherwise be the constant use of the term “association.” It is a truism, of course, that many, perhaps all, occupational guilds had cultic practices; hence the distinction between cultic associations and occupational guilds should not be pressed to imply a strict distinction between two forms of organization and two forms of sociality.

A note on the *apparatus*: In presenting the Greek text of papyri, it is the practice of DDDP to print the text as it appears on the papyrus and corrections and emendations in the *apparatus*. GRA III reverses this practice by offering the corrected or emended text first, and listing the uncorrected reading in the *Apparatus* (signalled by ‘Pap.’). An apparatus is supplied for the main texts cited; in most cases, supplementary texts in the *Comment* section appear without an apparatus.

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All other entries are by the editor.

DELTA

[154] JIGRE 22

Dedication of a Prayer House

Schedia Menelaïs (7th Lower Egyptian nome)

246–221 BCE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, “Les inscriptions de Schédia,” *BSKG* 10 (1901) 611–617, p. 614 (from the stone); Giuseppe Botti, “Studio sul III Nomo dell’Egitto inferiore,” *BSAA* 4 (1902) 41–84, p. 49; Théodore Reinach, “Sur la date de la colonie juive d’Alexandrie,” *REJ* 45 (1902) 161–164 (after Botti); P.M. Meyer, “Neue Inschriften und Papyri,” *Klio* 2 (1902) 478–479 (no. 7); Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, “Alexandrinische Inschriften,” *SPAW* 49 (1902) 1093–1099, p. 1094; Max L. Strack, “Inschriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit,” *APF* 2 (1903) 537–561, p. 541 (no. 15); Dittenberger, *OGIS* II 726; Johann Oehler, “Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums,” *MGWJ* 53 (1909) 292–302, 443–452, 525–538, p. 451 (no. 227); Breccia, *I.Alex.Mus.* 6 (no. 11, ph. tav. III no. 9); Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (Berlin and Wien: Harz, 1922) 263; Frey, *CIJ* II 1440 (ph.); Emilio Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Sintesi dell’oriente e della Bibbia 3 (Roma: Marietti, 1958) 17 (no. 1); SB V 8922; Lewis, *C.Pap.Jud* III 1440; Lifshitz, *DFSJ* 78 (no. 92); Bernand, *I.Delta* I 414–415 (no. 3; ph. plate 11 no. 5); Horbury and Noy, *JIGRE* 35–37 (no. 22); ASSB 198–199 (no. 158) [TM 6415]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum inv. 31.

Similar or related documents: → *JIGRE* 24 [156] (Xenephyris [Delta], 140–116 BCE); *JIGRE* 25 (Nitriai [Delta], 140–116 BCE); *JIGRE* 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); *JIGRE* 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); *JIGRE* 28 (Athribis, II/I BCE); *JIGRE* 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); *JIGRE* 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); *JIGRE* 105 (Leontopolis, II BCE–II CE).

Rectangular limestone stele, 37 × 29 × 8 cm., broken on the top left. Letter height: 2.5–3.0 cm., discovered in Schedia.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως
Πτολεμαίου καὶ
βασιλίσσης
Βερνίκης ἀδελ-
5 φῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ
τῶν τέκνων
τὴν προσευχὴν
οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

For the well-being of king Ptolemaios and Queen Bernikē his sister (5) and wife and their children, the Judaeans (dedicated) this prayer house.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; ownership of property.

Location: Schedia (7th Lower Egyptian nome), south-east of Alexandria, located on the Canopic branch of the Nile: TM geo ref. 2096; Barrington Atlas 74 C2. Σχεδία (“ferry,” “raft”) → Fraser 1972, 2:79–80; Khalil 2010, 36. According to IGRR I 1055–1056 and CIL 3.12046 Augustus had a new canal dug, called Sebastos, from Schedia to the Alexandria, extending some 200 stadia: IGRR I 1056: Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) August(us) | pontif(ex) maxim(us) flumen Sebaston | ab Schedia induxit a milliario | XXV quod per se toto oppido fluere, || praefecto Aegypti C(aio) Iulio Aquila, ἀπὸ | XXXX Caesaris | Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θε[οῦ] υἱὸς Σεβ[α]στὸς | ἀρχιερεὺς ποταμ[ὸν] Σ]εβασ[τὸν] ἀ]πὸ | Σχεδίας ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ σταδ[ί]ου[ς] διακοσίους, || ῥέοντα δι’ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ ἐπάρχου | τῆς Αἰγύπτου Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἀκύλα, | L μ Καίσαρος

- II. 1–2: ὑπὲρ + gen. *for the well-being of* NN. This is an extremely common formula in dedications → Fassa 2015 and I.Fayum I 73.1 [202]; I 87.1; II 109.1; II 134.1; III 200.1; III 202.1; III 204.1 [200]; I.Th.Sy. 303.1 [246]; OGIS II 729.1 [155]; JIGRE 25.1; JIGRE 117.1 [186]; I.Fayum III. 201.1 [198]. P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] has ὑπὲρ τύχης, “for the good fortune of . . .”
- II. 2–6: Πτολεμαῖου καὶ | βασιλίσσης | Βερνίκης ἀδελ[φ]ῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ | τῶν τέκνων. I.e., Ptolemy III Euergetes Tryphon (r. 246–221 BCE) and Bernikē II. Since the children of this marriage are mentioned – the couple had Ptolemy IV, Magas, Arsinoe III and Berenikē –, the inscription is presumably from after 246 BCE.
- I. 7: προσευχή, “prayer house”: Προσευχή rather than συναγωγή was the preferred term for Judaeac places of assembly, at least in Egypt (→ JIGRE 9 [157], 13 [162], 24 [156], 25, 27 [158], 105, 125 [161]). Philo uses the term extensively (*Flacc.* 41, 45, 47, 48–49 [as places where Judaeans can display piety towards εὐεργέται and the Imperial house], 53, 122; *Legat.* 132, 134, 137, 138, 148, 156, 157, 165, 191, 346, 371) and normally uses συναγωγή simply to mean “assembly” (and at *Somn.* 2.127 to mean a pagan assembly). He, however, employs συναγωγή to refer to Judaeac places of assembly at *Prob.* 81 and *Legat.* 311. Josephus uses προσευχή for houses of assembly in *Vita* 277, 280, 293 and συναγωγή (as a building) in *Bell.* 2.285, 289; 7.44; *Ant.* 19.300, 305 *bis* and Acts 16:13 refers to a Judaeac place of prayer outside the walls of Philippi as a προσευχή.

Προσευχή appears in other contexts. Noy 1993 has urged that C.Pap.Jud II 1539b (I/II CE) refers to a Judaeac prayer house even if there is nothing else to identify it as such: Παποῦς οἰκοδόμησε τὴν | προσευχὴν | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ || καὶ τῆς γυν[αι]κὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων. | L δ, Φαρμουθι | ζ. Προσευχή appears in pagan contexts in IG IV² 1.106.27–29 (Epidaurus; IV BCE): τᾶς ποτευχᾶς καὶ τοῦ βωμο[ῦ] | ἐλομένωι δραχμᾶς, in IosPE I² 176 (Olbia, II/III CE) (?):[ἀγαθ]ῇ τύχῃ(?). οἱ | περὶ Σ[άτυρον] Ἀρτεμιδώ[?]ρου τὸ β, Πουρθαί[ος τοῦ δεῖνος], | Ἀχιλλεὺς Δημητ[ρίου], || Διονυσιό-δωρος Ἐρ[ωτος], | Ζώβεις Ζώβει ἄρχ[οντες] | τὴν προσευχὴν ἐ[πε]σκέυασαν τῇ ἐαυ[τῶν] | προνοίᾳ στεγᾶσα[ντες] || ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι [–], and in *JÖAI* 28 (1933) 61, no. 8 (Beibl.) = IJO II 149 (Amastris): θεῷ | ἀνεκλήτῳ | Ἀσβαμεὶ κα[ὶ] | τῇ κυρία προσ[ε]υχῇ εὐξά[μενος καὶ] | ἐπιτυχὼν | ἀνέθηκα Αὐ[τῷ] ῥήλιος Πρω[τ]όκκτητος, | εὐχαριστή[ρι]ο[ν], “to the unconquered god Asbameus and the lordly *proseuchē*, I, Aurelius Protoktetos dedicate this as an expression of thanks, having made a vow and having been successful.” Robert (1969, 3:1610) argues that “la dédicace est faite, comme si souvent, à la communauté (τῇ συνόδῳ, τοῖς μυσταῖς, τῇ συναγωγῇ) en

même temps qu’au dieu; et l’association reçoit l’épithète κυρία” (followed by Ameling in IJO II; against this, Levinskaya 1990). In Bosphoran inscriptions the deity acknowledged is often Theos Hypsistos: IBosp 64.18–21 (Pantikapaion, 306 CE): ἐκ θεμελίου οἰκοδομήσας τὴν προσευχὴν, a *proseuchē* dedicated to Theos Hypsistos; IBosp 1123 (Gorgippia, 41 CE): Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ παντοκράτορι εὐλογητῷ . . . ἀνέθηκεν |τ[ῆι] προσευχῇ κατ’ εὐχ|ὴν θεπτὴν ἑαυτοῦ; → IBosp 1128. For the Bosphoran inscriptions → Ustinova (1999, 235–236) who argues that there is no evidence to posit Judaeoan influence on the cult of Theos Hypsistos or for the term προσευχή, although there are Judaeoan synagogues in the area. See IBosp 70.6–7 [95] (Pantikapaion, 81 CE); IJO I BS18 (Phanagoria, 53 CE → [95]) and the other *proseuchē* inscriptions cited in GRA II 95. See also Hengel 1971; Trebilco 1991, 242 n. 42; Noy 1993.

Comments

This is the earliest *proseuchē* dedication from Ptolemaic Egypt. According to Strabo (17.1.6) Schedia is four *schoenoi* (29.5 km.) from Alexandria on one of the canals leading to Alexandria. He reports that a “bridge of boats” was deployed across the river (hence the name Σχεδία, “bridge”), presumably to restrict the movement of boats. It had a guard post for the collection of tolls on goods transported up and down the Nile. According to 3 Macc 4:11 Schedia was the scene of a planned massacre of Judaeoan immigrants by Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 BCE) in the hippodrome sometime after the Battle of Raphia (217 BCE).

Schedia is the location of several other dedications: OGIS II 738 = I.Delta I 415 (no. 4; 116–88 BCE, time of Kleopatra II and Ptolemy IX):

- [ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας]
[καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου]
θεῶν Φιλομητόρων Σωτή-
ρων, οἱ ἀποτεταγμένοι
5 ἐπὶ Σχεδία^α στρατιῶται, ὧν
ἡγεμὼν καὶ χιλιάρχος Σωσίπατρος,
τὸ Κλεοπάτρειον.

For (the well-being) of Queen Kleopatra and King Ptolemaios, the mother-loving saviour gods, the soldiers stationed at Schedia, whose chief and commander is Sosipater (dedicated) this Kleopatreion.

Josephus (*C.Ap.* 2.64), detailing the privileges bestowed upon Judaeans by the Emperors, states that although “the administration of the wheat supply has, indeed been withdrawn from them, as from the rest of the Alexandrians; but the most signal mark of the confidence placed in them by the former kings – I mean the charge of the river and of the entire province (*id est fluminis custodiam totiusque custodiae*) – has been preserved to them by the emperors.” Tcherikover (1957, 1:53) argued that Josephus likely had in mind Judaeans who were river guards in charge of the administration of river taxes. Tcherikover notes the mention of ποτομοφυλακία in several ostraca (all from the imperial period), but

no ποταμοφύλακες are named in papyri of the Ptolemaic period (e.g., P.Köln XII 482 *verso*, 112 BCE). If Judaeans in Schedia – perhaps the descendents of mercenaries who had been settled in Egypt either by Alexander (Josephus, *Bell.* 2.487–488) or Ptolemy I Soter (*Ant.* 12.8) – had assumed the role of river police, the dedication of their *proseuchē* to the Ptolemies would represent appropriate thanks for the role of trust to which they had been assigned. Kasher (1985, 110) conjectures that the full designation of these Judaeans would have been οἱ ἐν Σχεδίᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι making the Judaeans there analogous to the permanent residents (metics) of other Ptolemaic cities (e.g., οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι → JIGRE 27 [158]). This would likewise suggest that the Judaeans constituted an organized as a legal body, able to pass decrees (such as this one), and able to build a prayer house on land they were granted. This might also imply that the Judaeans of Schedia had the status of a *politeuma*. Judaeans in Alexandria, Herakleopolis, Naukratis and Ptolemaïs Hermiou had this status (Kruse 2015). Czajkowski points out that it now seems likely that the *politeumata* during the Ptolemaic period had military origins (Czajkowski 2019, 83) and hence it is at least possible that a group of Judaeans mercenaries who had become river police also had that status. But then it is odd that the Schedian group did not expressly claim that status, with the formula τὸ πολιτεύμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν Σχεδίᾳ (compare I.Alex.imp. 74.–5 [171]): τοῦ πολιτεύματος τῶν Φρυγῶν).

This inscription, along with I.Varsovie 44 (unknown provenance, before 241 BCE; TM 44043; CAPInv 606) is one of the oldest association inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period, also a dedication to Ptolemy III Euergetes Tryphon and Bernikē II (Łajtar and Twardecki 2003, 123–126). Like JIGRE 22, I.Varsovie 44 is from a military association (the *synbasiliastai*):

[β]ασ[ιλ]εῖ [Π]τολεμαίῳ καὶ
 βασιλίσσῃ Βερνίκῃ καὶ Διοσ-
 κούροις εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κα-
 τὰ μῆνα γινομένας τὴν πρόσ-
 5 οδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων
 Θεώροσ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ Σ[υ]νβασι-
 λισταὶ καὶ Διοσκούριασταὶ
 οἱ ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τῷ νομῷ

(Dedicated) to King Ptolemaios and queen Bernikē and the Dioskouroi. Theoros the priest and the Synbasiliastai and Dioskouriaiastai who live in the nome (dedicated) (5) the income that derives from the (rent on the) buildings for the monthly offerings.

This inscription is evidently from an association of “royalists dedicated to the Dioskouroi” who sacrificed for the well-being of the Ptolemaic family. The term *Synbasiliastai* appears only here, but the *Basiliastai* are attested in I.Th.Sy. 303.6 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE). Dioskouriaiastai (τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Διοσκούριαστῶν) are attested on Rhodes (ILindos II 285) and in Rhodian Peraia (IK Rhodian Peraia 115, 556).

Literature: **Czajkowski**, Kimberley. 2019. "Jewish Associations in Alexandria?" In *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 191, 76–96. Leiden: Brill; **Fassa**, Eleni. 2015. "Sarapis, Isis, and the Ptolemies in Private Dedications: The Hyper-Style and the Double Dedications." In *Kernos* 28:133–53; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon (1:26, 149; 2:79–80, 141, 441); **Hengel**, Martin 1971. "Proseuche und Synagoge: Jüdische Gemeinde, Gotteshaus und Gottesdienst in der Diaspora und in Palästina." In *Tradition und Glaube: das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn*, ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann, 157–184. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; **Horbury**, William, and David **Noy**, eds. 1992. *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt, with an Index of Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Kasher**, Aryeh 1985. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck (pp. 107–110); **Khalil**, Emad 2010. "The Sea, the River and the Lake: All the Waterways Lead to Alexandria." In *Bollettino di Archeologia on Line*, volume speciale B / B7 / 5:33–48; **Kruse**, Thomas 2015. "Ethnic Koina and *Politeumata* in Ptolemaic Egypt." In *Private Associations and the Public Sphere: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen and Christian A. Thomsen. Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistic, 8/9. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 270–300; **Lajtar**, Adam, and Alfred **Twarddecki** 2003. *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 2. Warsaw: Warsaw University Institute of Archaeology; **Levinskaya**, Irina A. 1990. "A Jewish or Gentile Prayer House? The Meaning of PROSEUXH." In *TynBul* 41:154–159; **Noy**, David 1993. "A Jewish Place of Prayer in Roman Egypt." In *JTS* 43(1): 118–122; **Robert**, Louis 1969. *Opera minora selecta: Epigraphie et antiquités grecques*. 7 vols. Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert; **Tcherikover**, Victor, A. **Fuks**, and Menachem **Stern**, eds. 1957–1964. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; **Trebilco**, Paul R. 1991. *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*. SNTSMS 69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Ustinova**, Yulia 1999. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 135. Leiden: Brill; **Wilamowitz-Moellendorff**, Ulrich von 1902. "Alexandrinische Inschriften, *SPAW* 49:1093–1099, esp. 1095.

[155] OGIS II 729

Dedication by the Elders of the Millers

Alexandria

221–205 BCE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourès, 1900) 553 (no. 142); Giuseppe Botti, "Bulletin épigraphique," *BSAA* 4 (1902) 85–107, p. 94; Max L. Strack, "Die Müllerinnung in Alexandrien." *ZNW* 4 (1903) 213–234; Max L. Strack, "Inschriften aus der ptolemäischer Zeit," *APF* 2 (1903) 537–561, p. 544 (no. 22); Dittenberger, OGIS II 729; SB V 8924; Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. no. 23; SEG 18:638; Jean Claude Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, EPRO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 23–24; Bernard, I.Alex.Ptol., no. 24 [TM 43668; CAPInv 1572]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, Room 16, inv. 40.

White marble plaque 20 × 27 cm., discovered in Alexandria in 1901.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης,
θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων, Ἀνούβει
οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ὀλυροκό-
5 πων ἱερεὺς Ἀμεννεὺς.

Παχώς
Παψώβθης
Πετοσίρις

Παᾶπις
Παθβοῦς
Πεσιέχων

For the well-being of King Ptolemaios and Queen Arsinoe, the Philopator gods; dedicated to Anubis by the elders of the millers (and) Amenneus the priest.

Pachos
Papsobthes
Petosiris

Paapis
Pathbous
Pesiechon

Notes

Association? Probable: leadership terms: οἱ πρεσβύτεροι; artisans in the plural: ὀλυροκόποι.

Location: Alexandria. TM geo ref. 100; Barrington Atlas 73 B2.

I. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου. → JIGRE 22.1 [154] note.

I. 4: οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. → Strack 1903, 230–231. For other elders serving as representatives of a guild, → I.Alex.imp. 92.2 [182] (Alexandria, I CE); I.Fayum II 122.1–2 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); P.Fouad 18 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 54 CE), οἱ ἐξ πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεοργῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξύρυγχων; P.Fouad 19 (Oxyrhyncha,

Arsinoites, 53 CE): οἱ πέντε πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν Ἀρεῶς; P.Hamb. I 34.6 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE): 6 elders of a guild of sheep and donkey rearers; P.Mich. V 313.8, 21 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν; P.Phil. 1.49 (Arsinoites, 119 CE): πρώτως ἐξ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτερος; PSI VIII 901.10 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): Oath of πρεσβύτεροι ἀλιέων; P.Stras. V 341.7 [224] (Soknopaiou Nesos?, 85 CE); PSI VIII 901.10, 20 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); SB I (1913–1915) 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE).

Comments

This list does not represent the entire association of millers but rather only the “elders” and the priest responsible to the city. As the term suggests, these “elders” were probably senior members of the millers, perhaps older than the others, and with more experience. As the names indicate, all members were likely Egyptian rather than Macedonian.

Literature: **Arnaoutoglou**, Ilias 2016. “Were There Craftsmen Associations in the Hellenistic World?” Paper presented at the Colloquium Status personnels et main-d’œuvre en Méditerranée hellénistique, 17–18 mars, 2016. Clermont-Ferrand; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon (2:413); **Gibbs**, Matthew 2014. “The Trade Associations of Ptolemaic Egypt & Their Relationship to the State.” In *Private Associations and the Public Sphere: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*, ed. V. Gabrielsen and C.A. Thomsen. Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistic, 8/9, 241–269. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters (esp. 251–252); **Grenier**, Jean Claude 1977. *Anubis alexandrin et romain*. EPRO 57. Leiden: Brill (23–24); **Strack**, Max L. 1903. “Die Müllerinnung in Alexandrien.” In *ZNW* 4:213–234; **Tomsin**, A. 1952. “Étude sur les πρεσβύτεροι des villages de la χώρα égyptienne.” In *Bulletin de la classe des lettres de l’académie royale de Belgique* 38:95–130, 467–532.

[156] JIGRE 24

Dedication of the Gateway of a Prayer House

Xenephyris (Gynaikopolites, 3rd Lower Egyptian nome) 140–116 BCE

Published: Evaristo Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du service du musée d’Alexandrie en 1912* (Alexandria: Société des publications égyptiennes, 1913) 36–37 (no. 88 + facs.); Théodore Reinach, “Les Juifs de Xénéphyris,” *REJ* 65 (1913) 135–137; SB I 5862; F. Bleckmann, “Berichte über griechische und lateinische Epigraphik für 1913–14,” *ZDPV* 38 (1915) 229–239, p. 232; Leo Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens in ptolemäischer und römischer Zeit* (Wien: Rath, 1924) 14; Frey, *CIJ* II 1441 (ph.); Lewis, *C.Pap.Jud* III 1441; Lifshitz, *DFSJ* 78–79 (no. 93); Bernand, *I.Delta* III 928–931 (no. 2; pl. 50 no. 2); Horbury and Noy, *JIGRE* 40–42 (no. 24) (following Bernand); Runesson 2007, 199 (no. 159) [**TM** 7216].

Translation: AGRW 288

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 19398.

Similar or related documents: → JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia Menelaïs, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 25 (Nitriai [Delta], 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 28 (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); JIGRE 105 (Leontopolis, II BCE–II CE).

Limestone stele, 20 × 26 × 8 cm., with letters inscribed and painted black, bought in Abu el-Matamir. Breccia (1913, 36) concludes that it must have been found nearby, in the ruins of Kom el-Akhdar.

- ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς
ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλε-
οπάτρας τῆς γυναικός, οἱ ἀπὸ
5 Χενεφύρεος Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν
πυλῶνα τῆς προσευχῆς
προστάντων Θεοδώρου
καὶ Ἀχιλλίωνος.

For (the well-being) of King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra the sister, and Queen Kleopatra the wife, the Judaeans of (5) Xenephyris (dedicated) the gateway of the prayer-house (*proseuchē*), Theodōros and Achilliōn being the presidents.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; leadership terms: προστάται; ownership of property.

Location: Xenephyris (Gynaikopolites, 3rd Lower Egyptian nome), s.w. of Hermopolis. TM geo ref. 31; Barrington Atlas 74 C2.

I. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου → JIGRE 22.1 [154] note.

II. 1–4: Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς | ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικός. Probably Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon (or Physcon), who became ruler with Kleopatra II in 145 BCE and married his stepdaughter Kleopatra III in 140/39 BCE, after which time Kleopatra II was known as the sister, and Kleopatra III as the wife. Ptolemy died in 116 BCE. The same dedication formula is found e.g., in I.Fayum II 107 (137 BCE); I.Fayum II 108 (137–116 BCE); I.Fayum III 151 (118 BCE), Bernand, *Pan du désert* 70 (124–116 BCE); I.Philae I 18 (127–116 BCE); I.Philae 64 (125–116 BCE) in each of these cases adding θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν.

I. 6: πυλῶνα, “gateway” → the discussion of architectural elements in Bernand 1970, 930.

I. 6: προσευχή, “prayer house” → JIGRE 22.7 [154] note.

II. 7–8: προστάντων Θεοδώρου | καὶ Ἀχιλλίωνος, “Theodōros and Achillion, being presidents”: The participial form probably indicates that Theodōros and Achillion were

προστάται, “presidents” of the prayer house. The title προστάτης is very widely attested meaning “president”: in Attica: IG II² 1369.34 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1368.13 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE) and frequently in connection with functionaries associated with the education of ephebes → IG II² 1368.13 [51] *note*; in Megara: IG VII 106.13 (Megaris, early II CE); in Macedonia: SEG 46:800.14 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); SEG 51:787.4 (Amphipolis, 4/5 CE); in Thrace: IByzantion 37.7 [91] (Rhegion, 117–137 CE); ISabazios II 6.6 (Serdica, ca. 200 CE → [96]); in Scythia Minor: IScM I 100.5 (Istros-Histria, 222–235 CE); IScM I 207.3 (Istros-Histria, 140–160 CE); IScM II 27 (Tomis, III CE); IScM II 98.7 (Tomis, II/III CE); in Asia: BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); ICiliciaDF 46.6–7 (I–II CE → [153]); AM 30 (1905) 325,2 (Lycaonian n.d.). In the Peloponnese and the Isthmus, probably under Roman influence, it sometimes means “patron”: IG IV 602.17 (Argeia, 116–117 CE); ICorinth III 265.5 (Corinth, mid II CE). The title is especially common in Egypt, although this is the only place where it is attested in connection with a Judean prayer house.

In Egypt the noun (προστάτης) is frequently attested in connection with cultic associations and occupational guilds: I.Alex.imp. 91.5 [174] (Alexandria, 4/5 CE): ἀρχιπροστάτης; BGU IV 1137.4 [168] (Alexandria, 19 Nov 6 BCE): a Synodos of Imperial Slaves; BGU VIII 1741.5, 11 [250] (Herakleopolites, 63 BCE): sailors; BGU VIII 1742.7 (Herakleopolites, 64/63 BCE): sailors; I.Prose I 49.5, 17 [170]: Synodos of farmers; I.Fayum I 7.11 (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 101 BCE): grain measurers; I.Fayum I 17.2 (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, II/I BCE): *synodos* of the “first friends”; I.Fayum I 77 (Soknopaiou Nesos, I BCE/I CE): a cult association of Soknopaiou Theos; I.Fayum II 119.4 (Theadelphia, II/I BCE): a *synodos* of *neaniskoi*; I.Fayum II 121.15–16 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE): a cult association dedicated to great goddess; I.Fayum III 212.7–8 [204] (Arsinoites, 3 CE): a guild of fine-bread bakers and cake bakers; P.Lips. II 131.2 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE): a *synodos* of priests; P.Mich. V 322a.5 (Tebtynis, 46 CE): a *synodos* of priests; SB XX 15460.6 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE): association of the imperial cult; SEG 20:499.7–8 = I.Alex.Ptol. 32 (Alexandria, 112/1 or 76/5 BCE): cult association of the saviour gods; SEG 24:1233.3 (Mareotis?, 8 BCE or 36 CE); SEG 39:1710.5 (Alexandria Mus., 60/59 BCE): civic association. An association of women, I.Alex.imp. 70.4 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE), mentioned their προσ[τ]άτις.

Formulations using a participle are also common: the aorist participle προστατήσας is used to denote a “former president”: I.Alex.imp. 46.2–3 [176] (Alexandria, 20–21 CE); I.Alex.imp. 93.1 [172] (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 94.1–2 [173] (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 96.2–3 [166] (Alexandria, 30 BCE – 14 CE); IGRR I 1051.2–3 (Alexandria, Kanopos, 20/21 CE); IGRR I 1095.2 [163] (Kanopos, 29/8 BCE); IGRR I 1114.1 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); SB I 639.2 [164] (Alexandria, 25 BCE); SEG 42:1548.2–3 (?) [181] (Alexandria, I CE). I.Alex.imp. 92.2? [182] (Alexandria, I CE) offers a puzzle, since it is not clear whether the monogram ϩ̅ should be resolved as πρ(οστατήσας) or πρ(οστάτης) or πρ(εσβυτέρως).

The present participle appears less frequently: in addition to JIGRE 24.7, I.Alex.imp. 90.1 [167] (Alexandria, 10/9 BCE); I.Fayum I 16.4 (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, II BCE): ἀ[ρ]χιπρ[ο]στατοῦντος; I.Fayum III 201.7 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 CE); SEG 41:1669.4 (Alexandria, 18 BCE).

Although προστατ- appears only here in connection with a Judean prayer house, the noun occurs in Thessaly on a column decorated with a menorah (SEG 39:537 [Larissa; I CE]: Ἀλεξάνδρου | σχολαστικοῦ | καὶ προστάτου) and in several Italian

inscriptions: JIWE I 30 (Neapolis [Campania]; V CE): ἐνθάδε κῆτε | Βενιαμὴν | ὁ προστάτης | ὁ Κεσαρεὺς; JIWE II 373 (Rome, Vigna Randanini; III–IV CE): ἐνθάδε κῆτε | Γαῖς προστάτης | ὁσος; JIWE II 170 (Rome, Monteverde; III–IV): ἐνθάδε κῆτε | Καίλις προστάτης Ἀγριππησίων. The noun appears on the famous Aphrodisias Ἰαηλ προστάτης inscription (SEG 36:970), originally dated before 212 CE, but now more likely belonging to the IV CE → Ameling, IJO II 14 (pp. 78–82) or even V/VI CE → Chaniotis 2002.

Comments

The appearance of προστάντων (→ l. 7 *note*) suggests that this group of Judaeans was organized in much the same way as other cultic associations and occupational guilds of the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods, which typically elected a president for a one- or two-year term (→ IGRR I 1095 [163]; SB I 639 [164]; IGRR I 1106 [165]; index, *s.v.* offices]. Nevertheless, it is difficult to use this inscription to infer much about the organization of other *proseuchai* in Egypt, since this is the only Judaeon association in Egypt to have προστάται.

Literature: Bernand, André 1970. *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. I. Les confins libyques*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 91. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; Breccia, Evaristo 1913. *Rapport sur la marche du service du musée d'Alexandrie en 1912*. Alexandria: Société des publications Égyptiennes; Chaniotis, Angelos 2002, "The Jews of Aphrodisias: New Evidence and Old Problems." In *Scripta Classica Israelica* 21: 209–242; Kasher, Aryeh 1985. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

[157] JIGRE 9

Dedication of a Prayer House

Alexandria, Hadra

II BCE

Published: Evaristo Breccia, "Cronaca del Museo e degli scavi e ritrovamenti," *BSAA* 9 (1907) 97–114, 100–101 (no. 5) (facs.); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 74 (no. 116); SB I 589; Frey, CIJ II 360–361 (no. 1433 ph.); Lewis, C.Pap.Jud III 139–140 (no. 1433 from a photograph); Lifshitz, DFSJ 87 (no. 87); Horbury and Noy, JIGRE 13–15 (no. 9); Bernand, I.Alex.Ptol. 161–164 (no. 62, ph.) [TM 6533]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 17481, catalogue, 116.

Similar or related documents: → JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia Menelaïs, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24 [156] (Xenephyris [Delta], 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 25 (Nitriai [Delta], 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 28 (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); JIGRE 105 (Leontopolis, II BCE–II CE).

A plaque of grey marble, complete on the right and at the bottom, $15 \times 21 \times 4$ cm., found in rubbish. Breccia (1907) dates the inscription not later than the second century BCE; Frey: Ptolemaic period; Lewis: “probably” second century; Bernand 2001: “L’écriture n’exclut pas que le text soit antérieur au second siècle av J.-C.”

- 1 [---- θε]ϕ ὑψίστῳ
 [---- τ]ὸν ἱερὸν
 [περίβολον καὶ] τὴν προσ-
 [ευχὴν καὶ τὰ συγ]κύροντα.
 5 [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] *vacat*

. . . to the most high god [. . .], the Judaeans dedicated the sacred enclosure and the prayer-house (*proseuchē*) and its appurtenances.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; ownership of property.

Location: Alexandria. TM geo ref. 100; Barrington Atlas 74 B2. El-Hadra is in the eastern part of Alexandria.

II. 00–00: Frey restores the first two lines as ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης . . .] on the analogy of other *proseuchē* dedications. So Fraser (1972, 2:441) and Bernand (2001, 162), who note that since the line length (judging from l. 4) is about 20 letters, a royal title would take fully two to two and one half lines. Compare JIGRE 24 [156].

I. 1: θε]ϕ ὑψίστῳ: → JIGRE 105.

I. 2: [ἐπηκόῳ τ]ὸν ἱερὸν: Breccia, Frey; [---- τ]ὸν ἱερὸν: Lewis; Horbury and Noy; Bernand; [ἐπηκόῳ? οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι? τὸν ἱερὸν: Fraser 1972, 2:441. JIGRE 13 [162] adds the epithet ἐπηκόος: [ὑπὲρ] βασ[ιλίσ][ση]ς καὶ β[ασι][λλ]έως θεῶι [με] γάλῳι ἐ[πηκό]ῳ Ἄλυσ[ος τὴν] || προσε[υχὴν]. . . but since the cutter’s letters are regular and quite evenly spaced, ἐπηκόῳ, is not long enough for the approximately 12 letters that must be in the lacuna; nor is Fraser’s suggestion of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι long enough.

I. 3: [περίβολον καὶ]: Breccia; Frey; Lewis; Horbury and Noy. [----]: Bernand: “on ne connaît apparemment pas d’autre exemple de péribole d’une synagogue.” Kasher (1985, 111 n.10, 115), however, points out that the *proseuchē* of JIGRE 24.6 [156] has a gateway (πυλῶν) and JIGRE 28.6–7 = CIJ II 1444 (Athribis, 181–145 BCE) includes the dedication of τὴνδε ἐξέδραν | τῇ προσευχῇ, which might refer to a porch, vestibule or even a free-standing building. Breccia’s reconstruction is the right length for the lacuna.

II. 3–4: προσευχή, “prayer house” → JIGRE 22.7 [154] *note*.

I. 4: [ευχὴν καὶ τὰ συγ]κύροντα. → JIGRE 25.4–6: οἱ ἐν Νιτρίας || Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προσευχὴν | καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα.

I. 5: [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] *vacat*. Lewis notes only the *vacat*; Breccia, Horbury and Noy, and Bernand print nothing for l. 5. The photograph (of the squeeze), however, clearly shows an *iota* at the end of the lacuna. Accordingly, one might suggest [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι]. Compare JIGRE 22.8 [154].

Comments

It seems likely that the first two lines began with the formula ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης, although the wording of the titulature cannot be reconstructed and hence, the dating remains in question.

The name θεὸς ὕψιστος is attested in six Egyptian inscriptions and papyri of the 220 occurrences of the term in Mediterranean antiquity (excluding the fourth century Christian letters that use this term) (Mitchell 1999; 2010). Of these six Egyptian occurrences, four are dedications of *proseuchai*: JIGRE 9, 27 [157, 158], 105, and CIJ II 1532; a further instance of the adjective ὕψιστος is found with Zeus (P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] and in the final instance θεὸς ὕψιστος appears in a funerary inscription invoking Theos Hypsistos, Helios and Nemesis to avenge the untimely death of the deceased (SB I 1323, Alexandria II CE). In Cyrene Isis calls herself ὕψιστη θεός (SEG 9:192, 103 = RICIS II 701/0103).

Mitchell (1999; 2010) has argued that ὕψιστος is not simply an epithet variously attached to any number of deities but is restricted with only a few exceptions to Zeus and Theos. While figured reliefs and other aspects of the cult Zeus are associated with Zeus Hypsistos, Mitchell points out that the cult of Theos Hypsistos was “rigorously aniconic” (at most representing the cult visually with eagles) never naming the “anonymous” deity who stood behind θεός; “the epigraphic evidence presents Theos “Hypsistos as a single supreme divinity who was not represented in human form. His essence was associated with light, fire, and the sun. Cult involved prayers, but no animal sacrifice. Worship was characterized by the humility of mortals in the face of divine supremacy” (2010, 187).

On Mitchell’s view, for the Judaeans in Egypt responsible for JIGRE 9 [157], 27 [158], 105, and CIJ II 1532 and for various inscriptions in the Bosphorus region, Asia, and Delos, the choice to erect dedications to θεὸς ὕψιστος did not imply belonging to “a unified cult of a hybrid pagan-Jewish character” but allowed Judaeans to employ the idea of a supreme deity whose cult was widespread and lacked many of the features that Judaeans would have found problematic, and to create a local iteration of the Hypsistos cult (Mitchell 2010, 188–189).

There has been considerable opposition to Mitchell’s view, in particular his earlier theses that the worshipers of Theos Hypsistos were known as *theosebeis* (Mitchell 1998) and that the Hypsistos cult was heavily influenced by Judaism (Mitchell 1999, 127). Ustinova (1999), Bowersock (2002) and Belayche (2005a, b) treat θεὸς ὕψιστος as an epithet variously applied to a number of deities, including Zeus, Men, Isis and Astarte and other deities without thereby constituting a unified cult. Bowersock 2002 points out the many of the θεὸς ὕψιστος inscriptions are clearly pagan and that even in the Bosphorus region the expression ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον (IBosp 1281, 1283, 1285, 1286) is not necessarily evidence of Jewish influence.

Mitchell's 2010 article modifies his earlier view, rejecting the idea of a unified Hypsistos cult, and emphasizing a kind of ecumenical character of the worship of Hypsistos reflecting of a "permissive religious mentality" (2010, 189).

Literature: Athanassiadi, Polymnia, and Michael Frede, eds. 1999. *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*. Oxford and New York: Clarendon; **Belayche**, Nicole 2005a. "Hypsistos. Une voie de l'exaltation des dieux dans le polythéisme gréco-romain." In *ARG* 7:34–55; **Belayche**, Nicole, ed. 2005b. "De la polysémie des épicleses: Hypsistos dans le monde gréco-romain." In *Nommer les dieux: théonymes, épithètes, épicleses dans l'Antiquité*, ed. Nicole Belayche. Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses 5, 427–442 Turnhout: Brepols; Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes; **Bernand**, Étienne 2001. *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque*. Bibliothèque d'étude 133. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire; **Bowersock**, Glen W. 2002. "The Highest God with Particular Reference to North-Pontus." In *Hyperboreus* 8:353–362; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon; **Kasher**, Aryeh 1985. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; **Mitchell**, Stephen 1998. "Wer waren die Gottesfürchtigen?" *Chiron* 28:55–64; **Mitchell**, Stephen 1999. "The Cult of Theos Hypsistos Between Pagans, Jews, and Christians." In *Pagan Monotheism in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. Polymnia Athanassiadi and Michael Frede. Oxford: Clarendon; New York: New York University; **Mitchell**, Stephen 2010. "Further Thoughts on the Cult of Theos Hypsistos." In *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen, 167–208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Nock**, Arthur Darby 1924. "The Historical Importance of Cult-Associations." In *CR* 38:105–108; **Trümper**, Monika 2004. "The Oldest Original Synagogue Building in the Diaspora The Delos Synagogue Reconsidered." In *Hesperia* 73:513–598; **Ustinova**, Yulia 1991. "The *Thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos in Tanais." In *HR* 31:150–180; **Ustinova**, Yulia 1999. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 135. Leiden: Brill.

[158] JIGRE 27

Dedication of a Prayer House

Athribis (Atribitis, 10th Lower Egyptian nome)

II/I BCE

Published: E.E. Roupas, "Γεωγραφικαὶ Σημειώσεις," *Homeros* (Smyrna 1876) 365–366 (plus erratum, p. 407); Salomon Reinach, "La communauté juive d'Athribis," *REJ* 17 (1888) 235–238 (from a copy of Roupas); Max L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1897) 274 (no. 167); Salomon Reinach, "La communauté juive d'Athribis dans la Basse-Égypte," *BCH* 13 (1889) 178–182, pp. 178–180; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Alexandrinische Inschriften, *SPAW* 49 (1902)

1093–1099, p. 1094 n. 2; OGIS I 96; Frey, *CIJ* II 370–371 (no. 1443); SB V 8872; Emilio Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Sintesi dell’oriente e della Bibbia 3 (Roma: Marietti, 1958) 24–25 (no. 6); Lewis, *C.Pap.Jud* III 1443; Lifshitz, *DFSJ* 79 (no. 95); Horbury and Noy, *JIGRE* 45–47 (no. 27, following Reinach); Horsley, *NewDocs* 4:201 (no. 110.2); *ASSB* 193–194 (no. 151) [**TM** 6392].

Current Location: location unknown; seen in the antiquities trade in 1876.

Similar or related documents: → *JIGRE* 22 [**154**] (Schedia Menelaïs, 245–222 BCE); *JIGRE* 24 [**156**] (Xenephyris [Delta], 140–116 BCE); *JIGRE* 25 (Nitriai [Delta], 140–116 BCE); *JIGRE* 9 [**157**] (Alexandria, II BCE); *JIGRE* 28 (Atribis, II/I BCE); *JIGRE* 125 [**161**] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); *JIGRE* 13 [**162**] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); *JIGRE* 105 (Leontopolis, II BCE–II CE).

Dimensions unavailable. Reinach (1888) reports that this was one of three inscriptions on marble plaques, discovered at Benha in 1876 and purchased by a certain Theodōros Kovatchevitch, who in turn sold them to an unknown Englishman. A copy of the inscription was made by Theodōros I. Stavrinides.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
καὶ βασίλισσης Κλεοπάτρας
Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου
ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν
5 καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι
τὴν προσευχὴν
θεῷ ὑψίστῳ.

For (the well-being) of King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra; Ptolemaios son of Epikydes, the superintendent of police (5) and the Judaeans who are in Atribis (dedicated) this prayer house (*proseuchē*) to the most high god.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; ownership of property.

Location: Atribis (Atribitis, 10th Lower Egyptian nome), at the southern tip of the Delta, slightly north of Leontopolis. **TM** geo ref. 369; Barrington Atlas 74 E4.

l. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου → *JIGRE* 22.1 [**154**] *note*.

l. 1: The naming of Ptolemaios before Kleopatra probably excludes dates when a Kleopatra acted as regent. This leaves several possibilities: Ptolemy V Epiphanes – Kleopatra I (194–180 BCE); Ptolemy VI Philomētor (175–170 BCE); Ptolemy VIII Euergetēs II (145–140 BCE); Ptolemy X Alexander I (101–88 BCE); Ptolemy XI Alexander II (80 BCE) and Ptolemy XII Auletēs (79–68 BCE). Reinach (1888, 237) thinks that the inscription comes from the time of Ptolemy V, VI or VIII; Kasher (1985, 116) suggests Philomētor because of his friendship towards Judaeans.

l. 3: Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου. Horbury and Noy (1992, 47) argue that Ptolemaios may be Judaeans, since Ptolemaios “was a common name among Egyptian Jews,” appearing nine times in *C.Pap.Jud* (including this instance). The name, however, is extremely common in papyri, appearing over 3700 times, the overwhelming majority of which

are not Judaeen. Tcherikover (1957, 17), followed by Kashner (1985, 118), argues that Ptolemaios was a Judaeen in spite of his Greek name: “Why should a non-Jew associate himself with the Jewish community in order to join in the dedication of a synagogue?” Tcherikover admits, however, that there is only one instance of a Judaeen engaged in local administration (C.Pap.Jud I 137, a γραμματεὺς [not a κωμο-γραμματεὺς!]) and a few functioning as *τραπιζίται* (C.Pap.Jud I 65, 97) or managers of the chaff-levy (*ἄχρον*; C.Pap.Jud I 99–103, 105). Epikydēs is attested in papyri of the Ptolemaic period only four times: P.Cair.Zen. I 59036 (257 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. I 59037.9 (258 BCE), in both cases the name of a senior official connected to Apollōnios the finance minister; P.Hib. II 198.145, 148, 154 (142 BCE); in SB V 7569 (Tholthis [Oxyrhynchites], 213 BCE) Epikydēs is identified as an ἐπιστάτης. The name appears in inscriptions outside of Egypt about forty times, none of them Judaeen.

1. 4: ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν, “the superintendent of police” → OGIS I 139.22–26 = IPhilae 19 (Philae, 124–116 BCE) mentions the “police commanders” along with several other senior officials: οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες εἰς τὰς Φίλας στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπιστάται | αἱ θηβάρχαι καὶ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ ἐπιστάται φυλᾶκῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματικοὶ πάντες καὶ αἱ ἀκολουθοῦσαι δυνάμεις καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ ὑπηρεσία, “those soldiers and *epistatai* who visit Philae and the Thebarchs and the royal scribes and the *epistatai phylakitōn* and all the other officials and the escorts who accompany them and the rest of the retinue. . . .” An ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν is mentioned frequently in papyri: BGU VI 1244.1 (Herakleopolites, 225 BCE); BGU VI 1252.33 (Arsinoites, II BCE); BGU VIII 1854.20–21 (Herakleopolites, 74–73 or 45–44 BCE); CPR XV 15.11–12 (Soknopaiou Nesos; 7–4 BCE); P.Heid. IX 425.2 (Herakleopolites, 158 BCE); P.Tebt. I 43.6 (Menches archive; Tebtynis, 117 BCE), etc. P.Tebt. I 43 is especially enlightening since there the ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν, the superintendent of police for the entire Arsinoite nome, came to the village of Tebtynis and “in accordance with custom (κατὰ τὸ καθ[ῆκ]ον)” was met by the *komarchēs*, some of the elders of the farmers, and a certain Dionysios who was functioning as *epistatēs* and *archipylakitēs* of Tebtynis (ll. 6–10). Here it is clear that the ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν is superior to the village police chief (ἀρχιφυλακίτης). Similarly, P.Tebt. III/2 857.10–12 (Herakleopolites, 162 BCE), which associates the ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν with royal scribe and the *epimelēitēs* of the nome, and distinguishes him from the village police chief (ἀρχιφυλακίτης).
1. 6: προσευχή, “prayer house” → JIGRE 22.7 [154] *note*.
1. 7: θεῶ ὑψίστῳ → JIGRE 9 [157] *comment*.

Comments

This inscription was purchased and published along with a very similar one now listed as JIGRE 28 = CIJ II 1444 = C.Pap.Jud III 1444 (Athribis, II/I BCE):

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας
καὶ τῶν τέκνων
Ἑρμίας καὶ Φιλοτέρα ἡ γυνὴ
5 καὶ τὰ παιδιά τήνδε ἐξέδραν
τῇ προσευχῇ.

For (the well-being) of King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra and their children. Hermias and Philotera his wife and their children (dedicated) this *exedra* to the *proseuchē*.

The similarity of JIGRE 27 to JIGRE 28 and apparently the same find-site suggests that both dedications are from the same *proseuchē*, the first acknowledging the construction of the entire building, and the second, the construction of a colonnaded hall, arcade, or an out-building (→ JIGRE 9.3 [157] *note*).

The first dedicator mentioned in JIGRE 27, Ptolemaios son of Epikydes, is designated as ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακικῶν, “the superintendent of police,” the designation for an official in charge of the nome. The fact that he appears here with the Judaeans of Athribis in this dedication does not necessarily make him a Judaeans; he is not identified in relation to a role in the *proseuchē*, for example as προστάτης (compare JIGRE 24 [156]), but instead in relation to a civic role. Pagans, moreover, often contributed to the dedications of Judaeans. But this inscription does suggest that the Judaeans of Athribis were well-positioned in the society of Athribis, and were perhaps associated with the police forces.

Literature: Kasher, Aryeh 1985. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Reinach, S. 1888. “La communauté juive d’Athribis,” *REJ* 17:235–238; Tchirikov, Victor, A. Fuks, and Menachem Stern, eds. 1957–64. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

[159] P.Rain.Cent. 51 Petition of Linen Cleaners

Sestis [Delta?]

99–50 BCE

Published: Guido Bastianini. “Petizioni a Apollonius, ΣΥΤΤΕΝΗΣ e Stratego”.

In *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P.Rainer Cent.): Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* Textband (Vienna: Hollinek, 1983) 320–329 (no. 51). [TM 8605]

Current location: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek G 12992 b.

Similar or related documents: → PSI IV 349.5 and PSI VI 566.7, 12 = SB VI 9220ab; P.Cair.Zen. III 59304; P.Hamb. II 175; P.Hamb. II 174; P.Rain.Cent. 50–56; BGU X 1909; P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE): minutes of the senate concerning a petition from linen weavers (οἱ λινόϋφοι) concerning a rise in the costs of materials. The minutes also mention the linen merchants (οἱ λινέμποροι).

A single sheet of papyrus 29.5 × 12.3 cm, recovered from cartonnage. Although it bears numerous abrasions and shortcomings, it is almost completely preserved. The

top margin is 4 cm; the left, 3 cm; the lower, 7.5 cm; the right, from 1.5 to 0.3 cm. A kollesis is evident about 8 cm from the left edge. There are traces of writing in the left margin, imprints left by another document that was pressed against it in cartonnage.

- [Α]πολλων[ίωι συγγ]εγεῖ καὶ [στρα]τη[γ]ῶι
 παρὰ τῶν ἐ δεφς λινεψῶν·
 Ἀνομπεὺς καὶ Πετρίων τῶν
 ἐκ Θερύθεως λινεψῶν, μὴ καθηκόντως
 5 εἰς Σῆστιν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις
 ἡμῶν τόποις μεταβεβηκότες,
 τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπανείρηνται κολπιτικῶι
 τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα ἡμῖν
 βασιλικά καταλέλυσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 10 μηδεμιᾶς συντάξεως εἰς τ[ῆ]ν
 . . . [. . .] ἀπογραφομ[έν]ης . . . [. . .]
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρ[ι τοῦ]
 νῦν . . [. .] . . ζομεν . . [. . . .] . [. .] . . [. .]
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων τερον
 15 ἐπαιτούμε[θά] σε αὐτόθι, ἐὰν φαίνεται,
 συντάξαι γράψαι Θέωνι τῶι ὑποστρατή[γ]ῳι
 ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν
 ἐπιμε[.]η . [.] . [. .] . . ἡμῖν διάληψιν
 ἵν' ὤμεν β[ε]βοηθη]μένοι. *vac.*
 — —
 20 διευτύχει

To Apollōnios, kinsman (of the king) and *stratēgos*, from the linen-cleaners of . . . dis. Anompeus and Petalion of the linen-cleaners from Therythis, unlawfully moved (5) to Sestis, which is in our own area, (and) have undertaken the work like smugglers and have compromised our obligations to the kingdom. And since (10) there being no arrangement (?) . . . of registering (?) . . . from the earlier period until the present . . . of men . . . (15) we ask you, if it seems good, right away to arrange to write to the *hypostratēgos* Theon to send them down to you for . . . our judgment so that we might be given aid. (20) Farewell.

Notes

Association? Probable: collective interaction with a state official; artisans (λινέψοι) in the plural.

Location: Sestis: TM geo ref. 3048; Barrington Atlas 74 D3. Not otherwise attested.

- l. 1: συγγενής, “kinsman”; a high-ranking honorific court title, possibly Persian in origin, but not native to Egypt (Láda 2013, 121) → I.Prose I 40.5 [160] *note*.
- l. 2: λινέψοι figure in a small number of texts from the Ptolemaic period: PSI IV 349 and VI 566 = SB VI 9220ab (254 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59304 (250 BCE); P.Hamb. II 175 (241 BCE); P.Hamb. II 174 (240 BCE).

- L. 4: Θερύθως, Therythis: Bastianini (1983, 328) cites five different towns named Τερϋθις, but not with the spelling Θερύθις. P.Bub 2.5 col. 17 (early III CE) names a town with this spelling, and P.Oxy. LIX 3973 (II CE) names another, near Saïtes in the 21st Lower Egyptian nome, Phthemphouth.
- l. 6: τόποις. This seems to be used synonymously with τοπαρχία, the area of which included Sestis and the town named in l. 2. The toparchy was governed by the ὑποστράτηγος mentioned in l. 16 (Bastianini 1983, 328).
- ll. 7–8: κολπιτικῶι | τρόποι. The expression is not seen elsewhere, but it is similar to ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ (→ P.Tebt. I 53 and frequently elsewhere). The adjective κολπιτικός occurs in P.Tebt. I 38, where it describes olive oil smuggled (παρεισφέρων) into a village (Bastianini 1983, 328).
- l. 10: συντάξεως. Bastianini (1983, 329) favours the interpretation that this refers to an allotment of raw material provided by the state.
- l. 16: The ὑποστράτηγος had jurisdiction over a toparchy. As here, his duties included executing summons (Bastianini 1983, 326 n. 9 → BGU VIII 1778 and 1780).

Comments

This is a petition sent by a linen-cleaners association to the *stratēgos* of their prefecture, requesting aid against two linen cleaners operating illegally. The document was recovered from two pieces of mummy cartonnage of unknown origin. The cartonnage contained several fragments of ὑπομνήματα addressed to Apollōnios (P.Rain.Cent. 50–56), and they likely belonged to a single archive (Bastianini 1983, 320–321). This same person is also mentioned in BGU X 1909.

The provenance of the documents must be inferred from the internal evidence of the texts. The towns Sestis and Therythis cannot be placed with any confidence but P.Rain.Cent. 52–54, and 56 name petitioners from the town of Onouphis and P.Rain.Cent. 55 is from petitioners from the town Cherepsa, in Phthemphouth, a nome in central Delta attested in the Ptolemaic period and into the Roman era. Several centers named Onouphis are known. One is the metropolis of the prefecture Onouphites, neighbouring Phthemphouth, raising the possibility that Apollonius governed two prefectures simultaneously, or it may refer to a town within the prefecture of Phthemphouth (Bastianini 1983, 322–323).

The trade of the λινεψοί consisted of the boiling (ἔψησις) and cleaning of linen. Related documents discuss the acquisition of oil (SB VI 9220ab) and sodium carbonate (P.Cair.Zen. III 59304) necessary for the work. The implication of this complaint is that the work of the trade is not centralized, but widely distributed to small groups with clearly demarcated territories, reflected by the encroachment of only two linen-cleaners working illegally (Bastianini 1983, 327). The description of the illegal activity as κολπιτικῶι τρόποι raises the possibility that their transgression included smuggling in the required materials. The σύνταξις mentioned at l. 10, if in reference to raw materials, may be in relation to this.

Literature: Bastianini, Guido 1983. “Petizioni a Apollonius, ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ e Stratego.” In *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Textband, 320–329. Vienna: Hollinek; Láda, Csaba 2013. “Greek or Egyptian? The Origin of the Ptolemaic title Συγγενής.” In *APF* 59 (1):95–122. MM

[160] I.Prose I 40 Decree Honouring a Donor

Psenamosis (7th Lower Egyptian nome, Menelaïtes) 67–63 BCE

Published: Evaristo Breccia, “Note epigrafiche,” *BSAA* 24 (1929) 60–73, 66–70 (no. 5, ph.); Octave Guéraud, “Décret d’une association en l’honneur de son président,” *BSAA* 32 (1938) 21–40; BE 1939, 543; Jean Delorme, *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l’éducation en Grèce (des origines à l’Empire romain)* (Paris: de Boccard, 1960) 200; Mariangela Vandoni, *Teste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’antichità 8 (Milano: Istituto editoriale Cisalpino, 1964) 21–24 (no. 6); Bernand, I.Delta I 445–462 (no. 446); Bernand, I.Prose 1:94–96; 2:95–97 (no. 40) [TM 6460; CAPIV 38]

Translation: AGRW 287

Current Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 22175

Similar or related documents: → IG XII/8 19.4–7, 12–16 (Lemnos, 314/3 BCE), describing a loan of land (χώριον); IRhamnous II 59 [27] (Rhamnous, after 216/5 BCE): the *Sarapiastai* of Rhamnous purchased land to build their own shrine; IKyme 37 [105] (Kyme, late I BCE or I CE): property purchased by a group engaged in mysteries; *Associations of landowners*: Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. (1911) 131 (Alexandria, Ptolemaic period): dedication of a σύνοδος τῶν συνγεούχων to an Alexandrian citizen; I.Delta I p. 92 (Auarieh Station, II BCE): dedication to Ἡρώι μεγάλῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς by οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως γεοῦχοι; I.Fayum II 134 79 BCE): σύνοδος γεωργῶν; I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE): σύνοδος τῶν συνγεωργῶν; Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. (1911) 52 = I.Delta I p. 453 (Alexandria, 23/24 CE): dedication to συνόδοι γεωργῶν Καίσαρος; P.Mich. V 313 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Berl.Leihg. II 44 (Theadelphia, 157/8 CE): συνγεωργοί. See also P.Ryl. IV 583.8 (Philadelphia, 170 BCE): γεωργικός θίασος; I.Fayum II 109 [TM 8156] (Theadelphia, 102 BCE): σύνοδος χηνοβοσκῶν.

A limestone stele, with a small triangular pediment decorated with parapets, 118 × 58 × 12 cm., inscribed with two decrees from 76 and 64 BCE. Letter height: 0.8 cm.

- ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
 ἔτους πεντεκαίδεκάτου, Θωὺθ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι· ἐπὶ τῆς γενομένης συνα-
 γωγῆς τῶν συγγεώργων ἐχόντων δὲ τὰς κτήσεις περὶ Ψενάμω-
 σιν τοῦ Βερενίκης νομοῦ, λόγων γενομένων περὶ τε ἄλλων καὶ διότι Πάρις
 5 ὁ συγγενὴς φιланθρώπως χρώμενος τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ κοινῇ πάντας καὶ
 κατ' ἰδίαν ἀποδεχόμενος, ἔχων τόπον ψιλὸν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν γυμνασίου καὶ
 οἴκου,
 βουλομένων ἡμῶν ἀγοράσαι τοῦτον, ὅπως γυμνάσιον ποιήσαντες καὶ
 οἶκον ἄγω-
 μεν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων θυσίας, οὐχ ὑπέσχετο λαβεῖν τιμὴν, ἀλλ'
 ἐχαρίσατο καὶ
 κατέγραψεν τῇ συνόδῳ δωρεάν, διὸ καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποδέξασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ
 τιμῇ-
 10 σαι εἰκόσι δυσὶν, ἃς καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἔν τε τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ οἴκῳ καὶ
 στεφανοῦσθαι
 αὐτὰς κατὰ τὰς ἐπωνύμους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς συναγόμενοι θύομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 βασιλέ-
 ων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κλισίαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν πρώτην διὰ βίου, ἄγεσθαι δὲ
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέ-
 ραν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος ἀνα-
 τεθεικότα
 Πάριν τὸν συγγενῇ τὸν τόπον τῇ τῶν γεούχων συνόδῳ· δίκαιον γὰρ τοῖς
 φιλαγάθως
 15 τῷ κοινῷ ἀπαντῶσιν τὴν παρὰ πάντων μεμερίσθαι τιμὴν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἕτερα
 φιλο-
 τιμούμενος ἀπολείπηι τῷ κοινῷ, καὶ ἄλλην αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμέραν
 ἄγεσθαι,
 καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, οὔ ἂν εὐωχῶνται, ἀνατιθέντα στεφανοῦν κατὰ πόσιν,
 ἐπιδέξα-
 σθαι δὲ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον δωρεάν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους ἄνδρας τρεῖς,
 ὧν ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπιδῷ· τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ· ὑφ' ὃ καὶ ὑπέγραψαν ὄντες κῆθ.
 20 ἔτους ὀκτωκαίδεκάτου, Φαῶφι· ἐπεὶ Πάρις ὁ συγγενὴς, οἰκείως καὶ φιλαν-
 θρώπως τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακείμενος, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ ἐν
 τῇ
 Ψεναμώσει τόπου εὐθετοῦντος ἡμῖν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν οἴκου καὶ γυμνασίου,
 προ-
 αιρουμένων ἡμῶν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ δοῦναι, οὐκ ὑπέσχετο λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ δωρεάν
 ἐχαρί-
 σατο, ὅθεν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν γεγονέναι αὐτῷ τιμὰς τὰς διὰ τοῦ προκειμένου
 δόγμα-
 25 τος κεκυρωμένας εἰκόνας δύο, ἃς καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἔν τε τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ
 τῷ οἴκῳ,
 καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι αὐτὰς κατὰ τὰς ἐπωνύμους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς συναγόμενοι
 θύο-

- μεν ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κλισίαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν πρώτην διὰ
 βίου,
 ἄγεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέραν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι
 ἐπὶ τοῦ
 πυλῶνος ἀνατεθεικότα Πάριν τὸν συγγενῆ τὸν τόπον τῇ τῶν γεούχων
 συνό-
 30 δωι, δίκαιον γὰρ τοῖς φιλαγάθως τῷ κοινῷ ἀπαντᾶσιν τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν
 μεμερίσθαι
 τιμὴν, ἐπιδέξασθαι δὲ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον δωρεὰν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους
 ἄνδρας
 τρεῖς, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα δώσει, καὶ νυνὶ ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει προτεθυμημένου
 αὐτοῦ
 ἐπαύξειν τὴν σύνοδον ἡμῶν καὶ δεδωρημένου εἰς τὰς ἀχθησομένας αὐτοῦ
 κατ' ἔτος ἄλλας ἡμέρας δύο ὥστ' εἶναι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ὧν ἐν
 μὲν Ἀλεξαν-
 35 δρεῖαι τῷ Θωῦθ μίαν ἀνατιθέντας αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν καὶ στεφανοῦν-
 τας οὗ ἂν εὐωχῶν-
 ται, καὶ ἐν Ψεναμώσει ἐν τῷ Φαρμοῦθι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἡμέραν
 μίαν καθότι προ-
 δέδοκται καὶ ἐν τῷ Μεσορῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυγητοῦ ἄλλην «ἡμέραν» μίαν, εἰς ἧς
 καὶ δέδωκεν ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς χιλίας, ὅπως ἀπὸ τοῦ συναχθησομένου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τόκου
 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν
 διακοσίων ἢ δαπάνη γίνηται τῶν προσεκτισμένων αὐτοῦ ἄλλων ἡμερῶν
 δύο, εἶναι δὲ
 40 αὐτὸν καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου καὶ ἀζήμιον καὶ ἀσύμβολον καὶ ἀνεπιμνηνέυτον
 καὶ ἀλειτούργη-
 τον καὶ ἀνείσφορον καὶ λαμβάνειν διπλᾶ μέρη· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, πέμπεσθαι
 αὐτῷ, στεφανοῦ-
 σθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόσιν διαφέροντι στεφάνωι ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ
 γηραιὸς γενόμενος με-
 ταλλάξῃ, ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῖς νεκυσίοις τὴν
 σύνοδον τὰ νο-
 μιζόμενα καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατὰ πόσιν διαφέροντι στεφάνωι,
 γραφῆναι δὲ
 45 περὶ τῶν προκειμένων πάντων ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ
 πυλῶνι τοῦ τε-
 μένους περὶ τῶν ἀχθησομένων αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος ἡμερῶν τριῶν καὶ
 ἀνατεθησομένων
 εἰκόνων τριῶν, ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς δόγμασι τούτοις· τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ· ὑπο-
 γραψάντων πάν-
 των τῶν συνόντων εὐδοκεῖν καὶ ποιήσῃν πάντα καθότι πρόκειται· ὅφ' ὃ
 καὶ ὑπέγραψαν
 πάντες εὐδοκοῦντες.

For good fortune! Year 15, Thoth 21. At the meeting of the assembly of united farmers (*syngeorgoi*) who hold properties around Psenamosis in the Berenike nome, after business concerning other things (was discussed); whereas Paris (5) the kinsman (*syngenēs*) who acted generously toward the *synodos* and received everyone collectively and individually, owned an vacant piece of land (suitable) for the building of a gymnasium and *oikos*, we wished to buy this, so that after making a gymnasium and *oikos*, we could hold the sacrifices on behalf of the kings – he refused to receive payment, but gave and registered it as a gift to the *synodos*. Therefore, it was resolved to accept it and to honour him (10) with two statues, which are to be set up both in the gymnasium and the *oikos* and crown them on the eponymous days on which we assemble to sacrifice on behalf of the kings. Likewise, (it was resolved) that he shall have the first couch (at the banquet) for life; that his day will be observed annually at those places; and a plaque will be inscribed on the gateway saying, “Paris, the kinsman (*syngenēs*), dedicated this place to the *synodos* of landowners (*geouchoi*).” For it is right that honour from all of us be given to those who are generous (15) towards the members of the association (*koinon*); but if he, being ambitious, should leave something else to the association, another day for him shall be observed in the city and a statue (will be set up). When they have the feast, the statues that are set up will be crowned during the toasts and three men honoured by him will be admitted without charge into the *synodos*, whose names he will supply. For good fortune. Below this is signed by twenty-nine members.

(20) In the eighteenth year, in the month of Phaophi: since Paris the kinsman has continued to be suitably and generously disposed towards our affairs – previously when land originally belonging to him in the Psenamosis was convenient for us to build a shrine (*oikos*) and a gymnasium, we offered to pay its price but he refused to receive payment, instead he gave it as a gift – for this reason, the honour of two statues was given from us to him, sanctioned by preceding decree (25); these are to be set up in the gymnasium and in the *oikos*, and to be crowned on the eponymous days on which we gather to sacrifice for the well-being of the kings. Likewise, he shall have the first couch (at the banquet) for life; his day will be observed annually at those places; and on the gateway will be inscribed, “Paris, the kinsman, dedicated this place to the *synodos* of landowners (*geouchoi*).”

(30) For it is right that the honour be shared by who are gracious to the association (*koinon*), and three men honoured by him, whose names he will give, shall be admitted without charge to the *synodos*.

And now in the twentieth year, he had been eager to expand our *synodos* and gave gifts for the celebration of two additional annual days for himself, so that there will be three annual days: one being in Alexandria (35) in the month of Thoth, when we set up his engraved image and crown it when we

are feasting; one day in Psenamosis in the month of Pharmouthi after the first day of Apollo, as it had been resolved; and another one in the month of Mesore during the harvest. For these days he has given one thousand silver drachmae, so that the cost of the two additional festival days founded in his honour will come from the interest of two hundred silver drachmae which will be collected annually. (40) He will also be the priest for life, free from further dues, free of contributions to the feasts, free from monthly offices, free from public service (*leitourgia*), and contributions, and he will receive a double portion: if he is not present, it will be sent to him. He will be crowned by the association at the toast with a distinguished crown: and when he leaves this life in old age, the *synodos* will offer annually for him the customary things on his tomb during the festival of the dead and will crown him from the common funds with a special crown at the toasts. A decree shall be inscribed (45) on a stele concerning everything mentioned above and set up on the gateway of the *temenos* for the three days that are held annually in his honour, and the three statues will be set up, in accordance with these decrees. For good fortune. All those who attended approved by a vote and did everything as above: At the bottom are written (their names), all approving.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: σύνδοδος τῶν γεούχων; κοινόν; collective terms: γεούχοι; συγγεωργοί; leadership term: ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου; ownership of property: gymnasium and oikos, *temenos*; also possible clubhouse in Alexandria; likely common fund; banquets; dedication of the group to a patron.

Location: Psenamosis (7th Lower Egyptian nome, Menelaïtes) in the Western Lower Delta, in the Berenikē nome, 50 km. ESE of Alexandria. TM geo ref. 1151; Barrington Atlas 74 C2.

I. 1: ἔτους πεντεκαδεκάτου, Θωὸθ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι, i.e. 30 Sept 67 BCE.

I. 2: ἐπὶ τῆς γενομένης συναγωγῆς: A standard idiom appearing on inscriptions which means “at the meeting of”, e.g., I.Prose I 49.2–3 [170] (Psenemphaia 5 BCE) ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀριστίωνος Κλεοπατρεῖω γεούχων, “at the meeting of the assembly of *geouchoi* in the Aristion’s Kleopatreion,” and I.Prose I 25.1–4 (Memphis, 12/11 BCE), ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς τῆς γενηθείσης ἐν τῷ ἄνω Ἀπολλυνεῖω τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἰδουμαίων → also I.Alex.imp. 91.2–3 [174] (Alexandria, 3/4 CE).

I. 3: συγγεωργῶν, “united farmers”; see also I.Prose 49 [170]. The activities of συγγεωργοί are well attested in papyri, especially concerning property leases: PSI IX 1043.20 (Arsinoites, 103 BCE), P.Strass. VI 568.7 (Arsinoites, 138–137 BCE), P.Berl.Leihg. I 22.12 (Theadelphia, 155), II 44.6, 15 (Theadelphia, 157/8).

I. 2: κτήσεις: Associations of farmers often owned and managed property which was often regulated via nome *stratēgoi* and scribes, see for example P.Ryl. IV 682, a fragmentary declaration of land by Ptolemaios and Sisois and the other “united farmers” (*syngedorgoi*) of Karanis (cf. Gonis 1999). It was also common for associations across the Mediterranean to use inscriptions to publicize land purchased,

loaned or mortgaged for temples, shrines and other buildings, see the purchase of land by Dionysiac Artists (SEG 2:580 [Teos, 229/205 BCE]) and a group of Kitian merchants requesting to lease land for a temple (IG II² 337 [3] [Piraeus, 333/2 BCE]) and below.

1. 5, 14, 20, 29: συγγενής: this fictive kin title is first attested in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philomētor (180–145 BCE). Starting in the early second century BCE a new system of ranks emerged in the circles of the Ptolemaic court, including: “friends,” “bodyguards,” and “successors.” In *Syngeneis* were at the top of this new hierarchy and often held other positions in the administration of Egypt, such as *stratēgoi* (I.Prose I 25.5; I.Philae 20, 41, 51, 59 and 134). By mid-century, a significant portion of *syngeneis* were Egyptian (Moyer 2011a, 20–26; Mooren 1977) → P.Rain.Cent. 51.1 [159] note.
- II. 5–6: κοινῇ πάντας καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν: this is a common expression which is used to describe benefactors of associations (in Egypt: I.Prose I 25.7–8; I.Prose I 6.9 [244]; and elsewhere: IG IX/2 520.5; IG XII/8 640.4).
1. 6: γυμνασίου: gymnasia were a focal point for euergetism by Greek elites in Egypt, e.g., I.Prose I 41 (van Minnen 2000, 448–452).
1. 8: τῶν βασιλέων θυσίας: the Ptolemies instituted a wide-spread dynastic cult in Egypt. See, for example, the processions and rituals introduced by Ptolemy III recorded on the Canopus decree, OGIS I 56.
1. 20: ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου, Φαῶφι, i.e., Oct 64 BCE.
1. 33: νυνὶ ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει, i.e., 63 BCE.
- II. 35–37: ἐν τῷ Θωὺθ . . . ἐν τῷ Φαρμουῖθι . . . ἐν τῷ Μεσορῇ: i.e., in Thoth (= September), Pharmouthi (= April), and Mesore (= August).
- II. 38–39: ἀπὸ τοῦ συναχθησομένου κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τόκου ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν | διακοσίων. The interest rate is 20%, much higher than the 12% that became standard later. On the variability of interest rates, and rates much higher than 12% in the republican period, see Barlow 1978, 172.
- II. 40–44: ἀζήμιον καὶ ἀσύμβολον καὶ ἀνεπιμηνίευστον καὶ ἀλειτούργητον καὶ ἀνείσφορον: → on various exemptions granted by associations, see IDionysosJ 7 [60]. For individual terms → Index s.v.
1. 43: τοῖς νεκροῖς: Funerary rites feature in several association inscriptions across the ancient Mediterranean. The association of the Haliads and the Haliasts in Rhodes decreed that their benefactor Dionysodōros, an Alexandrian, was to receive the customary funerary “proclamations” and “crownings” (IG XII/1 155 = Gabrielsen 1994 = IDionysosJ 156, II BCE). See also IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I BCE).
1. 49: πάντες εὐδοκοῦντες. On voting practices in associations → Paganini 2016.

Comments

Composed of three separate decrees for the fifteenth (I.1), eighteenth (I.20), and twentieth years (I. 33), this inscription details the donation of gifts of land and money by a wealthy high-ranking official of the Ptolemaic court, Paris. In the first decree (II.1–19), Paris is honoured with statues to be crowned at the annual day held in his honour to recognize his gift of land to the *syngēdorgoi* for the construction of a temple and gymnasium. He is given the first seat at the banquet for

life. The decree ends by attempting to encourage more benefaction from patrons like Paris by promising to treat them in a similar way. The second and third degrees illustrate how the association kept such promises. Paris had given an endowment of one thousand drachmae (ll. 37–8) and the association responded by celebrating two additional days in his honour, proclaiming him free from various contributions and *leitourgia*, and decreeing that they will perform annual rites at his tomb once he dies.

Agriculture in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period was organized communally and farmers formed various groups. The importance to the Ptolemaic kings of receiving steady revenue from agricultural production can be partly seen in the special status designation, *basilikoi geōrgoi*, “royal farmers,” granted to those who took leases on small plots of royal land (*basilike gē*) (Manning 2003, 55–56). This status came with certain legal provisions and benefits granted by Ptolemy VIII Euergetēs II: protection from illegal seizures, exemptions from billets, protection from the collectors of foreign debts and non-Greek courts (P.Tebt. I 5.138–143, 221–247 and P.Tebt. III 707, see Rowlandson 1985, 331). While the inscription above does not indicate whether the *syngēōrgoi* held leases on other royal land and were already *basilikoi geōrgoi*, or what kind of ownership was transmitted to them by Paris’ gift of land (e.g., a limited or perpetual lease), what this inscription may indicate is that this endowment both allowed the *syngēōrgoi* access to the status of *basilikoi geōrgoi* and at the same time provided farmers with arable portions of the vacant land.

The benefactor Paris is a *syngenēs*, a high ranking military official in the Ptolemaic court in Alexandria (Moyer 2011a; Mooren 1977). Paris may be an Egyptian, since the name is attested for other Egyptian Ptolemaic military officers, for example a Egyptian *machimos* from Oxyrhynchus (P.Cair.Zen. 59590 [Philadelphia, 246–245 BCE]; see Fischer-Bovet 2014, 162). The Ptolemaic military maintained strong ties through benefaction to local gymnasia, which acted as a main node of military training, and were often linked to the dynastic cult (Fischer-Bovet 2014, 284). In Ptolemaic Egypt there were also *basilistai* and *philobalistai*, military associations devoted to the royal cult with links to the gymnasium (see Launey 1949, 853–856).

The way in which this inscription expresses how Paris gifted the land to the *syngēōrgoi* is similar to an Attic inscription, IRhmnous II 59 [27]. Rhamnous, after 216/15 BCE), a decree by an association of *Sarapiastai* honouring a benefactor, Apollodōros son of Sogenes, for donating land for the building of a temple to Sarapis and Isis:

καὶ νῦν γραψάντων τῶν ἐν Ῥαμν[οῦν]τι ταπτομένων πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ τόπου ὃς [ἦν] ἴδιος αὐτοῦ καὶ βουλομένων πρίασθαι ὥστ[ε] ἱερὸν κατ[α]σκευᾶσαι τῷ τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τε[ῖ] [ἴ]σιδι, ἀποδ[ό]σσει μὲν οὐκ ἡβουλήθη ἔδωκε δὲ ἄννευ τιμῆς περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενος τήντε πρ[ὸς το]ὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας εὐνοίαν τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· (ll. 11–19)

and now, after the citizens of Rhamnous who had been appointed wrote in respect to a place that belonged to him, wishing to purchase it so that they could build a temple to Sarapis and Isis, not only did he not wish to be paid for it, but he even gave it to them without any charge, expressing to the highest degree piety towards the gods and good will and zeal with regard to his fellow citizens.

While the *Sarapiastai* honoured Apollodōros by inviting him to the sacrifices and erecting a stele, the *syngēōrgoi* went to further lengths by not only inscribing a stele, but also by making an inscription on the gate, by freeing Paris from all manner of financial obligations, by giving him the first seat at a feast dedicated to him at which they will crown him, giving him a double portion of the food, and by promising to perform annual commemorative rites at his grave after he dies. Dedications, crowned statues, and the celebrations of eponymous days are common honours given by associations. Assigning a double portion of food at the meal is attested in other inscriptions, such the *nomos* of Attic *eranistai* (SEG 31:122.19–20 [50], early II CE). For the granting of the status of priest for life → IG II² 1326.35 [36]; IG II² 2361.10 [52]; IG II² 2874.1; I.Fayum I 6.7–8; I.Delta I 751 (no. 15.3) and many other inscriptions. What is interesting about this inscription is that the *syngēōrgoi* will send this double portion of meat to Paris if he does not attend the festival day held in his honour (l. 41). This requirement is unusual, since those who are absent from association meals are often not entitled to the distributions of food and wine as, for example, the rule of the *Iobakchoi* stipulates (IG II² 1368.16 [51]). One parallel may be seen in the *Apology* of Justin, a Christian apologist in the mid-second century CE. Justin describes the *eucharist* meal that the Christians in Rome celebrate, during which there is a distribution of bread, wine, and water. For those who are absent, the *diakonoi* will send the assigned portion to them (Justin, *Apol.* 1.67):

Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καὶ ὡς προέφημεν, παυσάμενων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ «Ἀμήν»· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάλληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται.

Then we all rise together and make vows, and as we said before, when we have finished our vows, bread and wine and water are brought. The presiding officer (*proestōs*) similarly offers vows and thanksgivings, as much as he is able, and the people assent, saying “Amen”; there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the *diakonoi*.

Literature: Barlow, Charles Thomas 1978. “Bankers, Moneylenders and Interest Rates in the Roman Republic.” Thesis (Ph.D.). University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Bernard, André 1992. *La Prose sur pierre dans l’Égypte hellénistique et romaine*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique; Fischer-Bovet, Christelle 2014. *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Cambridge University Press; Gabrielsen, Vincent 1994. “The Rhodian

Associations Honouring Dionysodōros from Alexandria.” In *Classica et Mediaevalia* 45:137–160; **Gonis**, Nikolaos 1999. “Two Declarations of Uninundated Land Reread.” In *ZPE* 126:207–210; **Launey**, Marcel 1949. *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*. Paris: De Boccard; **Manning**, Joseph G. 2003. *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*. New York: Cambridge University Press; **Mooren**, Leon 1977. *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque: contribution à l'étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l'époque hellénistique*. Leuven: Duculot; **Moyer**, Ian S. 2011a. “Court, Chora, and Culture in Late Ptolemaic Egypt.” In *AJP* 132 (1):15–44; **Moyer**, Ian S. 2011b. “Finding a Middle Ground: Culture and Politics in the Ptolemaic Thebaid.” In *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy F. Bryan, 115–145. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; **Nowicka** Maria 1994. “Quelques remarques sur l'interprétation des mots: *eikôn*, *aspideion* (en marge d'un article de H. Heinen).” *Archeologia* (Warsaw) 44:123–124; **Paganini**, Mario C.D. 2016. “Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. JJP Supplement 28, 1889–1901. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation; **Rowlandson**, Jane 1985. “Freedom and Subordination in Ancient Agriculture: The Case of the *Basilikoi Georgoi* of Ptolemaic Egypt.” In *CRUX: Essays Presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on His 75th Birthday*, 327–347. Exeter, UK: Academic; **Van Minnen**, Peter 1987. “Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt.” In *Münsterliche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6 (1):31–88; **Van Minnen**, Peter 2000. “Euergetism in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *Politics, Administration and Society in Hellenistic and Roman World*, edited by Leon Mooren, 437–470. Leuven: Peeters. RJO

[161] JIGRE 125

Renewal of a Grant of Asylum

Leontopolis (Heliopolites, 13th Lower Egyptian nome) 47–30 BCE
 Published: E. Miller, “Inscriptions grecques découvertes en Égypte,” *RA* 30 (1875) 106–114, pp. 111–112 (from a squeeze); T. Mommsen, “Aegyptus,” *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 4 (1881) 25–28; Max Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1897) 262 (no. 130); CIL III suppl. (1902) 1202 (no. 6583); Dittenberger, *OGIS* I 129; Cagnat, *IGRR* I 1315; Johann Oehler, “Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums,” *MGWJ* 53 (1909) 292–302, 443–452, 525–538, pp. 451–452 (no. 228); W.Chr. I 78–79 (no. 54); Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (Berlin and Wien: Benjamin Harz, 1922) 264–267 (ph.); Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924–67) 2:499 (no. 4936); Frey, *CIJ* II 374–376 (no. 1449); Emilio Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Sintesi dell’oriente e della Bibbia 3 (Roma: Marietti, 1958) 29 (no. 8); Lewis, *C.Pap.Jud* III App. 1 no. 1449;

Bernand, I. *Prose* I 62–63; II:62–64 (no. 23); Horbury and Noy, *JIGRE* 212–214 (no. 125), following CIJ (ph., plate XXIX); Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) 572–573 (no. 228); ASSB 216–217 (no. 171) [TM 6400]

Current Location: Berlin, Ägyptisches (Bode) Museum, inv. 7733, but according to Rigsby (2003, 127): “It is now on loan to the Jewish Museum in New York City.”

Similar or related documents: → *JIGRE* 22 [154] (Schedia Menelaïs, 245–222 BCE); *JIGRE* 24 [156] (Xenephyris [Delta], 140–116 BCE); *JIGRE* 25 (Nitriai [Delta], 140–116 BCE); *JIGRE* 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); *JIGRE* 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); *JIGRE* 28 (Athribis, II/I BCE); *JIGRE* 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); *JIGRE* 105 (Leontopolis, II BCE–II CE).

Ἄσυλον in the regions of Egypt, Nubia and Cyrenaika: I.Fayum II 112 (= SB III 6152, Theadelphia, 93 BCE); I.Fayum II 113 (= SB III 6153, Theadelphia, 93 BCE), I.Fayum II 114 (= SB III 6236, Theadelphia, 70 BCE); I.Fayum II 116 (= SB I 1161, Theadelphia, 57 BCE); I.Fayum II 117 (Theadelphia, 57 BCE); I.Fayum II 118 (= SB III 6156, Theadelphia, 57 BCE); I.Fayum II 135 (= SB III 6154, Euhemeria, 69 BCE); I.Fayum II 136 (= SB III 6155, Euhemeria, 69/8 BCE); I.Prose I 30 (= OGIS II 761, Athribis, 96 BCE); I.Prose I 32 (= OGIS II 740); SB V 8932; I.Fayum III 152 (Magdôla, 95 BCE); I.Prose I 36 (= SB I 3926, Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 75 BCE).

Alabaster plaque, 44 cm. Letter height: (Greek) approximately 2 cm; Latin: 4 cm. Bilingual (Greek followed by Latin) decree issued by the queen and king ordering the establishment of a prayer-house as ἄσυλον (inviolable).

There are two possibilities for dating the inscription: the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon (170–163, 145–116 BCE), married to Kleopatra II, then Kleopatra III, or the reign of Kleopatra VII Philopator (51–31 BCE) and Ptolemy XV Caesarion (44–31 BCE), the latter only three years old at the time of the death of Ptolemy XIV in 44 BCE. The fact that the inscription twice places the queen before the king suggests the latter date, and perhaps a date prior to 37 BCE when Ptolemy XV ceased to be named in official documents, since Kleopatra presumably wished to give prominence to her two children by Marc Anthony, Alexander Helios and Kleopatra Selene.

βασιλίσσης καὶ βασι-
λέως προσταζάντων
ἀντὶ τῆς προανακει-
μένης περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσε-
5 ως τῆς προσευχῆς πλα-
κὸς ἢ ὑπογεγραμμένη
ἐπιγραφῇτω· [vac]
«βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐ-
εργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυλον.»

10 Regina et
rex iusser(un)t.

⟨Greek⟩ On the order of the king and queen: in the place of the plaque which was previously put here concerning the dedication (5) of the *proseuchē*, let what is written below be inscribed: “King Ptolemy Euergetēs [has established] the *proseuchē* as an asylum.”

⟨Latin, in larger letters⟩ (10) The queen and king have ordered it.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; ownership of property.

Location: Leontopolis = Tell el-Yahudiya (“Hill of the Judaeans”) (Heliopolites, 13th Lower Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1239; Barrington Atlas 74 E4.

II. 1–2: According to Rigbsy, only Kleopatra III and VII are ever mentioned in the sequence “queen and king” (1996, 573). If the queen is Kleopatra III (r. 142–101 BCE), then the king could be either of her two sons, Ptolemy IX Soter II (r. 116–110, 109–107, 88–81 BCE) or Ptolemy X Alexander I (r. 110–109, 107–88 BCE). If the queen refers to Kleopatra VII Philopator (r. 51–30 BCE), then the king is Ptolemy XV Caesarion (r. 47–30 BCE). (Cf. Bingen 1982, 11–16). Bingen (1991, 14–15) argues that the queen and king are likely Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV Auletes (47–44 BCE) or her son, Ptolemy XV (Caesarion) (44–31). The presence of Latin in the inscription is perhaps the best internal evidence that the rulers are Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV.

I. 5, 9: προσευχή, “prayer house” → JIGRE 22.7 [154] note.

II. 8–9: βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης, probably Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (r. 170–163, 145–116 BCE) since, according to Fraser, asylum was rarely granted in the III BCE (Fraser 1972, 2:442 n. 772, citing OGIS II 761). But see above on the dating of the erection of the inscription.

II. 8–9 The most typical phrasing for this sort of declaration in Egyptian inscriptions is ἄσυλον κατὰ πρόσταγμα (or cognates) → I.Fayum II 112 (Theadelphia, 93 BCE); I.Fayum II 113 (Theadelphia, 93 BCE); I.Fayum II 114 (Theadelphia, 70 BCE); I.Fayum II 116 (Theadelphia, 57 BCE); I.Fayum II 117 (Theadelphia, 57 BCE); I.Fayum II 118 (Theadelphia, 57 BCE); I.Fayum II 135 (Euhemeria, 69 BCE); I.Fayum II 136 (Euhemeria, 69/8 BCE); I.Prose I 30 (Athribis, 96 BCE); I.Prose I 32 (Magdōla, 95 BCE); I.Prose I 36 (Ptolemais Hermiou, 75 BCE).

There are a total of 337 inscriptions using the term ἄσυλον in the PHI database and a further 1355 which use the related term ἀσυλία.

II. 10–11: According to Rigbsy, the Latin terms alongside the Greek declaration indicate that this was directed toward Anthony’s military, which would have been required to observe the protected status of this *proseuchē* (1996, 53). The Greek letters become increasingly crowded, indicating that the inscriber probably knew he had to leave room for the Latin lettering on the stele (Rigbsy 1996, 573).

I. 11 *iusser(un)t*: This rare abbreviation is attested in no other inscriptions in the PHI database.

Comments

In the Hellenistic period, the “asylum” had definite military overtones and thus was granted to cities and other regions that were under special protection. The designation could originally be either “descriptive or prescriptive, “unviolated” or “inviolable” (Rigsby 1996, 31). It could also represent a kind of immunity granted to a foreigner by a city or ruler. Prior to the III BCE, if a city/territory was declared asylum, it was assumed that temples within it also achieved that status. That is, there was no difference between “religious” and “political” asylum. In instances where a temple was singled out for asylum, it is because it was *outside* of the city and territory. There are no cases of a temple in a city being given asylum and that status later extending throughout the city by virtue of the presence of the temple (Rigsby 1996, 20).

Of special importance for JIGRE 125, after the III BCE the term is used to signal a new “diplomatic” status and began to be applied to temples on their own (Rigsby 1996, 32). Some scholars have assumed that this new usage indicates a special relationship between the grantor and the recipient of the status, but Rigsby notes that they are “not treaties” and “not bilateral” agreements, but “‘recognition’ of a fact, the inviolability of a place” (Rigsby 1996, 33). Moreover, although approved by a more powerful grantor, in this case the Ptolemaic dynasty, the request was typically initiated by the recipients. Here, the members of the *proseuchē* probably petitioned for this status, but it is unclear if they did anything special to earn this status, other than claiming that it was owed to them by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes. Finally, it is also unclear what the queen and king’s motivations were for granting this privileged status. Rigsby argues that the primary function of these declarations was to accrue honour, given that the decrees themselves are often redundant and that there is no evidence that they provided any real protection from invading armies (Rigsby 1996, 22). This particular inscription, however, presents a challenge to this understanding, for the very fact that it includes letters at the bottom presumes that someone needed to read it in Latin. The audience, as Rigsby notes elsewhere, seems likely to be Anthony’s military (Rigsby 1996, 53). Legio III Cyrenaica was stationed in Egypt between 43 and 31 BCE either by Antony or Lepidus and it was certainly stationed in Egypt after the annexation of Egypt by Augustus in 30 BCE. Another Roman legion, Legio XXII Deiotariana, was stationed in Egypt beginning in the time of Augustus, although it was assembled much earlier ca. 48 BCE (on these legions, see Kramer 1993; Daris 2000). Either way, Rome had an increasingly prominent military presence in Egypt during this period. We may surmise that this inscription did more than just confer honour on the *proseuchē*; it had the additional function of signaling an important political status of inviolability to a Latin-speaking audience.

Even though this inscription speaks of a previous plaque, there is no other example from Egypt which preserves a request to *restore* a place to a status of inviolability. Thus, what this request probably represents is the *proseuchē*’s

original request for a new status of inviolability, substantiated by their claim that Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II had previously approved it (Rigsby 1996, 573). The plaque that is being replaced probably only had details about the *proseuchē*'s initial building. Cf. RDGE, no. 69.

Literature: **Bederman**, David J. 2004. *International Law in Antiquity*. Cambridge Studies in International and Comparative Law. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 124–134; **Bernand**, André 1970. *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*. 1. *Les confins libyques*. Cairo Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 3:961; **Bingen**, Jean 1982. "L'asylie pour une synagogue CIL III Suppl. 6583 = CII 1449, II." In J. Quaegebeur and Simone Scheers, eds. *Studia Paulo Naster oblata*. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 12–13, 2:11–16. Leuven: Peeters; **Bingen**, Jean 1991. *Pages d'épigraphie grecque Attique-Égypte (1952–1982)*. Epigraphica Bruxellensia 1. Bruxelles: Epigraphica Bruxellensia; **Daris**, Sergio, 2000. "Legio XXII Deiotariana" in Yann Le Bohec and Catherine Woolf, ed. *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*. Collection du Centre d'études romaines et gallo-romaines nouv. sér., 20, 365–367. Lyon: [s.l.]; **Dion**, Paul E. 1977. "Synagogues et temples dans l'Égypte hellénistique." In *ScEs* 29:45–75; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon (1:283–284; 2:441, 442); **Keddie**, G. Anthony 2016. "Ptolemaic Sovereignty and the Political Unconscious of 3 Maccabees: Philopator's Decree (2:28–30) in Light of Late Ptolemaic Asyilia Inscriptions." In *New Vistas on Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso and Gerbern S. Ogea, 193–216. London: T&T Clark, 193–216; **Kramer**, Johannes 1993. "Die Wiener Liste von Soldaten der III. und XXII. Legion (P.Vindob. L2)." In *ZPE* 97:147–158; **Levine**, Lee I. 2000. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 77; **Rigsby**, Kent J. 1996. *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*. Berkeley: University of California Press (esp. 572–573, no. 228). SER

[162] JIGRE 13

Dedication of a Prayer House

Alexandria (El Gabbari Necropolis)

37 BCE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, "Bulletin épigraphique," *BSAA* 4 (1902) 85–107, p. 86 (no. 40); Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Alexandrinische Inschriften," *SPAW* 49 (1902) 1093–1099, pp. 1094–1095; Max L. Strack, "Inschriften aus der ptolemäischen Zeit," *APF* 2 (1903) 537–561, p. 559 (no. 41); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 23–24 (no. 41) (ph. tav. XI no. 29); A. Neppi Modona, "La vita pubblica e privata degli ebrei in Egitto," *Aeg* 2 (1921) 253–275, pp. 264–265; K. Buchheim, "Jüdische Synagoginschriften," *Allgemeine Zeitschrift des Judentums* 67 (1903) 487; Dittenberger, *OGIS* II 742; Frey, *CIJ* II 1432 (ph.); Lifshitz, *DFSJ* 76 (no. 86);

Lewis, C.Pap.Jud III 1432; Adam Łajtar, “Die jüdischen Inschriften aus Ägypten: Bemerkungen zu.” In *JJP* 24 (1994) 57–70, p. 61 (no. 13) (SEG 44:1426); JIGRE 19–21 (no. 13); ASSB 186 (no. 144) [TM 6425]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, no. 48

Similar or related documents: → JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia Menelaïs, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24 [156] (Xenephyris [Delta], 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 25 (Nitriai [Delta], 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 28 (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); JIGRE 105 (Leontopolis, II BCE–II CE).

Stoichedon (10 letters). Limestone plaque, 33 × 24 cm.

[ὕπερ] βασι[λίδ]-
[ση]ς καὶ βασι]-
[λ]έως θεῶι [με]-
γάλοι ἐ[πηκό]-
5 ωι Ἀλυπ[ος τή(ν)]
προσε[υχὴν ὡ]
ἐπόει [· 5 ·]
L ιε Με[χρίρ -].

[For the well-being] of the Queen and King, (5) Alypos constructed this prayer house (*proseuchē*) (and dedicated it) to the great god who listens (to prayers). Year 15, Mecheir x.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; ownership of property.

Location: Alexandria, El Gabbari Necropolis; Barrington Atlas 74 B2.

II. 1–3: [ὕπερ] βασι[λίδ]||[ση]ς καὶ βασι|[λ]έως. Although Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1902, 1095) suggested that the “Queen and King” referred to Kleopatra III and her son Ptolemy X and dated the inscription to 102/1 BCE, the current consensus is that the rulers here are Kleopatra VII Philopator (51–31 BCE) and Ptolemy XV Caesarion (44–31 BCE), and year 15 accordingly is 37 BCE.

I. 5: ωι Ἀλυπ[ος τή(ν)]: Since the inscription seems to be stoichedon (10 letters), this line is too long by one letter. ΩΙΑΛΥΠ[ΟΣΤῆ], however, is possible. It could be noted that SB I 5198 (Alexandria, Roman period) writes τήν as TH, and sometimes τὸν at the end of a line becomes TO, e.g., SEG 38:1838.56 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE): βροτῶ] for βροτο(ν). Alternatively, Osborne (1973, 265–266) notes that sometimes two letters are squeezed into a single stoichos or an extra letter intrudes into the right margin (which is not visible in this inscription).

I. 5: Ἀλυπ[ος]. The name Alypos is very common in Attica and especially Asia, but is also attested in Egypt in I.Fayum I 82 (Soknopaiou Nesos, Roman period); SB III 6340 (Alexandria, undated); P.Mich. X 579.3, 7 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 150 CE); P.Col. III 32.v.1 (Arsinoites, 255 BCE); SB XXII 15605.19 (Arsinoites, 373 CE); O.Claud. II 193.5 (Mons Claudianus, 138–154 CE) and a graffito from Abydos (Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, no. 154).

- I. 5: προσευχή, “prayer house” → JIGRE 22.7 [154] *note*.
 II. 5–6 are less than 10 letters each. L. 5 may have simply had a blank space at the end; l. 6 likewise was either blank or had a 5 letter word, but none can be restored. Osborne (1973, 263) notes that even in stoichedon style, blank spaces appear at the end of lines when there is a desire to end the line where the word ends.

Comments

The appearance of an archaizing stoichedon inscription is striking, since in Attica it is rare to see a stoichedon inscription after the III BCE. The script is rigidly bilinear; the *alphas* in ll. 4 and 5 are broken-bar *alphas*; the *sigmas* and *epsilons* are quadrilateral rather than lunate; and many of the letters have apices. The cutter has evidently gone to the trouble to make the inscription look ancient.

The epithet θεὸς μέγας is shared with Souchos (e.g., I.Fayum I 14; 34; 84; III 200; III 201 [198]), Herakles (SB I 639 [164]), Soknebtunis (I.Fayum III 202; P.Lips II 131 [215]), Soknopaios (P.Stras. V 341[224]), the Dioskouri (I.Fayum II 143), Isis (I.Fayum III 204 [200]), Sarapis (OGIS II 678 and very frequently), the “great gods of Samothrace” (OGIS I 69), and Egyptian gods collectively. Ἐπήκοος, “who listens” is extremely common as an epithet for various gods but this is the only secure occurrence connected to the god of the Judaeans, although Breccia restored another *proseuchē* dedication as θεῶ ὑψίστοι | [ἐπηκόωι], but probably incorrectly (→ JIGRE 9.2 [157] *note*). The combination of the fine epigraphic hand and the common pagan epithets θεὸς μέγας and ἐπήκοος may suggest an effort to appear as conventional and non-foreign as possible. This was a period of rising tension between the Macedonian population of Alexandria and the Judaeans, which would culminate in riots in the late 30s, complaints over the tax-status of Alexandrian Judaeans and eventually Claudius’ famous letter concerning *isopoliteia* in 41 CE (P.Lond. VI 1912 = C.Pap.Jud. II 153). In this climate it may have been advantageous to appear ancient and “Alexandrian” (→ Kasher 1985, 310–326, 342–345), hence, perhaps the deliberately archaizing form of the inscription.

Literature: Osborne, Michael J. 1973. “The Stoichedon Style in Theory and Practice.” In *ZPE* 10:249–270; Kasher, Aryeh 1985. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Perdrizet Paul and Gustave Lefebvre 1919. *Les Graffites grecs du Memnonion d’Abydos*. Nancy, Paris and Strasbourg; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von 1902. “Alexandrinische Inschriften, *SPAW* 49:1093–1099.

[163] IGRR I 1095

Statue of a Founder and President of an Assembly

Kanopos (Gynaikopolites, 3rd Lower Egyptian nome)

29/28 BCE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, *Rivista Quindicinale* 4 (1892) 8, reproduced by Seymour de Ricci, "Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine," *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, p. 429 (no. 2); SB V 8795; Cagnat, IGRR I 1095; Bernand, *I.Delta* I 239–240 (no. 11); Adam Łajtar, "Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria." In *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 34 (no. 5) [TM 102678; CAPIInv 1857]

Translation: AGRW 285.

Current location: location unknown.

Botti gives no indication of the dimensions or its current location but indicates that there were traces of lead on the pedestal, which suggests a statue base. The publication is based on Botti's transcription in majuscules.

Συνίστωρ συναγ(ωγήσας)
καὶ προστατήσας
τὸ β L Καίσαρος.

(Statue of) Synistor, having gathered (the assembly) and having served as president in the second year of Caesar.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: συναγωγήσας, προστατήσας.

Location: Kanopos (Gynaikopolites, 3rd Lower Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1001; Barrington Atlas 74 C2.

- l. 1: συναγ(ωγήσας): de Ricci. Bernand (1970, 1:240) accordingly suggests that either συναγ(ωγεύς) or συναγ(ωγός) could resolve the abbreviation. In favour of συναγ(ωγός) one could cite SB X 10714 = SEG 24:1233 = Łajtar 1992, 29–36, 32 (no. 10): Ὀρόντης Ἐπιχάρου | συν{συν}αγωγός | καὶ προστάτης συνόδου Ἡρακλέου Καλ|λινίκου καὶ Νεμέσεως | τῷ κοινῷ Μαρεώτου | Νέμεσιν ἀνέθηκεν, | L κβ, Τῦβι κγ, "Orontes son of Epichares, assembly president (*synagōgos*) and president (*prostatēs*) of the *synodos* of Herakles Kalinikos and Nemesis dedicated (this statue of) Nemesis to the association (*koinon*) of Mareotis. Year 22, Tybi 23, where the dedicatee bears both titles. De Ricci's resolution with the participle συναγ(ωγήσας) has the disadvantage of not being attested in any Egyptian inscription in a similar context, while συναγωγός and related terms are well-attested: I.Fayum I 9.6 (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 80/79 or 69–67 BCE): [ὦν ἀρχισυνά]γωγος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς; I.Fayum III 204 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE): Ἰσιδι Ἐσεγχήβει θεᾷ μεγάλῃ | οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐσεγχηβιακῆς συνόδου, ὧν συναγωγός; IGRR I 1077 = I.Alex.imp. 91.4–5 [174] (Alexandria, 3/4 CE): ὧν ἀρχισυναγωγ[ος] || [– ? – καὶ ἀρ]χιπροστάτης Διοκ[λῆς]; IGRR I 1106.1 [165] (Naukratis, 30 BCE – 14 CE) [– – Ἀ]μμωνίου συναγωγός. Nevertheless, the participial form fits the grammatical context best and makes more sense than the noun. Note that I.Alex.imp. 91.4–5 [174]

(Alexandria, 3/4 CE) appears to name two different individuals to the roles of *synagōgos* and *prostatēs*.

- l. 2: προστατήσας, “having served as president,” “former president.” This formula with an aorist participle is typical of Egyptian associations → JIGRE 24.7 [156] *note*; I.Alex.imp. 96 [166], etc. On προστατής as “president” → Poland 1905, 363–366; San Nicolò 1972, 2:59–61; IG II² 1368.13 [51] *note*.
- l. 3: τὸ β L Καίσαρος, i.e. 29/28 BCE.

Comments

Ziebarth (1896, 149) noted that in associations in which the leader was not designated with an ἀρχ- title, the terms συναγωγός, συναγωγεύς and προστάτης predominated. In this case, and in the case of BGU IV 1137.3–4 [168], the same individual appears to be designated as both συναγωγός (or συναγωγεύς) and προστάτης. In I.Alex.imp. 91.4–5 [174] (Alexandria, 3/4 CE) both titles appear, but seem to designate two different persons.

Although the term συναγωγή has come to be associated with Judaeon associations, the term is widely used of many groups, including associations of Attalists: OGIS I 326.12 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE), barbers: IPerinthos 49 [86] (I CE?), and of devotees of Zeus: IApamBith 35.7 [99] (119 or 104 BCE). A very fragmentary inscription, I.Alex.Mus. 167.6–7 = I.Alex.Ptol. 45 [TM 7166] (Alexandria, I BCE), which appears to be the remains of the bylaws of an association may refer to a συναγωγή ([—]μοτάτω τῆς συνα[γωγῆς(?)]). It ends with the approval formula (ll. 11–13: Διο]νύσιος εὐδοκῶ, etc. → P.Mich. V 243.17–31 [206] *note*).

The preferred term for Judaeans in Egypt is προσευχή (→ JIGRE 22.7 [154] *note*).

Literature: Bernard, André 1970. *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. I. Les confins libyques*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 91. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; Lajtar, Adam 1992. “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” In *JJP* 22:29–36; Poland, Franz 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck; Ziebarth, Erich 1896. *Das griechische Vereinswesen*. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel.

[164] SB I 639

Dedication of a Statue of Herakles and Harpokrates

Alexandria

1 Mar 25 BCE

Published: Adolf Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer, Gipsabgüsse und Papyrus* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1899) 330 (no. 10231) (description only); Adolf Rusch, *De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis* (Berlin: Hermann, 1906) p. 46; Seymour de Ricci, “Notes d’épigraphie égyptienne,” *BSAA* 11 (1909) 321–349, p. 343 (no. 29) (SB I 639); Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 30 (no. 1) [TM 93530; CAPIInv 1856]

Current Location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum ÄM 10231.

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE): Association of Harpokrates.

Statue base. Dimensions unavailable.

Ἡ[ρακλείδης (?)] Σωτρίωνος τοῦ Ἀσιβᾶτος
 συν[να]γογοῦ προστατήσας τὸ L δ καὶ
 ε L ἀνέθηκε παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ θεὸν μέγαν
 Ἡρακλῆν καὶ Ἀρποκράτην. L ε Καίσαρος,

5 Φαμενόθ ς.

Herakleidēs (?) son of Sotion grandson of Asibas the *synagōgos*, having served as president in the fourth and fifth year, dedicated at his own expense (a statue) of the great god Herakles and Harpokrates. Year 5 of Caesar, Phamenoth 6.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: συναγωγός, προστατήσας; yearly election of president.

Location: Alexandria. TM geo ref. 100; Barrington Atlas 74 B2.

1. 2: συν[να]γογοῦ, i.e., συναγωγοῦ, *synagōgos*. This title is common in association inscriptions in the Bosphorus, occurring more than forty times (e.g., IBosp 1134.11–12 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IBosp 75.8–9 [94] (Pantikapaion, 150–125 BCE); IBosp 80.3–4 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IBosp 1277.5 (Tanais, 173–211 CE). In Egypt (I.Fayum III 204.3 [200]; IGRR I 1106.1 [165]) συναγωγός is slightly less well attested than ἀρχισυναγωγός.

1. 2: προστατήσας → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] note.

Comments

Although the term of association presidents (*prostatai*) seems in general to have been one year, this president served two successive years. See also I.Alex.imp. 93 [172] for a similar term.

[165] IGRR I 1106

Synagōgos of a Sambathic Association

Naukratis (5th Lower Egyptian nome)

30 BCE – 14 CE

Published: E.A. Gardner, *Naukratis* 2 (1888) 68 (no. 15) (ph., pl. XXII; facsimile, from the stone); Cagnat, IGRR I 1106 (following Gardner); Seymour de Ricci, “Lettre à M. le secrétaire perpétuel,” *CRAI* (1909) 145 (from the stone); SB I 12; Bernand, I.Delta II 759–760 (no. 28) (facsimile, plate 41, fig. 3); JIGRE 43–45 (no. 26); SEG 42:1501; Adam Lajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 31 (no. 6); ASSB 196–197 (no. 155) [TM 102686; CAPInv 1358]

Translation: AGRW 286.

Current location: De Ricci reports that it is in the British Museum, but Horbury and Noy list its whereabouts as unknown.

Similar or related documents: → OGIS II 573: worshipers dedicated to Σαββατιστής; TAM V,1 355 (Lydia): a vow to Sabathikos (Σαβαθικῷ).

Limestone statue base (?) 18 × 7.6 × 18 cm., broken on the left.

[— — 'A]μμωνίου συναγωγός

[— — τη σ]υνόδῳ Σαμβαθικῇ

[L ? Καί]σαρος, Φαμενώθ ζ.

x son of Ammōnios, *synagōgos* (dedicated this) to the Sambathic *synodos*.
Year *x* of Caesar, Phamenoth 7.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; associative term: σύνοδος; leadership term: συναγωγός

Location: Naukratis. TM geo ref. 1424; Barrington Atlas 74 D3.

l. 1: 'A]μμωνίου. The name is used by Judaeans in Egypt and Cyrenaica (CIJ II 852; CJZC 72.9), but of course is also more broadly attested (e.g., I.Alex.imp. 96 [166]).

l. 1: συναγωγός, “president” → SB I 639.2 [164] *note*. The Σαββατισταί in Cilicia (OGIS II 573) also have a συναγωγεὺς as a president.

Comments

There is a full discussion of this issue in GRA II (*LSAM* 80 [152]), where a male deity named Sabbatistos is honoured by a community who call themselves the Sabbatists (*Sabbatistai*). The community with a similar name here may imply a widespread cult to either a masculine deity or the feminine *Sambathē* which Schulze (1895) discovered. Ziebarth (1896) concluded that our inscription was a cult to the same deity; he was followed by Youtie (1944, 217). Harland’s comments in GRA II [152] rightly criticize Tcherikover’s identification of this with

Judaean on the basis of phonetic similarity and, until a better argument is found, Ziebarth and Youtie's suggestion seems the most plausible. This gives a potentially large spread for this deity and the cultic associations that accompanied him (or her). A record of a hall for meetings of the Sambathic organization, a Sambatheion is mentioned in a tomb inscription from Thyateira (TAM V,2 1142). Josephus records a decree of Augustus that used *σαββατεῖον* to mean "synagogue" (*Ant.* 16.164). Tcherikover (1957–1964, 3:46) accordingly was tempted to identify the Sambatheion of Thyateira with a Judaean assembly hall, even though ordinarily one might suppose that a Sambatheion would be the cult site of a deity named Sambathē. Tcherikover (*ibid.*) also adduced OGIS II 573 (= LSAM 80), an honorific decree of the τοῖς ἑταίροις καὶ Σαββατισταῖς θεοῦ, "the *hetairoi* and Sabbatistai of god," which also mentioned τὸν θεὸν τὸν Σαββατιστήν ("the god Sabbistēs), the honouring of a συναγωγεύς and dedications in a ναοί. He recognized that this combination of terms made it impossible to suppose that these Sabbatistai were Judaeans, but supposed that they were "pagan observers of the Sabbath" (1957–1964, 3:47). In the case of IGRR I 1106, Tcherikover conceded that the form Σαμβαθικῇ (l. 2) was comparable to other terms that convert a deity's name into an adjective in *ιακος/-η* (→ I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] *comment*), again suggesting a goddess named Sambathis (Tcherikover 1957–1964, 3:47).

The name Sambathion is common in Egypt (Tcherikover 1957–1964, 3:56–87). Tcherikover advanced the thesis that the name was originally a Judaean name, later adopted by Egyptians, and subsequently abandoned by Judaeans. There are, however, only a few indications that Sambathions were Judaean: Worp (1986) has published two ostraca of Sambathions, one of which refers to the requirement for the owner to pay the Judaean tax (Ἰουδαϊκοῦ τελέσμα):

Σαμβ(α)θίω(ν) ὁ καὶ Ἰησο(ῦς) Παπίου
 Ἰουδ(αϊκοῦ) τελ(έσματος) εἰς **Λ** Τραιανοῦ
 τοῦ κυρίου (δραχμᾶς) δ (τετρώβολον). **Λ** εἰς Παχὸ(ν) κθ. (SB XVIII 14009)

Sambathion, also known as Jesus son of Papios (paid) the Judaean tax for year 6 of Trajan the Lord, 4 dr, 4 obols. Year 6 Pachon 29.

A second ostrakon records the same individual paying the bath tax. That this Sambathion was a Judaean, however, hardly makes all Sambathions Judaeans, since Judaeans frequently took "pagan" names (→ Bernand 1972, 34).

To Worp's case, one could add Stud.Pal. IV 58–78.465–468 [TM 14986] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE), which names two Sambathions (both women) who were clearly Judaean:

465 Δωσάρ[ιο]ν [Ἰ]ακούβου το(ῦ) Ἰακούβ(ου) μη(τρὸς) Σαμβο(ῦτος) γυ(νὴ)
 Σίμω(νος) **Λ** κβ
 Φιλοῦς [.]ε[. .]ου μη(τρὸς) Πτολλοῦτος γυ(νὴ) Θεοδώ(ρου) **Λ** κ
 Σαμβ[ά]θ[ι]ον [Σ]αβίνου μη(τρὸς) Ἡραῖδο(ς) γυ(νὴ) Θηγένο(υς) **Λ** ιη
 Σ. . [±12]ου μη(τρὸς(?)) Θεοδοῦτ(ος) γυ(νὴ) Σαμβ(α)θ(ίωνος) **Λ** α[.]

Dosarion daughter of Jacob son of Jacob, mother of Sambous wife of Simon, 22 years old; Philos ... whose mother is Ptollos, wife of Theodoros, 18 years old; Sambathion daughter of Sabinos, whose mother is Herais, wife of Theogenes, 18 years old; S... whose mother is Theoudous, wife of Sambathion, ? years old.

Literature: **Bernand**, André 1972. *Le Paneion d'El-Kanais: les inscriptions grecques*. Leiden: Brill; **Clarysse**, Willy 1985. "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration." In *Aeg* 65(1/2):57–66; **Cohen**, Shaye J.D. 1985. "The Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law." In *AJS Review* 10(1):19–53; **Cohen**, Shaye J.D. 1999. *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; **Delling**, Gerhard 1974–1975. "Biblisch-jüdische Namen in hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten." In *BSAC* 22:26; **Feldman**, Louis H. 1996. *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; **Harland**, Philip A. 2003. *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press (49–50); **Harrer**, G.A. 1940. "Saul who also is called Paul." In *HTR* 33 (1):19–33; **Heyob**, Sharon Kelly 1975. *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World*. EPRO 51. Leiden: Brill; **Schulze**, Wilhelm 1895. "Samstag." In *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 33(3):366–386; **Tcherikover**, Victor 1957–1964. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Jerusalem: Magnes Press (3:43–87); **Williams**, Margaret 2013. *Jews in a Graeco-Roman Environment*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; **Worp**, K.-A. 1986. "Four Greek Ostraka from the Thermenmuseum (Heerlen)." In *ZPE* 65:191–194; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1944. "Sambathis." In *HTR* 37(3):209–218 (esp. 213); **Ziebarth**, Erich 1896. *Das griechische Vereinswesen*. Stuttgart: Hirzel (esp. p. 61). CJC

[166] I.Alex.imp. 96

Dedication by a President of a *Synodos*

Alexandria

30 BCE – 14 CE

Published: Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. no. 135; M. Rodziewicz, "Un quartier d'habitation gréco-romain à Kom el-Dikka," *Études et Travaux* 9 (1976) 169–210, pp. 204–205 (ph. fig. 41); Z. Borowski in Zsolt Kiss ed., *Sculptures des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka, 1960–1982*, Alexandrie 4 (Warsaw: Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1988) 66–67 (no. 109, ph.); Adam Łajtar, "Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria," *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, pp. 29–30 (SEG 42:1549); Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 282–283 (no. 96, Pl. XLVII); Bernard Rémy and François Kayser, *Initiation à l'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Universités Histoire (Paris: Ellipses, 1999) [TM 105427; CAPIInv 1347]

Translation: AGRW 279.

Current location: Egypt, Alexandria, excavations Kom el-Dikka, storehouse inv. no. R/1598/70.

Similar or related documents: I.Alex.imp. 46; 90 (10/9 BCE); 93; 94; 70 (27 BCE – 14 CE): προσίτης/προστατέω; IEgVers 27 (III–IV CE); IHierapJ 262: μυροπώλης; ID 399; 321: ἀνέθηκεν ὄλκ.; P.Oxy. XXII 2340 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE): dispute over a liturgy and whether the nominee is a weaver or a perfume dealer.

Black granite statue base, 5.9 × 9.5 cm, found in the ruins of a house from the sixth or seventh century. The block had been repurposed as an anvil.

[A]μμώνιος, μυρο-
[π]ώλης, προστα[τ]-
[ήσ]α<ς> τὸ [?] Λ Καίσαρ[ο]-
ς ἀνέθηκε NO[–]

5 CN τῇ συν[όδω].

[A]mmonios, perfume dealer, former president, the xth year of Caesar, dedicated (a statue) [. . .] (5) to the *synodos*.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; associative term: σύνοδος; leadership term: συναγωγός; yearly election of a president.

Location: Alexandria. TM geo ref. 100; Barrington Atlas 73 B2.

II. 1–2: μυρο[π]ώλης was a dealer of perfumes or scented oils (Lysias fr., 1.5; Xenophon, *Symposium* 2.4). Only one other Egyptian inscription from Memphis (III/IV CE) bears this title (Bernand, IMétr 27). It is frequent in papyri: BGU I 9.1.17 (III CE); 21R (III CE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59490 (mid III BCE) etc. Jean-Pierre Brun argues that perfume was a lucrative product in Roman Egypt; ῥόδιονον ἰταλικόν could cost 8 drachmae per kotyle or 8 sestertii per 0.24 litre bottle (Brun 2000, 299–300). Brun also cites a Roman inscription that mentions a perfumers association (CIL 6.36819). An association of perfumers is also attested at Oxyrhynchus in the fourth century CE (P.Oxy LIV 3731 [310/1 CE]; 3733 [312 CE]; LIV 3766 [329 CE]). It seems certain, however, that our inscription is not from a perfumers' association, for there would be no purpose in specifying Ammōnios' profession as a perfumer (Łajtar 1992, 35). The association was perhaps a cultic association whose membership included several artisans.

II. 2–3: προστατῆσας → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] note and Łajtar 1992, 35. Borowski reads προστατίδ[α]ς (1988, 67).

1. 3 ἔτος: Łajtar suggests that if the lacuna was filled with the abbreviation for 'year' (L) there would be room a numeral. He suggests that there are the remnants of a vertical stroke.

1. 4: ἀνέθηκε NO|CN τῇ συν[όδω] (Kayser 1994, 283); Borowski (1988, 67): ἀνέθηκεν ὧν ἐν; Borowski in a private conversation, according to Łajtar (1992, 36): ἀνέθηκε ὄν|ον τῇ συν[όδω]; Łajtar (1992, 36): ἀνέθηκε τὸν ἐν τῇ συν[όδω].

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 2009. "Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary." In *The*

Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, 179–196. New York: Oxford University Press; **Bernand**, Étienne 1969. *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine: Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; **Brun**, Jean-Pierre 2000. “The Production of Perfumes in Antiquity: The Cases of Delos and Paestum.” In *AJA* 104(2):277–308; **Burnett**, Andrew, Michel **Amandry**, and P.P. **Ripollés Alegre**, eds. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. Vol. 1. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale; **Cartledge**, Paul, Edward E. **Cohen** and Lin **Foxhall**, eds. 2002. *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge; **Christiansen**, Erik 1984. “On Denarii and Other Coin-Terms in the Papyri.” In *ZPE* 54:271–299; **Dürnbach**, F. 1961. *Inscriptiones Deli liberae, tabulae archontum, tabulae hieropoeorum annorum 314–250*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter; **Jockey**, Phillipe 2011. *Marbres et autres roches de la Méditerranée antique?: études interdisciplinaires*. Paris: Karthala; Aix-de-Provence: Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme. CJC

[167] I.Alex.imp. 90

Dedication of a Statue of a Chief Priest

Alexandria?

10/9 BCE

Published: Seymour de Ricci, “Inscriptions grecques d’Égypte à Braunsberg et à Saint-Petersbourg,” *Revue épigraphique* 1 (1913) 141–164, p. 163 (no. 22) (with facs., transcription, translation); SB IV 7327; Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 31 (no. 3); Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 265–266 (no. 90) [TM 99095; CAPIv 1344]

Current location: The inscription belonged to St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, collection of Nicolas of Likhatscheff, vice-director of the imperial library of St. Petersburg. The current location is unknown.

Similar or related documents: Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 46, 93, 94, 96 (30 BCE – 14 CE); 70 (27 BCE – 14 CE): προστάτης/προστατέω; SB I 639 [164] (25 BCE); I.Prose I 49.2 [170]; relationship between *prostatēs* and *archiereus*; I.Alex.imp. 65 [181], 70, 96; SB III 6047.

Granite statue base, 11 × 8 × 14 cm. The provenance is unknown but Kayser, following Ricci, suspected Alexandria. Łajtar shows that *prostatēs* frequently dedicated statues while in office or leaving office (→ I.Alex.imp. 96 [166])

Δινίας προστατῶ[ν]
 τὸ καὶ Λ Καίσαρος ἀνέ[θ(ηκεν)]
 τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῆς συνόδου,
 Ἀσκληπιάδην Ἀπολλωνίου,
 παρ’ ἐα(υ)τοῦ.

Presiding in the 21st year of Caesar, Dinias, dedi[cated (this statue)] of the high priest of the association (*synodos*), Asklēpiadēs son of Apollōnios, (5) at his own expense.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: προστάτης, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς σύνοδου.

Location: Alexandria?; Barrington Atlas 73 B2.

1. 1: Δινίας; Possibly a Thracian name (Kayser 1994, 266, n. 1; Beshevliev 1970, 16–18). The name is rare, especially in Egypt. Dinias appears several times on a Ptolemaic postal record as a mail carrier ca. 271 BCE (P.Hib. 1.110). From the fourth to second centuries BCE forms of the name Dinias primarily appear in inscriptions from Greece → IG VII 209 (223–201 BCE); 1673 (after 306 BCE); SEG 47:482 (mid III BCE); IThess I 53, 11 (300–250 BCE), *et al.* It becomes common in Thracian inscriptions from the Roman period → IGBulg III 1700 (2) (undated); IGBulg V 5592 (c. 117–140 CE), *et al.*
1. 1: προστατῶ[v]. The present participle indicates that the inscription was cut while Dinias was still serving as president. Compare the aorist participle elsewhere → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] *note*.
1. 3: ἀνέ[θ(ηκεν)]. Because of the orientation of the inscription, the cutter left the abbreviation ἀνέ[θ] = ἀνέθηκεν. → de Ricci 1913, 163 no. 22; Kayser 1994, 266.
1. 5: παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Kayser render this as “en son proper nom,” but it has been given here as “at his own expense.” The epithet παρ' ἑαυτοῦ (*de suo*; *posteris suis*) is recorded here in a variant spelling which occurs twice in Egyptian inscriptions following the verb ἀνατίθημι (SB I 639; SB III 6047). The same form is found several times in Asia Minor (*Panamara* 45; IEph 546; Sardis 7,1 27). The form παρ' αὐτοῦ was used frequently in Egypt in both inscriptions and papyri and seems to be equivalent to ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου, which is also common (IG IV 758; I.Prose I 49.2, 25, 27 [170] (5 BCE), *etc.*). It also appears with the full spelling, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, in extant Egyptian inscriptions (I.Prose I 49.2 [170]; Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 162.7 = SEG 34:1532; SB III 6047; SB IV 7327) and four times in extant papyri (BGU VI 1219 τῶν φορτίων παρ' ἑαυτοῦ – something being loaded at one's own expense; P.Mich. II 123r [216]; P.Oxy. III 472; SB XIV 12075.11 [τεταγμένος τὰ παρ' ἑαυ[τοῦ], perhaps a land assessment, being drawn up at one's own expense?]). De Ricci corrected ἑαυτου to ἑαυτοῦ in his facsimile.

Comments

The connection between the *prostatēs* and the *archiereus* seems to be somewhat fluid in Egypt and occasionally the role was held by the same person (I.Prose I 49.2 [170]). Where these roles were held separately, it is not clear which was structurally higher. Poland suggests a fairly wide range of roles for a *prostatēs* in Egypt (1967, 363–66). San Nicolò suggests that the *prostatēs* was more powerful than an *archiereus*, citing the current inscription and an example from a synod of youth honouring Osiris who celebrate the initiation of an *archiereus* and of a (perhaps preexisting) *prostatēs* (1972, 2:59–60).

συνόδου νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ
 Ὀσιρείου ἐπὶ Φανίου τοῦ γενομένου
 ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐπὶ Πετοσορονῶφρος
 προ[στάτου]· **Λ** η, Χοιάκ θ. (I.Fayum II 119; Theadelphia, II/I BCE)

San Nicolò claimed that these positions are ranked because of the ordering in the inscriptions and that the various types of priests (ιερεὺς, ἀρχιερεὺς, λεσῶνις) would stand beneath these structurally (1972, 2:67–68). Kayser suggested, on the contrary, that the *prostatēs* was a long term administrator, and that the title of *archiereus* would have held more honour as the *prostatēs* was expected to dedicate to each incoming priest (1994, 266 n. 4). Neither of these interpretations is convincing and for our current inscription it is not clear what the relationship between the two association leaders is. For the length of tenure of priests → IG II² 1273AB [18]. For comments on the issue of hereditary priesthood → IG II² 1326 [36].

Literature: Beshevliev, Veselin 1970. *Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern*. Amsterdam: Hakkert; **Kayser**, François 1994. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d’Alexandrie Impériale (I^{er}–III^{er} s. apr. J.-C.)*. Bibliothèque d’Etude 108. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire; **Lajtar**, Adam 1992. “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” In *JJP* 22:29–36; **San Nicolò**, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Mit Nachtragen von Johannes Herrmann. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck (2:59–60, 67, 68 n. 1, 162 n. 3); **Velkov**, Velizar, and Alexandre **Fol** 1977. *Les Thraces en Égypte Gréco-Romaine*. *Studia Thracica* 4. Sofia: Academia Litterarum Bulgaria (Institutum Thracicum). CJC

[168] BGU IV 1137

A Loan Payment by a Synodos of Caesar

Alexandria

19 Nov 6 BCE

Published: W. Schubart, ed., in *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. Bd. IV (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912) 250–251 (no. 1137); W.Chr. I 112; Leonhard Schumacher, *Stellung des Sklaven im Sakralrecht. Vol. 6 of Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur antiken Sklaverei (CRRS)*. Ed. Johanna Filip-Fröschl, J. Michael Rainer, and Alfred Söllner (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2006) 107–108 (no. 109) + BL IV 7; BL VII 19; BL X 20 [TM 18581; CAPIV 1411].

Translations: Victor Ehrenberg, and A.H.M. Jones, *Document Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press

1976) 93–94 (no. 118) (BL I 98); David C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 BC–AD 68* (London and Sydney: Croon Helm, 1985) 70 (no. 145); AGRW 281.

Current Location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 13137.

Digital image: <http://berlpap.smb.museum/00598/>

Similar or related documents: SB XXII 15460 [169] (same association and written in a similar hand); BGU IV 1114 (Alexandria, I CE): certificate for payment for the delivery of a slave, written in a similar hand; BGU IV 1134 (Alexandria, 10 Mar 10 BCE): repayment of an *eranos* loan; BGU IV 1135 (Alexandria, 11 Apr 10 BCE): repayment of an *eranos* loan; BGU IV 1136 (Alexandria, 11–10 BCE): repayment of an *eranos* loan.

From cartonnage. Papyrus, 19 × 14 cm.

- ἔτους κε Καίσαρος Ἀθὺρ κβ, ἐπὶ τῆς γε[νη]-
 θείσης συναγωγῆς ἐν τῷ Παρατόμῳ συνόδου
 Σεβαστῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος ἥς συνα[γωγὸς]
 καὶ προστάτης Πρῖμος Καίσαρος ἱερεὺς Ἰουκοῦνδ[ος]
- 5 Καίσαρος γυμνασίαρχος Ἀλέξανδ[ρο]ς [συμπαρ]όγ-
 των τῶν πλείστων. ἐπεὶ συντετάχμεν [τῷ]
 προκείμενῳ ἱερεῖ Ἰουκοῦνδῳ [ἀφ'] ὧν ἔχει τῆς
 συνόδου κεφαλαίων ἐπιδέξασθαι. ἡσὼ Καίσαρος
 ἀποδοῦν[αι] ὑπὲρ Συντρόφου τοῦ Καίσαρος συνοδ[ε]ῖτου
- 10 [ἕως] μ[ι]ᾶς τριακάδος τ[ο]ῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἧς [ὁ]-
 [φεί]λει αὐτῷ ἀργυρίου Πτολεμα[κ]οῦ Ϛ ρκ,
 ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ τὸν μὲν Ἰουκοῦνδον ἐ[ξ]ο-
 διάσαι ἕως τῆς τριακάδος τοῦ Ἀθὺρ ἕως ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 Συντρόφ[ου] τὰς τ[ο]ῦ ἀργ[υρίου] Ϛ ρ[κ] ἀτόκους, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
- 15 συνόδου π[α]ραδέξασθαι τῷ Ἰουκοῦνδῳ ταῦτα
 εἰ[ς] ἃ ὁφ[εί]λει τ[ῇ] συνόδῳ κεφάλαια, εἶναι δὲ
 [ἀνυ]πέυθυν[ον] τὸν Ἰουκ[οῦνδον] περὶ τούτων
 [μη]δενὶ ἐξόντος ἐπ' ἀ[νασ]κευῇ τούτων λόγον
 [ποιεῖσ]θα[ι] ἢ τὸν τοιοῦτον . . .]. ἀσθαι, βεβ[αι]-
- 20 [οῦν] δὲ τὸ ὑπογραφέν διςσὸν [χειρόγραφον ±?]
 [· · · · ·] ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν κq[±?]
 [· · · · ·] τ[ὸ] δὲ ἕτερον ἐπ[±?]

Apparatus: 2 BL IV 7: συναγωγῆς <τῆς> ἐν || 3 BL VII 19: συνα[γωγεὺς] || 21 BL I 98: ἐν

Year 25 of Caesar, Hathyr 22, at the meeting that occurred in Paratomos for the *synodos* of the god Augustus Imperator Caesar, whose assembly leader (*synagōgos*) and president (*prostatēs*) is Primos a slave of Caesar, and (whose) priest is Ioukoundos (5) a slave of Caesar, (and whose) gymnasiarch is Alexander, with the majority of the members assembled. Whereas we have ordered the aforementioned priest Ioukoundos to take

funds which he has (the authority to draw) from the *synodos* and to pay . . . (slave?) of Caesar on behalf of Syntrophos a slave of Caesar and member of the *synodos*, (10) before the thirty-first day of the present year (i.e., within one month), the 120 Ptolemaic silver drachmae that he owes him.

By common consent it was agreed, first, that Ioukoundos should pay in full, before the thirtieth of Hathyr, the 120 silver drachmae on behalf of Syntrophos, free from interest, and second, that the funds that he has received (15) from the *synodos* should be credited to Ioukoundos against what he owes to the *synodos* and that Ioukoundos should not be accountable in regard to these matters. No one is permitted to reverse a judgment or to . . . such things, (20) for the signed document written in duplicate is valid . . . the one . . . the other. . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: σύννοδος, συνοδείτης; leadership terms: συναγωγός, προστάτης, ἱερεὺς, γυμνασίαρχος; common fund; reference to a meeting: ἐπὶ τῆς γε[νη]θείσης συναγωγῆς; collective devotion to a god; attestation of the same association: SB XXII 15460 [169].

Location: Alexandria. Barrington Atlas 73 B2; Trismegistos geo ref ID 24732.

II. 1–2: ἐπὶ τῆς γε[νη]θείσης συναγωγῆς → I.Prose 40.2 [160] *note*.

I. 2: ἐν τῷ Παρθόμῳ. Unknown location in Alexandria.

II. 2–3: συνόδου | Σεβαστῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος. Brashear (1993, 12) adduces as parallels P.Oxy. XII 1453 (Oxyrhynchus, 30/29 BCE): ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ; OGIS II 655.1–2 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE): ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ; and SB III 7257 = Bernard, *Les Portes du désert* no. 1 (Antinoopolis, 13/12 BCE): ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ].

I. 9: συνοδείτου. Schumacher (2006, 108) argues that the designation συνοδείτης for Syntrophos is “ungewöhnlich” and should be rendered “a representative” (“Beauftragter des Kaisers”, equivalent to the Latin *comes*) rather than “association member.” Yet the term is well attested with the meaning of member of a *synodos*. → Index VI. s.v. συνοδείτης, συνοδεῖται.

I. 15 παραδέχομαι “to be credited as a set-off,” BGU 831.15 (III CE); so perhaps δεχθήσομαι; P.Amh. II 86.13 (I CE).

I. 18: ἀ[νασ]κευῇ with BL X 20; previous edition: ἀ[ναγ]ωγῇ. → SB XXII 15460.19 [169]: μη[δ]ενὶ ἐξόντος ἐπ’ ἀνασκευ[ῇ] τ[ῶ]ν δεδογμένων.

Comments

The matter that is addressed in this resolution is unclear, but appears to involve a debt owed by one of the members of the *synodos* (Syntrophos) to some unnamed individual. The *synodos* has authorized its priest Ioukoundos to draw on the association’s funds to pay the debt. Since Ioukoundos was paying a debt on behalf of, and at the behest of, the association, he presumably was not held responsible for that debt.

Literature: Brashear, William M. 1993. *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Xenia 34. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag (esp. 12–18 = BL X 19–20); Paganini, Mario C.D. 2016. “Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. JJP Supplement 28. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation, 1889–1901 (esp. 1892); Pfeiffer, Stefan 2010. *Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil: Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 v. Chr. - 217 n. Chr.)*. Historia. Einzelschriften 212. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (pp. 307–308); Pfeiffer, Stefan 2012. “The Imperial Cult in Egypt.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. C. Riggs, 83–100. Oxford: Oxford University Press (p. 95); Rathbone, Dominic 2007. “Merchant Networks in the Greek World: The Impact of Rome.” In *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22(2):309–320.

[169] SB XXII 15460

Honorary Decree of a Association of Imperial Slaves

Alexandria

21 Aug 5 BCE

Published: William M. Brashear, *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, Xenia 34 (Konstanz: UVK, 1993) 12–18 (SB XXII 15460) [TM 79042; CAPIInv 1411]

Translation: AGRW 280.

Current location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 25159

Digital image: <http://berlpap.smb.museum/16285/>

Similar or related documents: → BGU IV 1137 [168] (the same association and a similar hand).

From cartonnage. Papyrus 38 × 15 cm., written in the same hand as that of BGU IV 1137 [168]

...

[[±?]].

[ἐτ]ους κε Καίσαρος Μεσορῆ κη ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συν-
[α]γωγῆς ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀρχακολούθων οἴκῳ σὺν γόδῳ

- 5 [Σ]εβαστῆς Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευ-
[θ]ερίου ἡς συναγωγὸς Πρῶτος προστάτης Ἰουκοῦνδ[ο]ς
 <trace of one line> .

<traces> αὐθα <traces>

<traces> ὠνδιατ <traces>

- 10 <traces> . . . φες. . . καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἑαν[τὸ]ν μῆδ[ε]
 ἐπὶ ταύτης παραλιπεῖν μῆδὲν ἐπιδέδεκται καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῆς ἐνεστώσης τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπὶ τ. ου τε
 ἐν παντὶ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ σπουδαίως καὶ π[.]ιως

ἀνέστραπται.

- 15 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν πάμ-
φιλον διὰ βίου κλισίαι τε τῇ ἐν α. καὶ στεφά-
νῳ ἐξάλλῳ ἢ εἰδῇ ἢ νέα .α. <traces>
φιειν καὶ εἰδέγει ποίαν <traces> ἂν γίνωται
μη[δ]ενὶ ἐξόντος ἐπ' ἀνασκευ[ῆ] τ]ῶν δεδογμένων
- 20 λογοποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὸν ἐπιχειρή[σ]αντα ἀπρόσδεκτον
εἶναι καὶ ζημιοῦσθαι ἀργυ(ρίου) ἥ πεντακοσίαις . τὸ δὲ ὑπόμ-
[νημα δ]ιττογραφὲν ἔστω κύριον.

Year 25 of Caesar, Mesore 28, at the meeting (*synagogē*) which occurred in the clubhouse of the *synodos* of the Archakolothoi of the Son of God Zeus Eleutherios, (5) Augustus Caesar Imperator, whose assembly leader (*synagōgos*) is Primos, the president (*prostatēs*) is Ioukoundos . . . <traces> . . . <traces> . . . <traces> (10) and during his tenure, he showed himself not to have neglected anything in relation to it (the *synodos*) and likewise also for the current year . . . and at all time during the tenure of his office he conducted himself with enthusiasm and . . .

(15) For good fortune! By common consent it was agreed to honour him with the title “friend of all for life” (*pamphilos dia biou*) and at the banquet that occurs in . . . to (honour him) with a distinguished crown so that the new . . . might know . . . and to know what kind (of honour?). . . . If it should happen – since it is not permitted for anyone to imagine the reversal of the matters that have been decided – (20) that one proposes that this is not acceptable, he shall be fined five hundred silver drachmae. This memo, written in duplicate, is valid.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύννοδος; leadership terms: συνα[γωγός, προστάτης, ἱερέας; reference to a meeting: ἐπὶ τῆς γε[νη]θείσης συναγωγῆς; reference to collective decisions; collectivity devoted to a god; collective voting of honours); ownership or control of a clubhouse; common banquet; the same association is mentioned in BGU VI 1139 [168].

Location: Alexandria; Barrington Atlas 73 B2.

l. 4: Ἀρχακολούθων. A *hapax legomenon*. In BGU IV 1137 [168] the association is called ἐν τῷ Παρατόμῳ συνόδου | Σεβαστῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, identifying it by its location, in the village of Paratomos.

l. 17: στεφά|νῳ ἐξάλλῳ → OGIS II 737.19 (II BCE).

l. 19: ἀνασκευ[ῆ] τ]ῶν δεδογμένων → “to reverse a judgment”: P.Coll.Youtie 66.37 (253/60 CE).

Comments

This honorific decree, from the same association as that named above [169] (6 BCE), is the σύννοδος Σεβαστῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος consisting of

imperial slaves. The inscription comes from the following year when Primos was still *synagōgos* but Ioukoundos, who was priest in 6 BCE, had now become *prostatēs*, the office held by Primos the year before. While BGU IV 1137 was located in the village of Paratomos, this decree seems to have been promulgated in Alexandria in the clubhouse of the “chief followers” of Augustus (ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀρχακολούθων οἴκῳ).

The honoree’s name is missing in *lacuna* but is likely Ioudoundos, the president in the current year. The form of the decree is well known from Athenian honorific decrees (see GRA I *passim*), and includes both the rationale for the awarding of the honour, the naming of the crown, and the threat of a fine for anyone attempting to alter or nullify the decree. The difference concerns media: This shows that it was equally possible for associations to write their decrees on non-durable media (here in duplicate and presumably filed in the archive of the association). The title πάμφιλος διὰ βίου is not otherwise attested (but the adjective occurs in Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 536), although Pamphilos is a common name.

SEG 48:1960 (Alexandria, 161–169 CE) provides another example of an association (here called a *syssition*) dedicated to the imperial family. The text is inscribed on a column:

Π. Αἴλιον Πανοπαῖον
ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τῶν κυρίων
Σεβαστῶν, τῆς εἰς τὸν οἶκο[v]
αὐτῶν εὐνοίας, οἱ ἀπὸ συσ-
5 σείτιου Σεβαστῶν εἰκόνων
καὶ Φαυστείνης Φαρίας Σωσιστόλου
Νέας Σεβαστῆς, *vacat*
τὸν συσσειτόν

(Dedicated to) Publius Aelius Panopaios, procurator of the Lords, Augusti, on account of the goodwill he has shown to their house: the members of the association (*syssition*) (dedicated) to the statues (effigies) of the emperors and of Faustina Pharia, Protector of the fleet, the new Auguste, (dedicated this to) (Panopaios,) their fellow diner (*sysseitos*).

Literature: Brashear, William M. 1993. *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Xenia 34. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag; Paganini, Mario C. D. 2016. “Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. JJP Supplement 28. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation, 1889–1901 (esp. 1892); Pfeiffer, Stefan 2012. “The Imperial Cult in Egypt.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. C. Riggs, 83–100. Oxford: Oxford University Press (p. 95).

[170] I.Prose I 49

Decree honouring a Priest and President

Psenemphaia (Gynaikopolites, 3rd Lower Egyptian nome) 5 BCE

Published: O. Guéraud, “Décret d’une association en l’honneur de son Président” *BSAA* 32 (1938) 21–40; G. Klaffenbach, “Parerga,” *APF* 13 (1939) 212–213; BE 1939, 543; BE 1941, 171; SB V 8267; Bernard, I.Prose I 110–113; II 119–121 (no. 49); Bernard, I.Delta III pp. 899–913 (no. 2) (SEG 42:1500); BE 2001, 532 [TM 103907; CAPIInv 1441]

Translation: Mees 2002, 405.

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 24025.

Similar or related documents: → I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Alex. 11 (Arsinoites, 102–114 CE); P.Berl.Leihg. I 22 (Theadelphia, 155 CE); IG II² 1361 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1324 [32] (Piraeus, ca.190 BCE), repairs to a building; IG II² 1301 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE), repairs to a kitchen; I.Alex.imp. 91 [174] (Alexandria, 4/5 CE); I.Fayum II 121 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE): repairs to an association building; *Associations of landowners*: Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. (1911) 131 = I.Delta I p. 452 = I.Alex.Ptol. 46 [TM 58482; CAPIInv 116] (Alexandria, Ptolemaic period): dedication of a σύνοδος τῶν συνγεούχων to an Alexandrian citizen; I.Delta I p. 92 (Auarieh Station, II BCE): Dedication to “the great Hero and the associated gods” by οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως γεοῦχοι; I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. (1911) 52 = I.Delta I p. 453 (Alexandria, 23/24 CE): dedication to συνόδοι γεωργῶν Καίσαρος; P.Mich. V 313 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Berl.Leihg. II 44 (Theadelphia, 157–58 CE): συνγεωργοί.

A stele of hard limestone with a triangular pediment and parapets, 86 × 40 × 11 cm. The anterior and posterior surfaces are carefully polished. Letter height: ca. 0.6 cm.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·

ἔτους κε Καίσαρος, Παχῶν η·

ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀριστίωνος Κλεοπα-
τρείῳ γεούχων τῶν ἀπὸ Ψ<ε>ν<ε>μφαίας τοῦ Πτολ<ε>μαίου νομοῦ,

- 5 ὦν ἱερεὺς καὶ προστάτης καὶ κωμάρχης Ἀπολλώνιος Θέωνος,
παρόντων τῶν πλείστων· <vac> ἐπειδὴ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γενομένου
συνεκύρησεν τὸν οἶκον σὺν τοῖς προσκυροῦσι χρηστηρίοις ἰκανῶς
σαλευθέντα καθαيرهθῆναι, ἐπισυνέβη δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ
τὸν ἀρχιερέα Θέωνα τιμώτατου ἅπασιν ὄντα εἰς ἑθνεὺς ἀπο-
10 χωρῆσαι, πολλήν τε παρεῖχε διατροπὴν τοῖς γεούχοις μὴ ἀνοι-
κοδομούμενος ὁ οἶκος, αὐτοὶ τε ἅπαντες προτρεψάμενοι τοὺς
<δ>οκοῦντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εὐθέτους εἶναι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης διὰ τε
ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῖς εὐκαιρίαν, ἀποτυχόντες τε καὶ τῆς
ἐπιβολῆς ταύτης μόνον εὖρομεν Ἀπολλώνιον Θέωνος, τὸν τοῦ

- 15 προγεγονότος αρχιερέως υιόν, οὐκ ἀντιλέγοντα ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ τοσαύ-
την εὐνοϊαν ἐνδεικνύμενον καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰς τοὺς συγγεώρ-
γους ὥστε καὶ πολλῆς γενομένης σκέψεως περὶ τε προστάτου
καὶ κωμάρχου <διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκλίνειν χάριν τῆς <δ>απάνης μη-
<δ>ε περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀφοκνήσαντα, ἔνεκα
- 20 τοῦ τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην τῶν συγγεώργων ἀναστῆσαι βούλεσθαι
ἐπιδέξασθαι τε ἅμα πάσας τὰς ἀρχάς, τὴν τε ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ βίου
καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς ἐτέρας ἀρχάς, εἰς τὸ ἅπαντα καταλελυμέ-
να ἐν ὀρθῷ ποῆσαι· <vac> ἔτι δὲ καί, τῶν συγγεώργων κρινάντων δοῦ-
ναι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων δαπάνην ἀργυρίου δρα-
- 25 χμᾶς πεντακοσίας, <vac> αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν
οἶκον ἀνωικοδόμησε καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια πάντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκόνι-
ασε τὸν οἶκον ἀξιολόγως καὶ ἔστρωσε στιβάσι διαφόροις, τὴν
ἀπάντων ἀνήλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου παραδεξάμενος, χωρὶς τῶν
ἄλλων δαπανῶν ὧν ἐποήσατο τῆς προστασίας καὶ κωμαρχίας
- 30 ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ καιρὸν δειπνοῖς μεγαλομερῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως
ἀναστραφεῖς· <vac> ὧν δὴ χάριν,
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, <vac> ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ ἀποδεξαμένους τὴν ἐν πᾶσι
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν τιμῆσαι αὐτόν, χωρὶς ὧν προέχει τιμῶν,
ἐτέρῳ ἀσπιδεῖω καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Θέωνα ἔτι ἀκμὴν παῖδα
- 35 ὄντα ἀσπιδεῖω, καὶ μόνον αὐτόν συνκατακλίνεισθαι τοῖς συγγε-
ώργοις πρὶν ἢ εἰσκριθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους, τὸν τε Ἀπολλώνιον
ἄλλῳ ἀσπιδεῖω, οὗ καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιήσασθαι εἰς τὸ τῶν γεού-
χων Ἀριστίωνος Κλεοπάτρειον, <vac> στεφανοῦσθαι τε αὐτόν κατὰ δια-
φορὰν ἐξάλλῳ στεφάνῳ καθ' ἐκάστην πόσιν, καὶ διπλᾶ μέρη
- 40 δίδοσθαι αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τε αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπιγράφαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιστύ-
λιον τοῦ οἴκου ὅτι αὐτὸς κατασκεύασεν πάντα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς συν-
γεώργοις, ταῦτά τε ἅπαντα ἐνχαράζαντα εἰς στήλην εἰς μίαν τῶν
παραστάδων τοῦ οἴκου ἐνθεῖναι, ἵνα δι' αἰῶνο<ς> ἡ ἐν ἅπασιν τοῦ Ἀπολ-
λωνίου πρὸς τοὺς συγγεώργους ἀρετὴ τε καὶ φιλαγαθία καὶ ἀφιλαρ-
- 45 γυρία πρόσδεηλος γένηται καὶ ἡ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων εὐχάριστος
ἀνθομολόγησις· <vac> πάντας τε τοὺς συγγεώργους ἐπ' ἀνάγκῃ ὑπο-
γράφαι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ δόγματα ἅπαντα, ὥς τοῦ μὴ ὑπογράψαντος
ἐναντία νοοῦντος τοῖς συγγεώργοις· μὴθένι δὲ ἐξέστω ἐπ' ἀνα-
σκευῇ τῶν δεδογμένων λόγον εἰσηγεῖσθαι, ἢ τὸν τοιοῦτον χω-
- 50 ρὶς τοῦ ἐπιβαλλόμενον τὴν ἰδίαν πονηρίαν δεδεῖχθαι ἔτι καὶ
ζημιοῦσθαι εἰς τὸν τῆς συνόδου τῶν συγγεώργων λόγον ἀργυρίου
δραχμᾶς τρισχιλίας ἀπαραιτήτους· τὸ τε δόγμα τοῦτο δισσοῦν ὑπο-
γραφὴν ἔστω κύριον καὶ βέβαιον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἐκδοθήτῳ τῷ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον εἰς τὰ κοινὰ βυβλία τῆς συνόδου καταχω-
55 ρισθῇτω.

For Good Fortune

Year 25 of Caesar (Augustus), 8th of Pachon

When the meeting was held in the Kleopatreion of Aristion by the landowners (*geouchoi*) from Psenemphaia in the Ptolemaïs nome, (5) whose priest and president (*prostatēs*) and *komarch* was Apollōnios son of Theon, a majority of members was present. Since it happened by accident that the shrine (*oikos*) with its associated appurtenances, was considerably destroyed during an earthquake and following this the chief priest, Theon, of highest honour, retired to the gods, (10) the impossibility of rebuilding the shrine caused much confusion for the landowners (*geouchoi*). They all searched among themselves for those who seemed to be well suited for the chief-priesthood both in respect to their merit and it being opportune for them. After failing in our attempt, we only found Apollōnios son of Theon, (15) the son of the previous chief priest. There was no opposition among us owing to his superb display of good will (*eunoia*) and zeal (*philotimia*) to the united farmers (*syngēōrgoi*) even as the search for a president and *komarch* became a great embarrassment because everyone else declined because of the expense (entailed in the office). But concerning these things, Apollōnios did not hesitate, (20) but on account of these things he wished to increase the reputation of the united farmers (*syngēōrgoi*) and at the same time all magistracies, the chief priesthood for life and the other annual magistracies, in order to make right everything that had been damaged. In addition, although the united farmers (*syngēōrgoi*) decided to give to him the cost for the things mentioned above, (25) 500 silver drachmae, he rebuilt the shrine and all its accessories at his own expense and in a short time, and he also had the shrine painted elegantly and he spread out high quality cushions (*stibas*). He took upon himself the cost of the meetings regardless of the other spending he did as the president or *komarch* (30) or at the dinners (*deipna*) at the required times, conducting himself magnificently (*megalomerōs*) and generously (*megalopsychōs*): indeed, for their sake.

For good fortune, it was resolved by common approval, recognizing the excellence of the man in everything, to honour him with new image (*aspideion*) regardless of the honours he already has (35), and his son Theon, since he was an oldest son who also had an image (*aspideion*), to recline exclusively together with the united farmers before being admitted into the ephebate, and to celebrate Apollōnios' dedication of the other image in the Kleopatreion of Aristion of the *geouchoi*, and to crown him according to his excellence with a special crown during each libation, and to give to him a double portion (40), and to give to him permission to inscribe on the *epistyle* of the shrine that he furnished everything by himself for the united farmers, and to engrave this whole affair on a stele and put it in one of the vestibules of the shrine, so that throughout the ages the excellence (*aretē*)

in everything of Apollōnios for the united farmers, even his benevolence (*philagathia*) and selflessness (*aphilarguria*) (45) shall be highlighted with the grateful testimony of those who have benefited. It is compulsory that each of the united farmers undersign every decree of Apollōnios, as those who do not undersign will be considered to be opposed to the united farmers; and that no one has the right to submit a motion to dissolve these decrees (*dogmata*), and (50) the one who does, regardless whether he has revealed his own evil intentions, will be fined by the decree of the *synodos* of united farmers three thousand silver drachmae, without possibility of relief. This decree is undersigned to be valid and enforceable, and that one copy has been delivered to Apollōnios, and the other copy is registered in the public records of the association.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: σύνδοσις τῶν συνγεωργῶν, συνγεωργοί and γεοῦχοι; leadership terms: ἀρχιερεὺς, προστάτης, κωμάρχης, ἀρχιερωσύνη; reference to a meeting: ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς; collective property (οἶκος); collective decisions (τὰ δόγματα); fines, decree is enforceable as law; registered in public records of the association; likely presence of a common fund; banquets; group collectively honours peer benefactor/leader.

Location: Psenemphaia (Gynaikopolites, 3rd Lower Egyptian nome) in the region of lake Mareotis. TM geo ref. 1953. Barrington Atlas 75 C3.

1. 3: ἐν τῷ Ἀριστίωνος Κλεοπατρείῳ: Kleopatreia, shrines dedicated to Kleopatra, are also attested in Oxyrhynchus (BGU II 445), Alexandria (BGU IV 1087), Ptolemaïs Hermiou (OGIS II 703), Schedia (OGIS II 738) and Bolbitine (SB I 647). On the veneration of queens in the Ptolemaic ruler cult, see Lanciers 2014, Caneva 2012, Pfeiffer 2008, Quaegebeur 1988; 1978, Pomeroy 1984, and Thompson 1973.
1. 5: ἱερεὺς καὶ προστάτης καὶ κωμάρχης: Both Bernand and San Nicolò 1972 see the order of these offices as indicative of their relative importance to the association. This may be the case but the office of komarch (*komarchēs*) has a particular function for the *georgoi* (cultivators) and *geouchoi* (landowners) as part of the administration of the agricultural system in Ptolemaic Egypt. The komarch acted as an intermediary between the cultivators and contractors or officials. For example, Taos, a komarch, wrote a letter of complaint (P.Tebt. I 22, 112 BCE) to a village scribe on behalf of elders of *georgoi* of Kerkeosiris. The dispute concerns a payment of seed and Taos accuses the seed inspector of corruption. According to the Ptolemaic revenue laws, the komarch managed the commercial transactions between the contractors and cultivators, not only guaranteeing that the produce was sold at the legal tariff price, but also ensuring that produce was only sold to the contractor (Falivene 2011). Under the Romans, the office becomes disused for a period of time, beginning only about a decade after this inscription (the last attestation is O.Fayûm 8; 5 CE) and reappearing in the third century (P.Oxy. XVII 2121; P.Oxy. XLII 3064).
1. 6: παρόντων τῶν πλείστων → Many associations approved decrees and honours by voting (Egypt: P.Mich. V 243 [206]; BGU IV 1137 [168], Alexandria, 6 BCE; I.Prose I 40 [160], Psenamosis, 64–67 CE; Greece and Macedonia: see GRA I; Asia Minor, see GRA II). A synod of *Sebastes* also mentions that quorum had been reached in

order to verify the decision of the group: [συμπαρ]όντων τῶν πλείστων. BGU IV 1137 (Alexandria, 6 BCE). The *syngeorgoi* of Psenamosis (I.Prose I 40 [160]) also refer to the unanimity of their decisions in a way that recalls the Attic associations: ὑπογραψάντων πάντων τῶν συνόντων εὐδοκεῖν καὶ ποιήσειν πάντα καθότι πρόκειται: ὅφ' ὃ καὶ ὑπέγραψαν πάντες εὐδοκοῦντες, “All those who attended approved by a vote and did everything as above: At the bottom are written all who approved” (ll. 47–49). That inscription also mentions the number of members present, 29 (l. 19), implying that quorum was reached. The emphasis on the unity and unanimity of the decisions of these two *geōrgoi* coincides with the *syn-* prefixed names they use for themselves, e.g., *syngeōrgoi* (I.Prose I 49.16–17, 23, 35–36, 41–42, 44, 48, 51; I.Prose I 40.2–3, 11, 26). → Paganini 2016

1. 7: τοῖς προσκυροῦσι χρηστηρίοις, “associated appurtenances,” e.g., SB XX 14681: οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλὴν καὶ τὰ ταύτης χρηστήρια πάντα, “the house and courtyard and all its appurtenances.” Χρηστήρια are mentioned in ID 2231 along with θεραπευτῶ[v]. The Theodotos inscription (CIJ II 1404) specifies accessories of water: τὰ χρηστ[τ]ήρια τῶν ὑδάτων.
1. 16: εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, “good will and zeal” → IG II² 1284.13–14 [22] (241/0 BCE); IG II² 1291.14–15, 18–19 [19] (mid III BCE). → Index s.v. “virtues.”
1. 19: ἀποκνήσαντα: read ἀποκνήσαντα, → McLean (2002, 351–352).
- 11.21–22: ἀρχάς: magistracy. For the administrative organization of Roman Egypt, see Bowman and Rathbone (1992) and Falivene (2011).
1. 27: στιβάσι διαφόροις: The usual furniture at a festive meal was the *klinē*, or couch, as in IG II² 1315.9–10 [29] where the priestess of the *orgeōnes* of the Mother of the Gods, Krateia, in similar language to our inscription, ἔστρωσεν κλίνην εἰς ἀμφοτέρω τὰ Ἀττίδεια, spread out the couches for both the festivals of Attis. Dionysiac associations made special use of *stibas* at dinners, with the Iobakchoi even naming a particular yearly festival “the Stibas” (IG II² 1368. 48–49, 52, 63, 70, 112, 114–115, 152 [51], see Smith 2003, 113–115). There are no indications, however, in this inscription that the *georgoi* are participating in a Dionysiac celebration. The Dionysiac *stibas*, literally “straw-bed,” connotes the pastoral Dionysiac myth whereas the *stibas* here are noted for their excellence or high quality.
1. 30: μεγαλομερῶς, “magnificently” → Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 144 (Alexandria, II CE); SEG 26:1817 (Cyrenaica, I BCE)
1. 30: μεγαλονόχως, “magnanimously” → I.Prose I 35.10–11 (Hermonthis, 80–69 BCE); I.Prose I 37.26 (Theadelphia, 70 BCE); I.Prose I 46.11 = OGIS I 194 (Thebes, 39 BCE); IG II² 1326.25–26 [36] (176/5 BCE).
1. 34: ἀσπιδείωι, “shield,” “image”: Associations often give those they honour various kinds of crowns and images, such as statues, εἰκόνα (e.g., I.Prose I 40.25), or painted portraits in on a “shield,” ὄπλον, (e.g., IG II² 1012.18 [42]). Łukaszewicz suggests, however, that *aspideion* are not votive shields but are similar to Roman *imagines clipeataei* (Łukaszewicz 1987).
- 1.36: εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους: Other association inscriptions indicate that children could be members or participate in the activities of the group. An *eranos* from Liopesi (SEG 31:122 [50], Attica, II CE) indicates that initiating a child will cost 16.5 minas of pork and uninitiated boys can be involved in the sacred services of the Iobakchoi of Athens (IG II² 1368.55 [51], 164/165 CE).

- 1.44: φιλαγαθία, “benevolence” → SEG 8.357 (Alexandria, III–II BCE); SEG 8.504 (Thmouis, II BCE); P.Tebt. I 124 (Tebtynis, 118 BCE).
- 1.44: ἀφιλαργυρία, “selflessly”, “not being addicted to money” → IG II² 1343.25 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); 1 Tim 3:3 (of an ἐπίσκοπος); Heb 13:5.
- 1.53 κύριον καὶ βέβαιον: “valid and enforceable”. Such language reflects the legal context in Roman Egypt where many associations’ *nomoi* were deemed legally binding. Generally, this language can be found in legal documents, such as the loan payment of a *synod* devoted to the Emperor Augustus: “no one is permitted to take an action against this payment or to . . . such things, for the signed document written in duplicate is valid . . . the one . . . the other” (BGU IV 1137 [168] = AGRW 281, Nile Delta, 6 BCE). The regulations of the guild of sheep and donkey rearers of Tebtynis (P.Mich. V 243 [206], 14–37 CE) likewise add such a clause to their *nomos*: “This law shall be valid when signed by the majority of members. When validated, it shall be returned to the president.” On the legal context of associations in Roman Egypt in general, see Arnaoutoglou (2005).
- 1.54: τὰ κοινὰ βυβλία: Many associations used archival records, for which the usual term is *archeion* (e.g., IJO II 43 = ISmyrna 295, II–III CE; IHierapJ 195, ca. 138–212 CE; IJO II 196, Hierapolis ca. 150–early III CE). The regulation of the association of Epiketa’s relatives (IG XII,3 330 = LSCG 135 = Laum 1914, II 43–52 (no. 43) = AGRW 243, Thera, 210–195 BCE) gives an unusually detailed description of how the records are to be stored, maintained, and used at meetings, including the election of an archivist: “Let this supervisor write down all the things according to the law, and also take care that the law and the testament be engraved and set up on the base of the statues in the Mouseion. The supervisor shall also provide a box in which the writings of the association are to be placed. Likewise the meeting will elect an archivist (*grammatophylax*), who will receive an account from the supervisor, the writing tablet with the transcription of the law and testament, and he shall guard the box with the papyri in it, for as long as the association decides. He will also bring them to the meeting. Now if the association should choose another archivist, he shall hand over these items to the one chosen after him in the meeting for reason of accountability.” Here the records of the *syngēōrgoi* are not merely internal records but public records of their economic activities as part of the bureaucracy of the agricultural system in Roman Egypt.

Comments

This decree of the synod of the “united farmers” (*syngēōrgoi*), who are comprised of landowners (*geouchoi*) from Psenemphaia in the Ptolemaïs nome, records the honours given to the chief priest, president, and *komarch*, Apollōnios son of Theon. Psenemphaia (Kōm Truga) was located on the southern part of Lake Mareotis. Strabo (5.1.7; 17.1.7) describes how the annual inundation of the Nile filled the lake through a number of canals and mentions that it was known as a wine-producing region (cf. Pliny, *HN* 14.4; Virgil, *Georgics* 2.91) (for the fluvial context of the delta, see Blouin 2014, 13–35). Our inscription reports the destruction of the association’s building (*oikos*) in a flood (l. 7), the death of Theon, Apollōnios’ father (l.9), who had served as the former president of the *syngēōrgoi*, and the resulting search for a new president who had the financial

means to rebuild the building. Apollōnios assumes all the offices of his father (l. 21), provides funds for the construction and furnishing of a new building (l. 25–27), and provides funds for association meetings (l. 30). In light of his contributions to the association, the *syngēōrgoi* vote various honours to Apollōnios which include: to crown images of him and his son in the Kleopatreion (l. 35), to allow his underage son to attend dinners (l. 36), to give him double portion at dinners (ll. 39–40), to inscribe a dedicatory plaque on the *oikos* (l. 40), and to inscribe the honorary decree on a stele (ll. 42–43).

The relationship of Aristion to the Kleopatreion is unclear. Bernand argues that Aristion is perhaps the architect of the building rather than merely its benefactor based on the nomenclature of Sarapeia built by known architects. A recent excavation in Kōm Truga led by Zsuzsanna Vanek (2008) has uncovered a monumental building featuring fistulae, a pool, and possibly a kitchen, dated to the first century BCE with repairs made in Roman times, which she suggests could be Aristion's Kleopatreion.

Various types of groups of farmers are attested for Roman Egypt: *dēmosioi georgoi*, *ousiakoi*, *prosodikoi georgoi*, *pittakion*, and *kleruchia*. Some of these groups were organized similarly to associations. The *pittakia* of Theadelphia was presided over by Horion Kastor, the *pittakiarchēs*. As leader of the association, he paid the association's land taxes as well as found farmers to cultivate it (P.Flor. I 18, Arsinoites, 147–148 CE; P.Strasb. IV 218, 150 CE; P.Berl.Leihg. I 22, 155 CE). Rowlandson (2006, 191) points out that the organization of farmers into collective groups

did not mean that the public land was actually farmed communally, although, (as is usual in agrarian communities) the farmers no doubt joined to help each other out in the harvesting, threshing and other tasks." Rather, these groups are response to a lack of available cultivators and the periodic redistribution of public lands in the villages.

Under the Ptolemies, cultivators were a privileged status group often illustrated by the royal benefactions that the associations of cultivators received (e.g., I.Prose I 40 [160]). The cultivators, especially those who farmed public land, lost status and privilege under the Romans through the creation of social advantages for those living in urban areas with Hellenic identity, in part through exemptions from the poll tax (Rowlandson 2006, 187–188). Thus, while Apollōnios son of Theon in our inscription is able to provide the financial means to restore the Kleopatreion of the *syngēōrgoi* and to assume the roles of chief priest, president, and *komarch*, it is notable that he is not an Alexandrian citizen. The flattery in the last half of the inscription, where Apollōnios is extolled for being *megalomerōs*, *megalopsychōs* (ll. 30), and for his *aretē*, *philagathia*, and *aphilarguria* (ll. 43–45), could perhaps be seen not merely as the expression of gratefulness by the *syngēōrgoi* but as an attempt to reclaim diminishing social status and maintain distinction from the *Aigyptioi* through asserting Hellenistic cultural values.

Apollōnios son of Theon, president of the *syngēōrgoi*, may also be the same individual mentioned in a *synchoresis* (BGU IV 1155 = C.Pap.Jud. II 148; 11–10 BCE) concerning the settling of a debt, found at Bousiris (Abusir el-Meleq) but originally from Alexandria. In this papyrus, a Judaeon freedwoman, Martha, repays half of a 200 dr. debt owed to Apollōnios son of Theon which he had originally lent to Martha's deceased patron, Prōtarchos son of Polemon. Apollōnios was able to provide other documents to the *archidikastēs*, the chief official of the *katalogeion* of Alexandria, that substantiated his claim but it is unclear whether he obtained a court order to have the debt repaid or that this was a private settlement.

A feature of this decree by the *syngēōrgoi* is that alongside the common clause that prohibits the dissolution of the decree in the future, it includes a concern over exposing “evil intentions” (l. 50). Other associations have worded warnings in their decrees and regulations similarly. The rules of the association of Epikteta's relatives (IG XII/3 330 = LSCG 135 = Laum 1914, II 43–52 (no. 43) = AGRW 243; Thera, 210–195 BCE) prohibits the modification or nullification of the regulations or the creation of “divisions” under threat of expulsion:

ἃ δὲ καὶ δόξει τοῖς πλείοσι τοῦ
 255 κοινού, ταῦτα κύρια ἔστω πλ[ά]ν ὑπὲρ δια-
 λύσεως· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου μὴ ἔχέτω ἐξου-
 σίαν μηθεὶς μήτε εἶπαι μήτε γράψαι, ὥς δε-
 εῖσῃ διαλύσαι τὸ κοινὸν εἰ τὰς θυσίας τὰς
 προγεγραμμένας, εἰ τῶν τοῦ κοινού τι
 260 κακῶσαι ἢ διελέσθαι ἢ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τι κα-
 ταχρήσασθαι· εἰ δὲ τίς καὶ ἢ εἴπει ἢ γράψαι,
 τὸ τε ῥηθὲν ἢ γραφὲν ἄκυρον ἔστω καὶ ὁ
 εἴπας ἢ γράψας στερέσθω τοῦ κοινού καὶ ὁ-
 φειλ[έ]τω αὐτῶι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας
 265 καὶ πρακτὸς ἔστω καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνεχυρασίας
 κατὰ τὸς νόμος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρήζοντος τῶν
 συγγενῶν. (ll. 254–267)

Whatever is decided by a majority of the (255) association shall be binding, except if it concerns dissolution. But in this regard, no one is permitted either to speak or to write anything, to dissolve the association or the above-mentioned sacrifices, or to do any harm to anything belonging to the association, or to remove or to use any of the original capital for (260) another purpose. If anyone should speak or write, such a word or writing shall be invalid, and whoever said or wrote it shall be expelled from the association and shall owe five hundred drachmae, and (265) the right of execution (of the debt) shall be by distraint in accordance with the law, by whomever of the relatives wishes to take action.

The honorary decree by an association of Berytian immigrants for a Roman banker (ID 1520.53–69 = AGRW 224; after 153/152 BCE) not only encourages their members to be zealous for towards the association but also enjoins them to monitor other member's behavior:

- 60 ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ εἶπας ἢ ὁ ἀναγνοῦς
 [ἢ] ὁ προθεῖς ἢ ὁ ἐπιχειροτονήσας ἢ ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ προθεῖς ἐξώλης εἶη
 [α]ὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέ[κν]α αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτηροῦσι εἶη καὶ βίου καὶ
 τέκνων καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ὄνησις, καὶ εἶη αὐτοῖς σώιζεσθαι καὶ κατ[ὰ]
 [γ]ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ὁ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀποτινέτω
 65 δραχμάς στεφανηφόρους ἑξακισχιλίας ἱεράς τοῦ Ποσειδῶ-
 γος καὶ ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιθια-
 σίτης, ὁ ἂμ μὴ ποιήσῃ τῶν προστεταγμένων, ὀφειλέτω
 τὸ ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον καὶ ἔστω ὑπόδικος τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ.

Whoever writes or proposes a motion or is the orator or puts it to a vote or votes for it or inscribes it or proposes (anything) may he be utterly destroyed, both he and his children. But may there be enjoyment of life, children and possessions, for those guarding these (decrees), and may they be safe on both land and on sea. Let he who has acted contrary to these things be fined (65) six thousand crown-stamped drachmae, sacred to Poseidon, and let him be liable for the wrongdoing.

A third, well-known example, is the regulations for the household association of Dionysios from Philadelphia (TAM V 1539 [117] = Syll³ 985; ca. 100 BCE), which also requires the surveillance of fellow members, although the proscribed behaviours include the use of harmful spells, love charms, abortifacients, or contraceptives, as well as various types of purity and sexual misconduct, rather than attempting to change regulations or create cliques as in the above examples:

- ἀποστερ[οῦντες δὲ μὴ]-
 δὲν εὐνοεῖν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷδε, καὶ ἂν τ[ις] τούτων τι ποι]-
 ῇ ἢ ἐπιβο[υλε]ύῃ, μήτε ἐπιτρέψῃ μὴ[τε παρασιω]-
 25 [πῆσ]ειν, [ἀλ]λ' ἐμφανιεῖν καὶ ἀμυνεῖσθ[αι].

Now no one should withdraw their goodwill towards this house, and if anyone should do any of these things or plan them, the others are neither to look the other way nor remain silent, but shall expose and avenge the violations.

Some early Christ groups were also concerned with monitoring behavior that could lead to the creation of cliques or factions. Both the Letter of James and the Didache link some form of malevolent intentions with the possibility of division:

Ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ἐν προσωπολημνίαις ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] τῆς δόξης· ἂν γὰρ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν ἀνὴρ χρυσοδακτύλιος ἐν ἐσθῇ λαμπρᾷ, εἰσέλθῃ δὲ καὶ πτωχὸς ἐν ῥυπαρᾷ ἐσθῇτι, ἐπιβλέψῃτε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν φοροῦντα τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν λαμπράν καὶ εἰπῃτε· σὺ κάθου ὧδε καλῶς, καὶ τῷ πτωχῷ εἰπῃτε· σὺ στῆθι ἐκεῖ ἢ κάθου ὑπὸ τὸ ὑποπόδιόν μου, οὐ διεκρίθητε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐγένεσθε κριταὶ διαλογισμῶν πονηρῶν; (James 2:1–4)

My brothers, do not hold the faith of the lord of glory with favouritism. For if a man enters your assembly wearing gold rings and fine clothes and if a poor man wearing filthy clothes also comes in, and you pay attention to the one wearing the fine clothes and say, “You sit here in an honorable place,” and the poor man you say, “Stand there,” or, “Sit at my feet,” have you not made distinctions among yourselves, and become judges with evil reasoning?

ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς (Did. 4.14)

In the assembly, you shall declare your wrong doings, and you shall not approach your place of prayer with an evil intention. This is the way of life.

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[171] I.Alex.imp. 74

Dedication by a former Priest of the Phrygians

Alexandria (but found in Pompeii [Campania])

3 BCE

Published: CIG III 5866c; CIL 10.796; IG XIV 701; Cagnat, IGRR I 458;

Dittenberger, OGIS II 658; SB V 7875; Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 232–236 (no. 74); SEG 44:1441 [TM 105972; CAPInv 1491]

Translation: AGRW 316

Current location: Location: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 2475.

Similar or related documents: → Ptolemaic period *politeumata*: SEG 2:871.7–13

(Xoīs, 165 BCE): ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ | στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ξοῖτου καὶ
 ἱερεὺς τοῦ | πολιτεύματος καὶ οἱ τούτου υἱοὶ || Μητροφάνης κ[αὶ
 Πτ]ολεμαῖος οἱ διάδοχοι | καὶ εἰσαγγελεῖ[ς καὶ οἱ] ἐπισυνηγμένοι | ἐν Ἐόει
 Βοιωτοῖ [καὶ] οἱ σ[υ]μ|πολιτευόμενοι; I.Fayum I 15 (Arsinoë, 125–100
 BCE) π. τῶν Κιλικῶν; I.Prose I 25 = OGIS II 737 (Memphis, 112/11 BCE):
 π. καὶ τῶν | ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἰδουμαίων; SEG 20:499.3–7 (Alexandria,
 112/1 or 76/5 BCE) τὸ πολίτευμα | τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξαν|δρείαι φερομέ|νων
 στρατιω|τῶν. *Politeumata* of the Judaeans: πολίτευμα: Pol.Jud.
 18(Herakleopolite, 142 BCE); P.Pol.Jud. 4 (Herakleopolite, 137 BCE);
 P.Pol.Jud. 7 (Herakleopolite, 137 BCE); Pol.Jud. 1 (Herakleopolite, 135
 BCE); π. τῶν Ἰουδαίων: Pol.Jud. 8 (Herakleopolite, 133 BCE); Pol.Jud. 20
 (Herakleopolite, 142–132 BCE). Roman era *politeumata*: I.Fayum II 121
 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE): π. Ἀρθώτου; I.Alex.imp. 24 = IGRR I 1078
 (Alexandria, 120 CE): a petition (?) ἀ[πὸ πολιτ]εύματος Λυκίων.

Base of black basalt. Found in the forum of Pompeii in 1818, originally from
 Alexandria in Egypt (as indicated by the form of dating). It was brought to Pompeii
 before the volcanic eruption of 79 CE, perhaps by Hephaistion himself or other
 members of this Phrygian association.

Γάιος Ἰούλιος ἩφαιστίωνοϚ

υἱὸς Ἡφαιστίων ἱερατεύσας

τοῦ πολιτεύματος τῶν Φρυ-

γῶν ἀνέθηκε Δία Φρύγιον,

5 L κζ ΚαίσαροϚ Φαρμοῦθι Σεβαστῇ.

Gaius Julius Hephaistion son of Hephaiston, former priest of the *politeuma*
 of the Phrygians, dedicated (this) to Phrygian Zeus, (5) year 27 of Caesar
 (Augustus), month of Pharmouthi, festival of Augustus.

Notes

Association? Possible: see *Comments*.

I. 1: Γάιος Ἰούλιος ἩφαιστίωνοϚ The name suggests that he was an imperial freedman.

- l. 5: Σεβαστή: the Emperor's day, the day on which his birthday or accession day was celebrated every month; OGIS II 658 (Egypt, I BCE); P.Mich. II 123r iv.30 [216] (45/46 CE), etc.

Comments

The *politeuma* of the Phrygians, like those of the Judaeans (→ P.Pol.Jud.), if it existed in the Ptolemaic period, was not an association comparable to the cultic associations and occupational guilds in this collection. Under the Ptolemies, *politeumata* were ethnic groups in Egypt, probably military settlers, that had been given independent administrative competence and fiscal privileges. Kruse 2015 suggests that in the second century BCE, when the Ptolemies were experiencing internal and external challenges, they were persuaded to grant more autonomy to military groups in Egypt, allowing them to form political bodies of “citizens” with legal competence. Czajkowski 2019 stresses that this status would not necessarily have applied to all of the Phrygians in Alexandria (or to all Judaeans in Alexandria, if there was a Judaeian *politeuma*, as the letter of Aristeeas §310 claims), but only to *some* of the Phrygians and Judaeans).

As Czajkowski notes with the reduction of Egypt to a Roman province, the status of these *politeumata* almost certainly changed, from public or semi-public associations, to private associations. There was no automatic acquisition of Roman citizenship and little reason to suppose that these *politeumata* had a special legal status (Czajkowski 2019, 84–85). The Phrygian *politeuma* represented by this inscription was perhaps equivalent to a cultic *thiasos* or *synodos*, managing its own internal affairs in the same way that other associations did (→ P.Cair. 30606 [191] *comment*), but without any recognition of a special legal status.

Literature: Berndt-Ersoz, Susanne 2006. *Phrygian Rock-cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice*. Leiden: Brill (pp. 163 mentions worship of Zeus in Phrygia); Czajkowski, Kimberley. 2019. “Jewish Associations in Alexandria?” In *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 191, 76–96. Leiden: Brill; Kruse, Thomas 2015. “Ethnic Koina and Politeumata in Ptolemaic Egypt.” In *Private Associations and the Public Sphere: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen and Christian A. Thomsen. Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistic, 8/9, 270–300. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters; Lubotsky, Alexander 2004. “The Phrygian Zeus and the Problem of ‘Lautverschiebung.’” *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics* 117 (2):229–237. RJO/JSK

[172] I.Alex.imp. 93

Dedication by a former President

Alexandria (Gabbari)

30–37 CE

Published: H.C. Agnew, “Remarks on some Remains of Ancient Greek Writings, on the Walls of a Family Catacomb at Alexandria,” *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous tracts* 28 (1840), 152–170, 169 (no. 22B) (facs. plate XIIIIB); A.J. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l’Égypte* (Paris: L’Imprimerie royale, 1848) 2:450 (no. CDXCIII) (plate XXXVII); CIG III 4684d; SB V 8548; Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” In *JJP* 22:29–36, p. 31 (no. 5); I.Alex.imp. 277–279 (no. 93) [TM 103968; CAPIInv 1345]

Current location: unknown.

Similar or related documents: → I.Alex.imp. 91 [174]; 94; 95; 96; SB I (1913–1915) 639 = 3.6047 [164]; IGRR I 1114 [203].

Basalt statue base, 7–8 cm. × 17.5 × 17.5 (d). Letter height: irregular, 0.6–0.8 cm.

Λεύκιος, προστατήσας
τὸ ἰδ L καὶ ἰε L,
τοῖς μένουσιν ἐν τῇ συ-
νόδῳ ἀνέθηκε.

Lucius, having been president in the 14th and 15th year, dedicated (this) to those who frequent (?) the association (*synodos*).

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοσις, leadership term: προστατήσας; yearly election of presidents.

Location: Alexandria (El Gabbari Necropolis). TM geo ref. 100; Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

1. 1: προστατήσας → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] note.

1. 2: τὸ ἰδ L καὶ ἰε L, “in the 14th and 15th year.” See also SB I 639 [164] for persons who served as president in two subsequent years.

1. 3: τοῖς μένουσιν (or τοῖς νέμουσιν ?): Letronne 1842–1848, 2:450: “Le *synode* était le nom de quelque confrérie, dont les membres étaient *externes* ou *internes*; les premiers ne se réunissant au *synode* qu’à certaines époques, les autres y demeurant à poste fixe, et étant présidés par un *prostate*. . . .” Kayser: “à ceux qui fréquentent l’association.” Kayser notes that this expression is without parallel in Egyptian inscriptions, but cites IGRR I 1114 [203] (Memphis, Ptah Temple, 17 BCE): Φιλέρωσ προστατήσας | τὸ ἰγ ἔτος Καίσαρος, ἀνέθηκε | Ἡρακλείδην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ | πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην || τοῖς νέμουσι τὴν σύνο[δον] ἔτους ἰγ Καίσαρος Μεχεί[ρ –], “Phileros, who was president in the 13th year of Caesar, dedicated (this statue of) Herakleidēs his patron and benefactor, to those who formed the association (*synodos*), Year 13, Mecheir x.”

The expression νέμειν τὴν σύνοδον appears in other Egyptian inscriptions where the sense of νέμειν is unclear. In some instances it seems to mean nothing more than “to be a participant in” or perhaps “to form”: I.Alex.Mus. 144⁺ = I.Alex.Ptol. 41 (Alexandria; II BCE): [— —]ον Ἀσκληπιάδου τὸν συ[γγενῆ] | καὶ διοι[κ]ητὴν οἱ νέμ[ον]τος σὺν α]ὐτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀφρ[οδίτης .]α[. . .]μρεους σύνοδον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκε[ν καὶ μεγ]αλομερείας ἧς ἔχων διατ[ελεῖ] πρὸς [τὴν] πόλ[ιν], “those who participate in (?) (formed?) the *synodos* of Aphrodite [. . .] with [NN] honoured [NN] son of Asklepiadēs the kinsman and *dioiketes* on account of the excellence and munificence that he continues to show to the city.” In I.Prose I 3.3 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, ca. 269–246 BCE): καὶ τοῖς τὴν σύνοδον νέμουσιν, however, νέμουσιν appears to refer to some who *manage* part of the affairs of the association. See I.Prose I 3 [243] *comment*.

Comments

Former presidents of associations, particularly in Alexandria, dedicated statues to their respective associations after the completion of their tenure. Lucius has dedicated a statue after the completion of the 15th year (of Caesar) to his association but this inscription is notable because it also indicates that Lucius was president the previous year as well. Another statue dedication SB I 639 [164] also gives two consecutive years, the fourth and fifth year, for a former president of an association (*synagōgē*). Generally, it is thought that a president served an association for a term of one year (Boak 1937), for example, the *nomos* in IG II² 1369 [49] (Attica, II CE) indicates that presidents (*prostatai*) are chosen by lot each year. In Egypt, an association of Zeus Hypistos elected Petesouchos as *hēgoumenos*, “president,” for one year (P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58 BCE), the association of *apolysimoi* elected their *epimelētēs*, “supervisor,” for one year (P.Mich. V 244 [212]; Tebtynis, 43 CE) as did the *halopōlai* of Tebtynis (P.Mich. V 245 [219], Tebtynis, 47 CE), and the numerous dedications made by former presidents which suggest service for a single year (e.g., I.Alex.imp. 46 [176]; I.Alex.imp. 90 [167]; I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]; I.Alex.imp. 94 [173]; I.Alex.imp. 96 [166]; cf. Łajtar 1992). This evidence indicates that the normal practice for associations was to elect a president for a single year, and that Lucius in the inscription above has been re-elected for a second term, rather than being elected for a two-year term.

Literature: Agnew, H.C. 1840. “Remarks on some remains of Greek writings on the walls of a family catacomb in Alexandria.” In *Archaeologica* 28:152–170; Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. “The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *TAPA* 68:212–220; Łajtar, Adam 1992. “Dedication of a *Prostates*.” In *JJP* 22:29–36; Letronne, Antoine-Jean 1842–1848. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l’Égypte: étudiées dans leur rapport avec l’histoire politique, l’administration intérieure, les institutions civiles et religieuses de ce pays depuis la conquête d’Alexandre jusqu’à celle des Arabes*. Paris: L’Imprimerie royal. RJO

[173] I.Alex.imp. 94 Dedication of a Statue

Alexandria (Mohrrem)

early I CE

Published: Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 79–80 (no. 135); Evaristo Breccia, “Cronaca del Museo e degli scavi e ritrovamenti,” *BSAA* 9 (1907) 97–114, 101 (no. 7); Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria,” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 32 (no. 8); Kayar, I.Alex.imp. 94 [TM 103222; CAPInv 1346]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 19017.

Black granite, 50 × 85 cm.

[Πτ]ολεμαῖο[ς προσ]-

[τ]ατήσας τ[ὸ γ (?) L ἄν]-

έθηκεν φιλ[οτιμίας]

χάριν <vac>

5 L δ, Φαρμ[οῦθι..]

Ptolemaios, who was president in the 3rd (?) year dedicated (this statue), on account of his zeal. *vacat* | Year 4, Pharmouthi x.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership term: προστατήσας; yearly election of presidents.

Location: Alexandria; Barrington Atlas 74 B2.

ll. 1–2: προστατήσας → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] note.

[174] I.Alex.imp. 91 Honorific Decree for a Benefactor

Alexandria

4/5 CE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d’Alexandre* (Alexandria: A. Mourès, 1900) 272 (no. 76) (description); Seymour di Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine. Inscriptions grecques (1896–1902),” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, p. 430 (no. 5) (transcriptions in minuscules); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 31 (no. 47, ph. tav. XIII no. 36); SB I 5959; Cagnat, IGRR I 1077 (after a squeeze of Botti) (SB V 8787); Peter M. Fraser, “Ἀρχιπροστάτης, Ἀρχιπροστατέω,” *CdÉ* 26 (1951) 162–163 (no. 1); Peter M. Fraser, “Ἀρχιπροστάτης, a correction,” *CdÉ* 27 (1952) 290; Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 267–275 (no. 91, Pl.

XLV); Bernard, I.Prose I 114–115; II 121–122 (no. 50); Jean Bingen, “Chronique (Égypte Gréco-Romaine) *CdÉ* 69 (1994) 152–167, p. 165; Adam Łajtar, “Die jüdischen Inschriften aus Ägypten: Bemerkungen zu.” *JJP* 24 (1994) 57–70, pp. 61–62 (no. 18); Horbury and Noy, *JIGRE* 26–30 (no. 18); SEG 42:1501; SEG 43:1097; SEG 46:2085 [TM 102665; CAPInv 1739]

Current location: Musée gréco-romaine inv. 171, cat. 47.

Similar or related documents: → BGU 1137 [168] (6 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 93; 94; 95; 96; SB I 983; SB I 6399 [164]; SB III 6047; SB IV 7457 (I BCE); SB V 8267 (5 BCE).

Fragment of a marble plaque, 27 × 15 cm. broken both left and right.

- [ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ].
 [ἔτους δλ(?) Καίσαρος, Ἀ]θὺρ ιη ἐπὶ τῆς γ[εν]η-
 [θείσης συναγωγῆ]ς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Το[–]
 [– – –]Σ ὧν ἀρχισυναγωγ[γός]
 5 [– ? – καὶ ἀρ]χιπροστάτης Διοκ[λῆς]
 [– – ἐπεὶ Β]ρασίδης Ἡρακλε[ίδου]
 [– – – τὸ] γλ L Καίσαρος ο[···]
 [– – –] ἐν ἅπασιν ἀναστ[ρεφό]-
 [μενος – ±8–9 – ω]ς καὶ ὑγιῶς ΕΠ[– –]
 10 [– – –]Σ τὴν δαπάνην Π[– –]
 [– – – νε]ομηνιακὰς ἡμέ[ρας]
 [– – – ἐ]πισκευὰς ἀκολ[ούθως]
 [– – –]ΟΥ λόγῳ ἐπὶ ΤΟ[– –]
 [– – ·π]οδεξαμενοί[– –]
 15 [– – –] στεφάνῳ Εἰ[– –]
 [– – – καὶ ἄλ]λοις δυσὶ [– –]
 [– – –]ΠΙ[– –]

For good fortune! In year 34(?) of Caesar, Hathyr 18, at the meeting (*synagōgē*) of (the association) of those from To- . . . that occurred . . . , whose chief presider (*archisynagōgos*) (5) was . . . and whose chief president (*archiprostatēs*) was Diok[les] . . . (the following motion was approved): Whereas Brasidas son of Herakleidēs, who . . . in the 33rd year of Caesar, having conducted himself in all thing . . . honestly . . . (10) the costs for . . . the first days of the month. . . repairs, in accordance with . . . a crown . . . and the other two . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: ἀρχισυναγωγός, ἀρχιπροστάτης; reference to a meeting: ἐπὶ τῆς γ[εν]η[θείσης συναγωγῆ]ς; collective honouring of a patron/peer benefactor.

Location: Alexandria; Barrington Atlas 74 B2.

- l. 2: [ἐτους δλ(?). The restoration of an unusual form the numeral – instead of λδ – is motivated by γλ L in l. 7.
- l. 4: ἀρχισυναγωγ[ος]: The title is not restricted to Judaeen synagogues. → I.Fayum I 9.6 (Arsinoë, 80/79, 69/7 BCE) where the president of a military association is designated as ἀρχισυνά]γωγος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς.

Comments

Bernard's text (I.Prose I 50) has some significant differences:

- [Α]θὺρ ιη ἐπὶ τῆς π[ρυντανείας(?)]
 --- τὼν ἀπὸ τῆς τ-----
 --- [τ]ῶν ἀρχισυναγωγ[γων]-----
 --- [ἀρ]χιπροστάτης διοι[κήσεως εἶπεν].
 5 [ἐπειδὴ Β]ρασίδης Ἡρακλεῖ[δου(?)]-----
 --- γλ ἔτους Καίσαρος-----
 --- ἐν ἅπασιν ἀναστ[ρεφόμενος]
 --- ως καὶ ὑγιῶς, ἐπ-----
 --- τὴν δαπάνην π-----
 10 [ἱερ]ομηνιακὰς ἡμέ[ρας]-----
 --- [ἐ]πισκευὰς ἀκολ[ούθως(?)]
 --- ου λόγῳ ἐπὶ το-----
 --- [ὕπ]οδεξάμενον-----
 --- στεφάνῳ ἐπ-----
 15 --- [ἄλ]λοις δυσι-----

Although the decree is extremely fragmentary, the general sense can be guessed from the content of other honorific decrees. A general assembly, convoked under the presidency of Dioklēs (designated both as an ἀρχισυναγωγός and ἀρχιπροστάτης has agreed to vote a crown to a benefactor, Brasidas son of Herakleidēs, who has underwritten the expenses for sacrifices and/or a festival on the first day of the month. (For other such festivals, see San Nicolò 1972, 2:172; Rubenstein 1909, 158 [no. 2]: Βα]σ[ιλεῖ [Π]τολεμαῖοι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Βερνίκῃ καὶ Διοσκούροις εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κατὰ μῆνα γινομένας τὴν πρόσδοον τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων Θέωρος ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ σ[υ]νβασίλισται καὶ Διοσκουριασται οἱ ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τῷ νομῷ).

The title ἀρχισυναγωγός (rather than συναγωγός) is relatively rare, but appears in an inscription from Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis (I.Fayum I 9 [TM 6543; CAPIV 72]):

- 1 [ὕπερ βασιλέω]ς Πτολεμαίου [καὶ]
 [βασιλίσσης Κ]λεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ
 [Τρυφαίνης θε]ῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ
 [Φιλαδεلفῶν] οἱ το τεταγμένον
 5 [ἔχοντες ἐν τ]ῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἱπτεῖς,
 [ὼν ἀρχισυνά]γωγος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς

For the well-being of King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra, also called Tryphaena, the Philopater and Philadelphoi gods: those cavalry stationed in Arsinoites, whose *archisynagōgos* and chief priest (is NN dedicated this).

Seymour 1896–1902, 430 claimed “le titre ἀρχισυναγωγός est juif” (see now Rajak and Noy 1993) but immediately noted that the title “kommt auch in griechischen Vereinen vor” with reference to Ziebarth 1896, 55–57. Other inscriptions and papyri from Egypt offer analogies for one individual having double titles: BGU IV 1137.3–4 [168] (6 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 91.4–5 [174] (Alexandria, 3/4 CE): ὁ ἀρχισυναγωγ[ος] ||[– ? – καὶ ἀρχιπροστάτης Διοκ[λῆς]; IGRR 1095 [163] (Kanopos, 29/28 BCE): συναγ(ωγήσας) | καὶ προστατήσας. Normally, however, the titles are distinct, borne by two different persons.

Literature: Fraser, Peter M. 1951. “Ἀρχιπροστάτης, Ἀρχιπροστατέω.” In *CdÉ* 26:162–163; Fraser, Peter M. 1952. “Ἀρχιπροστάτης, a correction.” In *CdÉ* 27: 290; Poland, Franz 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner (356, 575); Rajak, Tessa, and David Noy 1993. “*Archisynagogoi*: Office, Title and Social Status in Greco-Jewish Synagogue.” In *JRS* 83:75–93; Rubenstein. O. 1909. “Neue Inschriften aus Ägypten, *APF* 5:156–169; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. mit Nachtragen von Johannes Herrmann. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck (1:211 [no. 8], 2:46–47 no.5; 61 [*archisynagogos*]; 172 n. 1); Ziebarth, Erich 1896. *Das griechische Vereinswesen*. Stuttgart: Hirzel.

[175] I.Alex.imp. 97

Dedication by an Association to a Chief Physician

Alexandria

7 CE

Published: Cagnat, IGRR I 1081; C. Römer, “Ehrung für den Arzt Themison,” *ZPE* 84 (1990) 81–88 (ph. of a squeeze); Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 283–285 (no. 97); SEG 40:1552; AE 1990, 1019; E. Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec. Sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*, Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 31 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2003) no. 394 [TM 105102; CAPIInv 1348]

Translation: AGRW 284.

Current location: *in situ* in the Zenat al-Sittât quarter of Alexandria.

Similar or related documents: → *associations of physicians*: IG II² 772 (*iatroi dêmosieuoentes*); IEph 719 [129]: association of *iatroi* honour an *arch-iatros*; CIL 9.1618 = ILS 6507: *collegium medicorum*; CIL 5.4489: *collegium pharmacopolarum publicorum*; CIL 6.384: *collegium aromatariorum*

rum; ILS 5482: *schola medicorum*; *associations honour a physician*: IJO II 32 = IEph 1677 = AGRW 174: Grave of a chief physician cared for by the Judaeans; IEph 2304 = AGRW 175: Grave of a chief physician cared for by an association of physicians; IG XII/5 912 = AGRW 242: a “friendship association” honours a sacred physician.

Fragment of a white marble plaque 59 × 30 × 15 cm., broken at the right.

Γάιον Προκλήιον Θεμίσιωνα ἀρχιατρὸν
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι [. . . .]-
μένων ιατρῶν *vac* εὐνοίας χάριν

3a <*vacat*>

4 [ἔτους] λζ Καίσαρος *vac* Φαῶφι [– ?].

(Statue of) Gaius Procleius Themison, chief physician. The association (*plēthos*) of physicians . . . in Alexandria (set this up) on account of his good will.

vacat

Year 37 of Caesar, Phaophi x.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι . . . ιατρῶν; leadership term: ἀρχιατρός; collective honouring of a patron/peer benefactor.

Location: Alexandria, Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

I. 2: πλῆθος: A common term for an association In Egypt it was a particularly common designation used by associations, particularly in Egypt: I.Fayum I 13: τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι ἰππέων τῆς θεραπείας; I.Fayum III 212 [204] (Arsinoites, 3 CE): τὸ πλῆθος τῶν | ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινόεϊτου καθαροῦργῶν καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν (specialty bakers and cake makers); I.Prose I 25 (πλῆθος of swordsmen); SB I 647 (πλῆθος of those from the Great *Kleopatreion*); P.Mich. II 123r [216] (Tebtynis, 45/46 CE): iii.42: πλῆθος γεργίων; association of weavers; vi.25: πλῆθος ἐριοπωλῶν, association of wool merchants; xxii.44: πλῆθος ἀπολυσίμων, association of those exempt from compulsory service; P.Mich. II 124 [216] ii.15: πλῆθος of wool merchants; ii.19: πλῆθος of weavers; P.Mich. V 244.7 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5097 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE): τοῦ τῶν γεργίων πλῆ|θους, association of weavers; OGIS I 56.24 (Canopus, III BCE); πλῆθος τῶν ἀλιέων; PSI V 498.2 (III BCE); τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαχαιροφόρων OGIS II 737 (Memphis, II BCE); frequently in Rhodian associations, e.g., IG XII/1 155.d.6; 156.5, Rhodes, II BCE).

II. 2–3 [...]μένων ιατρῶν: Various suggestions have been made to restore this lacuna. Some address the provenance of the groups, with Römer (1990) reading [συνηγ]μένων, where the physicians are a group from outside Alexandria, while Kayser suggests [καθη]μένων, seeing them residing in Alexandria. Placing the inscription in closer relation to the Museion, Łajtar (1997) suggests [σιτου]μένω as a variation of the common phrase οἱ ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτούμενοι attested in papyri and inscriptions (e.g., BGU 73.4, II CE; τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτουμένων, Bernand, *Les Portes du désert* 32, Tentyris (Dandara), 1–50 CE; cf. I.Alex.imp. 98 [184]).

Comments

This dedication by an association (πλῆθος) of physicians (ἰατροί) honours C. Procleios Themison, who bears the title *archiatros* or chief-physician. It is not particularly surprising to find evidence of an association of physicians in Alexandria, a city with a established reputation for Greek medicine since the first Ptolemies (→ Nutton 1995, 19). Besides the place where Herophilus is known to have conducted his research on human anatomy (Staden 1989), many lesser known physicians claimed to have been trained there (e.g., *NewDocs* 2.2 = Robert, *Hellenica* 2 [1946] 105–106). In other cities known for Greek medicine, such as Ephesos and Rome, there is plenty of evidence of physicians forming associations (→ similar or related documents above), yet curiously our inscription is the only known evidence of association of physicians from Alexandria.

The name Themison also provides interesting connections to the world of ancient Greek medicine. The physician C. Iulius Themison of Tralles made a dedication in Rome in the first century CE (IGUR II 607). More famous is Themison of Laodicea, one of founders of the Methodist school of medicine, who was reputed to be the disciple of Asclepiades of Bithynia (on Themison and the rise of Methodism, → Nutton 2004, 193–196; Römer 1990). Kayser (1994, 284) suggests that C. Procleios Themison was a freedman of Gaius Procleius, companion and friend of Octavian, who took part in the wars against Pompey in Sicily and Marc Antonius in Egypt (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.40.6; Pliny, *HN* 36.183).

The title *archiatros* is first attested for the court physicians of the Ptolemaic rulers, an association which continues into the early Roman empire (Nutton 1977). In Egypt, the first recorded *archiatros* is Athenagoras, chief-physician of the priests of the vestment-keepers in a temple in the Fayûm. He orders them to deliver up a body currently in their keeping and to accompany it on the first stage of its journey back to Alexandria (SB I 5216, first century BCE). In the Roman period, the *archiatros* and procurator for Trajan on his campaign in Dacia was T. Statilius Kriton (Crito) of Herakleia Salbake (Robert, *ICariaR* 49.6–7; *IEph* 1522; Galen, *De Compos. Medicam. sec. Locos.*, i. 3, vol. xii).

Römer (1990) discusses the possible meaning of *archiatros*: not a court-physician of the Emperor nor a privileged municipal doctor, probably not the head of a college of Alexandrian doctors, but perhaps a doctor in charge of the medical services all over Egypt, possibly connected with the Mouseion (cf. Chrysermos ἐπὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν in ID 1525; OGIS I 104, ca. 150–100 BCE), or a famous “travelling” physician. Von Staden (1989, 26–8) and Nutton (1995, 19) both argue, however, that there is no evidence of an established medical school in Alexandria or physicians connected with the Mouseion. There is some evidence that an *archiatros* could be an official of an association, such as in the following dedication to Heleis by an association of athletes from Thyateira (TAM V 1097, II–II CE):

- 1 /// Ηλεις, ς
 Ηλεις ἀρχιατρὸς
 τοῦ σύμπαντος
 ζυστοῦ ἐνθάδε
 5 κεῖμαι. χαῖρε.

I, Heleis, *archiatros* of the united association of athletes, lie here. Farewell!

Another example is the presence of two physicians (*medici*) in an Italian association of carpenters, *collegium fabrum tignariorum* (CIL 11.1355a, b; Luna, II CE?), L. Tettius Glycon, and L. Tettius Apollonius, both freedmen to judge by their names.

Pleket (1995) argues that *archiatroi* were normally not members of the urban elite, since they do not appear to have held the magistracies or other positions of civic responsibility that were the privilege of the social elite. He states that this is the case for around 60 percent of all recorded cases of *archiatroi*. In Egypt, however, physicians also received, or at least expected to receive, the same immunities from liturgies that had been given to physicians in other parts of the Mediterranean (see comments on GRA II [129]). The physician Marcus Valerius Gemellus, in a petition to the praefect Gaius Avidius Heliodorus (praefect 140–143 CE), sought to be exempt from liturgies because of his profession (P.Fay. 106 = W.Chr. 395 = Sel.Pap. II 283, Bacchias, ca. 140 CE).

- 16 κύριε, ὅθεν ἀξιῶ σαι τὸν σω[τῆρα]
 ἐλεῆσαι με καὶ κελεῦσαι ἥ[δη με]
 ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς χρείας ὅπ[ως δυ]-
 νηθῶ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἀ]-
 20 πὸ τῶν καμάτων οὐδὲν δ[ε δεῖ . . .]
 τον καὶ ὁμοιώμ[ατα] ὑποτάξαι[ι, ὅτι]
 τέλεονδὸ ἀπολύονται τῶν [λειτουρ]-
 γιῶν οἱ τὴν ἱατρικὴν ἐπιστή[μην]
 μεταχειριζόμενοι μάλ[ι]στα [δὲ οἱ δε]-
 25 δοκιμασμένοι ὥσπερ κάγ[ώ] (Il.16–25)

I entreat you, lord, to have pity on me, and order me to be released from my duties so that I may be able to recover from the effects of my labors . . . and . . . to add instructions that complete exemption from compulsory services be granted to persons in possession of medical knowledge, particularly to those approved by the municipal curia as such like myself.

Similarly, a series of judgments by the praefect, Valerius Eudaemon, record the claims of at least two physicians for such privileges. In the best preserved case, the physician Psasnis had apparently has been nominated (by his patients!) for a liturgy and claims immunity based on his profession (P.Oxy. I 40 = Oxyrhynchus, II CE; see Israelowich 2015, 42):

ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ Οὐα[λερίου Εὐδαί]-
 μονος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος L [Ἀντωνίνου]

- [Κα]ίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμενώθ α[ἄπε]ρχο-
 μένου Ψάσνιος· προσελθ[ό]γι[ος Ψάσνι]ος
 5 καὶ εἰπόντος· ἱατρὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ[ν τέ]χνην
 τούτους αὐτοὺς οἵτινές με εἰς λειτο[υ]ρ[γ]ίαν
 δεδώκασι ἐθεράπευσα, Εὐδαίμων εἶπεν· τά-
 χα κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἐθεράπευσας· δίδασκον τ[ὸν στρα-]
 τηγόν, εἰ ἱατρὸς εἴ δημοσ[ι]εύων ἐπιτη[δεύω]ς,
 10 καὶ ἔξεις τὴν ἀλειτουρησίαν.

A copy of the report of Valerius Eudaemon, former praefect, in the year ... of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phamenoth 1[.]... claim of Psasnis. Psasnis appeared (5) and said: "I am a doctor by craft and I have treated these same people who have nominated me for a public services (*leitourgia*).” Eudaemon said: "Perhaps you treated them poorly. Instruct the *stratēgos*: if you are suitable to serve as a public physician (*dēmosieuo*), you shall also have immunity from liturgies.”

While C. Prokleios Themison’s possible imperial connections perhaps make him of higher status than other *archiatroi*, physicians, especially those from Alexandria, enjoyed some civic privileges and distinction.

Literature: Boswinckel, E. 1956. “La médecine et les médecins dans le papyrus grecs.” In *Eos* 48:181–190; Draycott, Jane 2012. *Approaches to Healing in Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Archaeopress; Hirt Raj, Marguerite 2006. *Médecins et malades de l’Égypte Romaine: étude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du Ier au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* Boston: Brill; Israelowich, Ido 2015. *Patients and Healers in the High Roman Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Korpela, Jukka 1997. “Kollegien und Archiater.” In *Das Medizinalpersonal im Antiken Rom: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, 102–106. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia; Lajtar, Adam 1997. “Review of Kayser.” In *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 54:691–695; Lang, Philippa 2012. *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Leiden: Brill; Littman, R.J. 1996. “Medicine in Alexandria.” In *ANRW II* 7(3):2678–2708; Nutton, Vivian 1977. “Archiatri and the Medical Profession in Antiquity.” In *PBSR* 45:191–226; Nutton, Vivian 1995. “The Medical Meeting Place.” In *Clio Medica* 27:3–25; Nutton, Vivian 2004. *Ancient Medicine*. New York: Routledge; Pleket, H.W. 1995. “The Social Status of Physicians in the Graeco-Roman World.” In *Clio Medica* 27:27–34; Römer, Cornelia 1990. “Ehrung für den Arzt Themison.” In *ZPE* 84:81–88; Samama, Evelyne 2003. *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d’un corps médical*. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 31; Genève: Librairie Droz; Staden, Heinrich von 1989. *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria*. New York: Cambridge University Press. RJO

[176] I.Alex.imp. 46 Dedication of a Statue of Sarapis

Alexandria (Ramle)

20–21 CE

Published: Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 23 (no. 51, ph. tav. XIII no. 38); Cagnat, IGRR I 1051; Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourés, 1900) 580 (no. 452); Seymour de Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, 431 (no. 10); SB V 8775; Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria,” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 31 (no. 4); Kayser, I.Alex.imp. (no. 46) (Poland B458B) [TM 102646; CAPIInv 1855]

Current Location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum inv. 25.

Similar or related documents: → I.Alex.imp. 93 [172]; 94; 95; 96; SB III 6047; SB I 639 [164]; SB I 983; Apollonian associations: I.Alex.imp. 70 [180]; SEG 42:1548 [181].

Red marble statue base measuring $7.5 \times 15.5 \times 11.5$. Letter height: 0.7 cm. The first line is almost completely illegible, and the inscription is damaged in several places.

[.1–2.]IH[. . .]Δ[. . .]II[.]HI [Δι]-
 ονύσιος Δωρίωνος, προ[σ]-
 τατήσας ἀνέθηκεν τῷ-
 ν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ μεγά-
 5 λου Σαράπιδος, ἔτους ζ Τιβ[ε]-
 [ρίου] Καίσαρος Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ.

Dionysios son of Dorion, former president, dedicated this statue of the Great Sarapis, year 7 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership term: προστατήσας.

Location: Alexandria. Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

I. 1: Muszynski (1977, 171, n.14), following de Ricci’s restoration, tentatively reads the line τ[η]ι [συνό]δ[ω]ι Ἀπο]λλ[ωνια]κῇ [Δι]. Łajtar suggests [Συνόδω ... ια]κῇ [Δι-] based on Bilabel. After examining the stone in 1992, Bricault (1999) concurs and suggests a similar restoration for line 1 and 2: [τ]ῇι [συνό]δ[ω]ι Ἀπο]λλ[ωνια]κῇι [Δι]ο]νύσιος Δωρίωνος.

II. 2–3: προστατήσας → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] note.

Comments

This inscribed statue base is another example of presidents or former presidents of associations dedicating statues (for a catalogue of these inscriptions, see

Lajtar 1992). If the restoration of the first line proposed by Muszynski and Bricault is correct (→ note 1.1 above), Dionysios son of Dorion dedicated a statue of Sarapis to an Apollonian association in Alexandria, which may be the same association as the one referred to in I.Alex.imp. 70 [180] (→ comments) and SEG 42:1548 [181].

It is no great surprise that an association in Alexandria would dedicate a statue of Sarapis, the city's titular god usually paired with Isis, who was worshipped as "Founder" and legendarily associated with the city's namesake (e.g., *The Alexander Romance* 1.33.1, Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.83, Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 4.84). Sarapis featured prominently in the religious landscape of the city. Numerous statues of Sarapis have been found in the area (Kater-Sibbes 1973; Tran 1983), some of which were restored in Roman times, and one of Alexandria's most famous buildings was the Sarapeum on the hill of Rhakotis, built by Ptolemy III (McKenzie et al. 2004; Rowe 1946; Fraser 1960) and destroyed in 392 CE (Bricault 2014), often compared to the Capitolium in Rome by Greek and Roman authors (e.g., Ammianus Marcellinus 22.16.12).

A dedication by Nikanor and Nikandros son of Nikon to Sarapis and Isis, dating to the reign of Ptolemy I, ὑπὲρ βασιλείῳς Πτολεμαίου | καὶ τῶν τέκνων | Σαράπιδι, Ἰσιδι | Νικάνωρ καὶ Νικάνδρος | Νίκωνος Πολυδεύκειοι (OGIS I 21 = SB V 8849; Alexandria, 305–285 BCE), is one of the earliest epigraphic sources for Sarapis. Outside of Egypt, as the popularity of Sarapis spreads across the Mediterranean, we find associations that link Alexandria to Sarapis devotion, e.g., a dedication of an altar for the "House" of Alexandrians (IGLSkythia II 153 = IGRR I 604; Tomis, Scythia Minor, 160 CE), and an honorary inscription for an Alexandrian boxer who was the "temple-warden of Sarapis" (IGUR 241 = IG XIV 1103; Rome, ca. 200 CE; cf. GRA II 378–380). While the cult of Sarapis originated in early Ptolemaic times (for the recent debate over the "origin" of Sarapis, see Devauchelle 2012; Belayche 2011; Sfameni Gasparro 2009; Pfeiffer 2008; McKenzie et al. 2004; Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000; for earlier treatments, see Welles 1962; Fraser 1967; Fraser 1972, I:201–206, 255–256; Stambaugh 1972), it climaxed in popularity in Egypt in the second century CE attested by literary (Aelius Aristides claims there are 42 nomes with shrines to Sarapis, *Hymn to Sarapis* 45.56 → Tran 1983, 23), epigraphic (Fraser 1972, I:265), and onomastic evidence (Clarysse and Paganini 2009; Fraser 1960). It is during this time that Sarapis takes on the role as a host or patron of meals (cf. Gilliam 1976 → SB XVI 12511 [231]). Associations also held meals hosted by Sarapis. In his *Hymn to Sarapis*, Aelius Aristides (*Orations* 45.27–28 = AGRW L13) describes Sarapis in a preeminent position as participating in all aspects of the meal (*eranoi*), as guest, host and even *symposiarchēs* (master of the banquet):

People make this god [Sarapis] alone a full partner in sacrifices, inviting him to the meal (*hestia*) and making him both chief guest (*daitymōn*) and host (*hesitatōr*). So while different gods contribute to different club feasts (*eranoi*), he is the one who completes all feasts and has the rank of master of the banquet (*symposiarchēs*) for

those who assemble at times. . . . He is a participant in the libations and the one who receives the libations. He comes to the celebration and invites those celebrating, who perform a dance under his direction.

Literature: **Belayche**, Nicole 2011. "Le possible 'corps' des dieux: retour sur Sarapis." In *Dans le laboratoire de l'histoire des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud*, edited by Francesca Prescendi and Youri Volokhine, 227–250. Genève: Labor et Fides; **Borgeaud**, P., and Y. **Volokhine** 2000. "La formation de la légende de Sarapis: une approche transculturelle." In *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2:37–76; **Bricault**, Laurent 1999. "Notes d'épigraphie alexandrine et canopique." In *ZPE* 126:186–188; **Bricault**, Laurent 2014. "Isis, Sarapis, Cyrus and John: Between Healing Gods and Thaumaturgical Saints." In *The Alexandrian Tradition: Interactions between Science, Religion, and Literature*, 97–114. New York: Peter Lang; **Clarysse**, Willy, and Mario C.D. **Paganini** 2009. "Theophoric Personal Names in Graeco-Roman Egypt: The Case of Sarapis." In *APF* 55:68–89; **Devauchelle**, D. 2012. "Pas d'Apis pour Sarapis!" In *Et in Aegypto et ad Aegyptum. Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier*, 213–225. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1960. "Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World." In *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3:9–19; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1967. "Current Problems concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis." In *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7:23–45; **Fraser**, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon; **Gilliam**, J.F. 1976. "Invitations to the Kline of Sarapis." In *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts published in Honour of H.C. Youtie*, edited by Ann Ellis Hanson, 315–324. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 19. Bonn: Habelt; **Kater-Sibbes**, G.J.F. 1973. *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments*. Leiden: Brill; **McKenzie**, Judith S., Sheila **Gibson**, A.T. **Reyes**, and Günter **Grimm** 2004. "Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence." In *JRS* 94:73–121; **Muszynski**, M. 1977. "Les associations religieuses en Égypte." In *OLP* 8:145–174; **Pfeiffer**, S. 2008. "The God Serapis, His Cult and the Beginnings of the Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt." In *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and His World*, edited by P. McKechnie and P. Guillaume, 387–408. Leiden: Brill; **Rowe**, Alan 1946. *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*. Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Sfameni Gasparro**, G. 2009. *Problemi di religione greca ed ellenistica. Dèi, dèmoni, uomini: tra antiche e nuove identità*. Cosenza: L. Giordano; **Stambaugh**, John E. 1972. *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*. EPRO 25. Leiden: Brill; **Tran**, V. Tam Tinh 1983. *Sérapis debout: corpus des monuments de Sérapis debout et étude iconographique*. EPRO 94. Leiden: Brill; **Welles**, C. Bradford 1962. "The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria." In *Historia* 11 (3):271–298.

RJO

[177] IGRR I 1085
Dedication to a Synodos

Alexandria

23–24 CE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d’Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourés, 1900) 266 (no. 640); Seymour de Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, 432 (no. 14); Breccia, *I.Alex.Mus.* 34 (no. 52; facs.); Waltzing III 90; Cagnat, IGRR I 1085; SB V 8791; Adam Lajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” In *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 33 (no. 1); Bernand, *I.Delta* I 452(b) [**Poland** Z90; **TM** 102669; CAPInv 1865]

Current Location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum inv. 160

Black basalt, 90 × 23 cm., damaged on the upper left corner.

[Π]ανκρατῆς Πανεσνεῦ-
τος ἀνέθηκε συνόδῳ
γεωργῶν Καίσαρος
Λ ια Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Φ-

5 — —.

Pankratēs son of Panesneus dedicated (this) to the *synodos* of farmers of Caesar. Year 11 of Tiberius Caesar, Ph[. . . x.]

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος.

Location: Alexandria. Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

Comments

For other guilds of farmers, see I.Prose I 40 [**160**] and I.Prose I 49 [**170**].

[178] I.Alex.imp. 61
Dedication to a Synodos of Thermouthis

Alexandria

25 CE

Published: Giuseppe Botti, “Bulletin épigraphique,” *BSAA* 4 (1902) 85–107, p. 99; Seymour de Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, 432 (no. 13); Cagnat, *IGRR* I 1084; SB V 8790; Adam Lajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 34 (no. 2); Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 61 [Poland B453A; TM 102668; CAPIInv 1356]

Current location: unknown

No description is available, but given the form of the inscription, the block is likely a statue base.

Σεφαῖρος ἀνέθη-
κε συνόδῳ Θερ-
μουθιακῇ L ια
Τιβέ{ι}ροῦ Καίσαρος Σε-
5 βαστοῦ Ἐπιφ ιθ.

Sephairos dedicated (this statue?) to the *synodos* of Thermouthis in the 11th year of Tiberius Caesar (5) Augustus, Epeiphi 17.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοος.

Location: Alexandria. Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

ll. 2–3: Θερ|μουθιακῇ. Thermouthis (also a common name) is the cobra deity, frequently associated with Isis.

Comments

The form of the name with σύνδοος and the name of a deity used adjectivally, instead of the name of the deity in the genitive (e.g., σύνδοος Ἀρποχράτου, P.Mich V. 246 [216]), is also attested in *IGRR* I 1106.2 [165]: τῇ σ]υνόδῳ Σαμβαθικῇ; I.Philae II 139 [252] συνόδῳ Εἰσ|ιακῇ; I.Alex.imp. 70.1–2 [180] (restored): τῇ Απολλ(?)φνιακῇ γυναικίᾳ | [συνόδῳ] I.Alex.imp. 65 [181] τῆς | Ἀπολλωνιακῇ[ς] | συνόδου, and I.Fayum III 204 [200] οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑσεγγηβιακῆς συνόδου.

[179] IGRR I 1086
Fragment of a Decree?

Alexandria?

39/40 or 40/41 CE

Published: Breccia, *I.Alex.Mus.* 35 (no. 53; ph. tav. XIII no. 39); SB I 978; Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourés, 1900) 265 (no. 61); IGRR I 1086 [**Poland** B455A; **TM** 102670; CAPInv 1357]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum inv. 163

Black granite, 11 × 18 cm.

ἔτους δ Γαίου Κ-
αίσαρος Αὐτοκρά-
τορος Σεβαστο-
ῦ, ἐπὶ Κολλούθου π-

5 προστάτου συνόδου
— — —

Year 4 of Gaius Caesar Imperator Augustus, when Kollouthes was the president of the *synodos*. . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος, leadership term: προστάτης; since the inscription begins like a resolution or honorific decree, the group is probably involved in a collective decision.

Location: Alexandria? Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

Comments

The combination of two dating formulae, including ἐπὶ Κολλούθου π||ροστάτου συνόδου, suggests that this was a decree, perhaps an honorific decree.

[180] I.Alex.imp. 70
The President of an Association of Women

Alexandria

early I CE

Published: Seymour de Ricci, "Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine," *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, p. 561 (no. 98); Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie:

A. Mourés, 1900) 262 (no. 41); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 98–99 (no. 170); C.C. Edgar, “A Women’s Club in Ancient Alexandria,” *JEA* 4(4) (1917) 253–254 (fascimile) (SB III 6211); Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria,” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36; I.Alex.imp. 224–226 (no. 70) [plate XXXVIII]; *associations of women*: CIL 6.10109 (Rome); I.Alex.imp. 70 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE); IG II² 1346 (Athens, I CE); P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 31 = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 21–32 (Ghoran, 245 BCE) (11 priestesses); P.Lille.dem. I 97v = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 6–12 (Ghōran, late III BCE); Philipp II 340/L589 [71] (I–II CE?) [TM 103833; CAPInv 1343]

Translation: Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, eds., *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 155–156 (no. 182); AGRW 282.

Current location: Alexandria Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 211, Catalogue 170.

Similar or related documents: → I.Alex.imp. 65 [181]: Another *synod* of Ἀπολλωνιακῆ; I.Alex.imp. 46, 93, 94, 96 (30 BCE–14 CE) 70 (27 BCE–14 CE); I.Prose I 49.2 [170] (with a high priest) (5 BCE); TAM II 420: high priest for life (18–37 BCE).

Statue base of black granite, 9.5 × 12.5 cm. Letter height: 1.2 cm.

[τῇ Απολλ(?)φνιακῇ γυναικίᾳ

[συνόδῳ] ἐκ κοινῶν χρη-

[μάτων ··]ριν ἀρχιέρηᾳ *vac.*

[καὶ προσ]τάτις καὶ Τετῖρις

5 [L·? K]αῖσαρος Παχῶν ἄ.

...ris the high priestess <*vac*> [and pres]ident (*prostatis*) and Tetiris [– –] (dedicated this statue) from the common fund to the [Apollonian (?)] women’s [*synodos*], (5) [year ?] of Caesar, Pachon 1.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος (restored); collective devotion to a deity (Apollo is restored); leadership terms: ἀρχιέρεια, προστάτις; common funds (ἐκ κοινῶν χρη[μάτων]).

Location: Alexandria? Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

I. 1: [τῇ Απολλ(?)φνιακῇ: Kayser read Απολλφνιακῇ because it stands as an adjective for a theophoric association name, since an adjective ending in ιακος must be the name of a deity (1994, 225) → I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] *comment*.

II. 2–3: ἐκ κοινῶν χρη[μάτων, “the common purse.” This is the only such reference from Egypt; however, the phrase is common elsewhere. For its use in connections with associations → Delphi: *FD* III 2:70.22 (112–11 BCE); Delos: ID 1521 (II BCE); IG XI/4 1036 (IV BCE) etc. → ἔρανος also meaning “common fund”: IG II² 1366.21 [19]; IG II² 1327.13–14 [35] etc.

I. 3: ...ριν. For female names with this ending, Edgar suggests Thermoutharin or Apollarin (1917, 254).

1. 3. ἀρχιέρηα: de Ricci reads [?]χιερηα as the accusative ἀρχιερέα (1903, 562), but Edgar suggests the nominative ἀρχιέρεια instead (1917, 253). The spelling ἀρχιερέα also appears in I.Prose I 49.2, 9 [170] and in an dedication to Apollo from Patara in Lycia a woman named Poluperchontas is *archiiera* for life → TAM II 420 (18–37 BCE).
1. 4: προστάτις, fem. of προστάτης, is unattested in papyri, and occurs only here in Greek inscriptions. Famously, it is the designation of Phoebe in Rom 16:2 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ, where, however, it means ‘patron’ rather than president, reflecting the Latin *patrona*.
1. 5: Edgar suggests that Tetiris may be the συναγωγίς of the association, with the caution that the συναγωγίς would usually be mentioned before the προστάτης (1917, 254).
1. 5: Παχὼν α: 26 Apr.

Comments

This seems to be an association comprised of women, though it may be connected to an Apollonian men’s association (I.Alex.imp. 65 [181]). Muszynski also reconstructs a damaged inscription from the Rosetta gate, IGRR I 1051, as τῇ συνόδῳ Ἀπολλωνιακῇ Διονύσιος (Muszynski 1977, 170 n. 14). If he is right, there may be several pieces of evidence relating to this female association. The presence and participation of women in associations is well-attested, and there are some instances of exclusively female associations (Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996, 25; Ascough 2003, chap. 3, esp. 57–58). Horsley suggests that the Pythaistrides, a cult of Artemis Pythia at Kyzikos, was a female association (Horsley 1987, 15). Muszynski also cites several examples of female associations in the Demotic papyri (1977, 170–171 n. 14 [P.Lille.dem 31 no. 10; P.Lille.dem 97; 98; P.Sorb. inv. 194; 259]).

The conversion of the name of a deity into an adjective ending in -ιακ- is common → Εἰσιακῇ (συνόδῳ Εἰσιακῇ τὴν θεάν) (I.Philae II 139 (252) [13 BCE]); Ἑσεγγηβιακαί (... Ἰσιδι Ἑσεγγήβει θεᾷ μεγάλῃ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑσεγγηβιακῆς συνόδου) (I.Fayum III 204 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE) etc. → Bernand and Bernand 1969, 71. This same adjectival form of Ἀπολλωνιακ- appears in the context of a group of inscriptions from Athens (IV BCE) which discuss a mine being reopened (Agora 19, P 6; 13; 21 [=IG II² 1585], 26 [=IG II² 1582.101], 50). The other common use is adjectives in -ιακ-/-ιοκ- to describe national origins, including Syrian, Egyptian, Rhodian, and Judaeon (Συριακή, Ῥοδιακή, Αἰγυπτιακή, Ἰουδαϊκός). Shaye Cohen comment on adjectives ending in -ικός (Lat. -icus) in the discussion of *Iudaicus* and suggests that the adjective is used both to describe formal ethnicity and a simple geographic connection (Cohen 1999, 76–77).

The questions raised by the adjectival type relates to the question of belonging in Christ groups. It can furthermore clarify the meaning of χριστιανικός in Porphyry (*Adversus Christianos* 88), where it is used adjectivally to signify Christian teaching (ὁ τῶν χριστιανικῶν). The adjectival form of κυριακός occurs

twice in the New Testament. It is used adjectivally to designate the “Lord’s Meal” (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον [1 Cor 11.20]), in a similar way to Ἀπολλωνιακῇ in our inscription. For discussions of communal meals → IG X/2.1 70 [74]; IPerg. 374 [111]. The second New Testament use of the word is from the Apocalypse, in which the prophet is “in spirit on the day of the Lord” (ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τη κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ [Rev 1:10 → Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.10]). There is also the awkward use in the *Didache*, which translates something like “things of the Lord” (κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου [9.1]). It is difficult adequately to render these uses in English, since both have been traditionally read in the same way that a genitive might, but these adjectives seem to be of designation rather than possession (cf. Acts 2:20; 2 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 5:2). Similar uses of κυριακός occur in papyri from a non-Christian context as an adjectival designator of things belonging to the emperor → τοῦ κυριακοῦ λόγου (P.Harris II 178.4 [83/4 CE]; P.Oxy. LXVI 4526.26; P.Oxy. XIV 1718) → ταῖς κυριακαῖς ψήφοις (I.Prose I 57.B.13). Κυριακός also seems to be used substantively at times (P.Flor. II 184 6).

Literature: Ascough, Richard S. 2003. *Paul’s Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians*. WUNT 2/161. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; **Bernand**, André, and Étienne **Bernand** 1969. *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique; **Boëls-Janssen**, Nicole 1993. *La Vie religieuse des matrones dans la Rome archaïque*. [Rome]: Ecole française de Rome; **Cohen**, Shaye J.D. 1999. *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; **Dow**, Sterling 1937. “The Egyptian Cults in Athens.” In *HTR* 30:183–232, (BE 1938, 86); **Edgar**, C.C. 1917. “A Women’s Club in Ancient Alexandria.” In *JEA* 4(4): 253–254; **Heyob**, Sharon Kelly 1975. *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World*. EPRO 51. Leiden: Brill; **Horsley**, G.H.R. 1987. *A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1979*. Vol. 4 of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. North Ryde, N.S.W.: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre and Macquarie University; **Kloppenborg**, John S., and Stephen G. **Wilson**, eds. 1996. *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*. London; New York: Routledge; **Kraemer**, Ross S. 1983. “Women in the Religions of the Greco-Roman World.” In *RSR* 9(2): 127–139; **Manning**, Joseph G. 2003. *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt. The Structure of Land Tenure*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press; **Muszynski**, Michel 1977. “Les associations religieuses en Egypte d’après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques.” In *OLP* 8:145–174. CJC/JSK

[181] I.Alex.imp. 65

Dedication by an Apollonian Association

Alexandria (Porta Rosetta)

22 CE?

Published: Giuseppe Botti, "Inscriptions grecques et latines trouvée en Égypte 1897–1898," *BSAA* 1 (1898) 39–48, p. 44 (no. XVI); Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourés, 1900) 579 (no. 451) (transcription in majuscules); Breccia, *I.Alex.Mus.* 79 (no. 132; ph.; tav. XXVII no. 68) (SB I 312); Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 2:413 n. 573 (no. 4); Jean Claude Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain*, (EPRO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1977) 24; AE 1982, 811; Adam Łajtar, "Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria," *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36 pp. 31–32 (no. 7) (SEG 42:1548); I.Alex.imp. 65 (plate XXXV); Laurent Bricault, "Notes d'épigraphie alexandrine et canopique," *ZPE* 126 (1999) 186–188; BE 2000, 692 [TM 103192; CAPInv 1342]

Current Location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 26, Cat. 132.

Similar or Related Documents: → *Apolloniastai*: I.Hermoupolis 5 [TM 7099] (Hermoupolis Magna, 80/79 BCE): οἱ παρεφ[εδρ]ε[ύοντ]ες [ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιᾶται; I.Hermoupolis 6 [TM 6298] (Hermoupolis Magna, 78 BCE): οἱ παρ[ε]φεδρεύοντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλω[νιᾶται] καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι [κ]τίσται; P.Giss. I 99.23–25 [TM 27877] (Hermoupolis Magna, II/III CE): οἱ | [παρεφεδεύ]οντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλ(ει) || [ξένοι; Ἀπολλωνιᾶται; *Apollonian Women's Association*: I.Alex.imp. 70 [180]; Dedications by *prostates* around Alexandria: → I.Alex.imp. 46 [176], 93, 94, 96, 70 [180].

Small statue base in black granite, 6 × 10 cm. Letter height: 0.8 cm (line 6: 0.6 cm). It is poorly preserved, and the text is awkwardly carved onto the granite and not well-aligned.

Πασίων [τοῦ
δεῖνος] [προσ-]
τα[τήσας] τῆς
Ἀπολλωνιακῆς]
5 συνόδου ἀνέ-
[θ]ηκε L η Τῦβι η
(SEG 42:1548)

Pasion [son of NN], having been president of the Apollonian (5) *synodos*, set up (this statue) in year 8, Tybi 8.

Πασίων Σ[– –]-
του Ἀνουβιδ[ι]
τῶν ὄ[ν]των τῆς
Ἀπολλωνιακῆς]
5 συνόδου ἀνέ-
[θ]ηκε L η Τῦβι η
(I.Alex.imp. 65)

Pasion son of S – – os who belongs to those of the Apollonian (5) *synodos* dedicated this to Anoubis in year 8, Tybi 8.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: likely προστατήσας (restored); collective devotion to a deity.

Location: Alexandria. Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

- 1.1. Πασιών Σ[– –]: The reading “Pasion” is given by Breccia; the first letter of the following word is blurred. Kayser suggests a sigma which would be the first letter of Pasion’s patronym. The name Pasion son of Erenionos appears in a first century list of resident aliens from Philadelphia (Πασίων Ειρηνίωνος), the uncertainty of the initial sigma in the patronym could be read as an epsilon (P.Corn 22.65).
- 1.2. The reading of Ἀνούβιδ[ι] has been rightly criticized here by Łajtar (→ *comments*) .
- 1.3. Kayser observes that the formula τῶν ὄντων τῆς . . . συνόδου would be an unusual way to refer to members of a *synod*; οἱ νέμοντες τὴν σύνοδον is more common (1994, 211).
- 1.5. I.e., This could refer to the 8th year of Augustus (3 Jan 22 BCE) or the 8th year of Tiberius (3 Jan 22 CE).

Comments

This Apollonian association may have been connected with the female association mentioned in I.Alex.imp. 70 [180], but this is not certain since that name is reconstructed (Muszynski 1977, 170 n. 14). The location of this inscription on the Rosetta gate by the eastern edge of Alexandria presents some possibilities. Haas suggests that the temples dedicated to many Egyptian deities, including Anubis, were set outside the city core and therefore places of secondary prominence; however, he notes that their possible proximity to the necropolises might actually represent a strong popularity of these deities. The nearby town of Canopus was also known for temples, including a healing shrine devoted to Sarapis. Its connection to the Nile made it both wealthy and a site for Egyptian cults, including the cult of Anubis (Haas 2006, 145–146).

If Breccia’s reading of Anubis (Ἀνούβιδ[ι]) at 1.2 were correct, then the inscription would likely belong in a funerary context. Breasted argues that, within Egypt, Anubis and Osiris had been rival gods of the dead for thousands of years (Fontenrose 1988, 160; Breasted 1972, 37; 259). Ultimately he claims that Anubis disappeared at the triumph of Osiris as the mortuary god, an interesting claim in light of these inscriptions (Breasted 1942, 141). Anubis has a fairly rich tradition of being incorporated into other forms. He is combined with Hermes into Hermanubis (Ἑρμανούβιδι) in several Egyptian inscriptions (→ I.Alex.imp. 66; Hermoupolis Magna) and as Ptolanubis in the II ce (Πτολλανούβιδος) (SB I 3918; SEG 20:638). Dedications to Anubis usually occur in group dedications to Sarapis, Isis, and Harpokrates outside of Egypt: → SEG 42:157 [41] (Athens, 116/5–95/4 BCE); ID 2048 (126/5 BCE); ID 2058 (after 116/5 BCE); etc. In two identical Ptolemaic inscriptions within Egypt, Anubis is mentioned with Isis, Sarapis, and Harpokrates (→ I.Th.Sy. 315 & 316 [143/2–124 BCE]) and with Osiris, Sarapis, and Isis in another (OGIS I 97 [205–181 BCE]). Since the next

references to Anubis in inscriptions do not come until III/IV BCE (SEG 8:574 [Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis]; SEG 26:1717 [Antinoupolis]; SEG 38:1837 [Oxyrhynchus]), this early Imperial reference would certainly be an anomaly and Anubis is never honoured alone.

Consequently, Łajtar rightly notes that the connection to Anubis (Ανοῦβιδὸς[ι]) at 1.2 is unlikely, and he argues that the heavily damaged text at 1.2–3 should be reconstructed as προσ]τα[τήσας on the basis of a trend in Alexandrian inscriptions honouring *prostates* (Łajtar 1992, 32 no. 7). The connection between Anubis and Apollo would also be unusual, though it did occasionally occur (Fraser 1972, 2:412, n. 573). There seems to be a separation of Roman and Egyptian cults during Egypt's war between Marc Antony and Kleopatra, and Octavian (31 BCE), perhaps immediately before this period if the Augustan date of our inscription is right. In Virgil's polemic against Marc Anthony the pantheon of the Romans, including Apollo, align against Antony who is protected by Anubis; Heyob argues that this is possible because Anubis was less respected than Isis, Sarapis, or Harpocrates (*Aeneid* 8.696–730; Heyob 1975, 20–21). Łajtar's reading is therefore preferable, especially since, as Kayser observes, referring to the members of the *synod* using τῶν ὄντων followed by the name of an association (1. 3) is very uncommon. Łajtar's reading makes sense of the lacunae, while situating this inscription within a body of inscriptions from Alexandria which have the outgoing president performing honours. However, the inscription is too damaged to be certain.

Literature: Breasted, James Henry 1972. *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; Fontenrose, Joseph Eddy 1988. *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; Fraser, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon; Grenier, Jean Claude 1977. *Anubis alexandrin et romain*. EPRO 57. Leiden: Brill; Haas, Christopher 2006. *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*. Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press; Heyob, Sharon Kelly 1975. *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World*. EPRO 51; Leiden: Brill; Lafaye, Georges 1884. *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie: Serapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis, hors de l'Égypte depuis les origines jusqu'à la naissance de l'école neo-Platonicienne*. BEFAR 33. Paris; Lafaye, Georges 1918. "Les Cultes Égypto-Grecs à Délos." In *Journal des Savants* 16 (3):113–126; Muszynski, M. 1977. "Les 'Associations religieuses' en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques." *OLP* 8:145–174.

CJC

[182] I.Alex.imp. 92

Dedication of a Statue to an Association

Alexandria

I CE

Published: Seymour de Ricci, “Inscriptions grecques d’Égypte conservées à Saint-Petersbourg,” *Revue epigraphique* 1 (1913) 141–164, p. 154 (no. 2) (facs.); J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l’Empire Romain* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1914) 1:497; SB IV 7307; Frey, CIJ II 1447; Lewis, C.Pap.Jud III 1447; Bernand, I.Delta III 930–931; Lifshitz, DFSJ 80 (no. 98); Horbury and Noy, JIGRE 32–34 (no. 20); Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” In *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 32 (no. 9); I.Alex.imp. 275–277 (no. 92); Runesson et al., ASSB 188 (no. 146) [TM 103874; CAPInv 1866].

Translation: AGRW 283.

Current Location: St. Petersburg, Ermitage, inv. no. 7362 A 770.

Black granite statue base, $7.3 \times 8.4 \times 7.9$ cm.

Ἀρτέμων
 Νίκωνος ρῆ
 τὸ ια L τῇ
 συναγωγῇ
 5 [—] νηκηι.

Artemon son of Nikon the elder (president?), in the eleventh year (dedicated this statue) to the association (*synagogē*).

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: συναγωγή; possible leadership term (see *comments*).

Location: Alexandria. Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

1. 1: Ἀρτέμων: → C.Pap.Jud 481c (son of Sambathion, Philadelphia, early I CE; Artemion, leader of Jewish uprising in Cyrus under Trajan (Cassius Dio 68.32.2), otherwise not known as Jewish).
1. 2: ρῆ: de Ricci, Frey, Lewis, Łajtar: πρ(οστατήσας); Bilabel, Lifshitz, Horbury and Noy πρ(οστάτης); Kayser πρ(οστατ-); Bernand πρ(εσβυτέρος). See *comments* below.
1. 4: συναγωγή: This is a rare instance in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri where συναγωγή denotes “association,” even though this term is used to designate both Judaeac and non-Judaean associations throughout the Mediterranean (see the examples in GRA I and II, e.g., GRA I 73 = IJO I Mac1, Stobi, II–III CE). In Egypt it occurs more commonly either in phrases such as ἐπὶ τῆς γενομένης συναγωγῆς, “at the meeting” (e.g., I.Prose I 40 [160]; I.Prose I 49 [170]; I.AlexandriaK 91 [174]; BGU IV 1137 [168]). For συναγωγός and ἀρχισυνάγωγος → IGRR I 1095.1 [163] *note*.

This abbreviation, in fact, occurs regularly in Attic inscriptions of the Roman era, in particular the first and second centuries CE, where it also denotes *πρεσβύτερος* (Threatte 1980, 108; note also another common Roman era abbreviation, NE = νεώτερος), “the younger,” also occurs in the above statue base), for example, IG II² 2461.207 (50/49 CE; cf. SEG 23:92), [Νι]κόλαος? *πρ(εσβύτερος)*; IG II² 1759.12 (90–100 CE; cf. Agora 15:312), Διόδωρος *πρ(εσβύτερος)*; I.30, Ἀντίγονος *πρ(εσβύτερος)*; IG II² 2022.17 (112 CE), Λεοντῖνος Ποσειδωνίου *πρ(εσβύτερος)* Ὡ(αθεν); IG II² 4879 (n.d.), col. i.4 [Γ]ραφικὸς *πρ(εσβύτερος)*, i.5 Θέων *πρ(εσβύτερος)*; Agora 15:334.12 (141/2 CE), Αἴλιος Ἡράκων *πρ(εσβύτερος)*; cf. Agora 15:419.26 (188/9 CE); Agora 15:430.6 (before end of II CE); *Hesperia* 11.74 (1942) 75,39 (mid-II CE); SEG 28:170.34 (156/7 or 157/8 CE). It is also attested in Egypt besides the above-mentioned statue base from Soknopaiou Nesos in an account for supplies of wine from Memnoneia written on an ostrakon: [..]. μὲδ() *πρ(εσβύτερος)* Ἀμσουφιο(ς) ῥόδ(ιον) α, “... NN, the elder, son of Hamsouphis, 1 Rhodion,” (O.Petrie 369 [TM 75543]). Moreover, while *πρεσβύτερος* is a commonly abbreviated term epigraphically, *προστάτης* is virtually absent in abbreviated form (see Avi-Yonah 1940, 98; note also the absence of abbreviations used in *prostates* inscriptions, other than I.Alex.imp. 91, in Łajtar 1992). Given this attested use of the abbreviation, we mostly likely do not have an indication of any office that Artemon may have held in the association, rather his father’s name was Nikon the elder.

Literature: Avi-Yonah, M. 1940. *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions of the Near East*. The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, supplement to vol. 9. London: Milford; Horsley, G.H.R. 1987. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1979*. Vol. 4. North Ryde, N.S.W.: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, esp. 244; Łajtar, Adam 1992. “Dedication of a *Prostates*.” *JJP* 22:29–36; Méléze-Modrzejewski, Joseph 1991. *Les Juifs d’Égypte: de Ramsès II à Hadrien*. Paris: Editions errance; Poland, Franz 1931. “συναγωγή.” In *RE*², IV: col. 1286; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck; Threatte, Leslie 1980. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. New York: Walter de Gruyter. RJO

[183] I.Alex.imp. 98

An Association of Philosophers

Alexandria

second half of II CE

Published: T. Néroutsos, *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, no. 13 (1874–1875) 179–180 (transcription) = idem, *L'Ancienne alexandrie* 1888:24; Giuseppe Botti, *Revista Egiziana* 6 (1894) 50; idem, *Fouilles à la colonne Théodosienne* (Alexandria: L. Carrière, 1897) 131 (no. 16); Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourés, 1900) 537 (no. 3); Seymour de Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, 566 (no. 127); CIL III sup. 2 (1902) 2219 (no. 13571); Dittenberger, *OGIS* II 712; Breccia, *I.Alex.Mus.* 86 (no. 146; facs.); Cagnat, *IGRR* I 1081; SB V 8914; I. Alex. Imp. 98 [TM 103039].

Current Location: Graeco-Roman Museum at Moustapha Pacha, inv. M. 135 (formerly 17482), Cat. 146.

Similar or related documents: → TAM II 910 [146] for a discussion of other associations of philosophers.

White marble statue base, 93 × 43 cm. The statue base bears two inscriptions, one Greek and one Latin: CIL 3.6584 = 3.12049: [Domi]num orbis terr[arum] | [dec]us Pietatis Au[g(ustae)] | Aur(elium) Val(erium) Diocletian[um] | [p]atrem Augus-tor[um] [– – –] || Aurelius Serapion ve[teranus?] d(evotus) N(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) e(ius) from 284–305 CE. The Greek inscription is the older of the two.

Ἀἴλιον Δημήτριο[ν]

τὸν ῥήτορα

[ο]ἱ φιλόσοφοι,

[Φλα]ουῖου Ἰέρακος

5 [τοῦ] συσσίτου ἀναθέντος,

[±13] καὶ πατέρα.

The philosophers (honoured) Aelius Demetrius, rhetor, and Flavius Hierax who (5) is a messmate, set this up. . . and father. . .

Notes

Association? Possible: use of οἱ φιλόσοφοι (plural); membership term: σύσσιτος; collective dedication to peer benefactor/patron.

Location: Alexandria: Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

l. 1: Δημήτριο[ν]: Mentioned also in an inscription found in Akhmin (de Ricci 1903, 564 no. 112): Ἡρακλεῖ Καλινίκῳ | ἡ πόλις διὰ Αἰλίου Δημητρίου υἱοῦ Αἰλίου | Σεραπίωνος [ρ]ήτορος | λογιῶν /// ΟΓΝΩΝ. Jones 1967 identifies Aelius Dēmētrios with a student of Favorinus of Arles and a friend of Galen. Bowersock 1969, 63:

“Galen also attracted sophists and rhetors like Hadrian of Tyre and Demetrius of Alexandria.”

- l. 4: [Φλα]ουῖου Ἱέρακος: Presumably Flavius Hierax is also a member of the philosophers and (so Jones) a pupil of Demetrius. Jones identifies Flavius Hierax as a citizen of Ephesos belonging to a family of Asiatic rhetors.
- l. 5: σύσσιτος: Members of common room in the Museion of Alexandria. The term is well attested for scholars of the Museum, but rarely used outside Egypt. See Poland RE IX 1931 1883–1884 s.v. See Strabo 17.1.8: “The Museion is also a part of the royal palaces; it has a public walk, an exedra with seats, and a large house, in which is the common mess-hall of the men of learning who share the Museum. This group of men not only hold property in common, but also have a priest in charge of the Museum, who formerly was appointed by the kings, but is now appointed by Caesar.”

Comments

Aelius Demetrius appears to have been a member of the Museum of Alexandria (see Jones 1967, 311), which was divided into various “classes” (rhetors, physicians, poets, and philosophers) (see Dittenberger OGIS II 714 n. 4; a rhetor named Didymos son of Theon (103 BCE) is known from Coptos (Bernand, *Les Portes du désert*, no. 70).

During the second sophistic there were often close ties between rhetoricians and philosophers, so much so that they could be confused (Bowersock 1969, 11). This is according to Kayser, without doubt an association in the Museum. Only San Nicolò thinks that this is an association outside the Museum, but Kayser retorts that it would be difficult to imagine the existence of an association outside of the Museum. Some members of the Museum association are known from inscriptions and papyri: Flavius Maecius Severus Dionysodōros, a Platonist (II BCE; Bernand, *Les Portes du désert*, no. 14).

Literature: Bowersock, Glen W. 1969. *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; de Ricci, Seymour 1903. “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2:427–452, 561–571; Fraser, Peter M. 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Jones, C.P. 1967. “A Friend of Galen.” *CQ* 17:311–312; Lewis, Naphtali 1983. *Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule*. Oxford: Clarendon; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. mit Nachtragen von Johannes Herrmann. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck (1:196–197; associations of philosophers). RJO

[184] I.Alex.imp. 99

Dedication of Linen Weavers to a Patron

Alexandria

after 212 CE

Published: Piero Sticotti, “Dei future codice epigrafico istriano,” *Archeografo, Triestino* 3^e série 21 (1936) 247–254, 249–250 (ph.); M. Segre, “Epigraphica III: Una dedica Alessandrina,” *BSAA* 32 (1938) 136–138; AE 1938, 59; BE 1993, 538; SB V 8268; I.Alex.imp. 290–293 (no. 99) (plate XLVII) [TM 103908; CAPIInv 1349]

Similar or related documents: → I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE) mentioning a dining room (διπνητήριον) used by the weavers from Theadelphia dedicated by the officials of this group (πρεσβυτέρων γερδίων).

Statue base of marble about 1.0 m. high. Kayser reports that the stone was described by Archduke Maximilian who visited the city in 1855.

Αὐρήλιον Ϝ

Ἡρώδην

τὸν παράδοξον

οἱ ταρσικάριοι Ϝ

5 vac. Ῥωμαῖοι vac.

οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς.

(A statue of) Aurelius Hērodēs, the incredible. The Tarsian linen weavers (*tarsikarioi*), Romans and the Alexandrians (erected this).

Notes

Association? Possible: artisans in the plural (οἱ ταρσικάριοι); collective dedication of a statue.

Location: Alexandria: Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

- II. 1–2: Αὐρήλιον Ἡρώδην: Sticotti proposed that this Hērodēs should be identified with M(arcus) Aurelius M(arci) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Hērodēs of Cohort V of Legio II Traiana (I.Alex.imp. 105.II.20; Alexandria, 194 CE). The epithet, “the incredible,” however, is usually used for athletes and performers rather than soldiers.
- I. 3: παράδοξον: “the incredible,” an epithet given to athletes and performers. In that context, it seems to have been limited to those who won in two different competitions in a single day.
- I. 4: οἱ ταρσικάριοι, “weavers of Tarsian fabrics” → P.Lips. 26.9; 89.2 (IV CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1765.21 (III CE); VIII 1146.16 (IV CE); Wipszycka 1965, 110–112.
- I. 6: οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς: The term Ταρσικαλεξανδρεῖνοι is attested in several inscriptions from Central Greece: BCH 82 (1958) 602.7, 12 (Delphi, III CE); 603.11 (Delphi, III CE); IG IX/1 118.19, 25, 31 (Phokis, 301 CE).

Comments

The *tarsikarioi* were specialized linen weavers who produced luxury fabrics. Tarsian linen originated in the Tarsus in Cilicia. It was very popular in the Mediterranean in the Roman period, and weavers in other provinces soon imitated it. Wipszycka contends that the linen was produced on a specialized loom, citing P.Oxy. XIV 1705, l. 6 for the sale of a ἱστὸν ταρσικοῦφικόν (1965, 111). Wild, however, suggests that the special difference of Tarsian linen has to do with the preparation of the fibres, speculating that younger, greener flax was used than for other linens, and that it was treated by a process that produced stronger, more supple yarn (1969, 812–813). The so-called ἱστὸν ταρσικοῦφικόν, then, could have been an upright, warp-weighted loom of a sort that had only arrived in Egypt in the Roman period, but had a long history beyond its borders, especially in Syria (Wild 1969, 816).

Greek agonistic festivals were very popular throughout the Greek-speaking world, as were inscriptions and statues commemorating them. Such statues dedicated to victors were a common sight in the agorai, gymnasia, and major roads of Greek cities (van Nijf 2007, 324). The dedication of this statue attests that the Tarsikarioi were numerous enough in III CE Alexandria to warrant the formation of a guild, and wealthy enough either to erect this statue.

The attribution as both Romans and Alexandrians should be understood to refer to a single group rather than two. Wild suggests these are Roman immigrants to Alexandria (Wild 1969, 811), but Kayser differs, preferring that they were Alexandrian citizens who benefitted from the expansion of Roman citizenship under the Antonine Constitution in 212 CE.

Literature: Van Nijf, Onno 2007. “Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East.” In *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity and the Development of Empire*, edited by Simon Goldhill, 306–334. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Wild, J.P. 1969. “The tarsicarios, a Roman linen-weaver in Egypt,” in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, edited by Jacqueline Bibauw, 2:810–819. Bruxelles: Latomus, Revue d'études latines; Wipszycka, Ewa 1965. *L'industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine*. Archiwum filologiczne 9. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. MM

MIDDLE EGYPT (Memphis and the Fayûm)

[185] P.Mich.Zen. 57
Litigation by an Occupational Guild

Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

4 Jul 248 BCE

Published: Campbell C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 24 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1931) 130–132 (no. 57). [TM 1957]

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.3114.

Papyrus, 17.5 × 33.5 cm. Zenon archive [TM ARCH id. 256].

recto

- Λυσανίας Θεοφίλῳ χαίρειν. οἶμαι μὲν σε οὐκ ἄγνοεῖν τὴν ἡμετέραν
φιλοτιμίαν καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς σέ, καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέ
ὥς σου προσέστημεν, ἰδόντες δέ σε ὑπὸ Δημέου συκοφαντούμενον καὶ ὄν
τρόπον ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸ συνέργιον
συνεργούμενον εἰς τὸ κατακρῆναι σου ἀδίκως, καὶ Ἀλκέτου δὲ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ σε ἐγγυησαμένου ἐ-
νοχληθέντος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν φίλων κατὰ σύμβολον παρέξεσθαι εἰς κρίσιν
ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε ἢ ἀποτίσειν
- 5 τὸ ἐπικαλούμενον, σὺ δὲ οὕτως ὀλιγοψύχηςας ὥστε καὶ ἐκχωρῆσαι ἄνευ
ἡμῶν, πότερον, εἰ καὶ ὥς ἡβούλου κατα-
πλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐφοδιάσαντές σε καὶ συμβούλους ἀδ[.]. ἐρεσσηκτας
ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους καὶ τοὺς
περὶ τὸ συνέργιον ἀναπλεῖν· ἐδώκαμεν γὰρ ἂν σοι ὑποθέσεις δι' ὧν οἱ
ἀντίδικοι ἂν οἴμωζον. ἔτι οὖν καὶ νῦν
εἰ μὲν δύνῃ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ σαντοῦ ἀπομερμνήσας ἐντυχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτήδειον
ἦν ἡμᾶς γράφειν, ἀκηκόαμεν δὲ
καὶ δυνατόν σε πορίσαι προστάγματα εἰς τ[ὸ] τιμωρηθῆναι αὐτούς.
γίνωσκε οὖν ἐντυχόντος Δημέου Φανίαι κατὰ
- 10 Ἀλκέτου ὅτι ἐγδεξάμενος Θεόφιλον κατὰ σύμβολον παρέξεσθαι κρινόμενον οὐ
παρέχεται καὶ Φανίου γεγραφότος Ἐπηράται
κατασχεῖν τὰ γενήματα Ἀλκέτου ἕως ἂν παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ
διακούσῃ. σὺ οὖν πειρῶ πρό τοῦ
Φανίαν ἀναπλεῦσαι αὐτὸς φθάσαι καὶ προαναπλεύσας. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ
παρόντος σου κατακριθῆσεται καὶ κινδυνεύσει ἀπο-
τῆσαι Ἀλκέτας τὰς τ Ε. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δυνατόν πρόσταγμα λαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή,
αὐτὸς ἀνάπλευσον, ἵνα σύ τε καὶ Ἀλ-
κέτας ἀπολυθῆτε καὶ μὴ συμπῆση μὴ παρεχομένου σε ἐπὶ τῆς κρίσεως
ἀποτίνειν τὸν Ἀλκέταν τὸ ἐπικαλούμε-
- 15 νον, ὃ ἂν σοι ὑπογέγραπται. καλῶς ἂν ποιήσῃς παραγενόμενος ἐν τάχει.
ἔρρωσο. L λη, Παχῶς ιδ.

verso

Θεοφίλωι.

τῷ παρὰ Ἐπι-
στράτου.*Apparatus*: 5 Pap ἡβούλω || 15 Pap. ποιήσαις

recto

Lysanias to Theophilos greetings. I suppose not only that you are not ignorant of the ambition and zeal that we have for you, but also how from the beginning we protected you when we saw you calumniated by Demeas and the way that there was cooperation (*synergoumenon*) by those associated with the guild (*synergion*) to have you condemned unjustly, and (how) after my brother Alketas, having stood surety for you and having gone to some trouble himself and with his friends by a written bond to produce you for trial within five days (of the summons) or else pay the money (5) that was claimed, you were so fainthearted as to slip away without our knowledge – (do you not know that) first, if you wished to sail down the river, we would have furnished you with money for the journey and provided you with counsellors . . . to return to confront your opponents and those associated with the guild (*synergion*); for we would have given you arguments that would have made your opponents wail. Even now, then, if you are able on your own to present a petition, do so; for it was not expedient for us to write, and we have heard that it is possible for you to provide decrees that will punish them. You should know, then, that Demeas has made a petition to Phanias against (10) Alketas, saying that after taking responsibility ^{by a written bond} to produce Theophilos for trial, he is not producing him, and that Phanias has written to Eperatos to withhold the crops of Alketas until he presents himself at the hearing. Therefore, before Phanias comes up (the river), try to come up yourself and be here before him; otherwise, if you are not here, Alketas will be condemned and will be in danger of having to pay the 300 drachmae. But if it is possible to obtain a decree, do so; if not, come up the river yourself so that you and Alketas may be acquitted and that, even through he did not produce you at the trial, Alketas may not have to pay the sum claimed, which (15) has been stated above. You would do well to come quickly. Farewell. Year 38, Pachons 14.

verso To Theophilos.

upside down To the agent of Epistratos.

Translation: Edgar

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: συνέργιον; collective litigation.

Location: Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 1760. Barrington Atlas 75 E2.

- l. 1: Λυσανίας: Probably the same Λυσανίας Ταραν[τίνος named in P.Cair.Zen. III 59340.19–20 (247 BCE) and identified as a *hipparchēs*, cavalry commander.

- I. 2: τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς σέ: While expressions of friendship are common in letters of the Imperial period, Clarysse (2017, 69) observes that this is the only instance from the Ptolemaic period.
- I. 2, 6: συνέργιον: → The more common term is συνεργασία but συνέργιον is attested in IGBulg II 703.3 (Nicopolis ad Istrum); ICiliciaDF 46.4 (I/II CE); SEG 27:947 (Tarsos, III CE): συνέργιον τῶν ἐν τῇ σειτικῇ[ῃ] ὠμοφόρων, “guild of porters in the wheat market”; ISide 109.8–9 = IGRR III 810.9 (Side, Pamphylia, undated): γερουσία τοῦ Μεγάλου συνεργίου, referring to an area of the city of Side; *JHS* 11 (1890) 236.2 [153] (Cilicia, III CE or later); SEG 27:947.13–16 (Cilicia, III CE).
- II. 2–3: Edgar (1931, 131) points out that ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸ συνέργιον | συνεργούμενον is a play on words, and suggests that Theophilos was a member of the guild.
- II. 2, 9: Δημέου: Demeas, a friend of Zenon, is also known from other papyri in the Zenon archive: P.Cair.Zen. II 59282 (250 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59366 (ca. 241 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59396 (256–248 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59416 (mid III BCE); P.Cair.Zen. IV 59588 (mid III BCE); PSI IV 391 (242 BCE).
- I. 4: ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε, “within five days (of the summons).” Thus Lewis (1968, 30), citing many other examples of the formula.
- II. 9, 12: Φανίας: Phantias is known from other papyri in the Zenon archive: P.Cair.Zen. II 59254 = SB III 6992 (252 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59412 (mid III BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59502 (mid III BCE), identified as the “secretary of the cavalry men”; P.Cair.Zen. IV 59589 (mid III BCE); P.Cair.Zen. V 59829 (250 BCE).
- I. 15: ὃ ἄνω σοι ὑπογέγραπται. Literally, “what above is written to you below,” but as Edgar (1931, 132) suggests, ὑπογέγραπται here is used only to mean “written.”

Comments

The situation is clear enough from the letter: Demeas and others connected with a guild launched a legal action against Theophilos in order to receive or recover some money. Lysanias’ brother Alketas had stood surety for Theophilos, guaranteeing his appearance at a hearing, but Theophilos decamped down the river, perhaps to Memphis or even Alexandria. Demeas discovered Theophilos’ flight and brought an action against Alketas, asking Eperatos, perhaps a local official to distrain Alketas’ crops (τὰ γενήματα) until he produced Theophilos. Lysanias’ letter to Theophilos is a plea to return before a certain Phantias comes up the river.

Since Phantias might have been the secretary of the cavalrymen and Lysanias might also be a cavalry commander (→ note on I. 1), Edgar (1931, 130) suggests that Theophilos and Demas are also cavalrymen. He cites the very fragmentary P.Frankf. 7.v.5–6 (218–217 BCE) as pointing to the existence of the a cavalry court (τὸ ἵππικὸν κριτήριον) in which this case would be heard. Wolff (1960, 20), however, is dubious about this claim: he doubts that Phantias was the secretary of the cavalrymen and suggests instead that the ἵππικὸν κριτήριον refers only to “the discretionary exercise of the disciplinary authority of the position of officers that inheres and comes from the king. . .” “[Phantias’] arrival for the purpose of the hearing (διακούσῃ) mentioned in I. 11 was probably only

to establish whether the surety is forfeit and measures to be taken in that case and the distraint against the harvest, in the context of [Phanias'] exercise of disciplinary authority."

The nature of the guild (*synergion*) remains unclear, as does the case that was launched against Theophilos. If Edgar is correct that Theophilos was also a member of this guild, Alketas' agreement to stand surety may be an instance of the obligation for a member to stand surety for a guild member who is arrested (P.Mich. V 243 [206]).

Literature: Clarysse, Willy 2017. "Emotions in Private Papyrus Letters." In *AnSoc* 47:63–86 (esp. 69, 70n.29); **Edgar**, C.C. 1931. *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*. [Michigan Papyri I] University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 24. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press; **Johnson**, Alan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (293–294); **Lewis**, Naphtali 1968. "NOHMATA ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ." In *BASP* 5 (1968) 25–30 (30); **Wolff**, H.J. 1962. *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer*. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 44. Munich: C.H. Beck.

[186] JIGRE 117

Dedication of a Prayer House

Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis (Arsinoites) 245–222 BCE
Published: A. Vogliano, "La dedica della sinagoga di Crocodilopolis," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 67 (1939) 247–251 (ph., facs., from autopsy); repr. "Rapporto preliminare delle 5^a campagna di scavo a Madinet Madi," *ASAE* 39 (1939) 687–695, 692–695 + pl. CXXX; BE 1940, 199; BE 1954, 24; SB V 8939; Lewis, C.Pap.Jud III (1964) 164 (no. 1532); Lifshitz, DFSJ 80–81 (no. 99); I.Fayum I 16–18 (no. 1) (ph., facs.); JIGRE 201–203 (no. 117) [TM 6427]

Translations: J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997) 88–90 (ph.); ASSB 193 (no. 150).

Similar or related documents: → Dedications of prayer houses in the Delta: JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia Menelaïs, 246–221 BCE); JIGRE 24 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 25 (Nitriai, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE).

Limestone stele, 33 × 26.5 cm., broken at lower right hand side; guidelines, and vertical line marking the left-hand edge. Seen in the antiquities trade in Medinet el-Fayum (according to TM).

- ὑπὲρ βασιλέως
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
 Πτολεμαίου καὶ
 βασιλίσσης
 5 Βερνίκης τῆς
 γυναικὸς καὶ
 ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν
 τέκνων οἱ ἐν Κροκ[ο]-
 δίλων πόλει Ἰου[δαῖ]-
 10 οὶ τὴν προ[σευχὴν]
 [— — —]

For the well-being of King Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios and Queen Bernikē his wife and sister and their children, the Judaeans of Krokodilopolis (dedicated) this prayer house.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devotion to a deity; ownership of property.

Location: Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis, the capital of the Arsinoite nome. Also called Ἀρσινόη, Πτολεμαῖς Εὐεργέτις (from 116 BCE). TM geo ref. 327; Barrington Atlas 75 D.

I. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως: → JIGRE 22.1 [154] *note*.

II. 2–6: Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης || Βερνίκης τῆς | γυναικὸς καὶ | ἀδελφῆς: Ptolemy III Euergetes. Queen Bernikē is Bernikē II, the daughter of Magas the king of Cyrene. “Sister” is an honorific term.

II. 7–8: καὶ τῶν | τέκνων: The children include Ptolemy IV Philopator (r. 222–205 BCE). Since the royal marriage occurred in 246 BCE the mention of children puts the *terminus a quo* for the inscription at 245 BCE.

Comments

Judaeans lived in the Fayûm from an early point in Ptolemaic rule as this inscription attests. The formula used in this dedication is almost identical to that found in JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia) from the period of rule of Ptolemy III Euergetes (245–222 BCE), and suggests widespread benefactions by the king to Judaeans immigrants. Josephus (*C.Ap.* 2.48) represents Euergetes as friendly toward Judaea. Another reference to a *proseuchē* is found in P.Entreux. 30 (P.Lille II 35 = C.Pap.Jud I 129 [TM 3305]) from Alexandrou-Nesos, south-west of Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis dated to 219/18 BCE. This papyrus records a dispute over a cloak lodged against a certain Dorotheos, who had taken the cloak τῇ προσευχῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. The cloak was recovered and placed for safekeeping with Nikomachos the warden (νακόρωι = νεώκορος) of the *proseuchē* until the trial. C.Pap.Jud I includes several other papyri mentioning Judaeans from this period (I 19–20, 36–37, 126).

In the late second century BCE a land survey on papyrus of Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis mentions a *proseuchē* located near the town boundary (Horbury and Noy 1992, 202). Méléze-Modrzejewski (1997, 89) suggests that the *proseuchē* of JIGRE 117 is the same as that named in P.Tebt. I 86r.14–31 (= C.Pap.Jud. I 134 [TM 3722]):

⟨col. ii⟩

- [βο(ρρᾱ) ἔχο(μένης) Ἑρμιόνηι Ἀπολλωνίδου ἱερᾶς παρα(δείσου)
 15 [. . .] α δ η ις λβ, (ῶν) ὑποδο(χείου) δ, περιστε(ρῶνος) ἐρή(μου) λβ, μνη() ις,
 χέ(ρσου) ε η. γεί(τονες) νό(του) Δημητρίου Θρα(κός) χέ(ρσος) βο(ρρᾱ)
 προσευ(χή) λι(βός) περίστασις πό(λεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργα(ίτιδος) διῶρυ(ξ).
 βο(ρρᾱ) [ἐ]χ[ο(μένης)] προσευχῆς Ἰουδαίων διὰ Περτόλλου
 διὰ μι(σθωτοῦ) Πετесούχου τοῦ Μαρρήους
 20 ἱερᾶς παρα(δείσου) γλδ ις, [σ]τεφά(νοις) καὶ λαχά(νοις) αλ
 γεί(τονες) νό(του) Ἑρμιόνης τῆς Ἀπολλωνίδου βο(ρρᾱ) καὶ λι(βός)
 περίστασις τῆς πό(λεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργα(ίτιδος) διῶρυ(ξ).
 βο(ρρᾱ) ἔχο(μένη) [ε]ισβαί(νουςα) λι(βός) παρὰ τὴν πό(λιν) σχοι(νίου)
 δλ
 25 Σαραπίων ὁ παρὰ τῆς βα(σιλείσης) [[σκελῖδα]] ἱερὰ α, (ῶν) οἰκίαν
 ἐρή(μων) λ, ἐρή(μου) λ. . . .
 λ δ ις λβ

⟨col. iii⟩

- β. . .[. . .].α.[±?]
 γεί(τονες) νό(του) προσευχῆς Ἰουδαίων βο(ρρᾱ) [καὶ λι(βός) περίστασις
 πό(λεως)]
 30 ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ),
 ἔως περιστάσεως πό(λεως) βο(ρρᾱ). [±?]

⟨col. ii⟩

To the north, a garden sacred to Hermione daughter of Apollonidēs: (15) 5 13/32 arourae; of these 1/4 has a storehouse, 1/32 has an empty columbarium, 5 1/8 are vacant. Its neighbours to the south; dry land belonging to Dēmētrios the Thracian; to the north a *proseuchē*; to the west the boundary of the city; to the east, the canal of Argaitis. To the north, a *proseuchē* of the Judaeans (attested to) by Pertollos; a sacred garden (cultivated?) by the tenant, Petesouchos son of Marrēs, (20) consisting of 3 13/16 arourae, and 1 1/2 arourae (planted) to flowers and vegetables; the neighbours are: to the south: (the garden) of Hermione daughter of Apollonidēs; to the north and the west: the boundary of the city; to the east, the canal of Argaitis. To the north, narrowing to the west outside the city for 4 1/2 *schoinia*: (25) Sarapiōn who holds ^{from the queen} sacred land of 1 aroura, on which half is occupied by vacant houses, and half is unoccupied. . .

30 9/32.

⟨col. iii⟩ 2 . . . neighbours to the south: the *proseuchē* of the Judaeans; to the north and west, the city boundary; to the east the canal of Argaitis. Northward to the city boundary.

Méléze-Modrzejewski (1997, 89) argues that the location of the *proseuchē* near the edge of the city might reflect a concern of Judaeans in Egypt to preserve distance from its idolatrous Egyptian neighbours. Since other synagogues were

often located near a source of water, he suggests that the canal likely provided a source of water for the *miqveh* (1997, 96).

A second, much later, papyrus also mentions two *proseuchai* in Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis in a list of charges for water (P.Lond. III 1177 [TM 11763]; after Oct 113 CE, with several marginal comments) (< = drachma; — = obol):

- Πτολεμαίου καὶ Πτ[ο]λεμαίου γυμνασιάρχ(ων) τοῦ ιζ L
 < marg. > ὁμ(οίως) < υκ
 Τραιανοῦ [K]αίς[αρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου Θῶθ < υκ.
 Διδᾶτος κο[σμητοῦ] ὁμοίως
 Θῶθ < Α, [Φ]αῶφι < Α / < Β.
 30 χορηγίας ὕδατους βαλανείου Σευηριανοῦ ἡμερησίω(ν) — τη
 Παχῶν < οβ — [ι]η, Παῦνι < οβ — τη, Ἐπεῖφ < οβ — τη,
 Μεσορῇ ἀπὸ α ἕως ιε διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ ις ἕως λ μὴ λελουκέναι
 < marg. > ἔχετε
 ἀντὶ τῶν αἰρου{ρ[.]υ}σῶν [< λς — θ ὅλαι < νβ
 Ἐπαγομένων ἡμερῶ[ν] ε < ιβ (τριώβολον), ιζ L Θῶθ < οβ — τη
 35 Φαῶφι < οβ — τη / < υκδ — γ.
 κρήνης δρόμου ἡμερ[ησίω]ν — θ
 Παχῶν < λς [— θ, Πα]ῦνι < λς — θ, Ἐπεῖφ ἡμερῶν
 < marg. > ὁμ(οίως)
 κς αἱ αἰροῦσαι [<] [γ — δ,] Μεσορῇ < λς — θ καὶ
 < col. iii >
 ὑπὲρ Ἐπαγομένων ε ὀβ(ολοὶ) με / ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτὸ) < ρμα — ος.
 40 κρήνης Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως ἡμερησίω — θ
 Παχῶν < λς — θ, Παῦνι < λς — θ, Ἐπεῖφ
 < marg. > ζή(τει) Θῶθ Φαῶ(φι)
 ὁμοίως < λς — θ, Μεσορῇ < λς — θ, Ἐπαγο(μένων) ε ὀβ(ολοὶ) με
 / < ρνβ — ιδ.
 κρήνης Κλεοπατρίου ὁμοίως ἡμερησίω — θ
 45 Παχῶν < λς — θ, Παῦνι < λς — θ, Ἐπεῖφ < λς — θ,
 < marg. > ἐπέχ(ετε)
 Μεσορῇ < κ καὶ αἱ πλείω βληθεῖσαι βαλανείου Σευηριανοῦ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) μηνὸς < ιδ — ε
 Ἐπαγομένων ἡμερῶν δ < ε
 ιζ L Θῶθ [. . .] Θῶθ ἡμερῶν κθ < λς διὰ τὸ τὴν μίαν
 < marg. > διὰ τί
 50 ἡμέραν μὴ κεχορηγῆσθαι, Φαῶφι < λς — θ / < σε — λς.
 ζυτοπωλείου Σαραπειῶν ἡμερησίω — ιγ
 Παχῶν < νβ — ιγ, Παῦνι < νβ — ιγ, Ἐπεῖφ < νβ — ιγ, Μεσορῇ ἀπὸ
 < νβ — ιγ < νβ (πεντώβολον) διὰ τὸ τοὺς λοιπ(οὺς) ὀβολ(οὺς) η
 ἐκκεκρουκέναι
 ὑπὲρ με[τα]φορᾶς ὕδατους ἑαγτῷ χορηγήσαντο(ς), ἐπαγομ(ένων)
 55 ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν ε < θ, ιζ L Θῶθ < νβ — ιγ, Φαῶφι
 ἡμερῶ(ν) κ[.] < μδ δι[ι]ὰ τ[ὸ] τὰς λοιπ(ὰς) μὴ κεχορηγῆ(σθαι) / < τιγ —
 ο.
 / ἀρχόντων Ἰ[ου]δαίων προσευχῆς Θηβαίων μηνιαίω(ν) < ρκη
 Παχῶν < ρκ[η], Παῦνι < ρκη, Ἐπεῖφ < ρκη, Μεσορῇ < ρκη,

- 60 $\iota\zeta \text{ L } \Theta\omega\theta < \rho\kappa\eta, \Phi\alpha\omega\phi\iota < \rho\kappa\eta / < \psi[\xi\eta]$
 / $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \text{ Παχών } < \rho\kappa\eta, \text{ Παῦνι } < \rho\kappa\eta, \text{ 'Επειφ } < \rho\kappa\eta, \text{ Μεσο(ρή) } < [\rho\kappa\eta]$
 $\iota\zeta \text{ L } \Theta\omega\theta < \rho\kappa[\eta], \Phi\alpha\omega\phi\iota < \rho\kappa\eta / < \psi\xi\eta$
 <col. iv>
 γίνονται λήμματος ἀπὸ Παχών ἰ. ἕως Φαῶφι λ.
 Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἀργ(υρίου) Τ α < Ε ξ — ς.

(Received from) Ptolemaios and Ptolemaios, the gymnasiarchs, <in the margin.: likewise 420 dr.>, for the 17th year of Traianus Caesar the Lord, Thoth: 420 dr. From Didas the *kosmētēs*, likewise: Thoth: 1000 dr.; Phaophi: 1000 dr., making 2000 dr.

(30) For supplying the water for the bath of Severianus: 18 obols daily: Pachon: 72 dr. 18 ob.; Pauni: 72 dr. 18 ob.; Epeiph: 72 dr. 18 ob.; Mesore 1–15 (then Mesore) 16–30 because there was no bathing, <in the margin. you have> instead 36 dr. 9 ob. or the total (for Mesore) of 52 dr. For the 5 intercalary days: 12 dr., 3 ob.; Year 17 Thoth: 72 dr. 18 ob. (35) Paophi: 72 dr. 18 ob., making 424 dr. 3 ob.

(Received) for the public fountain, 9 ob. daily: Pachon: 36 dr., 9 ob.; Pauni: 36 dr. 9 ob.; Epeiph <in the margin. likewise>: 27 days, subtracting 3 dr. 4 ob.; Mesore: 36 dr. 9 ob., and for the 5 intercalary days, 45 ob., making in total 141 dr. 76 ob.

(40) (Received) for the fountain of the Macedonians, similarly, 9 ob. daily: Pachon: 36 dr. 9 ob.; Pauni: 36 dr. 9 ob.; Epeiph: similarly, 36 dr. 9 ob. <in the margin. examine Thoth, Phaophi!>; Mesore: 36 dr. 9 ob., and for the 5 intercalary days, 45 ob., making in total 152 dr. 14 ob.

(Received) for the fountain of Kleopatra, similarly 9 ob. daily: (45) Pachons: 36 dr. 9 ob.; Pauni: 36 dr. 9 ob.; Epeiph: 36 dr. 9 ob.; <in the margin. in addition you have> for Mesore you have 20 dr. for the extra payment of the bath of Severianus for the same month, 14 dr. 5 ob. for the 4 intercalary days, 5 dr., Year 17, month of Thoth, 29 days, because for one day (50) that water was not supplied <in the margin. Why?>: Paophi: 36 dr.; making 205 dr. 36 ob.

(Received) from the brewery of Sarapiōn, 13 ob. daily: Pachon: 52 dr. 13 obols; Pauni: 52 dr. 13 obols; Epeiph: 52 dr. 13 obols; Mesore, 52 dr. 13 obols; 52 dr. 5 ob., because the other 8 obols have been subtracted because he supplied the water himself; (55) for the 5 intercalary days: 9 dr. Year 17 month of Thoth: 52 dr. 13 obols; Paophi: 2[5] days: 44 dr. because on the other days water was not supplied, making 313 dr., 70 obols.

(Received) from the *archons* of the Judaeans for the *proseuchē* of the Thebans: 128 dr. monthly; Pachon: 128 dr., Pauni: 128 dr.; Epeiph: 128 dr.; Mesore: 128 dr. Year 17, month of Thoth: 128 dr.; Phaophi: 128 dr., making 768 dr.

(60) For a *eucheion*, likewise: Pachon: 128 dr., Pauni: 128 dr.; Epeiph: 128 dr.; Mesore: 128 dr. Year 17, month of Thoth: 128 dr.; Phaophi: 128 dr., making 768 dr.

col. IV

Total receipts from Pachon 10 to Paophi 30 of . . . Traianos Caesar the Lord, 1 silver talent, 5900 dr. 6 ob.

The water bill for the two synagogues – assuming that the *eucheion* in l. 60 is also a *proseuchē* – is high relative to the brewery and the fountains: they are al-

most twice as high as for the bath and almost four times the bill for certain fountains. Méléze-Modrzejewski rejects the suspicion that Judaeans were being overcharged; more likely, they used more water than other institutions (1997, 96). Fuks (1960, 221) likewise thinks that the high consumption has to do with purity concerns. Fitzpatrick-McKinley, however, points out that since the other *proseuchē* in Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis had a garden watered by the adjacent canal, “it is also possible that this synagogue’s high water bill was due to the upkeep of a vegetable garden” (2002, 62). It is difficult, however, to imagine that the *proseuchē*, whose effective daily water charge was 32 obols, would consume twice the water of a bath installation (18 obols daily) if it were simply a garden being watered. Fuk’s comment that “we must suppose that various classes of customers were taxed according to their average consumption of water” (1960, 221) may be on the right track: the two major consumers of water appear to have been the gymnasium (ll. 26–29) at 420 dr. per month, and the two *proseuchē*, each at 128 dr. monthly.

The most recent study of the papyrus by Wolfgang Habermann (2000) takes note of the differing daily charges and the fact that some of the water bills are monthly and others daily, but ends with a question: “Whether this comparatively high rate [for the *proseuchē* and *eucheion* relative to the bath and brewery] is to be traced back to the daily *and* especially the ritually-conditioned uses of water, or whether possibly other reasons . . . played a role cannot be determined” (140–141). Nevertheless, Habermann concludes that the fact that two Judaeon prayer houses could participate in the civic water supply system, which “must have been a “privilege” and even more, is an index of the strong Jewish element in the metropolis of Arsinoites” (2000, 142).

Literature: Bruun, Christer 2003. “‘Medius Fidius. Tantam Pecuniam Nicomedenses Perdidierint!’ Roman Water Supply, Public Administration, and Private Contractors.” In *Tâches publiques et entreprise privée dans le monde romain. Actes du diplôme d’études avancées, Universités de Neuchâtel et de Lausanne, 2000–2002*. ed. Jean-Jacques Aubert. Université de Neuchâtel. Recueil des travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines 52, 305–325. Neuchâtel: Université de Neuchâtel, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, and Genève: Droz; **Fitzpatrick-McKinley**, A. 2002. “Synagogue Communities in the Graeco-Roman Cities.” In *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. John R. Bartlett, 55–87. London and New York: Routledge; **Habermann**, W. 2000. *Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten: Neuedition von P. Lond. III 1177*. Vestigia 53. Munich: C.H. Beck; **Horbury**, W., and D. Noy 1992. *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt, with an Index of Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Méléze-Modrzejewski**, J. 1997. *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; **Runesson**, Anders, Donald D. **Binder**, and Birger **Olsson**, eds. 2007. *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.* AJEC 72. Leiden: Brill (pp. 190–192, no. 148); **Tcherikover**, Victor, A. **Fuks**, and M. **Stern**, eds. 1957–64. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; **Urman**, Dan, and P.V.M. **Fletcher**, eds. 1995. *Ancient*

Synagogues: Historical Analyses and Archaeological Discovery. Studia Post-Biblica 47/1–2. Leiden: Brill.

[187] P.Petr. III 136 Club Account (?)

Arsinoites after 7 Nov 231 BCE or after 1 Nov 206 BCE

Published: John P. Mahaffy, and J. Gilbert Smyly, eds. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri* III, Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs 11 (Dublin: Academy Press, 1905) 325 (no. 136) [TM 7603]

Current location: Dublin, Trinity College Pap. FF (catalogue number unknown)

Similar or related documents: *Club Accounts*: SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias? 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (unknown; II/III CE).

Papyrus. Dimensions unavailable.

<col. i>

	Θῶυθ ιθ τοῦ ιζ L	
	Κτήσιππος ἐ[πιμη]νιευ()	γ
	συμβολήν	α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	ὀφείλει περὶ <i>vac.</i>	= L (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
5	καὶ πρὸς λόγον	(τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ) / δ ζ (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	—	
	Κλεαίνετος ἐπιμηνιευ()	γ
	συμβολή[ν]	α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	ὀφείλει	β ζ / ζ ζ (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	—	
	Πυθίων ἀπι() συμβολήν	ζ
10	ὀφείλει	β ζ – L / γ – L
	—	
	Δωρίων ἱερεὺς	β ζ –
	—	
	Νικίας δεύ(τερος) ἱερεὺς	γ
	—	

	Εὐρυλόχος συμβολήν	α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	ὀφείλει περὶ δαν(ει)	—
15	καὶ πρὸς λόγον	— $\mathcal{L} / \alpha = \mathcal{L}$
	— —	
	Σωκράτης συμβολήν	α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	ὀφείλει πρὸς λόγον	— $\mathcal{L} / \alpha - \mathcal{L}$ (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
	— —	
	Ἀρτεμίδωρος συμβολήν	α (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)
«col. ii, hand 2»		
«too damaged to reproduce»		

«col. iii»

	Λ ιζ Θῶνθ	
ιζ	±?]	α
τη	Λάκιος	α
	Νικίας	γ
5	α
	Δημήτριος	ζ / ς ζ
	Πτολεμαῖος	α
	Πυθίων	ζ
	Τληπόλε(μος)	α
10	Πτολεμαῖος Τηρ()	ζ / γ
	Θεοπείθης	ζ
	Διοσκουρί(δης)	α ζ / β
	Ἀπολλώνιος γρ(αμματεὺς)	α ζ
	Λευκοφά(νης)	α
15	Πυθίων	β
	Εὐρύλοχος	ζ —
	Σωκράτης	ζ / ε ζ —
		/ ιζ — (ῶν)
τη	ἄρτων	α ἄλλη α / β
20	ὠιά	ζ =
	κάρυα	α —
	ισχάδων	—
	στέφανον	ζ
	ἐρεβίν(θων)	— (τέταρτον ὀβολοῦ)

«col. i»

	Thoth 19, year 17.	
	Ktēsippos, monthly officer	3 (dr.?)
	Dues	1 (dr.) ¼ (obol)
	he owes	2 ¾ (obols)
5	and on account	¼ (obol), making 4 (dr.) 3 ¼ (obols)

	Kleainetos, monthly officer	3 (dr.)
	Dues	1 (dr.) $\frac{1}{4}$ (obol)
	he owes	2 (dr.) 3 (obols), making 6 (dr.) $3\frac{1}{4}$ (obols)
	Pythion api(. . .) dues	3 obols.
10	he owes	2 (dr.) $4\frac{1}{2}$ (obols), making 3 (dr.) $1\frac{1}{2}$ (obols)
	Doriôn, priest	2 (dr.) 4 (obols).
	Nikias the younger, a priest	3 (dr.)
	Eurylochos, dues	1 (dr.) $\frac{1}{4}$ (obol)
	he owes as a loan	1 (obol).
15	and on account	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (obols), making 1 (dr.) $2\frac{1}{2}$ (obols)
	Sokratēs, dues	1 (dr.) $\frac{1}{4}$ (obol)
	he owes on account	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (obols), making 1 (dr.) $1\frac{3}{4}$ obols.
	Artemidōros, dues	1 (dr.) $\frac{1}{4}$ (obol)

⟨col. ii, hand 2⟩

⟨too damaged to reproduce⟩

⟨col. iii⟩

	Year 17 Thoth 17	
17th . . .		1 (dr.)
18th (Thoth) Lakios		1 (dr.)
	Nikias	3 (dr.)
5	[- - -]	1 (dr.)
	Dēmētrios	3 (ob.), making 6 (dr.) 3 obols.
	Ptolemaios	1 (dr.)
	Pythion	3 (ob.)
	Tlepolemos	1 (dr.)
10	Ptolemaios son of Ter()	3 (ob.), making 3 (dr.)
	Theopeitheis	3 (ob.)
	Dioskouri(dēs)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (dr.), making 2 (dr.)
	Apollōnios the secretary	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (dr.)
	Leukopha(nes)	1 (dr.)
15	Pythion	2 (dr.)
	Eurylochos	4 (ob.)
	Sokratēs	3 (ob.), making 5 (dr.), 4 obols.
	(Total)	17 (dr.) 1 (ob.), from which (is deducted)
18th (Thoth) bread		1 (dr.), other things, 1 (dr.), making 2 (dr.)
20	Eggs	5 (obols)
	Nuts	1 (dr.) 1 (obol)
	Dried figs	1 (obol)
	A crown	3 (obols)
	Chick peas	$1\frac{1}{4}$ (obols)

Notes

Association? Highly probable: leadership terms: ἱερεὺς, ἐπιμηνίος, γραμματεὺς; probable reference to banquets; collection of dues (συμβολή) from members.

col. i

- I. 1: Θωυθ ιθ τοῦ ιζ L, Thoth 19, year 17. If the king is Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 BCE), the date is 8 Nov 231 BCE. If the king is Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 BCE), the date is 6 Nov 206 BCE. Given the relatively low values of the *symbolē* in col. I (1 dr. ¼ obol), the contributions in col. iii (0.5 dr. – 3 dr., with both the median and mode at 1.0 dr.), and the cost of foodstuffs (at 1 dr. or less), it is likely that the account reflect monetary values from a period before 210 BCE when the value of silver to copper ration fell to 1:60 (Reekmans 1948; 1949; 1951). If P.Petr. III 136 were from after 210 BCE one would expect dues to be in the range of 60 (AE) dr. monthly. Monthly contributions in the range of 1 dr. are entirely consistent with the contributions recorded in SB III 7182 [193] a century later, when, if one assumes that this account is from after 173 BCE, a contribution of 270 copper drachmae has the equivalent silver value of 1.125 drachmae (since the AR:AE ratio had fallen to 1:240) and the total contributions for one meeting (4545 AE dr.) are equivalent to 18.93 (AR) drachmae. → SB III 7182 [193] *comment*.
- II. 2, 6: ἐ[πιμη]νιευ(), perhaps ἐπιμηνιεύς, monthly officer, but the term is unattested except here. See also IG XII/3 330.65 (Thera, 210–195 BCE) for instances of a “monthly priest” (ἐπιμηνίος). From the second or third century CE on, the term μηνιάρχης appears, referring to a guild officer charged with tax payments → P.Oxy. LIV 3734.8 [278] *note*.
- II. 3, 7, 9, 13, 16, 18: συμβολή, “contribution, dues” → Philo, *Ebr.* 20–21; IG XII/7 22.28 (Arcesine, III BCE); P.Cair.Zen. III 59341a.18a (Alexandria, after 6 June 247 BCE): διὰ τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν πάσας τὰς συμβολάς; P.Lond. VII 2193.20 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. II 127.1.33 [217]; P.Mich V 244.19 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Tebt. I 112.26 (Kerkeosiris, 112 BCE) = P.Tebt. V 1151.26, 49, 65, 123; SB III 7182.38 [193] (Philadelphia, II/I BCE).
- I. 15: This is a mathematical mistake. It should be 1 dr., 2 ¾ obols.

col. iii

- I. 18: The conversion assumes 6 obols = 1 drachma. Other accounts assume 1 dr. = 7 obols.
- I. 23: στέφανον 4, “a crown, 3 obols”: Other accounts mention the purchase of crowns: P.Tebt. III/2 894 frag. 1.r.3.30; P.Tebt. III/2 894 frag. 7.v.2: 125 dr.; P.Tebt. I 231 (Tebtynis, 97/6 or 64/3 BCE): στέφανον ρ, “(expenses) . . . a crown, 100 dr.” Since both P.Tebt. III/2 894 and P.Tebt. I 231 come from a time when the Ptolemaic copper drachma was worth 1:480 (Reekmans 1948, 1951), the pre–221 BCE equivalent is 1.25–1.5 obols, half the cost of the crown in P.Petr. III 136.
- I. 24: ἐρεβίν(θων): chick peas, according to Plato (*Resp.* 372C) eaten as dessert: καὶ τραγήματὰ που παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ κυάμων, “but as dessert we will offer to them figs, chick-peas, and beans.”

Comments

Mahaffy and Smyly (1905, 325) thought that this was the “accounts of a money-lender,” but admitted it was obscure in many places. The use of *symbolē*, the

usual term for “contributions” or “dues” (→ ll. 4, 8, 10, 14, 16 *note*), the naming of officers including a “monthly officer” (ἐπιμηνιευ()), priest, and secretary, the listing of foodstuffs bought for the 18th of Thoth (col. iii 19–24), and the mention of a “crown,” suggest instead that this is a club account of income and expenditures for a banquet, comparable to SB III 7182 [193], P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194], P.Tebt. I 118 [195] and P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196], all from the late second century BCE.

Since the figures for each of the persons named in col. i represent sums (in all but one case [l. 15] accurately computed), there is some uncertainty about the figure of 3 drachmae after the names of monthly officers, Ktēsippos and Kleainetos (ll. 2, 6), and the relation of those figures to the *symbolai* that are listed for them (1 dr. ¼ obol each). Since Ktēsippos and Kleainetos are assigned two kinds of contributions, one unnamed and a *symbolē*, and Dorion and Nikias, both priests, also have unnamed contributions registered against their names, it is possible that these are liturgical contributions expected of officers that fall outside the regular “dues,” which, with the exception of the dues for Pythion, are constant at 1 dr. ¼ obol each. This might also imply that Dorion and Nikias as priests are *asymbolos*, “dues exempt” (→ Index, s.v. ἀσύμβολος), since no dues are listed. As regular members, Pythion, Eurylochos, Sokratēs, and Artemidōros pay only “dues” (*symbolai*). Ὀφείλει, “he owes” (ll. 4, 8, 10, 14, 17) registers the amounts that are still in arrears. This verb is common in financial accounts; another club account uses λοιπαί, “remaining” to register arrears: P.Tebt. III/2 894 frag. 4.v.2.19 [194]: Ἀμενεὺς υ, λο(ιπαί) ρ, “Ameneus (paid) 400 dr., but owes 100 dr.”

The relation of the names and sums in col. i (Thoth 19) to those in col. III (Thoth 17) also presents some questions. Of the names in col. iii, only Pythion and Sokratēs are also listed in col. i (col. i names Nikias the younger, col. iii has Nikias *simpliciter*, either the younger’s father or an unrelated Nikias).

The food costs listed in col. iii come to only 4 dr. 5 ¼ obols, while the income listed for Thoth 18 is 17 dr. 1 ob. However, no wine or beer is included, which would have increased the expense of the meal significantly, since wine and beer usually represented the largest single expense for dinners. The fact that col. ii is illegible renders a complete interpretation of this document difficult.

Literature: Mahaffy, John P., and J. Gilbert Smyly, eds. 1905. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri. Volume III*. Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs 11. Dublin: Academy Press; Reekmans, Tony 1948. “Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri.” In *Studia Hellenistica* 5:15–43; Reekmans, Tony 1949. “Economic and Social Repercussions of the Ptolemaic Copper Inflation.” In *CdÉ* 24(48): 324–342; Reekmans, Tony 1951. “The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation.” In *Ptolemaica*, E. van ’t Dack and Tony Reekmans. *Studia Hellenistica*. 7, 61–118. Leiden: Brill; Louvain: Nauwelaerts; Segrè, A. 1942. “The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation” In *AJP* 63(2): 174–192; von Reden, Sitta 2007. *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

[188] P.Lille.dem. I 29

Bylaws of the Association of the Temple of Horus

Pisais (division of Themistos, Arsinoites) 17 Mar – 15 Apr 223 BCE

Published: Henri Sottas, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1921) 58–62; Françoise de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques*, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire; Bibliothèque d'étude 46 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1972) 3–10 (P.Assoc. pp. 3–10) [TM 2784; CAPIInv 1689]

Current location: Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 186 + Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 187 + Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 188.

Similar or related documents: → P.Bagnall 42 = P.Tebt. Suppl. 1578 (ed. Monson 2012) [TM 175279] (Tebtynis, 250–210 BCE); P.Mainz.dem. 10 [TM 133259] (Arsinoites, 245–243 BCE); P.Lille.dem 31 [TM 4471] (Pisais, Arsinoites, III BCE); P.Stan.Green.Dem. inv. 21 (ed. Arlt and Monson, 2010) [TM 129749] (Bakchias? 192 BCE); P.Cair. 31178 = P.Assoc. pp. 39–40, 215–218 [TM 3055; CAPIInv 1971] (Tebtynis, 179 BCE); P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77–78 = Bresciani 2002 [TM 47205] (178 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 = P.Assoc. pp. 45–58 [191] [TM 2775] (Tebtynis, 158/7 BCE); P.Hamburg.dem. 1 = P.Assoc. pp. 59–61, 219–220 [TM 3057] (Tebtynis, 151 BCE); P.Cair. 31179 = P.Assoc. pp. 63–68, 221–222 [TM 3056] (Tebtynis, 147 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 = P.Assoc. pp. 73–78, 222–225 [TM 2774] (Tebtynis, 145 BCE); P.Cair. 30619 = P.Assoc. pp. 93–97, 227–229 [TM 2776] (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Prag.Satzung. = P.Assoc. pp. 83–91, 225–227 [TM 2928] (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 = P.Assoc. pp. 103–131 (Pestmann 1993) [TM 3058] (Memnoneia, Thebes west, 109/8 BCE); P.Cair. 30618 A–B = P.Assoc. pp. 229–236 [TM 43286] (Tebtynis, II BCE); ST 158 (Coptos, 30 BCE).

Papyrus, 33 × 39 cm., in eight fragments, from cartonnage.

⟨Translation from de Cenival⟩

Year 24 month of Mecheir, of King Ptolemy, living eternally, son of Ptolemy [and] Arsinoë the Sibling gods, the priests of Alexander, the Sibling gods, the Benefactor gods, (2) (and) the canephore [of Arsinoë Phila]delphos (being those who are inscribed in Alexandria).

Copy of the bylaws that the members of the association of the temple of Horus of Behedet have adopted to apply in the village of Sebeck Pisai in the division of Themistos, on the southern branch of the canal [Mo ēris] (3) in the Arsinoite nome; We all agree: We are in agreement to apply (these rules) in the location named above: We shall deliver [shares], resin, salt, ointment, crowns, incense, thyme (?) and beer or wine. We will hold an assembly in the temple of the above-named village on the days (4) that

those of the House have fixed as the meeting days, beginning in [year 24, month of] Mecheir, until year 25, month of Mecheir, the 30th day, which makes one year, 12 months and 1/6 of a month, in addition to the feast days that those of the House have determined as the days meeting days.

We agree: [We . . .] that (5) they agree that we will do during the above-mentioned period: we shall offer holocausts and offerings for King Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Berenikē the queen and for Arsinoë, for the Sibling gods, and the Benefactor gods . . . (6) all the gods of Egypt who are in the association.

We shall contribute one *kite* [one half being] $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite*, making one *kite* [for our] membership fee during the above-mentioned period, when it comes due and . . . each month and . . . of the contribution for the functions when they come (7) due each month, (given them) to the representative of the House who the (leaders) of the House [choose] to manage the expenditures for the divine processions of the temple named below. We will establish a day for the contributions of shares, of resin and salt for the House during the aforementioned period; we shall give the shares for the gods, the [. . .] (8) who are in the House to . . . on the day of the contributions which the (leaders) of the House have decided to establish.

If one of us is told to contribute on the day of the contribution and does not pay, his fine will be two *kites* and we will prosecute him on the day of contribution, unless he is [ill or in prison or on trial] (9) with the royal treasurer, if the trial is in his favour.

If one of us is summoned to the meeting in the temple and [does not come when he is able to come], if there is proof against him his fine will be $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kite*.

Anyone of us who steals money, property or anything whatsoever from the interior (of the temple), if the case is proved against him, [his fine will be . . . and we will prosecute him] (10) so that he gives back the item that he has stolen; his fine will be equal to the (contribution) of the day in question, absolutely and without delay.

Anyone of us says [to another one of us, “you are a] leper,” when it is not true that he is a leper, his fine will be 8 *kite*.

Anyone of us [. . .] the wife of another of his colleagues, during the above-mentioned period [if it is proved against him], his fine will be 8 *kite*.

Anyone of us who sows discord in the House in regard to the day [of contributions. . .] and among us, his fine will be $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ of everything that come into the House on the day in question, absolutely and without delay.

We will go out to pull the (statue of the) falcon [on the days that] (12) those of the House agree to pull the [god] during the above-mentioned period, marching together behind the “superior of the falcon” and the other “superiors” of the House.

If anyone one of us does not come to pull the falcon when it is required to come, his fine will be one *kite* and a curse of the god will follow him.

We will escort the falcon [. . .] (13) the “superior of the falcon,” and the other “superiors” of the House together.

If anyone of us does not escort, when it is required to do so, his fine will be one *kite* and a curse of the god will follow him.

If anyone one of us insults the “superior of the falcon” of the House, his fine will be 8 *kite* if the case is proved against him.

[If anyone strikes the “superior] (14) of the falcon” of the House, if the case is proved against him, the fine will be 8 *kite*.

If the superior of the falcon insults (a member?) his fine will be [. . .] *deben*, or if he strikes him, his fine will be one *deben*.

If a novice insults his colleague, his fine will be 2 *kite*; if a novice strikes his colleague, his fine will be . . . *kite*.

If one of us finds a member (15) who is involved in a trial and evades his responsibilities to him, and offers testimony against him, if the case is proved against him, his fine shall be 4 *kite*.

If one of us is unjustly arrested, without the (appeal to the) altar of [the king or the divine temple] (16) we will ensure that the representative of the House levies a ration for him of food that he will receive every day of his imprisonment until the god pardons him (?). We will offer testimony in the trial, all of us, and we will appeal for him, up to the 10 days; if we are able to obtain his release, we will obtain his release.

If anyone of us is [ill] or (17) in prison or has taken refuge in the temple of the god, or in a place of supplication, or has been arrested as the object of a pledge during the aforementioned period, we will ensure that the representative of the House come to his assistance; and whoever decided against him will have decided against us.

If anyone of us should die in the above-mentioned village, during the aforementioned period (18) we will go to the cemetery; we will ensure that the representative [of the House] provides for him 100 shares for mourning: the price of his [embalming]: 50 shares; for 35 days: 25 shares; for his funeral banquet: 25 shares; we will provide the money for him to the House, each giving 2 *kite*.

If any one of us does not escort (the body), [when he is able to do so], (19) if the case is proved against him, his fine will be $\frac{1}{2}$ *kite*.

If any of us whose father, mother, brother, sister, father-in-law, mother-in-law dies in the aforementioned village during the aforementioned period – we will come to escort him to the cemetery and we will arrange that the representative of the House provide for him [. . . shares] (20) We will receive him personally at the House and we will drink and soothe his heart.

If any of us dies outside the village up to two schoine [20 km.] to the south, to the north, to the east, and to the west, we will designate five men from the House and we will take care so that they will go and look for him to

take him to the necropolis (21) that is in the aforementioned village. We will give shares for him, as written above. And all the other men will come from the House at the time.

Those who are designated (?) among the five above-mentioned men and who do not go when they are required to go looking (for him), their fine will be 4 *kite*.

If any of us, when the representative of the House (22) goes to seize a surety for his fine, . . . in the house and if he harms him, either him (the representative) or his agents, if the case is proved against him, his fine will be 6 *kite*.

If any of use makes a complaint against one of us with the military or police authorities without having first made the complaint before those of the House, (23) his fine will be 2 *kite*.

If any of us makes a complaint against one of us before those of the House, to get justice [in a certain matter] and who (also) makes a complaint to the military authorities, his fine will be 2 *kite*.

If any of use makes a complaint before those of the above-mentioned House (24) and who has received a judgment in the matter, and who says, "I will take this matter to another association" because they did not provide justice in this matter, if the judgment of the association in question is in accord with the judgment [of the other association], (25) his fine will be 4 *kite*.

If any of us is found with the wife of another (member), if it is proved against the latter, his fine will be 2 *kite* and we will move to exclude him from the House.

If any of us steals from another during the above-mentioned period [. . .] (26) we will require him to make restitution of the thing that was stolen and his fine will be equivalent to his day (?) obligatory (daily dues?) at that time.

If any of us evade the fulfilment of the above-mentioned clauses, except that [. . .] (27) his fine will be 3 *debens*, for the holocausts and the offerings to King Ptolemaios, living eternally, son of Ptolemaios and Queen Bernik ē, and Arsinoe, the Sibling gods, [the Benefactor gods] (28) and we will ensure that it is in conformity with all the things written, during the above-mentioned period, and obligatory at that time.

[We will act in conformity] with all the above-mentioned clauses; our heart is satisfied; we will observe these by complying with fines and all the above-mentioned works during the above-mentioned period and in all the writings . . . (29) and in addition (any) decisions made by those who belong to the House during the above-mentioned period.

We will observe . . .

. . . write . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: cultic group associated with cult of Horus, associative term: *hny.t* as a collectivity (indicating a private association); bylaws and judicial structure; leadership structure: “representative” (*rwḏ*), superiors, etc.; banquets and fixed meeting days with group activities, membership fees and fines; common treasury (probable).

Location: Pisais (division of Themistos, Arsinoites). Barrington Atlas 75 D2; TM geo ref. 1836.

I. 3, 7: resin, salt: de Cenival (1972, 17) suggests that resin and salt were used for the embalming of members and animals (falcons and crocodiles). → Lucas 1932.

I. 4: 12 months and 1/6 of a month: → P.Cair. 30606.5–6 [191] *note*.

I. 4 and *passim*: On House as a designation of the temple association → P.Cair. 30606.6 [191] *note*.

II. 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19 22, 23, 25: 1 *kite* = 2 drachmae.

I. 7: day for the contributions: de Cenival (1972, 16): “Cette expression ne désigne pas seulement le jour fixé pour la livraison, mais la totalité des livraisons à effectuer par une personne déterminée.”

II. 14, 27: *deben*: Fines are given in *deben* (= 20 dr.). Clarysse and Lanciers 1989.

I. 20: “dies outside the village up to two schoine”: → P.Cair. 30606.14–15 [191] *note*.

I. 22: “seize a surety for his fine”: → P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] *note*.

I. 25: “If any of us is found with the wife of another (member)” → P.Cair. 30606 [191] *comment*.

Comments

These bylaws illustrate the range of social and legal obligations that association membership brought with it, not only including participation in the primary activities of the group – here apparently a cultic group connected with the cult of Horus – but participation in the funerals of members, rendering assistance to fellow members, and observing a code that prohibited sexual interference with the wives of members, denunciation of members to civil authorities, and violence against fellow member. Monson (2006, 230) observes that the fines are scaled in such a way as to impose the highest fines (20 dr.) on a superior who insults or strikes a member, accusations of leprosy, and striking or insulting a superior, with lesser penalties for not assisting a member in distress, taking a legal matter to another association, failure to attend a funeral, and sexual interference with the spouse of another member.

Many Demotic associations are attested, some apparently organized around the cult of a deity and others around an occupation. Most, perhaps all, had cultic practices. An sixth-century BCE papyrus lists the contributions of about twenty men to a guild of funerary workers (de Cenival 1986). The contributions, however, seem to have had a cultic purpose, and they referred to themselves as “The *coachytes* who do the service in front of Imenhotep” (text B, col. ii.4–5). In the late Hellenistic period, ST 158 (Coptos, 30 BCE) offers an example of an

occupational guild of weavers consisting of 36 men from Coptos. The head of the sandstone stele shows a king (Ptolemy XV Caesarion?) making an offering to Anuris, Sobek, Min, and Isis (Vleeming 2001, 263). The members referred to themselves “the Great Ones of Thoth” (ST 158.3, 8) and had as one of their duties participation in the “burial of the [mummies of the] gods” (ST 158.11, 12, 19, 21; see also P.Cair. 30605.11–15, Tebtynis, 145 BCE, for another association that participated in the burial of crocodile mummies).

Literature: Arlt, Carolin, and Andrew Monson. 2010. “Rules of an Egyptian Religious Association from the Early Second Century BCE.” In *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, ed. Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen. *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* 194, 113–22. Leuven: Peeters; Bresciani, Edda. 2002. “Nuovi statuti demotici di ‘Confraternite’ dalla necropoli dei Coccodrilli a Tebtynis (P.Vogl.demot. Inv. 77 e Inv. 78).” In *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 25 (Scritti scelti di Edda Bresciani in numerospeciale per i 25 anni della rivista): 213–31, 233–33; Clarysse, Willy, and E. Lanciers 1989. “Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period.” In *AnSoc* 20:117–132; de Cenival, Françoise. 1972. *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques*. Publications de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d’étude 46. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale; de Cenival, Françoise 1969. “Les associations dans les temples égyptiens d’après les données fournies par les papyrus démotiques.” In *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg, 16–18 mai 1967*. Bibliothèque des centres d’études supérieures spécialisés, 5–19. Paris: Presses universitaires de France; de Cenival, Françoise. 1986. “Comptes d’une association religieuse Thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis (P. Démot. Louvre E 7840 Bis).” In *Revue d’Égyptologie* 37:13–29; Lucas, A. 1932. “The Use of Natron in Mummification.” In *JEA* 18(3/4):125–140; Monson, Andrew 2006. “The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations.” In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; Monson, Andrew 2007. “Religious Associations and Temples in Ptolemaic Tebtunis.” In *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st-7th of August 2004*, ed. Jaakko Frösén, Tiina Puroila, and Erja Salmenkivi, 2:769–79. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica; Vleeming, S.P. 2001. *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Studies in the Demotic Script*. *Studia Demotica*, vol. 5. Leuven: Peeters (esp. 131–145, 263 = ST 158).

[189] P.Enteux. 20

Complaint regarding a Funeral Benefit

Magdôla (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

26 Feb 221 BCE

Published: Octave Guéraud, *Enteuxeis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d’Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.C.* Publications de la société royale égyptienne de papyrologie; Textes et documents 1 (Cairo: l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1931) 54–56 (no. 20) [TM 2981; CAPIInv 754]

Translation: Mees 2002, 400; AGRW 293.

Current location: Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie (inventory number unknown)

Similar or related documents: → P.Enteux. 21 [190]

Six fragments of a papyrus, 13 × 33 cm. recovered from crocodile mummy cartonnage in Magdôla.

recto

- β[α]σιλ[ε]ῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρ[ειν] [Κράτεια, τῶν] ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου νήσου.
 ἁδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ
 Φιλίπ[που καὶ Διονυσίου. τ]οῦ [γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἀδελ]φοῦ Ἀπολλοδότου
 συνθιασιτεύοντος αὐτοῖς
 μετ[ι ±?]]ω[±?] ἡδίου τῷ Μάρωνος, ὄντες ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς, ὁ δὲ
 ἀρχιθιασί[της, τελευτήσα]ντο[ς τοῦ Ἀπ]ολλοδότου, πρὸς τῷ μήτε θάψαι
 μήτε
 5 ἐξακολ[ουθῆσαι αὐτῷ κα]τὰ [τὸν θιασι]τικὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ τὸ γινόμενον
 αὐτῷ ταφικὸν
 [ἀ]ποδεδώκ[ασιν. δέομαι] οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστ[ά]ξι
 Διοφάνει τῷ στρα-
 [τ]ηγῷ ἐπαναγκάσαι ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὸ ταφικόν. τ[οῦ]του [γ]ὰ[ρ
 γε]νομένου, ἔσομαι
 διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τοῦ δι[καί]ου τετευχῆα. *vac* εὐτύχει. *vac*
 <hand 2> ἐπισκ]εψάμενος τὸν θιασιτικὸν νό(μον), ἐπανάγκασον τὰ δίκαια
 ποιῆ[σαι] [±?]
 10 ἐά[ν] δέ τι ἀντιλέγωσιν, ἀπό(στεilon) αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
 L α, Γορπιαίου κη, Τῷβι ιβ.

verso

L α, Γορπιαίου κη, Τῷβι ιβ.]
 Κράτεια πρ(ὸς) Φίλ[ιππον καὶ]
 Διονύσιον περὶ [ταφικοῦ].

To King Ptolemaios greetings, from Krateia an inhabitant of Alexandrou Nesos. I have been wronged by Philippos and Dionysios. Since my brother Apollodotos, who was a fellow member of the association (*synthiasiteuontes*) with them, [— — —]udios to Maron, the one (Philippos) being the priest and the other (Dionysios) being the president of the association (*archithiasitēs*). But when Apollototos died, they did not provide a funeral for him or (5) accompany him (to the burial site), in violation of the association's bylaws (*thiasitikos nomos*), nor did they reimburse the funeral fee (*taphikon*) that had accrued to him. I beg you, therefore, O king, if it please you, to order Diophanes the *stratēgos* to compel them to reimburse me the funeral fee. (10) For if this has been done, I shall have been furnished with justice by you, O King. Farewell.

⟨*hand* 2⟩ After examining the association's bylaws, compel (the parties) to come to a fair resolution. And if they contest this, send them to me.

Year 1, 28 Gorpiaios, which is Tybi 12.

verso

Year 1, 28 Gorpiaios, which is Tybi 12.

Krateia versus Philippos and Dionysios, regarding a funeral fee (*taphikon*).

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: συνθιασιτεύοντες; bylaws: ὁ θιαστικὸς νόμος; leadership terms: ἱερεὺς, ἀρχιθιασίτης; provision of a funeral and collection of a ταφικόν; state intervention in the affairs of a collective for alleged misconduct of leaders.

Location: Magdôla (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1284. Barrington Atlas 75 D2. The complainant, however is from Alexandrou Nesos.

I. 1: β[α]σιλ[εὺς] Πτολεμαῖου: Ptolemy IV Philopator, 221–204 BCE.

I. 1: Ἀλεξάνδρου νήσου: Alexandrou Nesos. TM geo ref. 105; Barrington Atlas 75 (unlocated).

I. 1: ἀδικοῦμαι: A standard formula for registering a complaint. See P.Enteux. 32 (Magdôla, 218 BCE); 34 (Magdôla, 218 BCE); 44 (Magdôla, 221 BCE); 59 (Magdôla, 222 BCE); 80 (Magdôla, 217 BCE); P.Köln X 213 (Thmoinausiris, Herakleopolites, 132 BCE), etc.

II. 5, 7, 14: ταφικόν, *funeral fee* → IG II² 1278.2 [17] (272/1 BCE) *note*; IG II² 1323.11 [31] (194/3 BCE); BGU VI 1668.14 (Philadelphia, Arsinoites, I CE); P.Enteux. 21.6, 7, 14 [190] (Magdôla, 221 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 580.1, 5 [287] (unknown provenance, I CE).

I. 3: τῷ Μάρωνος. This is either a mistake for τῷ Μάρωνι, “to Maron”, or it means “to (the family) of Maron.”

II. 6–7: Διοφάνει τῷ στρα[τ]ηγῷ. The *stratēgos* was the Ptolemaic administrative official with jurisdiction in the nome → Rowlandson 2010, 239–241. Diophanes the *stratēgos* is also named in W.Chr. 337 = P.Petr. III 28 a = P.Petr. II 2 (1) (Arsinoites, 222 BCE); P.Alex. inv. 559 (Arsinoites, 224–218 BCE); P.Enteux. 2 = C.Pap.Jud I 38 (Magdôla, Arsinoites, 218 BCE); P.Enteux. 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13–18, 20–38, 40–57, 59–60, 62–67, 69–79, 81–83, 85–95, 112–113 (all Magdôla, Arsinoites, 214–222 BCE); P.Petr. III 72d (Arsinoites, 223–218 BCE).

I. 9: ἐπισκ[ε]ψάμενος . . . ἐπανάγκασον. This command is undoubtedly directed at the unnamed *epistatēs* of the village of Alexander Nesos. → P.Enteux. 21.7 [190] *note*.

Comments

This papyrus, like P.Enteux. 21 [190], is interesting from several points of view.

First, it points to the existence fairly early in the Ptolemaic period of associations that provided funerals for their members. Associations of this type are attested elsewhere in the Mediterranean, either burying members on a common burial ground → e.g., IG VII 685–688 [57]; SEG 32:488 [58] (Tanagra, II BCE); SEG 26:614 [59] (Boeotia, early II BCE); ICosPh 155–158

(Cos, I BCE – II CE), or in a plot donated by a patron (e.g., IG XII,1 736, Rhodes, III BCE). In some cases, the association itself paid for the funeral; in other cases, it reimbursed the family or those who had assumed the costs of the funeral. This is the sense in which *taphikon* is used here and in P.Enteux. 21 [190]. See also the praise of a treasurer in IG II² 1323.10–11 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE): δέδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς μεταλλάξασιν τὸ ταφικὸν παραχρῆμα, “he paid immediately the burial expenses for those who have died.” For a discussion of funerary practices of associations in general, see Kloppenborg 2019, 265–277.

While P.Enteux. 20 and 21 point to the failure of an association to provide burial funds, a papyrus from Soknopaiou Nesos in 132 BCE illustrates what might have been the more normal practice:

Year 38, Mecheir 12, of King Ptolemy and Kleopatra the Benefactor gods. Taēsis daughter of Marres is the one who says to Horos son of Horos and Pa-au son of Haryothēs and their companions, the priests of the association: “You have paid me. You have given me five artabae of wheat for the burial of Hierieus son of Horos, my husband. I have received them from you. I am satisfied with them since they have been paid without remainder.” Written by Harsiēsis son of Haryotes. P.Ox.Griff. 68 (trans. Monson 2019, 52 adjusted slightly)

It is probable that Hierieus belonged to the association (over which two priests presided), and that he had contributed membership fees which were designed to pay for funeral upon his death.

Second, P.Enteux. 20 and P.Enteux. 21 demonstrate the legal character of Egyptian association bylaws (θιασινικὸς νόμος). The sister of Apollodotos complains that her brother was not only denied funerary honours by his association but also that the association has refused to reimburse the family with Apollodotos’ *taphikon*. This sum, collected through the contributions of members, was evidently deemed to be the property of the contributor, since in P.Ryl. IV 580 [287], it could be willed or deeded to a third party if the original contributor did not use it at his death. The same is implied in the *lex* of the Familia Silvani (AE 1929, 161.17–19, Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE): *item qui ex eo corpore decesserit, sequi eum | debeat aut heredem eius HS DLX et locus eius | HS C, si tamen testamento suo nominarit*, “Likewise, if someone from the association (*corpus*) dies (*decesserit*), either he or his heir – if he is named in the will – will receive 560 sesterces and his *locus* (burial place) in the value of 100 sesterces.”

Third, although we do not have the bylaws for either of the associations represented by P.Enteux. 20 or P.Enteux. 21, other associations might serve as a guide for understanding the papyri. Association members were normally obliged by the terms of the association’s *nomos* to participate in and contribute to the funeral (→ e.g., P.Lille.dem I 29.17–21 [188]; P.Mich. V 243.9–12 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); IG II² 1275 [8]; IG II² 1368.160–161, 162–164 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE), with fines imposed by the association on members who

failed to do so. P.Enteux. 20–21 are especially noteworthy since they indicate that the *nomos* of the association constituted a contract, the breach of which was actionable. That is, associations were not only in a position to enforce fines on members for non-compliance with the associations' bylaws, but should a breach of those rules occur, a plaintiff could appeal to local authorities to enforce the contract.

Krateia's request that Ptolemy order Diophanes the local *stratēgos* to compel the association to comply with its own *nomos* probably abbreviates the actual process, which would have involved a lesser official, probably the *epistatēs* (cf. P.Enteux. 21, 93, 98 for complaints taking a similar form and presupposing a similar administrative procedure).

The second hand is probably that of the *stratēgos*, Diophanes, and the addressee is the *epistatēs* of Alexander Nesos (cf. P.Enteux. 21.7 [190]). The phrase ἐπισκ]εψάμενος τὸν θιαστικὸν νό(μ)ον in l. 9 suggests that the *epistatēs* has access to a grapheion copy of the association's *nomos* and was able to determine whether it guaranteed a *taphikon* to Apollodotos' family upon his death.

Literature: Gibbs, Matthew. 2008. "Professional and Trade Associations in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt." Thesis (D.Phil.). Oxford: Oxford University (esp. 127–129); Guéraud, O. 1931. *Enteuxeis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.C.* Publications de la société royale égyptienne de papyrologie. Textes et documents 1. Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale; Kloppenborg, John S. 2019. *Christ's Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; Rowlandson, Jane 2010. "Administration and Law: Graeco-Roman." In *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*. ed. Alan B. Lloyd. Blackwell companions to the ancient world, 1:237–254. Ancient history. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

[190] P.Enteux. 21

Complaint regarding a Funeral Benefit

Magdôla (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

13 Jan 218 BCE

Published: Octave Guéraud, *Enteuxeis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.C.* Publications de la société royale égyptienne de papyrologie; Textes et documents 1 (Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931) 57–58 (no. 21) (Plate IV) [TM 3296; CAPIInv 766]

Translation: Mees 2002, 400; AGRW 292.

Current location: Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie (inventory number unknown).

Similar or related documents: → P.Enteux. 20 [189] [TM 2981]: complaint regarding the payment of a *taphikon*; *Women's associations*: CIL 6.10109 (Rome); I.Alex.imp. 70 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE); IG II² 1346 (Athens, I CE); P.Lille.dem. 31 = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 21–32 (Ghoran, 245 BCE) (11 priestesses); P.Lille.dem. I 97v = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 6–12 (Ghōran, late III BCE); Philipp II 340/L589 [71] (I–II CE?); P.Lille.dem I 31 (Ghoran [Arsinoites], III BCE) [TM 4471]: membership list of a women's association with 11 members).

Four papyrus fragments, 8 × 33.5 cm. from crocodile mummy cartonnage in the crocodile cemetery at Magdōla. A complaint is brought against an association for not providing a burial for one of its members. The letters in small typeface are a superlinear insertion.

recto

Βασίλει Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν Θερω̄ς καὶ Τεω̄ς. ἀδικούμεθα ὑπὸ Τεμσώιος
καὶ Σενεμενώπιος
καὶ Τετειμ[κ]αὶ Ἑριέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν [σ]υνθιασιτιδῶν τῶν ἐκ Κερκοθοήρεως,
τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος. Σοήριος γὰρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου,
γυναικὸς δ[ὲ] Τεω̄ τος τοῦ προσγεγραμμένου σ[υ]νθιασιτευούσης ταῖς
προγεγραμμ[έν]αῖς καὶ
ἐχοῦσης τῇ[ν] ἱερ[ῶ]σ[υ]νῇν τοῦ θιάσου ἐφ' ἔτη δ, συμβέβηκεν αὐτὴν
τετελευτηκέναι
5 . . [] οὐχ ἐχοῦσης δὲ αὐτῆς τ[ῶ]ν ἔγγιστα γένους ἀλλ' ἡ [ή]μ[α]ς,
ἀπαιτούμεναι
αἱ προ[γ]εγραμ[μ]έναί τ[ὸ] τ[α]φικὸν οὐκ [ἀ]ποδιδόασ[ιν]. δεόμεθα οὖν
σοῦ, [βα]σιλεῦ, προστάξαι Διοφά-
νει τῷ στρατηγῶι γ[ρ]άψαι Πτολεμαίωι τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ, ἐὰν μὲν ἔτι καὶ
ν[ῦ]ν ὑπομένωσιν [ή]μῃν
ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ταφικόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὰς ἐπ[ὶ] Διοφάνῃν ὅπως
ἐπανάγ[κασ]θῶσι ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῖν,
ἵνα διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τύχω τοῦ δικαίου.

10 Εὐτύχει.

⟨hand 2⟩

Πτολεμαίωι. Μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπ(όστειλον) πρ(ὸς)
ἡμ(ας) ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης τοῦ Χοία[χ] ὅπ(ως) ἐπὶ τοῦ κα(θήκοντος) δι(καστηρίου)
δι(ακριθῶσιν). L δ, Δαισίου κζ, Ἀθὺρ κθ.

verso

L δ, Δαισίου κζ, Ἀθὺρ κθ

15 Θερω̄ς καὶ Τεω̄ς πρ(ὸς) Τεμσῶιν
καὶ τὰς συνθιασιτιδας περὶ ταφικοῦ.

Apparatus: 4 Pap. ἱερ[ῶ]σ[υ]νῇν

To king Ptolemaios, greetings (from) Therous and Teos. We have been wronged by Temsois and Senemenopis and Teteim . . . and Herieus and by

the other women who belong to the association (*synthiasitai*)^{who are from Kerkethoëris in the division of Polemon}. Soëris my sister and wife to the aforementioned Teos, who was a member of the association (*synthiasiteuousē*) along with the aforementioned women, and who held the priesthood of the association (*thiasos*) for four years, happened to die. . . . (5) Since she had no relatives except us, when the aforementioned women were asked, they did not reimburse the funeral fee (*taphikon*). We beg you therefore, O King, to order Diophanes the *stratēgos* to write to Ptolemaios the *epistatēs*, so that if they now will submit to pay us the funeral fee (the matter will rest); but if not, (we ask) that you send them to Diophanes so that he may compel them to reimburse us, so that through you, O King, I may have justice.

(10) Farewell.

hand 2>

To Ptolemaios. Do your best to resolve the parties. If that (is) not (possible), send them to me – after the 10th of Choiak – so that the case may be heard at the proper court. Year 4, Daisios 27, which is Hathyr 29.

verso

Year 4, Daisios 27 which is Hathyr 29. (15) Therous and Teos *versus* Temsois and her fellow association members (*synthiasitai*), in regard to a funeral fee.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: θίασος; συνθιασιτιδαί; leadership terms: ἱερεὺς; ἱεροσύνη; provision of a funeral and collection of a ταφικόν; state intervention in the affairs of a collective for alleged misconduct of leaders.

Location: Magdōla (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). **TM** geo ref. 1284. Barrington Atlas 75 D2. The association, however, was located in Kerkethoëris (division of Polemon, Arsinoites).

l. 1: Βασίλει Πτολεμαίωι: Ptolemy IV Philopator, 221–204 BCE.

l. 1: ἀδικούμεθα → P.Enteux. 20.1 [189] *note*.

l. 2: Location: Κερκοθοήρεως; Kerkethoëris, “The settlement of Thoëris,” Trismegistos geo ref. 1073. Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

ll. 5, 7, 14: ταφικόν, funeral fee → P.Enteux. 20.5, 7, 14 [189] (Magdōla, 221 BCE) *note*.

ll. 6–7: Διοφάνει τῷ στραηγῶι. → P.Enteux. 20.6–7 [189] *note*.

l. 7: τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ: The *epistatēs* was a competent official of the village in which the subject of the complaint was resident. Guéraud (1931, xlii–xliii) cites P.Enteux. 9 (Magdola, 218 BCE), the complaint of Apollōnios, who lived in Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis, against a sister who lived in Pharbaita (in Herakleidēs). The petition asks that Diophanes (→ ll. 6–7 *note*) write to Μνασέαι τῷ ἐν Φαρβαίθιοις ἐπιστάτῃ in order to compel the sister to appear before *stratēgos*. See also P.Enteux. 44 (Magdōla, 218 BCE), the complaint of a resident of Krokodilopolis about a debtor who moved to Kerkeosiris. It is the *epistatēs* of Kerkeosiris who is asked to intervene.

l. 7, 11: Πτολεμαίωι τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ. Several *epistatai* with the name Ptolemaios are known from Arsinoites from this period. Ptolemaios the *epistatēs* of Kerkeosiris

appears to be involved in P.Enteux. 31, 33, 47 (221 BCE) as well as 21 (218 BCE). → Guéraud (1931, xliii–xlvi) for a list of the *epistatai* named in P.Enteuxis.

- l. 13: ἐπὶ τοῦ κα(θήκοντος) δι(καστηρίου) δι(ακριθῶσιν). The δικαστήριον is mentioned only in the documents from 218 BCE (P.Enteux. 21, 32, 52, 69, 81). Elsewhere the usual phrase is δι(ακριθῶσιν) ἐπὶ τοῦ κα(θήκοντος) κριτηρίου (e.g., P.Enteux. 29.18 etc.). Guéraud 1931, lxxxi: “des expressions comme κρινόμενος ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου ἢ κριτηρίου [P.Halle 1.75–76] montrent assez que la langue officielle ne les confond pas. Mais nous ne savons pas grand’chose de précise sur la différence entre un κριτήριον et un δικαστήριον.”

Comments

Associations consisting of women are not unusual in the Fayûm. P.Lille.dem I 31 (Ghoran, 245 BCE) is a contribution list of a cult association devoted to Sobek, consisting of eleven women, all priestesses (de Cenival 1977, 21–32; Colin 2002, 110–111). Monson (2019, 46) points out that these women bore precisely the same titles as their male counterparts, for example, ῥ.τ., “reciter” (of the god). P.Lille.dem. I 97v = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 6–12 (Ghôrân, late III BCE) is another association of women – in this case 32 women’s name preserved.

On Demotic associations in general → P.Cair. 30606 [191] *comment*.

Literature: Colin, Frédéric. 2002. “Les prêtresses indigènes dans l’Égypte hellénistique et romaine: une question à la croisée des sources grecques et égyptiennes.” In *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles – Leuven 27–29 novembre 1997*, ed. Henri Melaerts and Leon Mooren. *Studia Hellenistica* 37, 41–122. Bruxelles and Leuven: Peeters; de Cenival, Françoise 1972. *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques*. Publications de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d’étude 46. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale; de Cenival, Françoise 1977. “Deux papyri inédits de Lille*, avec une révision du P.dém. Lille 31.” In *Enchoria* 7:1–49; Guéraud, O. 1931. *Enteuxeis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d’Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.C.* Publications de la société royale égyptienne de papyrologie. Textes et documents. 1. Cairo: l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale; Monson, Andrew 2019. “Political and Sacred Animals: Religious Associations in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 191, 37–57. Leiden: Brill; Rowlandson, Jane 1998. *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

[191] P.Cair. 30606

Bylaws of a Demotic Association of Soknebtynis

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 27 Aug – 25 Sept 158/57 BCE
 Published: Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601–31270, 50001–50022 II: Die demotischen Papyrus*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 39 (Strassburg: Drugulin, 1908) 26–29 (no. 30606); Françoise de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Egypte d'après les documents démotiques*, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire; Bibliothèque d'étude 46 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1972) 45–58 [TM 2775; CAPIInv 1932]

Translation: AGRW 299

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 30606

Similar or related documents: → The same association: CAPIInv 1932: P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77–78 = Bresciani 2002 (178 BCE) [TM 47205]; P.Hamburg.dem. 1 = P.Assoc. pp. 59–61, 219–220 [TM 3057] (Tebtynis, 151 BCE); P.Cair. 31179 = P.Assoc. pp. 63–68, 221–222 [TM 3056] (Tebtynis, 147 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 = P.Assoc. pp. 73–78, 222–225 [TM 2774] (Tebtynis, 145 BCE). Other association documents in demotic: P.Bagnall 42 = P.Tebt. Suppl. 1578 (ed. Monson 2012) [TM 175279] (Tebtynis, 250–210 BCE); P.Mainz.dem. 10 [TM 133259] (Arsinoites, 245–243 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29 = P.Assoc. pp. 3–10 [188] [TM 2784] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Lille.dem 31 [TM 4471] (Pisais, Arsinoites, III BCE): membership list of a women's association with 11 members); P.Stan.Green.Dem. inv. 21 (ed. Arlt and Monson, 2010) [TM 129749] (Bakchias? 192 BCE); P.Cair. 31178 = P.Assoc. pp. 39–40, 215–218 [TM 3055; CAPIInv 1971] (Tebtynis, 179 BCE); P.Cair. 30619 (Tebtynis, 137 BCE) = P.Assoc. pp. 93–97, 227–229 [TM 2776]; P.Cair 30618 A–B = P.Assoc. pp. 229–236 no. Cairo [TM 43286] (Tebtynis, II BCE) (the same association as P.Cair. 30619); P.Prag.Satzung. = P.Assoc. pp. 83–91, 225–227 [TM 2928] (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 = P.Assoc. pp. 103–131 (Pestmann 1993) [TM 3058] (Memnoneia, Thebes west, 109–8 BCE); P.Cair. 30618 A–B = P.Assoc. pp. 229–236 [TM 43286] (Tebtynis, II BCE).

Papyrus, 70 × 32 cm., from mummy cartonnage. The English text below is a translation of de Cenival's version with the list of names added from Spiegelberg. The sums in col. ii appear to represent the full yearly dues and the monthly equivalent.

⟨col. i⟩

In year 24, Mesore [. . . of king] Ptolemaios and Kleopatra the children of Ptolemaios and [Kleopatra] the gods Epiphanes, (2) when the priest of

Alexander and of the Savior gods and of the Sibling gods and of the Benefactor gods and of the [Philopator] gods and the Epiphanes gods and the Philomētor gods was Ptolemaios the son of King Ptolemaios and Kleopatra the Philomētor Gods; (3) when the lady Nike daughter of Hieronymos was the *athlophore* of Berenike the Benefactor god; when lady Arsinoe daughter of [Char]imortos was the *canephore* of Arsinoe Philadelphos; when the lady Timarion daughter of Metrophanes was the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator:

(4) The bylaws, which has been adopted by the members of the [association] and the president of the devotees of the Crocodile god who gather [before Soknebtynis] (and) the gods (associated with) Sobek in the (5) cemetery of the crocodile of the village of Sobek Tebtynis (Soknebtynis) in the division of Polemon, Arsinoite nome, state:

[We shall apply (these bylaws) from] Mesore of year 24 until Mesore of year 25, [which makes] one year or 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ months (6) or a year, saying together: “We shall hold an assembly before Sobek and the gods associated with Sobek for the festivals and processions of Sobek and the gods [associated with Sobek and on the days which] members of the House have adopted as assembly dates during the aforesaid period. We shall contribute (7) our dues every month, besides the contributions for functions for which we must make payment. We shall hand them over to the representative of the House when they become due each month.” [If one of our members] does not pay his dues each month and [does not hand them over to] the representative of the House (8) as stipulated above, the representative of the House shall go to his house and shall seize a surety for the aforementioned money. If he attacks him or one of his agents, the fine shall be [25 *deben* . . . and he will continue until he pays the debt.] We will establish a collection for those among us. (9) The agent of the collection will fix the due date for the people of the House, two shares per person valued at 5 *deben* per share. And each shall [make a pledge of resin, ointment, crowns, greenery, ricinus, and wood for the funds of the House.] (10) [If one of] our members is told to bring money on the (fixed) day and he does not do so, his fine will be 25 *deben*. We shall perform the sacrifices and the libations for the king [Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra, children of Ptolemaios and Kleopatra, and the sacrifices and offerings of] (11) Sobek and the gods associated with Sobek, on the aforesaid festivals and processions and on the days that those of the House will have adopted as meeting days, during the [aforesaid] period. [. . . If one of our members] (12) will not go out with us to bear (the mummy of) the god and will not escort him to his tomb during the aforesaid period, his fine is [. . . *deben* and the curses of the god Sobek shall follow him, except in the case that he is ill or in prison or in is court with the royal treasury.]

(13) If one of our members in the House dies, we shall mourn for him and then escort him to the necropolis all together. We shall give him the money

from our dues [which those of the House will have agreed to give for his burial and embalming], (14) and we shall let them levy eight shares for him. If one of our members will not mourn him, the fine will be 5 *deben*, except in the cases enumerated above. Moreover, [if one of our members dies away from the village, we shall designate ten (?) men from the House and send them] (15) to find him, that they might do for him in accordance with what is written above. If one of the members who is told “go after him,” does not go, his fine is 10 (?) *deben*, except in the cases enumerated above. If one of our members [whose father, mother, brother, sister, son,] (16) daughter, or wife dies, we shall mourn that one and escort him to the necropolis and we shall levy for him 20 shares. If one of our members [will not mourn with him, the fine is 5 *deben*, [except in the cases enumerated above. If one of our members has a son who dies] (17) at a tender age, we shall drink beer with him and comfort his heart.

If one of our members calumniates [one of the members] before a military or civil official or a police officer (?) [without first bringing a complaint before those of the House, his fine will be 50 (?) *deben*]. If one of the members says to one of us, “You are a (18) leper,” though he is not a leper, his fine is 100 *deben* and they shall expel him from the House. If one [of our members] brings a lawsuit against one of us to a military or a civil official [or to a police officer (?), without first bringing the complaint before those of the House, his fine] is (19) 25 *deben*. If he brings a lawsuit after he has received the judgment that they have made about him, even when he brings a lawsuit against him in that matter, his fine is 30 *deben*.

If one of our members insults one [of us], his fine is 25 *deben*. The [insult of the president: . . . *deben*; if he commits it again: . . . *deben*. . . the insult of the vice president: . . . *deben*;] (20) if he commits it again, 35 *deben*; the insult of an ordinary priest: 40 *deben*; if he commits it again: 60 *deben*; if one of our members strikes another member, his fine is 60 *deben*. The striking of the president: [60? *deben*; if he commits it again]: 80 *deben*; the striking of the vice-president (?): [? *deben*; if he commits it again: .] 5 *deben*. The striking of an ordinary priest: (21) 80 *deben*; if he commits it again, 90 *deben*.

If one of our members finds another member on the road to the quay (?) or a similar place] and he says, “give me some money [. . .]” and he does not give (it), his fine is [. . . *deben*, unless he swears] an oath before the god, saying, “I [cannot give] him (anything).”

(22) If one of our members is summoned for a ruling of the association or to a debate in the (association’s) court and does not appear, his fine is [. . . *deben*] unless he previously given notices about it. If one of our members goes to supplicate the god or is imprisoned or takes (23) asylum in the god’s temple, the representative of the House shall assist him and give him 5 shares. If one of our members is involved in an unjust trial, we shall give the dues that those of the House decided to provide for his trial.

If a member whom those of the House (24) decide shall be the representative of the House refuses (to be representative), his fine is 25 *deben*. If one of our members refuses to meet with us during the aforesaid period, or after he has drunk beer . . . with us, his fine is 25 *deben*. If one of our members insults the representative of the House, and bribes him in any matter, his fine is 25 *deben*. The representative of the house is the one who has authority in anything he will discuss with us, by virtue of everything aforesaid, and we shall do them at his command without delay.

⟨col. ii⟩

Their names:

Pendapi (son of) Penkhi, the president	372 <i>deben</i> = 31 <i>deben</i>
Onnophris (son of) Teš, the vice president	300 <i>deben</i> = 25 <i>deben</i>
Marres- <i>p3-sif</i> (?) (son of) Sokonopis (?)	
the priest of the gods	260 <i>deben</i> = [2]1 5/10 <i>deben</i>
Horos (?) (son of) Petos,	
the servant of the God Soknebtynis	[2]70 (?) <i>deben</i> = [21?] 7½/10 <i>deben</i>
[— — —]	
Patos (?) (son of) Horos the	
servant of T-f (?) <i>kd-wd</i> . . ., the great God	112 <i>deben</i> = 9 2½/10 <i>deben</i>
Phaneis, (son of) Peteharpsenēsis, the priest of Horos	108 <i>deben</i> = 9 <i>deben</i>
. . ., [(son of)]. . . the priest of Isis	90 <i>deben</i> = [7½ <i>deben</i>]
[— — —]	72 <i>deben</i>
Padisebek (son of) Sebekemheb	? <i>deben</i>
. . . (son of) Penhapi	? 6 <i>deben</i>
Pmenches (son of) Sokonopis (?)	6 <i>deben</i>
Haryothes (son of) Pachois	6 <i>deben</i>

⟨col. iii⟩

⟨impossible to read⟩

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devotion to a deity; associative term: *hny.t*, bylaws; leadership terms: priests, president, vice-president, representative of the House; banquets and group meetings + activities; membership fees (and probably a common fund).

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

l. 1: Ptolemaios VI Philomētor (r. 180–145 BCE) and Kleopatra II.

l. 4: President of the devotees: *p3 mr mš*, lit. “the chief of the troupe.” → Spiegelberg, 1908: 21 n. 1.

l. 4: Sobek Tebtynis (Soknebtynis): Spiegelberg (1908, 21) notes that these demotic texts write the name of Tebtynis (Σικνεβτῦνις) as *Sbk t3 nb-t T3-tn*, “Sobek the mistress of Totun,” using the feminine article (*t3*) before Sobek.

- II. 5–6: [which makes] one year or 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ months (6) or a year: Cf. P.Lille.dem 29.4 [188] (223 BCE): “from Mecheir of year 24 to Mecheir of year 24, making one year or 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ months.” The dual calculation of the period during which the *nomos* is in effect first takes into account twelve months and the five intercalary days of the Sobek festival and twelve months without the intercalary days.
- I. 6: The House or the temple: Monson 2006, 222: “The most common Egyptian term for association was «the house» (*p3* ‘wy).” De Cenival (1972, 21–22) notes the same term used in P.Lille.dem I 29.4 [188]; P.Cair. 30605.6 (*n3 y.w p3* ‘, *n3 y.w p3* ‘wy, “those of the House”), and P.Assoc. 1.7. De Cenival (22) notes that since the members of the association are all priests or those associated with the temple, they do not seem to have had any special meeting place other than the temple.
- Οἶκος is used in reference to temples in IG II² 1273AB.7 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); IScM II 60.5 (II CE → [98]); IJO II 36.2 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); SB XVI 12511.4 [231] (Narmouthis, II CE) TAM V 1539.5, 15, 32 [117] (Philadelphia, Lydia, ca. 100 BCE).
- II. 8 and passim: *deben*: Copper coinage, originally (in the New Kingdom) about 91 grammes; during the Hellenistic period, a *deben* was worth 20 silver (AR) drachmae. With devaluation of the drachma after 220 BCE the *deben* followed the AE drachma. In this period (Reekmans) 1 AE dr. = 1/240 of an AR drachma. Thus 10 *deben* = 200 AE dr., = 0.83 AR dr. See Monson 2006.
- I. 8: the representative . . . shall seize a surety: → P.Lille.dem. 29.22 [188] and the other bylaws of the Sobek associations noted below. Later bylaws likewise authorize the president of a guild to seize sureties from defaulting members: P.Mich. V 243.3 [206]; P.Mich. V 244.10–12, 19 [212]; P.Mich. V 245.40 [219]; P.Würzb. 4.13–14 [192]. → Index s.v. surety.
- I. 9: resin, ointment, crowns, greenery, ricinus. → P.Lille.dem. 29.3, 7 [188] note.
- II. 14–15: ... if one of our members dies away from the village, we shall designate ten (?) men → P.Lille.dem. 29.20 [188]. As the tabulation of bylaws of this Sobek association shows (see below), this provision is present in four of the five bylaws. See also CIL 14.2112.28–29 (Lanuvium, 135 CE): *quisquis a municipio ultra milliari(um) XX decesserit et nuntiatum fuerit eo exire debebunt | electi ex corpore n(ostro) homines tres qui funeris eius curam agant. . .*, “. . . whoever has died more than 20 miles from *municipium* and his death has been reported, three people chosen from our body will be required to go there who shall take care of his *funus*. . .”
- I. 21: quay (?). The meaning of the term is unknown. De Cenival (1972, 57): “il semble s’agir de «l’embarcadère».” P.Tebt. I 33.8–10 (Kerkeosiris, 112 BCE) also refers to structures (?) in relation to the disembarkation of a Roman official at Tebtynis: αἱ τε αὐλαὶ κατασκευασ[θ]ήσ[ο]νται καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγβα(τηρία) ε[ξ].]ε[. . .] π . . . συντελεσθήσονται, (make sure that) “the rooms are prepared and the quays (?) from them are completed. . .”. The same term appears in P.Petr. II 23.6, 8 (Gurob, III BCE): στόμα]τι (?) τῆς ἐγβατηρίας. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐρχόμεθα | [±?] συνεστήσαμεν δὲ καὶ Σοκέα αὐτῶι ἵνα ἦι μεθ’ αὐ[τοῦ] | [±?] τὸ ἡμυσυ τοῦ στόματος τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγβατηρίας | [±?] δωρεῖν, but the papyrus is so fragmentary that interpretation is impossible. It appears again in P.Petr. II 37.7–11 (Arsinoites, 246/5 BCE), ἦσαν ἀνεωγμένοι | ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐγβατηρίᾳ ἀφέσεων θύρα | καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα || ἀφέσεων, where it seems to have to do with a system of canals and sluice gates, and where it may refer to a structure (quay?) in which a sluice gate is installed.

l. 23: i.e., has sought asylum in the Temple.

col. ii

The dues are expressed in both yearly and monthly totals.

Comments

The association of Soknebtynis at Tebtynis offers a unique opportunity to see slightly differing versions of the bylaw of one association, from the earliest papyrus, P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77–78 (178 BCE) to the latest, P.Cair. 30605 (Tebtynis, 145 BCE) 34 years later.

The association was devoted to Soknebtynis (also known as Sobek, Souchos, Soknopaios: Bonnet 1952, 755–759), the crocodile god who had a temple in Tebtynis (Rondot 2004). Soknebtynis (Sobek-Geb) was identified with Cronos, and was associated with Mēn, Amon, Hathor and a number of other deities (Rondot 2004, 39–58). Sacred crocodiles were bred and raised in the temple, and the cemetery contained thousands of crocodile mummies (Grenfell and Hunt 1902, vi). P.Tebt. I 33 (Tebtynis, after 17 Mar 112 BCE) refers to preparations at Tebtynis for the arrival of a Roman senator, who was to visit Tebtynis to see (and probably feed) the sacred crocodiles:

- Ἑρμ() Ὡρωι χαί(ρειν). τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκλη(πιάδην) ἐπισ(τολῆς) ἀντίγρ(αφον)
 ὑπόκι(ται).
 [φρόν]τισον οὖν ἵνα γένη(ται) ^{ἀκολούθως} ἔρρω(σο). [L] ε Ξαντικοῦ ιζ Μεχρεῖ ιζ.
 Ἀσκλη(πιάδει). Λεῦκιος Μέμμιος Ῥωμαῖος τῶν ἀπὸ
 συνκλήτου ἐν μείζονι ἀξιώματι κα[ι] τιμῇ
 5 κείμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς πό(λεως) ἀνάπλουν ἕως τοῦ Ἀρσι(νοῖτου) νο(μοῦ)
 ἐπὶ θεωρίαν ποιούμενος μεγαλο{υ}πρεπέστερον
 ἐγδεχθήτω{ι}, καὶ φρόντισον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν
 καθηκόντων τόπων αἱ τε αὐλαὶ κατασκευασ-
 [θ]ήσ[ο]νται καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγβα(τηρίαί) ε[.]ιε[. . .]
 10 π. . . . συντελεσθήσονται καὶ αὐτῶι προσ-
 ενεχθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγβα(τηρίας) τὰ ὑπογεγρ(αμμένα) ξένια,
 καὶ τ[ᾶ] εἰς τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς καταρτισμὸν
 καὶ τὸ γεινόμενον τῶι Πετεσοῦχῳ καὶ τοῖς κροκο(δείλοις)
 ψωμίον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου θέαν
 15 καὶ τὰ .[. . .].[. . .]σ]ταθησόμενα θύματα καὶ τῆς
 θυσί[α]ς ἢ παροχῇ οἰκον[όμη(?)ταί(?), τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐπὶ πάν[των]
 τὴν μεγίστην φροντίδα ποιούμενο[ς] τοῦ εὐδοκοῦν[τ]α
 τὸν ἄνδρα κατασταθῇ[ναι] τὴν πᾶσαν προσενέγκαι
 σπονδῇ[v] . . . τε[. . .]στ[- ca.18 -] . . . μφ
 20 λ. . ης.[. . .]α. . . η. δα.[. . .] [- ca.14 -]ν
 τηστ[. . .]εικα.[. . .]πομ. .[±?]
 [±15]νε.[±?]
 [±10] . ι. ρ. . . ρ. [±?]
 [±13] ἄρτοι.[±?]
 25 [.]καται λ λ[±?]

Hermias to Horos, greeting. Subjoined is a copy of the letter to Asklēpiadēs. Take care that everything happens in accordance with it. Farewell. Year 5, Xandikos 17, (which is) Mecheir 17. To Asklēpiadēs. Lucius Memmius, a Roman from the Senate, who has a position of great dignity and honour, (5) is sailing from Alexandria to the Arsinoite nome to see the sights. He should be received in the most magnificent way; take care that at the appropriate locales the rooms are prepared and the quays from them (?) (10) are ready and that the hospitality gifts (*xenia*) listed below are presented to him at the quay, and that the furnishings of the rooms, the usual morsels for Petesouchos and the crocodiles, and the (preparations for) viewing the Labyrinth (are completed), (15) and . . . the offerings and sacrifices are provided; in general take the greatest care in everything that the man (Lucius Memmius) is provided with what is pleasing, and do this with utmost zeal...

Associations are known to have played a large role in the care and eventual mummification and burial of crocodiles and sacred animals in other locations as well. Ostraca from Kom Ombo report the preparation and burial of hundreds, even thousands of animal mummies. For example, O.Joach. 2 (Kom Ombo, 18 Mar 78 BCE):

- 5 ἔτους γ, Φαμενώθ η.
 ταφῆς ἰβῶν καὶ ἱεράκων καὶ τῆς
 ἀλλῆς ἐπιμελείας τῶν ἱερῶν
 ζωνών, ἐπὶ Πελαίου συγγενούς καὶ
 στρατηγοῦ καὶ νομαρχοῦ τοῦ Ὀμβίτου
 καὶ Πακῆβκιος ἐπιστάτου τοῦ ἱεροῦ,
 δι' Ἑρμίου τοῦ Καλλίου πορθώτης τῶν
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ βασιλικῆς
 γραμματείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 10 εἰδῶν καὶ Καλλίου Πορενβήκιος
 καὶ Καλλίου Ἑρμίου ἀρχιθιασίτου
 καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἑρμαίου συνόδου
 πάντων ἀποκαταστάσεως.
 (ἀριθμῶ) Α

Year 3, Phamenoth 8. Burial of ibises and falcons and the care of other sacred animals, at the time that Pelaias the kinsman was (5) *stratēgos* and nomarch of the Ombite nome, and Pakēbkis was the supervisor (*epistatēs*) of the temple; restoration of (mummies) by Hermias son of Kallias, who was the “chief of Thoth” (*parthōtēs*) and the supervisor of revenue and the royal scribe and (supervisor?) of the other (10) things of this sort, and by Kallias, the “chief of the falcon” and Kallias son of Hermias the president of the association (*archithiasitēs*) and (by) all the members of the association (*synodos*) of Hermes. (number of mummies?): 1000.

The temple at Tebtynis had a long dromos, along which was located at least three small dining rooms. One of these *deipnētēria* belonged to an association → SEG 41:1638 [221] (cf. O.Tebt.Pad. 67, Tebtynis, II CE). In addition, a dining room was identified in the temple proper. The precise relationship of this association of Soknebtynis to the temple is unknown, but the references to

bearing of the god presumably (ll. 6, 11–12) refer to the ritual procession of the (mummies of the) god along the processional way to the cemetery.

Five versions of the bylaws of Tebtynis association are extant, dating from 178 BCE to 145 BCE, all of which have appended membership lists with lists of the dues paid or payable. Each of the bylaws is dated to one year and the preamble indicates that its bylaws are in effect for that year, that is, twelve months of 30 days plus the five intercalary days. Copies of an association's bylaws had to be filed yearly, along with a membership list, the latter to provide a record of who could avail themselves of the benefits of the association (→ P.Enteuxis 20 [189], 21 [190]) and who was subject to its disciplinary rules. Later membership lists in Greek, e.g. P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE), P.Mich. V 244 [212] and P.Mich. V 245.40 [219], preserve the same structure of bylaws + membership list. Other bylaws used the membership lists as a way for members to register their compliance with the bylaws by appending εὐδοκῶ (“I approve”) to each of their names (e.g. P.Mich. V 243.17–31 [206], Tebtynis, 14–37 CE). This suggests that at the point that the association's bylaws were registered, the membership list appended, and the members' approvals indicated, the members undertook legally binding obligations to the association, and the association could be held responsible for the performance of the obligations it promised.

Comparison of the bylaws of the Association of Soknebtynis at Tebtynis
Comparison of the provisions and fines shows remarkable stability over the thirty year period, even though there are some variations (Ernst 2019).

Fines are in deben (); blank cell: the bylaws do not contain this provision; • = the provision is present; [...] lacuna; [– –] end of the papyrus is missing.

Contents	P.Mil. Vogl. 178 BCE	P.Cair. 30606 157 BCE	P.Hamb. (frag.) 151 BCE	P.Cair. 31179 147 BCE	P.Cair. 30605 145 BCE
Sureties can be seized for non-payment of dues	•	•	•	•	•
Fine for attacking the representative during dues collection	200 db	25 db	25 db	25 db	25 db
Monthly dues	1 AR db = 10 db	10 db	4 db	10 db	10 db
Fine for non-payment of dues, except for a valid excuse	25 db	25 db	25 db	[..]	25 db

Refusal to pull the statue of the god		[..] db	25 db	25 db	30 db
Curses of god will follow, except for legitimate absence		•	•	•	•
Funeral provided for deceased member		8 shares	[--]	•	•
Fine for non-attendance at funeral		5 db	[--]	5 db	5 db
Members deputed to return a body to Tebtynis if member dies elsewhere.		10 men	[--]	10 men	10 men
Refusal to assist in recovering body		10 db	[--]	20 db	[..]
At the death of a member's young son, members will drink beer with him		•	[--]	•	•
Provision of a funeral for a family member				•	•
Refusal to attend the funeral of family members					2 db
Calumniating a member before military authorities		50 db	[--]	50 db	50 db
Saying "You are a leper"		100 db + expulsion	[--]	100 db	100 db
Lawsuit against member before internal hearing		25 db	[--]		

Lawsuit against member after internal judgment		30 db	[--]	100 db	100 db
Filing a complaint against a member with the military authorities				50 db	
Adultery with a member's wife				100 db + expulsion	
Insulting a member	40 db	25 db	[--]	50 db	25 db
Insulting the president	[..]	[30?] db	[--]	75 db	50 db
Second offence		[35?] db	[--]	120 db	75 db
Insulting the vice president	50 db	[30?] db	[--]	60 db	40 db
Second offence		35 db	[--]	80 db	60 db
Insulting an ordinary priest		40 db.	[--]	90 db	60 db
Second offence		60 db.	[--]	120 db	90 db
Striking a member	40 db	60 db	[--]	100 db	50 db
Striking the president	40 db	[60?] db	[--]	120 db	65 db
Second offence		80 db	[--]	150 db	85 db
Striking the vice-president		[..] db	[--]	80 db	60 db
Second offence		[.5] db	[--]	90 db	75 db
Striking an ordinary priest	60 db	80 db	[--]	100 db	80 db
Second offence		90 db	[--]	150 db	100 db
Failure to assist a member in distress	10 db	[..] db	[--]	25 db	25 db
Failure to attend a meeting	50 db	[..] db	[--]		

Assistance is given to a member claiming asylum		5 shares	[—]	5 shares	5 shares
Failure to support a member who has sought asylum in the temple	200 db		[—]		
Support for a member in a trial		•	[—]	•	•
Insulting the representative of the house				50 db	25 db
Refusal to serve as a representative of the house		25 db	[—]		35 db
Refusal to meet with other members		25 db	[—]		
Insulting or bribing a representative	50 db	25 db	[—]		
Slandering a member	1–3 db		[—]		

It will be noted that a sanction for adultery appeared in the one of the earlier Demotic association rules (P.Lille.dem. I 29.25 [188]). It is not present in the earliest of the bylaws of Soknebtynis but appears in P.Cair. 31179 (147 BCE). It does, however, reappear in SB III 6319.ii.45–46 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE), where the fine for adultery is 1000 dr. (about half of the normal monthly dues), and P.Mich. V 243.8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE) where the fine is 60 dr., five times the normal monthly dues.

There are substantial differences in the level of both monthly dues and fines between the numbers of P.Lille.dem I 29 [188] (223 BCE) and P.Cair. 30606. For example, the fines for non-attendance at a funeral and false accusations of leprosy are $\frac{1}{2}$ kite (=1 dr. AR) and 8 kite (= 16 dr. AR) respectively for P.Lille.dem I 29, but for the same offences 5 deben (= 100 dr.) and 100 deben (= 2000 dr.). These disparities are explicable in the light of the devaluation of Ptolemaic copper currency that occurred after 210 BCE, when the silver to copper ratio fell first to 1::60, then 1::120, then 1::240 and by the second century BCE to 1::480 (Reekmans 1948, 1951; Clarysse and Lancier 1989). Hence, the effective

fine in the mid-second century BCE for non-attendance at a funeral is 0.46 copper drachmae and 8.3 dr. AE for an accusation of leprosy, comparable to the 1 dr. and 16 dr. charged a century before.

As Monson (2006) points out, the differences in fines are indexical to the values promoted by the association. Calumniating a member to outside authorities, appealing an internal judicial decision to an outside course, adultery with the spouse of a member, and accusation of leprosy recruit the highest fines. This is also the case with Attic associations, where taking a matter to the external courts was penalized. IG II² 1368.90–94 [51] (Athens, 164/5 CE) assigns a fine of 25 denarii to such an offence and Paul in 1 Cor 6:1–7 forbids recourse to outside courts entirely.

As Monson argues, the highest fines are assigned to offences that strike at the very heart of group identity: fracturing internal trust by calumniating members, accusations of uncleanness, sowing discord in members' families, and allowing external judicial to intervene in the affairs of the group. All of these offences undermine the character of the association as a "trust network." The prohibition of resort to external courts also underscores the high value that these groups place on group autonomy and their ability to assert limited degrees of self-government. Although the high point of Athenian democracy had long since passed, small groups still prized the ability of the group to regulate its own affairs, to be governed by laws of its own making, and to be able to award honours and impose punishments: this was a form of "playing at democracy" (Kloppenborg 2019, 284–286; cf. Vlassopoulos 2007; Paganini 2019).

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(P.démot.Louvre E 7840 Bis).” In *Revue d’Égyptologie* 37:13–29; **de Cenival**, Françoise 1988. “Papyrus Seymour de Ricci: Le plus ancien des règlements d’association religieuse (4ème siècle av. J.-C.) (Pap. Bibl. Nationale E 241).” In *Revue d’Égyptologie* 39:37–46; **de Cenival**, Françoise 2006. “À propos du mot désignant en démotique «l’association».” In *Revue d’Égyptologie* 57:233–34; **Ernst**, Wolfgang. 2019. “Die Gemeinden der Didache im Kontext antiker Vereinigungen.” Dr.Theol. dissertation. Wien: Universität Wien; **Grenfell**, Bernard P. and Arthur **Hunt** 1902. *The Tebtunis Papyri I* (University of California publications. Graeco-Roman archaeology 1. Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 4. London: Oxford University Press; **Kloppenborg**, John S. 2019. *Christ’s Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; **Monson**, Andrew 2006. “The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations.” In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; **Monson**, Andrew 2007. “Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts.” In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, ed. Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14, 179–196. Lecce: Congedo Editore; **Monson**, Andrew 2007. “Religious Associations and Temples in Ptolemaic Tebtunis.” In *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st–7th of August 2004*, ed. Jaakko Frösén, Tiina Puroila, and Erja Salmenkivi, 2:769–779. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica; **Monson**, Andrew 2012. “Rules of an Association of Soknebtunis.” In *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*, ed. Rodney Ast, Hélène Cuvigny, Todd M. Hickey, and Julia Lougovaya. American Studies in Papyrology, 43, 209–214. Durham, N.C.: American Society of Papyrologists; **Monson**, Andrew 2019. “Political and Sacred Animals: Religious Associations in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 191, 37–57. Leiden: Brill; **Muhs**, Brian 2001. “Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis.” In *JESHO* 44(1):1–21; **Paganini**, Mario C.D. 2016. “Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. JJP Supplement 28. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation, 1889–1901; **Pestman**, Pieter W. 1993. *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*. Studia demotica 2. Leuven: Peeters (on P.Berl.Spieg. 3115, no. 61); **Reekmans**, Tony 1948. “Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri.” In *Studia Hellenistica* 5:15–43; **Reekmans**, Tony 1951. “The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation.” In *Ptolemaica*, E. van ’T Dack and Tony Reekmans. Studia Hellenistica, 7, 61–118. Leiden: Brill; Louvain: Nauwelaerts; **Rondot**, Vincent 2004. *Tebtynis II: Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*. Fouilles de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 50 = Publications de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire 918. Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale; **Vlassopoulos**, Kostas. 2007. “Free Spaces: Identity, Experience and Democracy in Classical Athens.” In *CQ* 57(1):33–52.

[192] P. Würzb. 4
Seizure of a Surety by a President

Philadelphia? (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) after 142 BCE

Published: Ulrich Wilcken, *Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrus-sammlung*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1933, 6 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934) 37–41 (no. 4); repr. in Ulrich Wilcken. *Berliner Akademieschriften zur alten Geschichte und Papyruskunde (1883–1942)*, Opuscula Leipzig 2 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1970) 43–163, 77–81 (no. 4) [TM 5532]

Current location: Würzburg, Universität inv. 21

Digital image:

https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/WrzPapyri_schrift_00000070.

Light brown papyrus, 14 × 11.7 cm., blank on the verso.

- Πά[γ]κράτει τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς
[πρώ]τοις φίλοις καὶ πρὸς τῇ συν-
[τά]ξει *vac?* παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ
[. . .] αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνοιο τῶν Κρίτωνος
5 [τῆ]ς α ἱπ(παρχίας) (ἐκατονταροῦρου). Νικάνδρου τοῦ
Σιμωνίδου τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδου
[τῆς] ἡ ἱπ(παρχίας) (ὀγδοηκονταροῦρου) τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐ-
[τῆς] μοι κόμης Φιλαδελφείας,
[ἡ]γῆσαμένου τῆς συνεστηκυίας
10 [ἐμο]ῦ τε καὶ ἄλλων αἰρέσεως ἐν τῷ
[. . .] L καὶ τούτου βουλομένου τῇν
[α]ὐτοῦ πρόθεσιν ἐκπληρῶσαι ἐπελ-
[θὼν] ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μου ἡνεχώρα-
[σε] λ[υ]χνίαν σιδηρᾶν ἀξί(α)ν χα(λκοῦ) Γ Γ
15 [πρὸς] χα(λκοῦ) δραχμὰς ρν, ἃς οὐδὲ ὥφ(ε)ιλον, διὰ τὴν ἀ(ὐ)-
[το]ῦ αὐθάδ(ε)ιαν, διωρθωσάμην
[ὃ γέ]γονεν ἐμοὶ ὀφ(ε)ίλημα. ἀπαιτοῦν-
[το]ς τὴν λ[υ]χνίαν οὐκ ἀποδέδω-
[κεν] ἐν πρ[.] σῆπατε χρυ. .
20 [±?] τη[.]. . ν πάσης

Apparatus: 4 Pap. Μακεδόνοιο || 11 Pap. βουλαμένου || 15–16 Pap. α[το]ῦ || Pap. διορθωσάμην

To Pankrates, who belongs to the *isotimoi* of the “First Friends” and administration (of lands). *vac.* From Apollōnios son of [NN] a Macedonian belonging to the command of Krito (5) of the first hipparchia of cavalry, a

one hundred-arourae man. Since Nikander son of Simonides belonging to the command of Asklēpiadēs of the first hipparchia of cavalry, an eighty-arourae man, from my village of Philadelphia, having become the president (ἡγησάμενος) of the association (αἵρεσις) in the *xth* year which has been constituted (10) by me and others, wished to fulfil his (obligation to provide) the offering, entered my house and seized as a surety (ἡνεχύρασε) an iron lamp stand valued at 3000 copper drachmae (15) against a debt of 150 drachmae, which I did not owe, – out of pure stubbornness – since I have already paid the debt that I owed him. Although I asked for the lamp stand, he has not returned it . . . (20) all.

Notes

Association? Possible: associative term: αἵρεσις; leadership terms: ἡγησάμενος.

Location: Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 1760. Philadelphia. Barrington Atlas 75 E2.

II. 1–2: τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς | [πρώ]τοις φίλοις: Honorific designations: → e.g., BGU XIV 2373 (Euhemeria, 144 BCE); P.Ryl. II 66b.00 (Thebais, 133 BCE); P.Ryl. II 253.1 (Hermopolis, 142 BCE), etc.

I. 5: ἑκατονταπόρου, “one hundred arourae man”: A common designation of a class of landowner (usually with cavalry connections): BGU VI 1251.3 (Philadelphia, 144 BCE); BGU X 1968.3 (Ptolemais, 184 BCE); BGU XIV 2373.6 (Euhemeria, 144 BCE); P.Fay. 12.3 (Theadelphia, 104/3 BCE); P.Tebt. I 32.21 (Tebtyunis, 145 BCE), and many other instances.

II. 13–14: ἡνεχύρα|[σε]: on the seizure of securities, → P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] note.

Comments

This complaint is an illustration of the right of the president of an association to seize a surety from a member who was expected to pay dues, repay a debt, or make some other contribution but who did not → P.Cair. 30606.8 [191]; P.Lille.dem. 29.22 [188]; P.Mich. V 243.3 [206]; P.Mich. V 244.10–12 [212]. The plaintiff alleges that the seizure was illegal, since he had already discharged the debt. Instead, he suggests that the seizure had nothing to do with the debt, but was only a means for the president to fulfil a liturgical obligation of an offering (*prothesis*). It is noteworthy that Apollōnιος the plaintiff does not offer to produce a receipt indicating the retirement of the debt.

[193] SB III 7182 A Club Account

Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

II–I BCE

Published: C.C. Edgar, “Records of a village club,” in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso (1844–1925)*, Pubblicazioni di “Aegyptus”; Serie scientifica 3 (Milan: Aegyptus, 1925) 369–376 (SB III 7182); Reinhold Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 1 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990) 1:333–342 (no. 91) [TM 7275; CAPIInv 856]

Current location: unknown

Similar or related documents: → *Village Clubs*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE): a club account; P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPIInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE): account of συνόδ(ου) Δαμῆ; P.Tebt. II 401.23 [214] (Tebtynis, early I CE); P.Tebt. II 484v.1–2 (Tebtynis, 14 CE); O.Stras. I 791 (Hermonthis [Upper Egypt], II CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II ce): λόγος συνόδου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ [μεγίστου; BGU VII 1648 (Philadelphia, II–III CE); W.Chr. 497 = P.Grenf. II 67.2–4 (Bakchias, 237 CE): a contract from Αὐρηλίου Ἀσκληᾶ Φιλαδέλ[φου] ἡγουμένου συνόδου κώ[μη]ς Βακχιάδος for two dancers to perform at a village festival for 10 days; P.Lond. III 1170v (Theadelphia, 259 CE), an account of income and expenditures for an eight day festival, naming τῇ συνόδῳ Δειδᾶ[τ]ος (l. 70), τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν βουκόλων (l. 72, 119), and τῇ συνόδῳ Σωτᾶτας υἱοῦ Αἰλλας, “the association of Sotas son of Lilla” (l. 122); P.Oxy. X 1275 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE).

Club Accounts: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPIInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias? 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (?) (unknown; II/III CE).

Five papyrus fragments. *frag. 1*: 12 × 12 cm., damaged on the top and bottom; *frag. 2*: 5.5 × 6.5 cm.; *frag. 3*: 1.5 × 2.8 cm.; *frag. 4*: 13 × 16 cm.; *frag. 5*: 12.5 × 7.5 cm. The line numbering below follows Edgar’s original publication rather than SB.

⟨frag. 1.1⟩

Ἑρμίας [·±?>·]
 Κάμαξ σο
 Καίης Βμε
 Δίκαιος χπ
 5 Ψαμμήτιχος τπε
 Θώραξ ω
 Κάρπος τξε
 / Δ.με.
 vac.
 [·±?·]·... [·±?·]· υν.

⟨frag. 1.2⟩

10 ··· [·±?·]
 ἐν τῷ [θησαυρῷ
 ἐπὶ]
 τῆς π[αρ]αλ[ήμ]-
 ψεως Ἑρμ[ιο]υ
 τοῦ
 ἐπιμελητοῦ
 15 Ἑρμίας,
 Βάχχος,
 Δημᾶς,
 Κάρπος,
 Κάμαξ,
 20 Ψαμμήτιχος,
 Δίκαιος,
 / ζ.
 ξένοι
 Θίβρων,
 25 [·±?·]·ρίων
 Ὀρίωνος.

⟨frag. 1.3⟩

27 Δημη[τρίω]
 ἐκ Κρο[κοδείλων
 πό(λεως)]
 αἱ προκείμ[εναι·±?·]
 30 καταλ[ε]ῖπον[ται·±?·]
 ἐν κοινῷ [·±?·]
 ἐν Θώρακι αὐ[·±?·]
 vac.
 ιε [·±?·]
 ἐν [·±?·]

⟨frag. 2⟩

35 [·±?·]·
 [·±?·]
 [·±?·]ω·η αὐλη(τῇ) Ψα-
 [μ]μητίχου συμβο(λή) σο,
 [ᾗ]λλου ξένου σο,
 40 [·±?·]· μα·· καὶ τρυ(γὸς) ρ,
 / Αφφ.

⟨frag. 3⟩

42 [·±?· Ἀθ]υρ ιε[·±?·]
 [·±?· ἐν] τῷ Ἰσιείω [·±?·]

⟨frag. 4 recto 2⟩

[·±?·]ι
 συνήχθ(ησαν)
 45 ἐν τῷ ἵπποκοιναρίῳ
 ἐν τῇ σχευοθήκῃ
 – διὰ ἱεροποιοῦ
 Δικαίου
 Ἑρμίας,
 Βάχχος,

⟨frag. 4 recto 3⟩

⟨11 lines missing⟩

⟨frag. 4 recto 4⟩

⟨13 lines missing⟩

50 Δημήτριος,	ἐν κοινῷ [·±?·]	65 εἰς οὓς ἀνήλωται
Κάμαξ,	<i>vac.</i>	π[αρά τὸν·±?·]
Ψαμμήτιχος,	ιε συνήχθησαν	το[·±?·]
Δίκαιος	60 ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ	οἶν[ου·±?·]
<i>vac.</i>	Ἑρμίας,	κε[·±?·]
[δὶς τα]γέντες	Βάχχος,	70 μ[·±?·]
55 Κ[άρ]πος,	Θίβρων	εἰ[·±?·]
/ η, (τούτων)	[Δημή]τριος[ς].	ηλ[·±?·]
[·±?·] [ἀσ]ύμβολος.		

Apparatus: 43 Pap. Ἰσιήφ || 46 Pap. σχεοθήκη || 60 Pap. θησαυρῷ

⟨frag. 4 verso⟩

[·±?·]ι Θώραξ

[·±?·] καὶ · ν

75 [·±?·τ]ρύγα ν.

⟨frag. 5 recto⟩

76 Χοία[·±?·]κ[συνήχθ(ησαν)]

ἐν τῇ σ[χεοθήκη] –

ιεροπ[ο]ι[ο]ῦ [Δ]ι[καίου]

Ἑρμίας,

80 Βάχ[χος],

Θίβρων,

Δημᾶς,

Κάρπος,

Κάμαξ,

85 Ψαμμήτιχος,

Δίκαιος,

/ η, (τούτων)

ἀσύμβολος Ἑρμίας,

λοιποὶ ζ,

90 εἰς οὓς ἀνήλωται

παρά τὸν ἀφιη[·±?·]

οἶνου Μεμφί(του) κ[·±?·]

Ἑλλανίκῳ ἀύλητῇ [·±?·]

καὶ τῷ κιναίδῳ [·±?·]

⟨frag. 5 verso 1⟩
⟨traces of 5 lines⟩

⟨frag. 5 verso 2⟩

95

συνήχ[θησαν]

Ἑρμίας,

Βάχχο[ς],

Δημᾶς,

τη

Κάρπος,
 100 Θώραξ,
 Ψαμμήτι[χος],
 /ς,
 εἰς οὓς [ἀνήλωται]
 παρὰ [·±?·]
 105
 οἶνο[υ·±?·]
 . ιαβ[·±?·]
 . [·±?·]β[·±?·]

⟨frag. 1.1⟩ Hermias: . . . ; Kamax: 270; Kaiēs: 2045; Dikaïos; 680; (5) Psammētichos: 385; Thorax: 800; Karpos: 365; Total: 4045 (drachmae)

⟨frag. 1.2⟩ (10) . . . in the storeroom (*thēsauron*) when it was Hermias's turn to be the supervisor (*epimelētēs*): (present:) (15) Hermias, Bakchos, Dēmas, Karpos, Kamax, (20) Psammētichos, Dikaïos, making seven (members). Guests (*xenoi*): Thibron, and (25) [. . .]rion son of Horion.

⟨frag. 1.3⟩ Deme[trios] from Krokodilopolis . . . (30) remaining in the common fund (*koinon*), the aforementioned (drachmae) . . . In Thorax's (house? workshop?) *vac*. On the 15th. . .

⟨frag. 2⟩ . . . 90; . . . 450. . . ; for the flute girl; the contribution of Psammētichos is 270; for the other guest is 270; . . . (40) for the unfermented grape juice, 100, making 1590.

⟨frag. 3⟩ [Hath]yr 1, the 15th, . . . in the Isieion

⟨frag. 4 recto 1⟩ *vacat*

⟨frag. 4 recto 2⟩ [. . .] on the 10th, the following (members) gathered (45) in the stable in the harness room when Dikaïos was the manager (*hieropoios*): Hermias, Bakchos, (50) Dēmētrios, Kamax, Psammētichos, Dikaïos, *vacat*, (55) Karpos pa[id twice], making eight persons. Of these [Hermias?] was exempt from dues.

⟨frag. 4 recto 3⟩ . . . in common fund (*koinon*) . . . (on the) 15th, the following (members) gathered (60) in the storehouse (*thēsauron*): Hermias, Bachos, Thibron, Dēmētrios. . .

⟨frag. 4 recto 4⟩ . . . for (65) [that which has been spent], besides the [. . .] unfermented grape juice [. . .]

⟨frag. 4 verso⟩ . . . Thorax . . . and: 50 . . . (unfermented) wine: 50

⟨frag. 5 recto⟩ . . . Choiak on the 2[.]th: [the following members gathered] in the harness room, when Dikaïos was the manager (*hieropoios*): Hermias, (80) Bakchos, Thibron, Dēmas, Karpos, Kamax, (85) Psammētichos, Dikaïos, making eight members. Of these, Hermias was exempt from

contributions. Remaining: seven. (Funds) (90) spent for these (members), besides . . . for Memphitic wine, 2[.]. . . for a Greek flute-player. . . and for the male dancer (?)

frag. 5 verso 1 > . . .

frag. 5 verso 2 > (95) On the 18th (the following members) gathered: Hermias, Bakchos, Dēmas, Karpos, (100) Thorax, Psammētichos, making six. (Funds) spend for these (members), besides. . . (105) wine. . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: ἐπιμελητής, ἱεροποιός; common fund (κοινόν); banquets with foodstuffs and entertainment; fees/dues exempt people; membership list.

Location: Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 1760. Barrington Atlas 75 E2.

- l. 1: Ἑρμίας [·±?·]. Since the total of the figures in ll. 2–9 is 4545 dr. (i.e., without any contribution from Hermias) we should perhaps assume that the reading of l. 1 was Ἑρμίας [ἀσύμβολος], “Hermias, exempt from contributions.” Hermias is listed first in frag. 1.1; 1.2, 4.2, 4.3, 5r and 5v.2 and is specifically designated as ἀσύμβολος in l. 90. This perhaps suggests that Hermias has served as a donor or was a president for life, or held some other honorific position. His name may be in the lacuna in l. 57.
- l. 2: Κάμαξ, “bean pole,” perhaps a commentary on his build.
- l. 8: Δ·με. Edgar suggests Δφμε (i.e., 4545), See the note on l. 1.
- ll. 11, 62: ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ, “in the storeroom” or “in the granary.”
- ll. 24: Θιβρων, “delicate.” Perhaps a slave name.
- ll. 27–28: Δημη[τρίω] | ἐκ Κρο[κοδύλων πό(λεως)]. Thus Edgar.
- l. 38: συμβολή, “dues, contributions.” → P.Petr. III 136.I.3 [187] note.
- l. 40, 75: τρυ(γός), τρύξ, unfermented grape juice. Note that at 100 dr. and 50 dr. respectively, it is much cheaper than wine (οἶνος) which in a slightly later text (P.Tebt. III/2 894 [114 BCE]) cost 4000 dr. for a keramion (frag. 2.16.33) and 3000 dr. for a keramion in this text (frag. 6. 1.1; 3400 dr. for a keramion, frag. 7.2; fr. 10.3). At the prevailing AR:AE rate, this is equivalent to 8.33–6.24 silver drachmae.
- ll. 46, 77: σχεοθήκη, i.e., σκευοθήκη, “tool shed” or “harness room.” Aristophanes, *Ran.* 274; Athenaeus, 460D. 2: “arsenal”; IG II² 1668.2 (IV BCE).
- l. 57. Perhaps [Ἑρμίας ἀσ]ύμβολος, “Hermias, exempt from contributions.” See above on l. 1. Ἀσύμβολος refers to persons exempt from dues. E.g., P.Tebt. III/2 frag. 2.r.1.4 and Aeschines 1.75: δειπνα δειπνεῖν ἀσύμβολον; ID 1519.43–45 (Delos): ἔστω δὲ ἀσύμβολος καὶ ἀλειτούργητος ἐν ταῖς || γινομέναις συνόδοις πάσαις and see Index s.v. ἀσύμβολος.
- l. 60: ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ, “in the storeroom” or “in the granary.”
- l. 94: κίναϊδος, an effeminate male dancer, P.Tebt. I 208 (I BCE), perhaps also I.Philae 154–155 (Philae, 5–6 CE).

Comments

This is the account of an association of slaves, covering the income and expenditures from several meetings. The names of the members include some “fanciful names” (→ *notes*) which Edgar and Scholl take to be indications that the members are slaves. Only one name is that of a freeborn person (frag. 1.2), a guest [. . .]rion son of Horion, who did not become a member.

The account in frag. 1.1 lists income, totalling 4545 dr., assuming that Hermias is exempt from contributions (→ note on l. 1). Although at first glance the contributions appear fantastically high, it must be noted that in the period after 210 BCE the Ptolemaic copper drachma had fallen to 1::60th of the value of a silver drachma, falling again to 1::120 of the value of a silver drachma in 183 BCE, then to 1::240 between 173–130/28 BCE, and finally to 1::480 after 128 BCE (Reekmans 1948, 25–26; 1951, 94, 108–109). Hence, assuming that this account is from after 173 BCE, Kamax’s 270 drachmae (AE) have the equivalent silver value of 1.125 (AR) drachmae and the total contributions for one meeting (4545 AE dr.) are equivalent to 18.93 (AR) drachmae. If the papyrus dates from after 128 BCE, as seems more likely, 270 (AE) dr. have a silver value of 0.5625 (AR) drachmae and the total contributions are worth 9.48 (AR) drachmae. In either case, the club had very modest fees in comparison, for example, to P.Mich. V 243 [206] from the time of Tiberius, which charged its members 12 silver drachmae monthly.

In addition to the contributions by the members listed in fr. 1.1, there is a second set of figures in frag. 2. Edgar (1925, 371) understands these to be expenses, perhaps because of the mention of unfermented wine (τρύξις), which presumably is an expense, and because of the listing of elements in the genitive, the usual way of recording a charge rather than a donation (compare frag. 1.1). If this is so, the cost vary from 90 to 450 dr. with the flute player costing 270 dr. and another guest, the same. But since the two charges at 270 dr. coincide with the smallest contribution of members in frag. 1.1, we might also suppose either the costs of the flutist and the “other guest” were absorbed by the common fund (τὸ κοινόν, see ll. 31, 58) or, more likely, that at least the “other guest” contributed to the banquet and that contribution was recorded somewhere else in the ledger. This would be consistent with P.Tebt. I 118 (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112 BCE) and P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* (109/8 BCE) where it is clear that guests were charged the same contribution as members to participate in the banquet. Since the guest in l. 39 is listed as “another guest,” we should assume that at least one other name was recorded in the lines at the top of frag. 2. The total expenses recorded in ll. 35–41 is only 1180 dr., whereas l. 41 lists the total as 1590, which leaves 410 dr. unaccounted, which could easily accommodate another guest at 270 dr. or more.

The meeting recorded in frag. 4r.2 has Karpos paying twice and Hermias (?), as before, exempt from contributions. The double payment might make up for

Hermias' lack of contribution. But compare frag. 5r, where Hermias' non-contribution is deducted and the final number (λοιποί ζ) indicates the total number of *paying* members, not the total number of members present. Hence, we would better assume that either Karpos brought and paid for a guest, whose name is missing or that Karpos paid double because he had missed a previous contribution.

The club seems to have alternated between τρύξ, unfermented wine (ll. 40, 75, and wine (ll. 68, 105), on one occasion even having "Memphitic wine" (l. 92). The difference in price is significant: the papyrus suggests prices of 50 and 100 drachmae (per keramion); but assuming a date between 182–173 BCE, wine would have cost in the range of 420–600 dr. Reekmans (1948, 35–36) cites P.Mich. III 200.26 (181 BCE): 500 dr.; BGU 1240.14 and *passim* (II BCE): 600 dr.; P.Tebt. III/2 891 (time of Philomētor): 420 dr. According to Maresch (1996, 189) the price of wine at the end of the second century ranged from 1500–4000 dr., and averaged 2450 dr. Taking into account the devaluation of the copper drachma in the second century BCE, the cost relative to pre-220 BCE prices of 3–8 dr. per keramion is stable (after 130 BCE the AR:AE ratio falls to 1::480). Prices listed in P.Tebt. III/2 894 range from 300–4000 AE dr. which puts the price per keramion in the range of 6.25–8.3 AR dr. Since the papyrus is so fragmentary, it is impossible to determine what factors contributed to the choice of τρύξ over οἶνος.

Meetings of the club were both varied in venues and quite frequent; seven meetings are recorded. The meetings record in frag. 1.2 (ll. 10–26) and frag. 4r.3 (ll. 58–63) occurred in the *thesauros*, either a storeroom or a room in the granary; the meetings noted in frag. 4r.2 (ll. 44–57) and frag. 5r (ll. 76–94) took place in the harness room of the stables; and the meeting in frag. 3 (ll. 41–43) occurred in the (*hestatoria* of the) temple of Isis. Frag. 1.3 (l. 32) might refer to another meeting place, in Thorax's house or workshop. The nature of the meeting space and its variability likely indicates that the group is not very well off – certainly unable either to afford its own *schola* or to attract a patron who would supply a permanent meeting place.

In spite of this, the meetings were quite frequent: frag. 4r.2 (l. 44) records one meeting on the 10th of one month, and the next column (frag. 4r.3.59) records another meeting on the 15th. In frag. 1.3 (l. 33), frag. 4r.3.59, and frag. 5v.2.95, the meeting is record without the name of the month, which suggests that it occurred in the same month as the previous meeting.

The membership of the group, to the extent that it can be determined, was relatively stable at about 7–8 members. Attendees are in parentheses:

1 (9)	2	3	4 (8)	5 (4+)	6 (8)	7 (6)
Ἑρμίας	?	?	Ἑρμίας	Ἑρμίας	Ἑρμίας	Ἑρμίας
Βάχχος			Βάχχος	Βάχχος	Βάχχος	Βάχχος
Δημᾶς			Δημήτριος	Θίβρων	Θίβρων	Δημᾶς
Κάρπος			Κάμαξ	Δημή-	Δημᾶς	Κάρπος
Κάμαξ			Κάρπος	τριος	Κάρπος	Θώραξ
Ψαμμήτιχος			Ψαμμήτιχος	?	Κάμαξ	Ψαμμήτιχος
Δίκαιος = 7			Δίκαιος		Ψαμμήτ	
			Κάρπος		ιχος	
ξένοι (2)			ἀσύμβολος		Δίκαιος	
Θίβρων,	guest		?	?	= 8	?
...ρίων	guest				?	
Ὀρίωνος						

The first banquet netted nine diners, seven members and two guests, one of whom subsequently is listed as a member in the fourth and fifth and sixth banquets. Thus, the boundaries of the club were relatively porous in the sense that guests were apparently welcome and indeed recruited through such banquets. The account shows an interest in counting members: the first dinner notes 7 members and two guests; Karpos is listed twice for the fourth dinner (resulting in a tally of 8), but a member in lacuna (Hermias?) is designated as dues-exempt; and notation “8” appears for the sixth dinner. These notations likely reflect the awareness that a threshold of 7–8 attendees is required to fund the dinner (→ P.Tebt. I 118 [195] *comments*). If fewer than eight members attended, (paying) guests had to be invited. At least one of these guests eventually joined the group.

Frag 1.2.10–14 (ἐπὶ | τῆς π[αρ]αλ[ήμ]ψεως Ἑρμ[ί]ου τοῦ | ἐπιμελητοῦ) suggests that, as in other associations, the supervisor (*epimeletēs*) was not permanent but rotated, even though no one else (not even Hermias) is subsequently listed as supervisor. The appearance of a *hieropoios* (manager) is an imitation of the Athenian title, where the *hieropoios* seems to have had a role managing the temple and arranging animal sacrifices. Animal sacrifices were rare in Egypt and given the economic standing of this group, it is rather unlikely that they engaged in animal sacrifice. This seems a case of “title borrowing”, in this case from Athenian and Macedonian cultic associations which had *hieropoioi*.

The mention in frag. 2 and frag. 5 *recto* of the hire of a flute player and a κίναϊδος (dancer) indicates that the dinner also had entertainment. Edgar (1925, 371) adduces P.Hib. I 54 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 245 BCE), evidently for a banquet that involves a sacrifice and more entertainment:

Demophōn to Ptolemaios, greetings. Send us by all means the flute-player (*auleitēs*) Petous who has both a Phrygian flute and other flutes; and if you have to spend anything, pay it and you will be reimbursed by us. Send us also Zenobios the

effeminate dancer (*malakos*) who has a drum and cymbals and castanets, for he is needed by the women for the (their) sacrifice. He should be dressed in as fancy a way as possible. Arrange for a goat from Aristion and send it to us. And as for the slave, if you have arrested him, hand him over to Semphtheus to bring him to us. Send us as many cheeses as you can, empty jars, vegetables of every sort, and whatever cooked dishes you have. Farewell. Put them on board with the guards who will help to bring the boat along. *Verso*: To Ptolemaios.

As Edgar (1925, 371) notes, the preparations for this event have the same elements: sacrifices, a flute player, and an effeminate dancer.

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 2009. "Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary." In *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, 179–193. New York: Oxford University Press; Edgar, C.C. 1925. "Records of a Village Club." In *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso (1844–1925)*. Pubblicazioni di "Aegyptus". Serie scientifica 3, 369–376. Milan: Aegyptus; Reekmans, Tony 1948. "Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri." In *Studia Hellenistica* 5:15–43; Reekmans, Tony 1951. "The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation." In *Ptolemaica*, E. van 'T Dack and Tony Reekmans. *Studia Hellenistica*, 7, 61–118. Leiden: Brill; Louvain: Nauwelaerts; Scholl, Reinhold 1990. *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner; Westermann, William L. 1932. "Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt." In *JEA* 18:16–27.

[194] P.Tebt. III/2 894 A Club Account

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) ca. 114 BCE

Published: Arthur S. Hunt, J. Gilbert Smyly, and C.C. Edgar, ed. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, III/2. University of California publications; Graeco-Roman archaeology 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1902) 170–182 (no. 894) + BL VIII 496; BL IX, 359 [TM 5444; CAPInv 863].

Current location: Berkeley, Bancroft Library P.Tebt. 894

Similar or related documents: → *Village Clubs*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193]; P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Tebt. II 401.23 [214] (Tebtynis, early I CE); P.Tebt. II 484v.1–2 (Tebtynis, 14 CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias? 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); O.Strass. I 791 (Hermonthis [Upper Egypt], II CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II ce); BGU VII

1648 (Philadelphia [Arsinoites], II–III CE); W.Chr. 497 = P.Grenf. II 67.2–4 (Bakchias [Arsinoites], 237 CE); P.Lond. III 1170 (Theadelphia, 259 CE): an account of income and expenditures for an eight day festival, naming τῆ συνόδῳ Δειδᾶ[τ]ος, “the association of Deidas (l. 70), τῆ συνόδῳ τῶν βουκόλων (l. 72, 119), and τῆ συνόδῳ Σωτᾶτα^ς υἱοῦ Λίλλας, “the association of Sotas son of Lilla” (l. 122); P.Oxy. X 1275 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE).

Papyrus fragments from crocodile mummy cartonnage. According to the original editors, the fragments come from a narrow papyrus roll, 16 cm. high, bisected lengthwise. Only a selection of the fragments has been published, “the fragments [being] too imperfect to be arranged in their original sequence, and too monotonous to be reproduced in full” (p. 170). The arrangement and numbering of the fragments is, accordingly, arbitrary.

⟨frag. 1.r.2⟩

	Παῦνι ἡ. . . [·?·]	
	[Σοκ]μῆνις	τ
	Θέων	τ
	Μαρῆς	ρξ
5	ῥΩρος Πακύ(σιος)	σ
	ο. λατας ρ κ Ἀρτέμω(ν)	σ
	Πεκῦσις σ Εὐδημος	σ
	Πομοῦς	τ
	Νααρῶς	τ
10	Φατρῆς	σ
	Τράλλις	σ
	Πατῦνις Χο()	τ
	Πανεῖς	τ
	Πομβᾶς	τ
15	Ἀμενεὺς	τ
	Ἀπῶγχις	τ
	Πετεσοῦ(χος) Κα(γῶτος)	τ
	Πατῦνις μέ(γας)	τ
	Πατμοῦις	τ
20	Τεραῦς	ρ
	Ψεγεθώτ(ης)	τ
	Σιλοῦς	σιε
	Ψεναμοῦνις	ρϜ
	Τιτάκ	ρϜ

⟨frag. 1.r.3⟩

25	τά(λαντον) α	Βρε
	(ἀφ’ ὧν) ζύ(του) τά(λαντόν) α	
	μάχιμος κα[· ·?·	·?]
	λο(ιπαι) ἐν Ἀρμιύσι[·?·]	
	(ἀφ’ ὧν) Λυσανίου γ[· ·?·]	
30	στεφά(νων) τῆ ιθ	
	τοῦ Παῦνις ζ[· ·?·]
	μύρου ο [/..]
	λο(ιπαι) υκ (ἀφ’ ὧν) δι’	
	Ἀρμι[ύσιος ρπ]	
	λο(ιπαι)	σμ.

frags. 1.r.2; 1.r.3 (ll. 1–34): Pauni 18 (early July).

The two columns contain contributions for Pauni 18 (frag. 1.r.2) and a tally (frag. 1.r.3). Twenty-five members are listed, with contributions of 300 (13), 200 (6), 215 (1), 160 (1) and 100 (4), for a total of 5875 dr.

Frag. 1.r.3: Since the subtotal is 1 talent, 2105 (drachmae) (i.e., 8105 dr.), additional contributions must be missing.

Frag. 1.r.3.26–34: “from which (total is deducted) one talent for the cost of beer; the armed guard: [. . . 200 dr.?]; remaining in the house (or shop) of Harmiysi[s . . .]; (deducted): Lysanias’ g. . .; the crowns for the 19th [. . .] of Pauni: 6[dr. . .]; perfumed oil: 70 (dr.?) [Total: . . .]. remaining: 420 (dr.), of which [180 dr.] was paid by Harmiysis; leaving 240 dr.”

Notes

Association? Certain: cultic association?; leadership positions: αἱ ἀρχαί, ἱεροποιός, ἱεροποιία (cultic management); θεαγός; banquets with entertainment and guests; dues; due-exempt members (ἀσύμβολοι); fines; probably a common fund.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

frag. 1.r.1

l. 1: Παῦνι η In 114 BCE Pauni began June 17.

l. 6: φ. λαρτας ρ κ Ἀρτέμω(ν) σ: “. . . latas: 100 (dr.); (Pauni) 20: Artemon: 200 (dr.).” The space between ρ and κ suggests that it should not be read as 120, but rather as 100; 20th of (Pauni), that is, that Artemon paid two days late.

frag. 1.r.3

l. 26 and *passim*: (ἀφ’ ὧν). This indicates a deduction from an account → Gonis 2009, 175.

l. 26: (ἀφ’ ὧν ζῦ(του)). See various accounts and delivery notices of beer in O.Mich. III 987, 988, 1003, 1026, 1027, 1028, all from Karanis (Arsinoites), I BCE or I CE.

l. 27: Elsewhere in the document, the fee for an armed guard is 200 dr. (→ frag. 8.r.1.10–14; frag. 8.r.2.26).

ll. 28, 33: Ἀρμιῦσι. Harmiysis does not appear in the list of contributors in frags. 1.r.1 but appears as the first contributor in frag 1.v.2, and also in frag. 9.v.2.26, 10.v.13; 11.v.2.14 and 12.v.13.

⟨frag. 1.v.2⟩

35 Φαρμοῦθι κη
Ἀρμιῦσις
Πανεῦις
Ψεναμοῦνις
Πετεσοῦ(χος) Κα(γῶτος)
40 Τιτάκ
Ὀνώφρις Γλυ()
Θέων
Σιλοῦς
Ἀμενεύς
45 Πατῦνις Χο()
Ἀπῦγχις Τε(ῶτος)

⟨frag. 1.v.3⟩

(ἀφ’ ὧν) ἔχομεν
ἀρχῶν^{τοῦ} Παχῶν·
55 Σοκμῆνις ρ
Ἀπῦγχις Τε(ῶτος) φ
Πανεῦις ξ
Φατ[ρῆς] ν
Τρά[λλις] μ
60 Ὀρος Πακύ(σιος) ξε,
/ ωιε ἀπό Βς,
λο(ιται) Ατπ[ε],
ἀνδρῶν ια ἀνά Γ ρ / Α[ρ].

- Θορταῖς νέο(ς)
 [[Εὐδημος]]
 ὧρος Πακύ(σιος)
 50 Ψενεθώτ(ης)
 Τράλλις
 Φατρῆς

frag. 1.v.2 (ll. 35–52): Pharmouthi 28 (15 May)

This entry is dated to Pharmouthi 28, either two months before frag. 1.r.2–3, or ten months afterwards. It contains a list of sixteen names – the name of Eudēmos (l. 48) has been erased –, headed by the date of the meeting or banquet. These sixteen names are apparently those who attended the meeting or banquet. Of those listed in 1.v.2, fourteen are also found in frag. 1.r.2 for the meeting of Pauni 18.

frag. 1.v.3 (ll. 53–62): Pachon (after 18 May)

This fragment appears to continue from frag. 1.v.2 (dated to the end of Pharmouthi), and lists contributions from the six magistrates for the following month of Pachon. All the names also appear in frag. 1.r.2 (above): Sokmēnis (again in first position), Apynchis son of Teos; Paneuis; Phatres; Trallis and Horos son of Pakysis. The same names, listed as the *archai* for the month of Pauni (June–July) are given again in frag. 2.r.2 (below).

The contributions of 100, 500, 60, 50, 40, and 65 dr. are correctly totaled as 815 dr. Lines 61–63 continue: “making 815 dr. deducted from 2200 (dr.); remaining: 138[5]. 11 men at 100 (dr.) each, total: 1[100].” 2200 dr. may be the nominal sum expected from 22 members, yet the account at this point mentions only eleven contributors (at 100 dr. each), plus the contributions of the magistrates (815 dr.). Thus it would appear that a shortfall of 285 dr. is anticipated.

Notes

frag. 1.v.2

- l. 35: Φαρμοῦθι κη. In 114 BCE Pharmouthi began 18 Apr. Pharmouthi 28 would be 15 May.
- l. 41: Hunt, Smyly and Edgar suggest Ὀνώφρις Γλύ(κωνος), Onnophris son of Glykon.
- l. 48: [[Εὐδημος]]. The name has been erased, either because Eudēmos had resigned or been expelled, or because the name was entered in error. The name recurs at frag. 3.v.1.14 (Mecheir = Feb–Mar), where Eudēmos is a contributor. This might mean that frag. 1.v.2 (Pharmouthi 28 = 15 May) should be placed chronologically after frag. 3 verso.

frag. 1.v.3 (ll. 53–62)

- l. 53: ἀφ’ ὧν indicates subtractions from a larger total or the deductions from the funds that were received (Gonis 2009, 175). The same formulae appears in frag. 6.r.2.15,

(ἀφ' ὧν) ἔχομεν ἀρχῶν γενομέ(νων) τοῦ L γ. In this case, the amounts appear to refer to the disposition the contributions received from the magistrates rather than deductions (see below on frag. 2.r.2).

- l. 54: ἀρχῶν. Rather than ἀρχωντες the papyrus here and frag. 6.r.2.15, the papyrus uses (αἱ) ἀρχαί, “the magistrates.” The scribe is inconsistent, using ἀρχῶν τοῦ Παχῶν here, ἀρχῆς τοῦ Παῦνι in frag. 2.r.1.14, and Παῦνι ἀρχῆς at 2.r.2.29 even though the latter two refer to the identical set of magistrates.

⟨frag. 2.r.1⟩

Μαρῆς Θέ(ωνος?)
 Πενεγήρις Σιλοῦ(τος),
 / ἄνδρες κα,
 ἀσύ(μβολοι) β,
 5 ξένος α / κβ.
 οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α Δ
 ἐν Μενοίτου,
 εἰς τὴν κρά(μ)βη(ν) μ
 λύχνον ρ,
 10 / Δρμ.
 (ἀφ' ὧν) ἔχομεν·
 ξένος α σ
 Ὀνώφρις Γλν() ἄλικὸν ξ
 ἀρχῆς τοῦ Παῦνι ωιε.
 15 ὀνόματα·
 Σοκμ(ῆ)ν(ις) ρ
 Ἀπυγχίς Τε(ῶτος) πελῶις [φ]
 Παγεῦις ξ
 ὤρος Πακύ(σιος) ξε
 20 Φατρῆς ν
 Τράλλις μ

⟨frag. 2.r.2⟩

ἱεροποκ(ι)άν ε
 ἀνά Ε σ, / Α
 Ἀπυγχίς Ἀρ(μῦσιος)
 25 Σιλοῦς
 Ψεναμοῦνις
 Πομβᾶς
 Πομοῦς
 . . . Παῦνι ἀρχῆς ωιε,
 30 Ἀπυγχίς Τε(ῶτος) φ
 Σοκμῆνις ρ
 Πανῆις ξ
 Φατρῆς ν
 Τράλλις μ
 35 ὤρος Πακύ(σιος) ξε,
 / Αωιε,
 ξένου α σ / Βιε,
 λο(ιται) Βρμ.

frag. 2.r.1 (ll. 1–21): Pauni (June-July)

This fragment contains the end of a list of attendees, otherwise lost. One of the names (Marēs) appears in frag. 1.r.2 (above). The other name, Penegēris son of Silous is perhaps the son of the Silous that appears in frag. 1.v.2.43 (above) or perhaps the guest mentioned in l. 5. The list of names continues with “making 21 men; two who are exempt from dues (ἀσύμβολοι); 1 guest, making 22 persons” (ll. 3–5).

Then follows an account of expenditures: “1 keramion of wine: 4000 dr.; in the house of Menoites, for the cabbage: 40 dr.; a lamp: 100 dr.; total: 4140 dr. Against this amount, the following contributions are listed: from the guest, 200 dr. Onnophis’s name is placed beside a charge for salt (60

dr.) The column concludes with the 815 paid by the *archons* (above), whose names and contributions are listed again (ll. 15–21). The contributions from the archons of Pauni (815 dr.) are identical with that listed in frag. 1.v.3 for Pharmouthi, and indeed the same archons appear to be in office.

It is unclear whether the figure of 21 in l. 3 includes or excludes the two dues-exempt members. If the total of 22 in line 5 is the total for diners – which now includes one guest – it would seem that the dues-exempt were included in the twenty-one. But twenty-two might also be the total of contributors (i.e., 21 paying members plus one paying guest). No contributions are listed, but if the same rate of 100 dr. per (paying) member is used from frag. 1.v.3.63, the total contributions from members in the first case would be 1900 dr., plus 200 from the guest, for a total of 2100, or 2100 dr. plus 200 dr., for a total of 2300 dr. To this sum are added the additional contributions of the magistrates (815 dr.), for a total of 2915 dr. or 3115 dr.

frag. 2.r.2 (ll. 22–38).

Frag. 2.r.2 appears to continue the earlier column: “Five managers (*ἱεροποιοί*), each contributing 200 dr., making 1000 dr.; Apynchis son of Har(miysis), Silous, Psenamounis, Pombas and Pomous; the magistrates of Pauni, making 815 dr.; Apynchis son of Te(os), 500 dr.; Sokm ēnis, 100 dr.; Paneis, 60 dr.; Phatrēs, 50 dr.; Trallis, 40 dr.; Horos son of Pakusis, 65 dr., for a total of 1815 dr. 1 guest at 200 dr., making 2015 dr.; remaining: 2140 dr.”

The 5 *hieropoioi* (managers) are named in the initial list in frag. 1.r.2. Each of these made a contribution of 200 dr., for a total of 1000 dr. The archons for Pauni are twice credited with their contributions of 815 dr. (ll. 30–35), for a total of 1815, and the guest’s contribution is listed twice, for a total of 2015 dr. This income is apparently applied against the 4140 dr. of expenses listed in frag. 2.r.1 (l. 10). The stated remainder of 2140 dr. (l. 39) is apparently made up from the 2100 + 60 dr. of the first column. Thus:

Members (19/21)	1900	2100
Onophis	60	60
Guest	200	200
<i>Archai</i>	815	815
<i>Hieropoia</i>	1000	1000
Total	3975	4175
Expenses	4140	4140
Surplus (shortfall)	(165)	35

Notes

frag. 2.r.1

1. 1: There is a Theōn in this club (frag.1.r.2.1; frag. 1.v.2.42). If Marēs' father is the same Theōn, this is an example of an association that consisted partially of households or families and partially of others not connected to the households of other members. There are at least six instances in this document when someone is designated as "son of N" where the name "N" is listed separately elsewhere, in other words, six possible father-son affiliations.
1. 6: κε(ράμιον), keramion. Originally the term means only "jar" rather than a specific volume, keramion eventually came to signify a jar containing between 3 (9.72 litres) and 4 *choes* (12.96 litres) (Bagnall 2009, 188).
1. 6: οἶνου κε(ράμιον) α Δ: The price of 4000 dr. per keramion is on the high end of wine prices relative to most of the other wine prices for the period around the end of the second century BCE, which range from 1500–4000 dr., but average 2450 dr. (Maresch 1996, 189). Nevertheless, taking into account the devaluation of the copper drachma in the second century BCE, the cost relative to pre-220 BCE prices of 3–8 dr. per keramion is stable (after 130 BCE the AG:CU Ratio falls to 1::480; see Reekmans 1948; 1951; Clarysse and Lanciers 1989).
1. 8: εἰς> τὴν κράμβην μ, "for cabbage, 40 dr." For an interesting point of comparison regarding the price of cabbage (κράμβη) in the late second century BCE → SB XVI 12675 (Tebtynis, 100 BCE): "Year 14, Pachōn 29, account of Petermouthis, carpenter, for Kritōn's reception: wine, 1 [keramion]: 2300 [drachmai]; bread: 19 [loaves at 15 [dr.] apiece: 285; quail: 140; beans: 5; vinegar cruet: 40; oil, 1/4 [kotylē]: 50; salt: 20; pumpkin: 30; extract of cabbage (κραμβίον): 20; porridge 70; (sub-total:) 705 (dr.)."
1. 13: Ὀνώφρις Γλϐ() ἄλικόν ξ. The editors, Hunt, Smyly and Edgar, were not sure what to make of this entry and suggest that Onnōphris paid 60 drachmae for salt. This is anomalous since the purchasers of the other items (cabbage, lamp, wine) are not named.
1. 14; frag. 2.r.2.29: Παῦνι. In 114 BCE, Pauni began 17 Jun.
1. 14: ἀρχῆς τοῦ Παῦνι: → frag. 1.v.3. 54 note.

frag. 2.r.2

1. 22: ἱεροποιάν. ἱεροποιός, "management" makes regular appearances in Attic inscriptions (→ GRA I index s.v.) and in those contexts the term appears to be connected with the offering of animal sacrifices. But a ἱεροποιός also appears in SB III 7182. frag. 5.r.77 [193]. In neither SB III 7182 nor P.Tebt. III/2 894 is there any indication of sacrificial activities and hence one suspects that the use of *hieropoios/-a* is an instance of title borrowing from more elite associations. In these Arsinoite associations, the position is likely honorific but also attracts a higher level of contribution. The office is again mentioned in frag. 7.v.2.7 where the contributions from 2 *hieropoioi* is 500 dr. (for a total of 1000 dr.), as here.
1. 29: Παῦνι ἀρχῆς: → frag. 1.v.3. 54 note.

<i>frag. 2.v.2</i>		<i>frag. 3.v.1</i>	
	Αἴλουρος		Λ δ Μεχ[εῖρ. .]
40	Πομβᾶς		ἐν τῷ βομῶ
	Μιῦσις μέ(γας)		καὶ ἐν τῷ ε[ργευτι]γφ.
	Ὅρπας		συ(μβολαῖ) τῶν οἶν[·?·]
	/ ἄνδρες κ.	5	/ . . ἀγγελίς συ(μβολαῖ) τμε
	οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α		Σοκμήνις συ(μβολαῖ) σμε εις
45	ἐν τοῖς Ἄρπαλου,		Πανεῦις συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
	μύρου		Φατρῆς συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
	αὐλητής		Τράλλις συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
		10	Σιλοῦς συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
			Φῖβις συ(μβολαῖ) ρμε
			Νααρῶς συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
			ζημία υ / χμε
			Πομβᾶς συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
		15	Θορταῖς νεὸς(ς) συ(μβολαῖ) ρμε
			Εὐδημος συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
			Σαρᾶς συ(μβολαῖ) σμε
			Πτόλλις ἀδελ(φός) συ(μβολαῖ)
			σμε
			Πετεσοῦ(χος) Καγῶ(τος) σμε

Apparatus: 2.v.2.45 Pap. "Αρπαλος || 3.v.1.2 Pap. βομῶ

frag. 2.v.2

"Ailouros, Pompas, Miysis the elder, Horpas, making 20 men. 1 keramion of wine: 4000 dr., (45) in the house of Harpalos; perfumed oil: 70 dr.; flute player. . . ." This is obviously the end of a list of names, but it cannot be related to any of the other lists in the extant fragments.

frag. 3.v.1 Mecheir (Feb-Mar)

Year 4, Mecheir ... at the altar (?) and in the *ergeutigon* (workshop?) Contributions for wine: making . . . agelis's contribution: 345 dr.; Sokm ēnis: 245 dr. into (?); Paneuis: 245 dr.; Phatrēs: 245 dr.; Trallis: 245 dr.; Silous: 245 dr.; Phibis: 245 dr.; Naarōs: 245 dr. plus a fine of 400 dr., for a total of 645 dr.; Pompas: 245 dr.; Thortais the younger: 145 dr.; Eud ēmos: 245 dr.; Saras: 245 dr.; Ptollis the brother; Petesouchos son of Kagōs: 245 dr.

Fourteen contributions (συμβολαῖ) for wine are listed, twelve contributing 245 dr.; one contributed 345 dr., one 145 dr., and one, Naaros, contributed his 245 dr. but also paid a fine of 400 dr., for a total of 645 dr. (ll. 12–13). The total contributions are 3730 dr.

Notes

frag. 2.v.2

- ll. 39–42: These four names are peculiar; Pombas is attested elsewhere in the document, but Ailouros, Miusis the elder, and Hōrpas are mentioned only in this instance.
- l. 44: κερ(άμιον), keramion → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [194] note.
- l. 44: οἶνου κε(ράμιον) α Δ: → Frag. 2.r.1.6 note.

frag. 3.v.1

- l. 1: *L* δ̄ Μεχ[εῖρ. Mecheir of year 4 of Ptolemy IX and Kleopatra III began February 18.
- l. 3: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐ[ργεῦτι]γῳ. Restored from frag. 10.r.4: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐργεῦτιγῳ. The meaning of the term is not clear. Perhaps “workshop”?
- l. 4: συ(μβολαί) τῶν οἶν[·?·]: A wine collection is also attested in P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown provenance, I CE).
- l. 13: ζημία. For fines → index s.v. fines.
- l. 18: Πτόλλις ἀδελ(φός). There are several instances of actual kinship relations in this document, so there is no reason to immediately assume that this is fictive kinship language, especially since only one other figure is referred to as “brother” (frag. 12.r.2.7). On the other hand, it is still a possibility, given that the majority of actual kinship relations in the text are father-son.

⟨frag. 4.r.1⟩

Μεχεῖρ ι.
 Πατῦνις Χο() ῥη() [·?·]
 ἀνάλωμα·
 ἄριστον ἄρ(·)τους π
 5 ἀλὸς ι, / ρ
 δεῖπνον ο, / ρξ
 εἰς τὸ μέτρον κ / ρ[π.]
 (ἀφ’ ὧν) ξένοι Ἡρακλεῖδ[ου]
 θ γ ἀν(ά) μ, / ρκ
 10 Φατρέρωνς α(νά) μ / ρξ.

⟨frag. 4.v.2⟩

ἰλιακοῖς λόγος.
 τὸ κατ’ ἄνδρα τῶν. . ()·
 Πομβᾶς φ
 Καγῶς φ
 15 Ἀπῦγχις Ἀρ() φ
 Πετεσοῦ(χος) Κα(γῶτος) φ
 Θορτᾶις νεὸς(ς) φ
 Ὡρος Πακύ(σιος) φ
 Ἀμενεὺς υ, λο(ιπαί) ρ
 20 Τράλλις φ
 Φατρῆς φ
 Σοκμῆνις φ
 Πατῦνις Ὀνώ(φριος) φ
 Τεραῦς φ, λο(ιπαί) ρκε
 25 Θέων φ
 Σμένπις φ
 ἐλιακοῖς λόγος

frag.4.r.1: Mecheir 10 (February 27)

10th of Mecheir. Patynis son of Cho() rē ...[.]; expenditures: bread for breakfast [ἄριστον]: 80 dr.; (5) 10 measures of salt, making 90 dr.;

banquet [δεῖπνον]: 70 dr.; making [salt + dinner]: 160 dr.; for the measure, 20 dr., making 1[80] dr.; (income from) the guests of Herakleidēs: 3 each paying 40 dr., making 120 dr.; (10) (a guest) of Phatrēs, paying 40 dr., for a total of 160 dr.

frag. 4.v.2

Account for ἱλιακοῖς: individual contributions of [...]: Pombas; 500 dr.; Kagōs 500 dr.; (15) Apynchis son of Har(miysis) 500 dr.; Petesouchos son of Kagōs: 500 dr.; Thortais the younger: 500 dr.; Hōros son of Pakysis 500 dr.; Ameneus paid 400 dr., but owes 100 dr.; (20) Trallis: 500 dr.; Phatrēs: 500 dr.; Sokmēnis: 500 dr.; Patynis son of Onnōphris: 500 dr.; Terraus paid 500 dr., owes 125 dr.; (25) The ōn: 500 dr.; Smenpis: 500 dr.

The account for ἑλιακοῖς.

Notes

frag. 4.r.1

- l. 7: εἰς τὸ μέτρον κ: → P.Tebt. I 231 (Tebtynis, 97/6 or 64/3 BCE): δαπάνη κορδακιστῆ σ | αὐλητῆ ν | στέφανον ρ | εἰς τὸ μέτρον ρκ | ποτήριον Ἔχ, “costs: for the dancer, 200 dr.; the flute player: 50 dr.; a crown, 100 dr.; for the measure, 120 dr.; drinking cup(s?), 2600 dr.”

frag. 4.v.2

- ll. 11, 27: ἱλιακοῖς λόγος: The significance of ἱλιακά here are in frag. 11.v.2.7 is unknown. Ἱλιακά appears in several agricultural accounts (registers of crops or accounts of payments in kind) where it appears in the phrase τριχοίνικου ἱλιακῶν. The three-choinix tax is a tax on royal farmers of three choinikes per aroua, but the meaning of ἱλιακῶν remains unknown. See P.Tebt. I 61.319 (Kerkeosiris, 117 BCE); I 68.88 (Kerkeosiris, 117 BCE); I 72.B.323 (Kerkeosiris, 114/13 BCE); I 75.3 (Kerkeosiris, 113/12 BCE); I 89.33 (Kerkeosiris, 113/12 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 835.9–12 (Tebtynis, 151 or 140 BCE). Since the tax is charged in kind rather than in coin, P.Tebt. III/2 894, may be using the term by analogy to the fiscal use of the term to indicate a required payment.
- ll. 19, 24: λοιπαί: Here the λοιπαί designates underpayments of dues and what is still owing. Because all of the other payments are 500 dr., it seems likely that the additional 125 dr. owed by Terraus (l. 24) is a fine or an underpayment from a previous month.

⟨frag. 5.r.2⟩

 1 [·?·]. υνις [·?·] ρξ
 [Πα]τῦνις Ὀνώ(φριος) σ
 Ἀρμιῦσις νεὸ(ς) σ
 Ὡρος Πακὺ(σιος) σ
 5 Πατῦνις μέ(γας) σ
 / Ἐχνε.
 ἔχει ζύ(του) ιγ Εχμε,
 διάπτωμα Γ ι,
 λο(ιπαί) ἐκ ταλάντου τνε.
 10 ^{ἑῶν} δι' Ἀρεώτου μάχης σ

⟨frag. 5.v.2⟩

Μεχειρ ιδ Πατῦνις μέ(γας) κ
 ἀνάλωμα διὰ Πομοῦ<το>ς ρμ
 ζύτου Ῥοδίου ἀ(νὰ) τ/ υμ
 κύαμος ^{διὰ Πομοῦ<το>ς} ρε
 15 / φλε
 (ἀφ' ὧν) ξένοι θ
 Καγῶς ἀ(νὰ) ξ
 [. . .]. ις ἀ(νὰ) ξ
 [. . . .]. ἀ(νὰ) ξ
 20 [·?·] ἀ(νὰ) ξ / σμ.
 [·?·]. [·?·]

Apparatus: 9 Pap. ἐν || 12 Pap. Πομούς || 14 Pap. Πομούς

frag. 5.r.2

..unis: 160 dr.; Patynis son of Onophris: 200 dr.; Harmiysis the younger: 200 dr.; Horos son of Pakysis: 200 dr.; Patynis the elder: 200 dr.; making 5655 dr.

13 (jars of?) beer, 5645 dr. Remaining: 10 dr. Remaining from a talent: 355 dr. Theon because of a fight with Areios, 200 dr.

Frag. 5.v.2: Mecheir 14 (3 Mar)

Mecheir 14: Patynis the elder: 20.

Expenses (paid) through Pomous: 140 dr.; Rhodian jar of beer: 300 dr., making 440 dr.; beans (paid) through Pomous: 95 dr.; (15) total: 535 dr.

(at the meeting) there were 9 guests: 1 (guest) of Kagōs: 60 dr.; 1 (guest) of ..is: 60 dr.; 1 (guest) of ...: 60 dr.; (20) 1 (guest) of ...60 dr., total: 240 dr.

....

Notes

frag. 5.r.2

l. 8: διάπτωμα: “shortfall.” This appears to be a mistake, since the income is 10 dr. more than the expenses.

l. 10: ^{ἑῶν} δι' Ἀρεώτου μάχης σ: on fines for participating in a fight.

frag. 5.v.1

l. 11: Μεχειρ ιδ Πατῦνις μέ(γας) κ: It is unclear what κ (20) means. It does not seem to be an amount for a payment, since it does not factor into the totals, which add up accurately without the 20. Perhaps Patynis agreed to pay his subscription fees to the treasurer a week late, as was seemingly done at other times (see Frag.1 recto, II.6–7). This could be why Patynis the elder pays a rather large amount in Frag. 8 recto, I.7; since that line also includes the date of the 14th, it could have originally said something to the effect of “what Patynis the elder owed on Mecheir 14th.”

- l. 12: ἀνάλωμα διὰ Πομοῦτος ρμ. Pomous paid for something out of pocket, and it is here listed as an expense alongside the cost for the jar of beer. This suggests that Pomous expects to be reimbursed for his purchase. See also l.14 where Pomous purchased beans and, again, expected reimbursement.
- l. 14: κύαμος: Κύαμος is an Egyptian bean. The singular is used as a collective noun, occurring mainly in agricultural accounts (O.Mich. IV 1128 [Karanis, II–I BCE]). In O.Mich. IV 1128, the price of bean is 45 drachmae (no unit of measure is given); another point of comparison for beans is found in SB XVI 12675 (Tebtynis, 100 BCE), wherein beans (also no unit of measure) costing 5 drachmae have been purchased for a reception.

⟨frag. 6.r.2⟩		⟨frag. 6.v.1⟩	
	οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α Γ	Μεχείρ θ	β
	ῥδατος [·?·]	ι	ς
	ολοναυχο. [·?·]		/ η
	εἰς τὰς ταφ. [·?·]	ιβ	γ
5	εἰς τὸ ἀμάρατο[ν·?·]	25 ιγ	γ
	Ὀξορυγίταξ αμοταρι μ	ιδ	β
	βωμοῖς ν	Ῥοδίου γ	
	Πνεφορῶς θεαγὸς δεῖ(πνον) μ	κα Ῥοδίου δ, / κε(ράμια) β	
	λὼψ λ	κξ ῥωρος Πακύ(σιος) δοχῆς	
10	θηγαρον ν	30 Ῥοδίου η, / κε(ράμια) δ	
	φλοιὰ ιε	Φαμενὼ(θ)	ε
	ἐνοίκιν ρν	Ῥοδίου	δ
	ἀκντηταῖς με, / ω,	ς Ῥοδίου	δ
	/ τὸ πᾶν Δ.	ζ Ῥοδίου	δ
15	(ἀφ' ὧν) ἔχομεν ἀρχῶν	35 η Ῥοδίου	δ̄
	γενομέ(νων) τοῦ L γ		
	Θορτᾶις νεδ(ς) σ		
	Πατῦνις Χο() σ̄		
	Πενεγῆρις ρμ		
	Ἀμε(νε)νὺς ρξ		
20	Πανεῦις ργ /		ων.

Apparatus: 7 Pap. βομοῖς

frag. 6.r.2: Year 3 (115 BCE)

1 keramion of wine 3000 dr.; water . . . ; olonauch. . . (?); for the funeral (?) . . . Oxyrhynchite ? . . . 40 dr.; for the altar cakes?: 50 dr.; Pnephoros the image bearer: dinner: 40 dr.; cloak: 30 dr.; (10) *thēgaron*? 50 dr.; bark: 15 dr.; rent on the house, paid to the tax collectors, 45 dr.; making 800 dr., the grand total being 4000 dr.

(15) We have from the magistrates for year 3: Thortais the younger: 200 dr.; Patynis Cho(): 200 dr.; Penegeris: 140 dr.; Ameneus: 160 dr.; Paneyis: 150 dr, making 850 dr.

frag 6.v.1: Mecheir 9–Phamenoth 8 (27 Feb–27 Mar 115 BCE)

Mecheir 9: 2 *keramia*; 10th: 6 *keramia*, making 8 (*keramia*); 12th: 3 *keramia*; (25) 13th: 3 *keramia*; 14th: 3 *keramia* and 3 Rhodian (jars); 21st: 4 Rhodian (jars), making 2 *keramia*; 27th: Horos son of Pakusis, for the dinner in his honour?; (30) 8 Rhodian jars, making 4 *keramia*; (month of) Phamenoth: 5 *keramia* and 4 Rhodian (jars); 6th (of Phamenoth): 4 Rhodian (jars); 7th: 4 Rhodian jars; (35) 8th: 4 Rhodian jars.

Notes

frag. 6.r.2

- l. 6: κε(ράμιον), *keramion*. → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [194] note.
- l. 1: οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α Γ: → Frag. 2.r.1.6 note.
- l. 5: εἰς: τὸ ἀμάρατο[v: ἀμάρατον is likely a misspelling of ἀμάρακον (marjoram).
- l. 8: Πνεφορώς θεαγός δεῖ(πνον). Θεαγός is the equivalent of the Egyptian *ỉ3y (n3) ntr.w*, who are the bearers of the sacred animals in procession → Monson 2007, 776–777. Dils (1995) assembles 47 Hieroglyphic, Demotic, Demotic-Greek, and Greek documents mentioning these minor priests.
- l. 9: λῶψ, equivalent to χλαμύς, a short mantle or cloak.
- l. 12: ἐνοίκιν, perhaps ἐνοίκιον, rent on a house.
- l. 13: ἀντηταῖς, “collectors of money taxes.” For αἰτητής → BGU I 342.3 (Karanis, 184 CE); P.Oxy. IV 788.2 (Oxyrhynchus, I BCE).
- l. 16: L γ. Presumably 115 BCE.

frag. 6.v.1

- l. 28: Ῥοδίου δ, / κε(ράμια) β. This establishes the size of a Rhodian jar at 1/2 *keramion*, or 4.91 litres.

⟨frag. 6,v,2⟩

ι Ῥοδίου	η
ια Ῥοδίου	ς

⟨frag. 7,v,2⟩

1	Ἐπὶ κζ. οἴνου κερ(άμιον) ἀ(νὰ) Γυ στεφάνων ρκε μύρου λιβα(ν) ν
5	ἐπέλ(λ)υχνον λ, / σε τὸ (πᾶν) / Γχε. (ἀφ' ὧν) ἔχομεν ἱεροπο(ν)ίαν β ἀνὰ Γφ, (/ ΓΑ. ὀνόμα[τα·] Ῥονῶφρις [. . .] Ἐριεὺς Πετευ [·?·]
10	αρχ. [.] εὐρις Πετ[.]. ὦν λη. . . [·?·]

frag. 6.v.2: Phamenoth 10–11) (29–30 Mar)

10th: Rhodian (jars): 8; 11th: Rhodian (jars): 6.

frag. 7.v.2: Epeiph 27 (14 Jul)

Epeiph 27. 1 keramion of wine at 3400 dr.; crowns: 125 dr.; perfumed oil: 50 dr.; (5) lamp oil: 30 dr., total: 205 dr., grand total: 3605 dr.

(From which funds) we have 2 managers [ἱεροποῖαν], each (giving) 500 dr., making 1000 dr. Their names: Onnōphris [...] and Herieus son of Peteu[...] (10) chief.euris, Pet[...]ōn ...

Notes

frag. 6.v.2

ll. 1–2: 8 and 6 Rhodian jars (of beer) is equivalent to 39 and 29.5 litres respectively.

frag. 7.v.2

l. 2: κερ(άμιον), keramion. → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [194] note.

l. 2: οἶνου κερ(άμιον) ἄ(νὰ) Ἦν: → Frag. 2.r.1.6 note.

{frag. 8.r.1}

	[·?] ζύτου λόγος.	
	[·?]. οἷων λόγος	
	[·?] τά(λαντα) ἰδ	Γξ
	[·?]. νον	Γψ
5	[·?]τικον τά(λαντον) α	
	[·?]ἰς Πετεμού(νιος) χ	
	[·?] ἰδ Πατῶνις μέ(γας) ρη()φλε	
	[·?] φύλακος φ,	ιβ
	[·?]ταις	σμ
10	[·?] ιβ μάχιμος	σ
	[·?·μάχ]ιμος	σ
	[·?] ιε μάχιμος	σ
	[·?·μά]χιμος	σ
	[·?] ιθ μ[ά]χ[ιμος]	σ
15	[·?].	
	[·?]	ρι
	[Πετεσοῦ]χος θεὸ[ς]	
	σεπνημα[.]ν	
	[·?·Παχῶ]ν ιε	Αχμ

{frag. 8.r.2}

	Παχῶν ις	
20	μάχιμος	σ
	Παχῶν κβ ὁμοίως	σ
	Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ	[·?·]
	Παχῶν κθ μάχιμος	[·?·]
	Παῶνι ιε μάχιμος	[·?·]
25	ναύλια ἱγ[· . ·?·]	
	κθ μάχιμος	σ
	Ἐπῆπ ιε μάχιμος	[·?·]
	λήκυθον η.	[·?·]
	Πακῶσις π	
30	/ τά(λαντ) < >	ΒψϜ,
	/ τά(λαντα) ἰς χ[ι(?), (?)]	
	/ τὸ (πᾶν) τά(λαντα) ἰς	Γν,
	λο(ιπαί). . . [·.]	Βχ,
	τά(λαντα) ιη.	
35	Ἐπῆπ. [·?·]	

Apparatus: 28 Pap. λήκυθον

frag. 8.r.1: Pachon 14–15 (June 1–2)

... account of beer. Account of ogōn. ... 14 talents, 3,200 dr.;non 3,600 dr. (5) ... tikon 1 talent; ... is son of Petemounis 600 dr.;

...14th [of the month,] Patynis the elder, rhē. . . : 535 dr.; a watchman 500 dr.

12; ...tais 240 dr. (10) ...12th [of the month]: fee for an armed guard 200 dr.; . . . armed guard: 200 dr.; ... 15th [of the month]: fee for an armed guard 200 dr.; ...fee for an armed guard 200 dr.; ...19th [of the month] fee for an armed guard 200 dr.; (15) ...ri; Petesouchos god for a memorial (?)

Pachon 15th: 1640 dr.

frag. 8, r.2: Pachon 16–Epeiph 15 (3 Jun–23 Jul)

Pachon 16.

(20) fee for an armed guard; 200 dr.; Pachon 22, likewise 200 dr.; Petesouchos god . . . Pachon 29, an armed guard...[. . .]; Pauni 15: an armed guard...[. . .]; (25) freight charges: 13 ...; (Pauni) 29th: armed guard 200 dr.; Epeiph 15: armed guard [. . .]; oil flask 8...; Pakysis 80 dr.; (30) making (?) talent, 2,790 dr.; making 16 talents, 610 (?) dr.; grand total: 17 talents, 3,400 dr. Remaining: ...[.] 2,600 dr.; 18 talents (35) [. . .] Epeiph ...

Notes

frag. 8.r.1

- l. 1: The first line is written in large letters.
- l. 3: [·?] τά(λαντα) ἰδ Γς: The total of 14 talents, 3200 drachmae is far too high to be the costs.
- l. 17: [Πετεσοῦ]χος θεὸς[ς] → *Frag. 8.r.2.22 note*.
- l. 17: σῆπνημα[: The editors suggest that εἰς μνημάτων may have been meant. It is unclear how this entry relates to the rest of the items in this financial account.

frag. 8.r.2

- l. 22: Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ. The cult of the crocodile god, Sobek (also known as Souchos, Soknebtunis, and Petesouchos) is widely attested in the Arsinoite nome. There was a temple to Petesouchos in Kerkeosiris. → Crawford 1971, 87, 99–102.
- l. 31: / τά(λαντα) ις χ[ι(?), (?)]: If ll.31–34 are to be read to indicate that the group possessed or spent 16–18 talents, these sums are far higher than any other figures and we know that members did not contribute enough at meetings for such sums to accumulate quickly. In fact, the subscription payments just barely covered the cost of banquets and in the following fragment it seems as though some members contributed material items in lieu of subscription – a situation we should not expect from a group that possessed upwards of 18 talents. It is unclear, therefore, where or how this club would come into the possession of 18 talents and, likely, where they spent it (since it is absent from the club's other records). Perhaps the references to 16–18 talents are actually references to the dates (16th and 18th) when the sums were recorded rather than the sums themselves. If the numbers represent actual sums, the numbers do not add up.

frag. 9.r.2>

Ἐπὶ λ χα(λκοῦ) τά(λαντον) α

Ἀ,

Τράλ(λ)ις ἄμην Ας,

Θέων κιτῶν γυ(ναικεῖος) τν,

Θορταί(ς) μέ(γας) πο() υ, //

τά(λαντον) α]]

5 ὁμοίως χα(λκοῦ) ν, / τά(λαντον)

α Γ

ὁμοίως οψε Αψξ,

Ἔωρος Πνε(φερῶτος) ρς .της υν,

/ Βσι,

/ τὸ (πᾶν) τά(λαντον) ἄ(νᾶ) Εσι,

λο(ιπὸν) τά(λαντον) ἄ(νᾶ) Αχ.

<traces 4 lines>

frag. 9.v.2>

Παῦνι ιθ κερ(άμιον) α Γ[. ·?·]

15 ἐν Λυσανίου, (ῶν) ἔχει γυνή

ΑψϞ //

— —

Ἐπὲπ λ Ἔωρος Πνε(φερῶτος). [.

. .]

ἡμικαδίου α [·?·]

λο(ιπὸν) τά(λαντ) < > Γχ, (ἀφ'

ῶν) Μεσορῇ [·?·]

20 Δ,

λο(ιπὸν) τά(λαντ) < > Εχ /

τά(λαντα) β Γχ.

(ἀφ' ὧν) Μεσορῇ κε τά(λαντον)

α Α[. . . ·?·]

(ἀφ' ὧν) Μεσορῇ λ τά(λαντον) α

[·?·]

ἐπιτόκου παρὰ. [·?·]

25 παρὰ Πετάλου ευ[·?·]

παρὰ Ἀρμύς[ιος·?·]

καὶ Πομοῦς. [·?·]

<unintelligible> ἔχω παρα.

οϣ[·?·]

καὶ Πομοῦς χα(λκοῦ) [·?·]

30 λόγος ἀπὸ Ἐπὲπ ἕως [·?·] α[·?·]

<traces of 2 lines>

frag. 9.r.2: Epeiph 30 (16 Aug)

30th of Epeiph. 1 copper talent, 1000 dr.; Trallis a shovel valued at 1,200 dr.; Theōn, a woman's tunic (κιτῶν) valued at 350 dr.; Thortais the elder, po... 400 [[it came to 1 talent]] (5) likewise, 5 copper dr., it came to 1 talent, 3,000 dr.; likewise ...1,760 dr.; Hōros son of Pnephorōs ... 450 dr., total: 2,210 dr.; it all came to 1 talent, 5,210 dr.; remaining: 1,600 dr.; traces of 4 lines

frag. 9, v.2: Pauni 19–Mesorē 30 (7 Jul–15 Sept)

Pauni 19: 1 keramion ... 3[. . . dr.] (15) at (the house of) Lysanias. (From which funds) his wife (?), making 1,790 dr.

Epeiph 30. Hōros son of Pnephorōs. ..., one half of a *kados*, remaining, ? talent(s), 3,600 dr. (From which funds) on [. . .] Mesorē (20): 4,000 dr.; remaining: 1 talent 5,600 dr., making 2 talents, 3,600 dr.

Mesorē 25: 1 talent ... 30th of Mesorē, 1 talent ... interest from ... (25)
 from Petalos ... from Harmiysis... and Pomous...I have (received)
 from... and Pomous copper ... (30) account from Epeiph until... <traces
 of 2 lines>

Notes

frag. 9.r.2

- ll. 2–3: The editors say the following regarding lines 2–3: “It is not clear what these entries signify. Perhaps in lieu of money the subscribers gave these articles, valued at the stated amounts.”

frag. 9.v.2

- l. 2: κεράμιον, *keramion*. → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [194] note.
 l. 17: ἡμικαδίου: a *kados* is a jar for holding liquids.

<frag. 10.r>

L (?) δ' Ἀθὺρ β
 ἐν τῷ βομῷ
 οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α Γυ
 καὶ ἐν τῷ εργευτιγῷ
 5 οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α Γυ /
 τά(λαντον) α ω.
 ἀνάλωμα·
 στεφάνους ρλ
 μύρου ξ
 ἀλευρητικῶν π
 10 λύχνων εἰς τοὺς βομοὺς ρ, / το,
 / τὸ (πᾶν) τ(άλαντον) α Αρο.

<frag. 10.v>

Ψεναμοῦνις ἀρχαίου ρπ, Καγῶς
 ῥη() ν, / σλ
 Ἄρμιῦσις μέ(γας) ἀρχαίου ρξε,
 βομοῖς επαγε. [·?·]
 Καγῶς ῥη() ν, / Ατπ.
 15 Σιλοῦς ἀρχαίου ριε, βομοῖς σμε,
 Καγῶς ρη() [σιε, / φοε,]
 (ῶν(?)) Χ[ο]ίακ κα υ, λο(ιπαὶ)
 ροε. //
 [Εὐδ]ημος Ἀθὺρ α τοῦ.
 συ(μβολή) κε, βομοῖς [·?·]
 [·?·]ομοίως. [·] ρμ, λο(ιπαὶ) ρμ.
 [· . .]ις μέ(γας) ἀ[ρχα]ίου ?ε,
 Καγῶς ν, / ρμε. . [·?·]
 20 [Πα]νεῦσις ἀρ[χα]ίου λόγου τμ,
 βομοῖς.. . . [·?·]
 [Θ]ορταῖς νεδ(ς) ἀρχαίου σ,
 βομοῖς traces
 [·?·]ογῶς ἀρχ[αίο]ν σλ traces
 [Θ]έων ἀρχα[ίου] ρ, Καγῶς ρη()
 ν, / ρν [·?·]

Apparatus: 2 Pap. βομῷ || 10 Pap. βομοὺς || 13 Pap. βομοὺς || 15 Pap. βομοὺς || 17
 Pap. βομοὺς || 20 Pap. βομοὺς || 21 Pap. βομοὺς

frag. 11.v.2>

- Πομβᾶς ἀκρ>χαίου σλε, βωμοῖς
σ[με·?·]
(ἀφ' ὧν) ἔχω Χοίακ κ χε.
Καγῶς ἀρχαίου σε, βωμοῖς σμε,
/
υν.
[. . .] . . . λλιπ. . ἀρχαίου σλε,
βω[μοῖς σμε, Καγῶς ῥη() ν, /
φλ,]
5 (ὧν) ἔχω Χοίακ κα τ, λο(ιπαί)
σλ. ενο. . [·?·]
Νααρῶς βωμοῖς σμε, Καγῶς ῥη(
) σλε, [·?·]
Πετεσοῦ(χος) μέ(γας) Αυ?, (ὧν)
ρπ, λο(ιπαί) Ατι, ἱλιακοῖς [·?·]
ῥΩρος Γλυ() Γυνε.
Πατῦνις Χο() βωμοῖς [β. .] σιε,
(ἀφ' ὧν) νε, λο(ιπαί) ρξ.
10 νις τι. //
Τεραῦς ν. . . .
Ὁξυρυγχι() σν // λο(ιπαί).
Σενθεῦς. . .
κοινοῦ ὑπὲρ Ἀρμιύσ[ιος] νέο(υ)
Αρ
15 καὶ Ψενεθώ(τ) γ
Μαρης Θέ(ωνος) ρλ.

frag. 12.r.2>

- Τεραῦς Ἀ: Μεχειρ ιβ ρ, λ ρ,
Φ[αμενώθ. σ, Φαρμουῖθι]
κξ ρ, / φ, Παχών ις ρ, / χ, Παῦνι
ις α[. . ·?·]
τὰ Πετεσοῦχου Α · Μεχειρ λ ρ,
Πα[χών·?·]
(ἀφ' ὧν) Μεσορή κη κε, / τοε
5 Μαρης Θέ(ωνος) Β: Μεχειρ λ τ,
Φαμε[νώθ·?·]
Παχών ις τ, / ωξ, καθ σ, / Αξ.,
[·?·]
διὰ Μεστασύτμις ἀδελφοῦ μου.
[·?·]
Ὀνώφρις Ὁξυ() Β · Μεχειρ ιβ
σ, λ σ, [Φαμενώθ. υε,]
Φαρμουῖθι κξ σλε, / Αμ, Παχῶ[ν
ις ρξ, Παῦνι ις]
10 ρξ, / Ατξ, λο(ιπαί) χμ, αἱ δὲ ρλ /
ψ[ο.]
Ὀνώφρις Γλυ(): Μεχειρ ιβ σ, λ
σ, Φ[αμενώθ·?·]
διὰ Μάρωνος φ, / ρ, Φαρμουῖθι
κξ [·?·]
/ Βρε, δι' Ἀρμιύσις σ / Βτε, λ.
[·?·]
ῥλε, (ἀφ' ὧν) Μεσορή κη υκε,
λο(ιπαί) φ[ι.]

Apparatus: 12.7 Pap. ἀδελφός

Notes

frag. 11.v.2

1. 7: ἱλιακοῖς → frag. 4.v.2.11 note.

frag. 12.v.1>

- 15 [Απῦγχις] Ἀρ() ῥη() ρ, ῥΩρος
Πνε(φερωτός) ῥη() ν, / ρν,
[·?·]. , ῥΩρος Πνε(φερωτός) ῥη(
) ν, / ρ, / τεκε,
[·?·]ν γυ() παλαιὸν τκ [τ.], λ π,
[Απῦγ]χις Ἀρ() ῥη() ν, ῥΩρος

frag. 12.v.2>

- 26a Ἀπῦγχις [·?·]
Πενεγῆρις ῥλε, Ἐπῆ[π. . .]
(ἀφ' ὧν) Μεσορή ιδ σι, λο(ιπαί)
ῥλε [·?·]
/ Ἀι.
Ὀνώφρις Γλυ() Ἀπε. Ἐπῆπ. [. .

- Πνε(φερῶτος) ῥη() ν, / ρ,
 [·?·] ιδ̄ τι, λο(ιται) φι. // 30 λ̄ ὤρος Πνε(φερῶτος) ῥη() ν /
 20 [Απῶ]γγις Ἀρ() ῥη() ν, ὤρος ρξ, / Ασμε [. . .]
 Πνε(φερῶτος). . . λο(ιται) χμε, ζύ(του) ι, / χνε,
 [·?·]. υ, λο(ιται) φμ, (ἀφ' ὧν) Πενε[γῆρις?]
 Μεσορή κβ ζύ(του) ι / ψο (ἀφ' ὧν) Μεσορή
 [·?·] κε α[. . .]
 [·?·] Ἐπῆπ ιγ Ἀπῶγγις Ἀρ() ν, / Ψενεθῶτης φπε. Ἐπῆπ. [·?·]
 υε, λ̄ ὤρος Πνε(φερῶτος) ῥη() ν, /
 ρν, / ψλ[ε, (ἀφ' ὧν)·?·]
 35 / τ, λο(ιται) υλε.

*Notes**frag. 12.v.1*

(15) Apynchis son of Har(miysis) rhē. . . 100 dr.; Hōros son of Pnephorōs rhē. . . 50 dr.; total: 150 dr. . . . Hōros son of Pnephorōs rhē. . . 50 dr., total 100 dr., making 325 dr.

... old: 320 dr. [[300]], 30th: 80 dr.,

Apynchis son of Har(miysis) rhē . . . : 50 dr., Horos son of Pnephorōs rhē. . . : 50 dr., making 100 dr.

14th of . . . : 380 dr., remaining, 510 dr., making . . .

(20) Apynchis son of Har(miysis) rhē. . . : 50 dr., Hōros son of Pnephorōs 400 dr., remaining, 540 dr. (From which total) on Mesorē 22. . .

Epeiph 13: Apynchis son of Har(miysis): 50 dr., making: 405 dr..

⟨traces of 1 line⟩

frag. 12.v.2

(26a) Apynchis . . . Penegeris 965, ?? of Epeiph . . . (From which total) on Mesorē 14: 210 dr., remaining: 905 dr. . . , making 1,010 dr.

Onophris son of Gly() 1,085 dr.. Epeiph . . . (30) 30th: Hōros son of Pnephorōs rhē. . . : 50 dr., making 160 dr.: total: 1245 dr. . . remaining, 645 dr. Beer: 10, making 655 dr., Penegeris . . . beer 10, making: 770 dr., (from which total) on Mesorē 25 . . . Psenethōtēs 585 dr. Epeiph . . . 30th: Hōros son of Pnephorōs rhē. . . : 50 dr., making 150 dr., total: 735 dr. (35) . . . total: 300 dr., remaining 435 dr.

*Notes**frag 12.v.2*

- ll. 31–32: ζύ(του) ι, / χνε, Πενε[γῆρις?] | ζύ(του) ι / ψο . The figures following “beer” cannot be the number of Rhodian jars, since elsewhere the cost of a Rhodian jar is about 300 dr. (→ frag. 5.v.1.13)

Comments

Private religious groups across the ancient Mediterranean kept track of the way their members participated in gatherings. They did so by maintaining group

accounts or “meeting minutes” that record attendance, financial contributions, services, group expenses, and more. Some of the groups updated their accounts after each meeting. Many of the surviving documents fitting this genre come from Egypt, and P.Tebt III/2 894 (Tebtynis) is the longest and most detailed of all.

This papyrus was used by an Egyptian religious group around 114 BCE. It was later thrown away only to be found some 50 years later by inhabitants of the region who reused it with many others to create part of a cartonnage for a mummy case or mask. It was in this form when Grenfell and Hunt discovered it in 1900 along with many other papyrus fragments that made up fifty mummies. Only 12 fragments of the account have been published so far from what was a narrow roll. The editors, Grenfell, Hunt, Smyly, and Edgar, deemed the remaining pieces “too monotonous” for inclusion in the original publication, though these unpublished fragments now deserve reassessment by scholars of early Christianity.

The published fragments record the dates of at least forty-one meetings held by the group – and information about many undated meetings. For some records there is a wealth of information including a note of where the group assembled that week, the total number of attendees, and items purchased (fr. 2, ll. 1–22); other records mention as little as a reference to a contribution of one attendee (fr. 8, ll. 19–20). The group could expect between twenty and twenty-five attendees when it assembled: in the first fragment, 23 members are listed before the papyrus breaks off (fr. 1, ll. 1–22); elsewhere, the group records total attendance numbers of twenty-two (fr. 2, ll. 3–5), and still elsewhere twenty (fr. 2, ll. 44). The contents of the papyrus reveal that this was a cultic group who met to dine in the houses of its members and also to sacrifice at nearby altars.

We have included two particularly illuminating fragments here. Frag. 2 *recto* 1 provides an intriguing window in the social configuration of this group and the nature of their meetings. We see, for instance, that over 20 members have met on the occasion under question and 22 have contributed either money or material items to the association. One of the contributors is considered a guest, but two others are singled out as exempt from dues. The meeting, which perhaps took place at the home of a certain Menoutos, required 1 keramion (9.72–12.96 litres) of wine, cabbage, and a lamp. This group is quite diligent in their accounting, for we observe that the figures in ll. 6–9 are correctly calculated to equal that in l. 10, and the breakdown of contributions of individual members in ll. 16–21 equals the overall monthly collection in l. 14. In the second passage, the fragmentary nature of this papyrus really comes to light, for many key words are incomplete or missing. Here again, we learn details of another of the group’s meetings: they have 1 keramion of wine (this time it costs less: 3400 drachmae), crowns, and perfume. Their math, once again, adds up the costs accurately. We also see two figures who are specially designated as “managers,” who are responsible for contributing 50 drachmae each.”

The account for Pauni 18 (early July) (frags. 1.r.2; 1.r.3) indicates at least 25 members (some are evidently missing in the lacuna) and an expenditure on beer of one talent. At the price for beer stated in frag. 5.v.2 of 300 dr./Rhodian jar (4.9 litres), this would imply the purchase of 20 Rhodian jars, the equivalent of 30 *chous*. This seems generally consistent with P.Mich. V 245.35 which indicates that each attendee at a banquet is entitled to one *chous* of beer (3.25 litres).

There appear to be two different classes of contributions: one to support the monthly (?) dinner, or 100 dr per diner (200 for a guest); and a second form of contribution listed in frag. 1.r.2, ranging from 100–300 dr. and netting over 8000 dr. to the club's treasury. The second form of donation seems to have been necessary, given the cost of beer for 20–25 diners (6000 dr. in *frag.* 1.r.3; 4000 dr. in *frag.* 2.r.1.6).

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 2009. "Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary." In *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, 179–93. New York: Oxford University Press; Crawford, Dorothy J. 1971. *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*. Cambridge classical studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Dils, Peter 1995. "Les *t3j* (n3) ntr.w ou *θεαγοί*. Fonction religieuse et place dans la vie civile." In *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 95:153–171; Gonis, Nikolaos 2009. "Abbreviations and Symbols." In *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, 170–178. New York: Oxford University Press; Last, Richard, and Sarah Rollens 2014. "Accounting Practices in P.Tebt. III/2 894 and Pauline Groups." In *EC* 5(4):441–474; Maresch, Klaus 1996. *Bronze und Silber: Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Colonensia 25. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag; Monson, Andrew. 2007. "Religious Associations and Temples in Ptolemaic Tebtunis." In *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st-7th of August 2004*, ed. Jaakko Frösén, Tiina Puroila, and Erja Salmenkivi, 2:769–79. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Westermann, William L. 1932. "Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt." In *JEA* 18:16–27. SER/RL/JSK

[195] P.Tebt. I 118
A Club Account

Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris (Arsinoites)

112/111 BCE

Published: Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and J. Gilbert Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I, University of California publications. Graeco-Roman archaeology 1; Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 4 (London: H. Frowde; New York: Oxford University Press, 1902) 491–492 (no. 118); Sel.Pap. I 185 [TM 3754; CAPIInv 1213]

Current location: Berkeley, Bancroft Library Crocodile 23.12

Similar or related documents: *Club Accounts*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPIInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias? 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (unknown; II/III CE).

Single sheet of papyrus, *recto* 22 × 23 cm.; *verso* blank, from cartonnage. Account concerning a dining-club, listing expenses made on various days.

<col. i>

±?

<col. ii>

Ἀθὺρ ιζ περιδ'εἰπνου Καλατύτιος

[ο]ἴνου (ἐξά)χ(ου) α B, ἄρτω(ν) δ'εἰπνου ς ρϞ,

/ BρϞ. εἰσὶν ἄνδρες κβ (ὦν)

σύνδει(πνοι) ιη ξένοι δ, ὦν T. . . [. . .]

5 Νουμηνίου, Καμῆς Ἀρφαήσιος,

Τεῶς Πετεχῶντος,

Παπνεβτῦνις Σοκέως, / δ.

/ κβ ἀνὰ ρ Bσ, ἐν οἴκο(νόμῳ)

[. . .]

κ. οἴνου (ἐξά)χ(ου) α B, στεφάνου ρκ, /

B[ρκ].

10 εἰσὶν ἄνδρες σύνδει(πνοι) ιη καὶ [. . .]

Νεφορηγῆς Κερα() καὶ Σεν[.]

καὶ ξένοι Μαρρης Πετ[.]

Πετεσοῦχος Μέλανο(ς), Χαιρή(μων) Δι[. . . .]

/ κγ ἀνὰ ρ Bτ [±?]

15 ἐν οἴκο(νόμῳ)

ρπ.

Τῷβι κε. οἴνου κε(ραμίου) α B, στ[εφάνου. . . / . . .]

εἰσὶν ἄνδρες κα ἀνὰ ρ [Bρ,]

ὕπερ ἀνη(λώματος) κ. [±?]

col. iii

±?

Apparatus: 4 Pap. ξένους || 5 Pap. Νομήνιος || 7 Pap. Παπνεβτόνιος || 12 Pap. ξένους|

Hathyr 17 (expenses) for the funeral feast (*perideipnon*) of Kalatyti: 1 6-*(choes* jar of wine): 2000 dr.; 6 loaves of bread for dinner: 190 dr., making 2190 dr. There are 22 men, of whom 18 were (member) diners (*syndeipnoi*) and 4 were guests, namely, T. . .[. . .] son of (5) Noumenios, Kam ēs son of Harphaēsis, Teos son of Petechon, Papnebtynis son of Sokeus, making 4. Total 22 at 100 dr., 2200 dr. (Surplus) with the treasurer (?) . . .

(Choiak?) 2: 1 6-*(choes* jar of wine): 2000 dr., a wreath costing 120 dr., making 2120 dr. (10). There are 18 (member) diners (*syndeipnoi*), and [. . .]: Nephoreges son of Kera() and Sen[. . . son of N.N.] and as guests. Marres son of Pet[. . .], Petesouchos son of Melas, Chairemon son of Di[. . .], making 23 at 100 dr., 2300 dr. [. . .] (Surplus) with the treasurer: 180 dr.

Tybi 25. 1 keramion of wine: 2000 dr., a wr[eath costing . . . dr.]; There are 21 men each contributing 100 dr., (making) [2100 dr.]; expenses in excess: 20 dr. [. . .]

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδαιπνοι; leadership terms: treasurer (οἰκονόμος); banquets (funeral banquet?); tally of members and guests at each banquet.

Location: Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287 (Tebtynis) or 1057 (Kerkeosiris); Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

col. ii:

I. 1: Ἀθὺρ ιζ περιδ(ε)ῖπνου Καλατύτιος. See also a fragmentary and not fully published account, P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE), reporting the costs of a περιδ(ε)ῖπνον in which ξένοι are present and a κέραμιον is priced at 2400 and 2300 dr. See also P.Ryl. IV 589.68–69 [TM 65627] (Philadelphia, 180 BCE): the payment for the περ[ι]δ(ε)ῖπνου τῆς Ἑστιεί[ο]υ | ἀδελφῆς πζ, “*perideipnon* of the sister of Hestieios, 87 (dr.).”

I. 2: ἑξά(χ)ου α': 6 *chous* or 19.5 litres.

I. 2: 2000 dr. in devalued copper currency, equivalent to 4.166 (AE) drachmae.

II. 8, 15: ἐν οἰκ(ν)όμῳ. → Edgar 1925 (BL II 169). Since there is a sum to the right, and since the sum in I. 15 seems to record a surplus, the abbreviation οἰκο seems to stand for οἰκονόμος.

I. 9: κ. The month is apparently missing. Westermann (1932, 21) suggests Hathyr, but that would mean 2 meetings in one month, and then a hiatus of more than two months before the next meeting in Tybi. It would seem more likely that the missing month is Choiak.

I. 14: κγ ἀνὰ ρ Βτ : In 112/11 BCE, the equivalent silver value of 100 (AE) dr. is 0.208 silver drachmae.

- l. 16: οἶνου κε(ραμίου). → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2r1.6 [194] *note*.
 l. 18: ὑπὲρ ἀνη(λώματος) κ. [±?]. If the cost of the wreath is the same as in l. 9 (120 dr.), the club would have overspent by 20 dr.

Comments

The simplicity of this account disguises an important dynamic of associative life: in order to fund a banquet, a funding threshold had to be reached. That threshold was controlled mainly by the price of wine or beer, which in this case was 2000 dr. for a 6-*chous* jar, containing about 19.5 litres. Since presumably one could not buy beer in smaller fractions of a 6-*chous* jar, it was essential to reach the threshold that could produce the necessary income. This meant, in this case, 22 members, or fewer members and a sufficient number of paying guests to achieve 22–23 diners.

The financial exigency connected with dining helps to put into perspective the regulation, seen in some association bylaws, requiring attendance and fining those who failed to attend and who could not supply an acceptable excuse for absence.

Westermann (1932, 22) provided a useful tabular summary of expenses and income:

Meeting of Hathyr 17			
Expenditures			
on wine			2000 dr.
on bread			190 dr.
<i>Income</i>			
Members present,	18		
Guests present,	4		
Total	22	at 100 dr.	2200 dr.
Surplus placed in the treasury			10 dr.

Meeting of [Choiak] 20			
Expenditures			
on wine			2000 dr.
on a wreath			120 dr.
<i>Income</i>			
Members present,	18		
Guests present,	5		
Total 23		at 100 dr	2300 dr.
Surplus placed in the treasury			180 dr.

Meeting of Tybi 25			
Expenditures			
on wine			2000 dr.
on a wreath			120 dr.
<i>Income</i>			
Members present, 21		at 100 dr.	2100 dr.
Over-expenditure			(20 dr.)

To put these costs into perspective, we might compare the cost of subsistence in the late second century BCE. According to Reekmans (1951, 112), between 130–128 and 30 BCE the copper drachma was worth 1/480th of a silver drachma. The cost of wheat during the period 118 – 97 BCE ranged from 800–1800 AE dr. per artaba, the mode being 1200 AE dr. This meant that yearly subsistence costs for 8.25 artabae would be about 9900 AE dr. (= 20.625 AR dr.). The yearly contributions for members of this guild was 1200 ar dr. yearly (assuming monthly meetings), or the equivalent of 2.5 AR dr. yearly, or a little more than one-tenth of subsistence costs.

Literature: Edgar, C.C. 1925. "Records of a Village Club." In *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso (1844–1925)*. Pubblicazioni di "Aegyptus". Serie scientifica 3, 369–76. Milano: Aegyptus (BL II 169); Reekmans, Tony 1951. "The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation." In *Ptolemaica*, E. van 'T Dack and Tony Reekmans. *Studia Hellenistica* 7, 61–118. Leiden: Brill; Louvain: Nauwelaerts; Westermann, William L. 1932. "Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt." In *JEA* 18:16–27.

[196] P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* A Club Account

Kerkeosiris? (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 19 Sept 109 – 18 Sept 108 BCE
Published: Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and J.G. Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, University of California publications; Graeco-Roman archaeology 1; Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 4 (London: H. Frowde; New York: Oxford University Press, 1902) 532 (no. 224) [TM 3857]

Current location: Berkeley, Bancroft Library Crocodile 23.28

Digital image: <http://www.papyri.info/ddbdp/p.tebt;1;224>

Similar or related documents: → *Club Accounts*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias? 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (unknown; II/III CE).

Papyri fragments. Height: 22 cm., containing two complete columns and part of two other columns. The *verso* (not printed here) contains an account of payments. Separate accounts written in one column are separated by horizontal lines.

recto

⟨col. i⟩

⟨col. ii⟩

Τῦβι ιγ οἶνου κε(ραμίου) α Β

ἄρτων β μ, / Βυ. εἰς⟨ιν⟩ ἄνδρες ιθλ ἀν(ἀ) ρε

Βμε

⟨the names of 12 men follow⟩

00 / ιβ (ὄν) ἀφέσιμο(ι) γ λο(ιποὶ) θ

⟨col. iii⟩

00 ξένοι

⟨list of 8 guests⟩

00 οἶνο(υ) χ(όεζ) ς Βρ

r.ii.2 Pap. ἄρτωνου

⟨col. i⟩

⟨col. ii⟩

Tybi 13: 1 keramion of wine: 2000 dr.; 2 (loaves) of bread: 40 dr., making 2400. There are 19½ men at 105 each: 2045 (dr). ⟨list of 12 men, 3 marked with a stroke⟩

Making 12, of which 3 are dues exempt; the remaining: 9.

⟨col. iii⟩

guests

⟨list of 8 guests⟩

00 6 *choes* of wine: 2100 dr.*Notes*

Association? Possible; probably banquets (and a list of expenses); members who pay dues (+ dues exempt people); very similar in form to **195**.

Location: Kerkeosiris (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1057; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

ii. 2: εἰς⟨ιν⟩ ἄνδρες ιθλ ἀν(ἀ) ρε Βμε, there are 19½ men, each paying 105 dr., making 2045 (dr.). The notation is odd, but the mathematics is (almost) correct: 19.5×105 is 2047.5. The entry appears to mean that one member paid only 55 dr. of the expected fee (105 dr.), resulting in a shortfall of 45 dr.

ii. 00: ιβ (ὄν) ἀφέσιμο(ι) γ λο(ιποὶ) θ: The term ἀφέσιμος also appears in P.Köln VII 313.11–13 (Oxyrhynchus, 186 BCE), but its sense is unclear. In P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* it must mean “exempt from contributions.”

Comments

The *recto* of the account is similar in structure to P.Tebt. I 118 [195] and records the costs of two banquets, one costing 2400 dr. in debased Ptolemaic copper

currency), and a second costing at least 2100 dr. (the cost of bread is not preserved). While the cost of the first banquet is said to be 2400 dr., the total of wine and bread is only 2040 dr., while the income is said to be 2045 dr. One suspects a recording mistake, especially because otherwise there is 360 dr. that is unaccounted and there is no indication of a lacuna. The sum of 2045 dr. appears to reflect a partial payment of 55 dr. instead of the expected 105 dr.

As with P.Tebt. I 118, the names of the 12 member-attendees are listed (though they were not transcribed in the 1902 publication), as well as the names of the 8 guests (also not transcribed). Assuming that 2400 dr. is an error for 2040 dr., and that the names in cols. ii and iii are for the same banquet, the income and expenses almost balance, even with three members being designated as dues-exempt. If, however, 2400 dr. is correct, the banquet for Tybi 13 has recorded a deficit.

If we can infer from the practices of P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] and P.Tebt. I 118 [195], the eight guests in col. iii were expected to contribute along with the twelve members (three of whom, however, were dues-exempt). This would still leave a shortfall, since only 17 persons, each paying 105 dr., would yield 1785 dr. One is tempted to connect P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* with another Tebtynis papyrus from the same period, P.Tebt. I 226 (Kerkeosiris, late II BCE):

00 ζημίαι
00 ἀφέμα(τος(?)) ξέ(νων) η ἀν(ά) ε μ

losses

(cost) of remission: 8 guests, each 5 dr., making 40.

Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly report that this papyrus was also an account with ζημίαι followed by a list of names and amounts of copper drachmae. They also connect the phrase ἀφέμα(τος(?)) ξέ(νων) η ἀν(ά) ε μ to P.Tebt. I 228 *recto*, inviting the speculation that the 8 guests of the latter papyrus were allowed a reduction of contributions from 105 to 100 dr. This would have resulted in a shortfall of 300 dr. As San Nicolò observes (1972, 2:167 n.2) the shortfall caused by due-exempt members and, we can add, the reduction of contributions of guests, would have had to be made up by others.

Literature: San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht.* 2. Aufl. mit Nachtragen von Johannes Herrmann. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck.

[197] SB III 6319

A Club Account

Magdôla (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

99–30 BCE

Published: Henri Sottas, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1921) 70–77 (no. 29b) (SB III 6319); Pierre Jouguet, “Rapport sur deux missions au Fayôum,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 46 (1902) 346–359, pp. 350–351 (lines 49–58) (SB I 5627); Reinhold Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 1 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990) 1:342–351 (no. 92); BL X 146 [TM 7209; CAPIInv 777]

Current location: Lille, Université Charles de Gaulle - Lille III P., number unknown.

Incompletely preserved papyrus, 31 × 71 cm. From cartonnage found in the crocodile cemetery of Medinet Nehas.

recto

⟨col. i⟩

⟨hand 1⟩

Πετεσοῦχος Παμίνιος ⲡⲃⲱ
 [Κ]αλῆς Πετερμοῦτις ⲡⲃⲧ
 [Ψενή]σιος Παγῶνος ⲡⲃⲩ
 [. . .]εῖς ⲡⲃⲪ
 5 [Πανῆσι]ς Ἀτρῆς ⲡⲃⲪ
 [Π]αμίνιος ⲡⲃⲫ
 [Π]ετεσοῦχος Πετεσοῦχου ⲡⲃⲫ
 [Ο]ρσενῶφιδι Σουκονῶφιδι ⲡⲃⲫ
 [Ἀρ]μῖώσιος Ἀρμῖώσιος ⲡⲃⲫ
 10 [ῥΩρος] Ψενήσιος ⲡⲃⲱ
 [ῥΩρος Ὀ]ρσεν[ο]ῦφιδι,
 [Καλα]χύεις Χεῶς,
 [Ὀρσε]νῶφιδι
 [±?] ⲡⲃⲱ
 15 [±?] ⲡⲃⲱ
 [±?] ⲡⲃⲱ
 [. . .]..σμι[ι]ς Αἰδῆς,
 [Σουκο]νῶφιδι Ὀρ[σ]ενῶφιδι,
 Μ[. . .] Σουκον[ῶ]φιδι,
 20 Ἀρωγτώεις Γεν[ν]ῶφρις ?,

col. ii

⟨hand 2⟩

Πετεσοῦχος Παπίεν ⲡⲃⲱ
 Καλῆς Πετερμοῦθις ⲡⲃⲧ
 Σαλῆτις Πανῶς ⲡⲃⲕ
 Νιστνῶιδι Πανῆσις ⲡⲃⲪ
 25 [Ι. . .] Σουκονῶπις Ὡρου ⲡⲃⲱ
 Πανῆσι Ἀτρῆς ⲡⲃⲪ
 Πετεσοῦχος Παπίς ⲡⲃⲫ
 Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Πετεσοῦχος,
 Ὀρσενῶφιδι Σουκονῶφιδι ⲡⲃⲫ
 30 Ἀρμῖῶσι Ἀρμῖῶσι ⲡⲃⲫ
 ῥΩρος Φενῆσι ⲡⲃⲫ
 ῥΩρος Ὀρσενοῦ<φ>ιδι ⲡⲃⲱ
 Καλαχύεις Χεῶς,
 Ὀρσενῶιδι Τουτνῆς,
 35 ῥΩρος Ἀτρῆς, / (τάλαντα) ε ⲡⲃⲭ.
 Βελλῆς,
 Ὀρσενῶιδι Ἡρακλῆτις,
 Σουκονῶφιδι Ὀρσενῶφιδι,
 Ὀρος Ὀρσενῶφιδι,
 40 Μανρῆς Μανρῆς,
 Ψενῆσι Παγῶνος,
 / Γτξ.
 ἄγ τις ὕ{ω} μὼν κακῶς ἐρεῖ,

δώσ<ε>ι B.

- 45 όταν τις ὑμῶν βινῇ ἄλλο-
 τρῶϊαν γυναῖκα, δώσ<ε>ι B A.
 όταν τις κυνηγησαν(), B τ.

verso

col. i <hand 1>

- L ς Ἐπὶ π ιε.
 50 ἐπαγγέλλ<ε>ι
 Μάρων· ἐὰν συνανάβωσιν
 οἱ συνθιασῖται πάντες,
 ἐπιδώσω οἴνου [κ]εράμια,
 Ἡρώδης μουσικά,
 55 Ψενήσιος Παγῶνος στε(φάνους)
 μυ(ρίους),
 Σουκμητῖς ἔλαιον ἀλειψανείαι,
 πάντες καὶ εἰς τὸν λύσσονον
 ἔλαιον.

<col. iii>

- 70 Ἐπήπεις ια. στ
 Πετεσο[ῦ]χος Ἀνγῆς,
 Πετεσοῦχου ορ.,
 Πετεσοῦχου B χ,
 Καλῆς ἡμισυ κερά(μιον),
 75 Πανῆσι ἡμίσειαν ἀρτάβης,
 ὦρος παῖς κεράμιον, ἀρτά(βην).

<col. ii> <hand 2>

- [±?] ηνος
 60 Ὀρῶπις ἡμισυ πηγγιον ινος,
 Μοσχῆς ὀθμισμα σύρον,
 Ὀρμιῶσις πέντε κορκο,
 Πετεσοῦχος στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
 Ὀρσενῦφῖς, όταν τέκη, δώσω
 ἡμι(συ) κε(ράμιον), στεφάνο(υς)
 μυ(ρίους),
 65 Πετεσοῦχος ἡμι(συ) κε(ράμιον),
 στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
 Καλαχῆς ἡμι(συ) κερά(μιον),
 στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
 Πανῆσι κερά(μιον) οἶ(νου), B ...,
 στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους)
 Καλῆς κορκο πέν(τε) ,
 Πετεσοῦχου κορκο πέν(τε).

<col. iv>

- Πετεσοῦ[χ]ου,
 Παρμῦθῖς ..ω δύο κε(ράμια)
 Ὀρσενῦφῖς Ὀννώφρῶν
 στε(φάνους) μυ(ρίους),
 80 Ὀρσενῦφῖς ἡμι(συ) κερ[ά]μιον,
 Πανῆσι ἡμίσειαν σίτου ἀρτάβην,
 Ὀρσενῦφῖς ἡμι(συ) κερά(μιον),
 Ψενῆσι ἡμι(συ) κερά(μιον),
 ἀ(ρτάβην),
 Παπιεῖς ηραθηρα στέ(φανον)
 85 Μανρῆς μ^υ(ρίους) στε(φάνους),
 Καλῆς ἡμι(συ) κεράμι(ον),
 ἀ(ρτάβην) [ἄ(?)]ρτου
 Νιστνώεις [. . .]μκ. . .
 . . .ων [.]χν.
 Ἐπῆπις [κ]β ?.
 90 Πετεσαῦχος Ἀνγῆς,
 Πετεσοῦ [B] B,
 Πετεσοῦχο<ς> B χ,

- Καλῆς Ἦ υ,
 Ὑ Ὡρος Ψενῆσι Ἦ φ,
 95 Καλαχῶς Ἦ σ,
 Ἀρμιῶς Καλαχῶς Ἦ σ,
 Γερῆς Ἦ σ,
 / Δρ.
 Καλῆς Κε..σ ἡμί(σειαν) ἀ(ρτάβην)
 100 Ὁρσενῦφς μ(ρίους) στε(φάνους)
 Πανῆσι,
 Ὑ Ὡρος Παη[.]α. . . ἀρτά[βην]

Apparatus: Recto ii.30 Pap. B[.]ρ || Pap. κακῶι || ii.45 Pap. βινῖ || ii.43 Pap. κακῶι || ii.46 Pap. γυνῇ || *Verso* i.50 Pap. ἐπανγγέλειε || i.52 Pap. συνθεασῖτοι || i.53 Pap. ἐπειδῶσω || ii. 60 Pap. ἡμυσον || ii.64 Pap. ἡμυ() || Pap. στεπάνο() || ii.65 Pap. ἡμυ() || ii.66 Pap. ἡμυ() || iii.74 Pap. ἡμυσον || iii.75. l. ἡμίσειαν || iv.78 Pap. δῶω || iv.80 Pap. ἡμυ() || Pap. κερ[ά]μια || iv.81 Pap. σιτον || iv.82 Pap. ἡμυ() || iv.83 Pap. ἡμυ() || iv.856 Pap. ἡμυ() || iv.86 Pap. ἡμυ() || iv.99 Pap. ἡμύ()

⟨*recto, col. i*⟩

Petesouchos son of Paminis, 2800 dr.; Kalēs son of Petermouthis, 2300 dr.; Psensios son of Pagon, 4400 dr.; [. . .]eis 2500 dr.; (5) Pan ēsis son of Atres, 2500 dr.; Paminis, 2100 dr.; Petesouchos son of Petesouchos, 2100 dr.; Orsenouphis son of Soukonophis, 2100 dr.; Harmyosis son of Harmyosis, 2100 dr.; (10) Horos son of Psenēsis, 1800 dr.; Horos son of Orsenophis; Kalachyeis son of Cheis; Orsenuphis; [±?]; (15) [±?]; [±?]; [. . .].smis son of Aides; [Souko]nophis son of Orsenuphis; M[. . .] son of Soukonophis; (20) Harontoeis son of Gennophis

⟨*recto, col. ii hand 2*⟩

Petesouchos son of Papiēs, 2800 dr.; Kalēs son of Petermouthis, 2300 dr.; Salētis son of Panos, ? dr.; Nistnois son of Panēsis, 2500 dr.; (25) [.] Soukonopis son of Horos, 1800 dr.; Panesi(s) son of Atres, 2500 dr.; Petesouchos son of Papiis, 2100 dr.; Petesouchos son of Petesouchos ?; Orsenuphis son of Soukonophis, 2100 dr.; (30) Harmyosi(s) son of Harmyosi(s), 2100 dr.(?); Horos son of Psenēsis, 2100 dr.; Horos son of Orsenuis, 1800 dr.; Kalachyeis son of Cheis,?; Orsenu⟨ph⟩is son of Toutnes; (35) Horos son of Atres, making 5 talents, 3600 dr.; Bell ēs; Orsenuis son of Heraklitis; Soukonophis son of Orsenuphis; Horos son of Orsenuphis; (40) Manres son of Manres; Psenesi(s) son of Pagon; (making) 3360 dr.

If an member speaks ill, he will owe 2000 dr. (45) If a member has illicit intercourse with another member's wife, he will owe 1000 dr. If one hunts (? or: if someone forms a (new) association) (he will owe) 300 dr.

verso

⟨col. i⟩ ⟨in the margin⟩ Her[odēs] ⟨hand 1⟩

Year 6, Epeiph 15: (50) Maron promised: if all of the association members (*synthiasitai*) meet together, I will contribute a keramion of wine. Hērodēs (will contribute) the musical things; (55) Psenesios son of Pagon (will contributed) many crowns; Soukmētis (will bring) oil for anointing, and all will also bring oil for the deficit. Everyone (will bring) oil for the lamp.

⟨col. ii⟩ ⟨hand 2⟩

. . . (60) Horpois, $\frac{1}{2}$ pegion (?). Moschas, Syrian *othmisma* (?); Hormiosis, five crocodiles; Petesouchos, crowns and myrrh; Orsenyphis, if a child is born to him, will give one half a keramion, crowns, myrrh, (65). Petesouchos (will bring) half a keramion, crowns, and myrrh; Kalachyis: half a keramion, crowns and myrrh; Panesi: a keramion of wine, x drachmae, crowns and myrrh; Kalēs, five crocodiles.

⟨col. iii⟩

(70) Epeiph 11. Crowns from Petesouchos son of Agnes; from Petesouchos. . . from Petesouchos 600 drachmae; Kalēs: half a keramion; (75) Panesi: half an ^{artaba}, Horos, a slave: a keramion, artaba.

⟨col. iv⟩

From Petesouchos. Pamythis . . . two keramia; Orsenyphis son of Onnophris: crowns and myrrh; (80) Orsenyphis: half a keramion; Panesi: half an ⟨artaba⟩ of wheat; Orsenyphis: half a keramion; Psenesi: half a keramion, and one artaba; Papieis: ⟨unintelligible⟩ (and) a crown; (85) Manrēs: myrrh and crowns; Kalēs: half a keramion, bread; Nistnoeis Epiph 22: (90) Petesouchos son of Agnes: Petesou. . . 2000; Petesouchos: 600 dr.; Kalēs: 400 dr.; Horos son of Psenesi: 500 dr.; (95) Kalachois: 200 dr.; Harmios son of Kalchyis: 200 dr.; Gereis: 200 dr., Total: 4100 dr. Kalēs son of . . . half an artaba; (100) Orsenyphis: myrrh and crowns; Panesi. Horos son of Pae. . . artaba.

Notes

Association? Probable: probably collective devoted to a deity; associative term: συνθιασῖται; banquets with entertainment.

Location: Magdōla (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1284. Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

II. 45–46: ὅταν τις ὁμῶν βινῇ ἀλλοτρίαν γυναῖκα, δώσει Ἁ. On adultery → P.Cair. 30606 [191] comment.

I. 47: ὅταν τις κυνηγησάν(), Ἁ τ: “(A fine) of 300 dr. if someone hunts” (?). Sottas (1921, 75), commenting on this prohibition, cites P.Berol.dem. 3115 which seems to prohibit hunting bats (→ also Spiegelberg 1899, 36 who suggests that bats were considered unclean). BL X 186: Brashear (1993, 33) offers an emendation, κοινηγῆση: thus “(a fine of) 300 dr. if someone forms a (new) association,” citing P.Lond. VII 2193.14 [199] μη{ι}δ’ ἀπ[ο]χωρή{ι}σε[ιν ἐκ] τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ου]μένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν φράτραν, it shall not be permissible for anyone of them to lead

contingents or to make factions or to leave the brotherhood (*phratra*) of the president for another.”

- l. 53, 74 and passim: κέραμιον, *keramion* → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [194] *note*.
 l. 63: Ὁρσενϥφίς, ὅταν τέκη. Although Orsenyphis is a male name, τέκη < τίκτω mean “to give birth” (→ BGU 1 261.5; P.Oxy. VII 1069.21). Here it must mean “has a child born to him.” Scholl (1990, 1:349) cites P.Assoc. 103–131 (no. Berl. 3115 §3.4–5) [TM 3058], “Those members to whom a male child is born shall give 30 debens.”

Comments

This account resembles the accounts previously printed (194, 195, 196), but it also contains elements of a *nomos*, especially in col. ii. There is some disagreement as to the nature of the association: San Nicolò (1972, 1:208) thinks that this is simply a dining club, while Scholl (1990, 348–349) favours a cultic association dedicated to Sobek. Scholl points to l. 43, κακῶς ἐρεῖ, which he reads as κακιώτερεῖ, “to speak against a priest” and relates this to such rules as P.Cair. 30606 [191] that prohibit the insulting of an ordinary priest. He also argues that the requirement to bring 5 crocodiles (l. 69) likely refers to images of the crocodile god Sobek, and points to a cultic association.

The association seems to have had at least 20 members. Ten of the twenty names from *recto* col. i reappear in col. ii (with 21 names). Since col. ii is written in a different hand than col. i, it is likely that the names and contribution figures for col. ii are for a different meeting. And although there is variation in the levels of contributions, those who are named in both col. i and col. ii contribute identical amounts. Several names in col. i do not reappear in col. ii, and col. ii contains several new names, suggesting that the membership of this group was somewhat fluid. The *recto*, however, indicates that all members made monetary contributions.

The *verso* seems to record special contributions, divided among three days: Epeiph 11, 15, and 22. Several of the members appear to have made special contributions for two of three of these days, although certainty is impeded by the fact that most of the names on the *verso* do not have patronyms. Moreover, many of the contributions are not monetary, but items suitable of a meal: wine, crowns, oil, myrrh and bread. Cols. i and ii of the *verso* are framed as conditionals (ἐὰν ... ἐπιδώσω, δώσω) and appear to refer to promises of future contributions.

Hence, this does not appear to be the case of an *eranos* banquet in which every diner brought his or her own food. It is more likely that while all paid membership fees, some, perhaps officers or yearly magistrates, were required to make additional contributions of food or wine during their year of service (→ e.g., the Testament of Epikteta, IG XIII, 3 330), and others, like Orsenyphis (*verso* col. ii.64) made special contributions to celebrate the birth of a child.

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 2009. “Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary.” In *The*

Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, 179–193. New York: Oxford University Press; **Brashear**, William M. 1993. *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Xenia 34. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag; Brashear, William M. 1993. *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Xenia 34. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag; **Jouguet**, Pierre 1902. “Rapport sur deux missions au Fayôum.” In *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 46:346–359; **San Nicolò**, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck; **Scholl**, Reinhold 1990. *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner; **Sottas**, Henri. 1921. *Papyrus démotiques de Lille*. Paris: Paul Geuthner; **Spiegelberg**, Wilhelm 1899. “Demotische Miscellen.” ZÄS 37:18–46.

[198] I.Fayum III 201

Meeting Place for an Association of former Ephebes

Arsinoites

95 BCE

Published: John P. Mahaffy, “Documents égyptiens,” *BCH* 18 (1894) 145–154, p. 148 (no. 2); Max L. Strack, “Inscripfen aus der Zeit der Ptolemäer,” *AM* 19 (1894) 212–237, 212–213 (no. 1); Max L. Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1897) 265 (no. 142); Dittenberger, *OGIS* I 178; J.G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905) 24 (no. 9201); W.Chr. I 142; Etienne Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. Leiden: Brill; Paris: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1975–1981) III 201 = SB V 8887; SEG 31:1516 [TM 6407; CAPIInv 74]

Limestone stele, 53 × 37 cm. Milne (*Greek Inscriptions*, 24) describes the monument as follows: a stele with rounded top, “the curve occupied by a solar disk with wings. A uraeus hangs down on each side of the disk. Below (left) a crocodile, crowned with a double plume, seated looking to right on a pylon-shaped altar. Facing this on the right is a male figure wearing the royal uraeus and dress, in the attitude of adoration, with a cup in his left hand. Between them stands a table, with a single central leg, with three offerings upon it, and beneath it at either side an amphora and a vase of alabastron shape: over the table is a haunch. Above the crocodile is a blank cartouche, and above the table three rectangular spaces are marked. The work is poor and apparently unfinished: the figures are intended to be in low relief, but the background has only been partially cut away round the outlines: the crocodile alone is worked in full detail.”

ὕπερ βασιλέως Πτολεμα[ίου]
τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεο[ῦ Φι]-

- λομήτορος Σούχῳ θεῷ με[γά]-
 λῳ μεγάλῳ, ὁ τόπος τῶν τὸ L ζ
 5 ἐφηβευκόντων τῆς Ἀσκλη[πι]-
 ἄδου τοῦ Ἀσκλ[η]πιάδου αἰρέσε-
 ως, προστατοῦντος καὶ γραμ-
 ματεῦντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
 Πτολεμαίου, ὧν μέτρα νότου
 10 ἐπὶ βορᾶν πῆ(χεις) ἰδ, λ[ι]βὸς ἐπ' ἀπ[η]λιώ-
 την πῆ(χεις) κβ ἕως δρόμου· L ἰθ,
 Μεχεῖρ κ.

For the well-being of king Ptolemaios, also called Alexander, Philomētor god. (Dedicated) to the great god Suchos. The place of the 7th (year) (5) ephebic division (*hairesis*) of Asklēpiadēs son of Asklēpiadēs, when Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios was president (*prostatēs*) and scribe. (The place) measures south (10) by north 14 cubits, (from) the stream (pool?) in the east 22 cubits as far as the race course. (Year) 19, Mechir 20.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective worship of a deity; leadership terms: προστάτης and γραμματεὺς; ownership of property.

Location: Uncertain location in the Fayûm.

l. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου → JIGRE 22.1 [154] note.

Comments

This is one of a trio of inscriptions from late first century CE Arsinoites, the other two being I.Fayum III 200 and 202. All three are dedications of *topoi* belonging to groups (*hairesis*) of *ephēbeukotes*, young men who had complete their ephebate in a particular year (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 79 n. 142). All three texts are rather formulaic in their openings, although the first one below resembles our entry more than does the other:

ὑπὲρ | βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου | Σούχῳ θεῷ
 μεγάλῳ || μεγάλῳ τόπο[ς] τῶν | τὸ β L ἐφηβευκόντων | τῆς Ἀμμωνίου αἰρέσεως, |
 οὗ μέτρα νότου ἐπὶ βορρ[ᾶ]ν | π(ήχεις) ιγ, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην ···? || ἕως ψυγμοῦ·
 L ις, Φαμ(ενὼθ) ια. (SB V 8885 = I.Fayum III 200 = OGIS I 176; Arsinoites, 98 BCE)

For the well-being of king Ptolemaios, also called Alexander. To the great god Suchos. The place of the 2nd year ephebic division (*hairesis*) of Ammōnion, which measures south by north 13 cubits, (from) the west to east . . . (cubits) as far as the cooling place (?). Year 16, Phamenoth 11.

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου | θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος || τόπος
 τῶν τὸ ι L | ἐφηβευκόντων τῆς | Παραιβάτου αἰρέ[σε]ως, ὧν ἐπιμελητῆς Ἰσίδωρος ||
 Πτολεμαίου, Σοκνεβ[ι]τύνει θεῷ μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ· L κα, Φαῶφι κγ. (I.Fayum III 202; Arsinoites, 94 BCE)

For the well-being of King Ptolemaios, also called Alexander, Philomētor (“mother-loving”) god. The place of the 10th year ephebic division (*hairesis*) of Paraiabates, whose supervisor (*epimelētēs*) is Isidōros son of Ptolemaios, for the great god Soknebtunis. (Year) 21, Phaophi 23.

In III 200 and III 201 the τόπος is identified by measurements and physical markers and linked to familiar landmark. These first two inscriptions also invoke the “great god Suchos, whereas the third applies the same over-wrought epithet θεῶι μεγάλῳ μεγάλῳ to Soknebtunis (i.e., Souchos/Sobek).

An association of Macedonians from the gymnasium of Herakles in Sebennytos (Delta region) were also provided with a τόπος by a well-placed benefactor who has purchased land, and perhaps even constructed a gymnasium building for the association (SB I 1106, Ptolemaic period):

[— — —] το···ου···καὶ ἀρχιβουλευτὴν | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κτίστην τοῦ τόπου | οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείου Μακεδόνες || καὶ ἡγεμόνες καὶ ἐπὶ στάσεων καὶ οἱ συνπόσιον | γευόμενοι φιλαγαθίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς.

[---].... and chief of the Council (*archibouleutes*) and priest of the king and founder of the place. The Macedonians from the gymnasium of Herakles, both the presidents and (those) set over the divisions and the symposium tasters (honoured him) on account of (his) benevolence, out of their own resources.

If the original reading of *archibouleutes* in line 1 is correct, then the unnamed benefactor seems to be highly placed in the civic structure of Sebennytos. The term, however, is unattested elsewhere and van ’t Dack (1330–1333) argues that it should be read *archibasilistes*, indicating the head of an association of “royalists,” a reading that fits better with his also being noted as a priest of the king. The Macedonian association meeting in the gymnasium consists of both military (*epi taxeon*) and civilian members together, if the restoration is correct.

Literature: Klauck, Hans-Josef 2006. *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis*. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press; Roberts, Colin, Theodore C. Skeat, and Arthur Darby Nock 1936. “The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos.” In *HTR* 29:39–88 (SB V 7835); van ’t Dack, Edmond 1984. “Notice au sujet de SB I 1106.” In *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, 1325–1333. Naples: Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi. RSA

[199] P.Lond. VII 2193

Bylaws of an Association of Zeus Hypsistos

Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 69–58? BCE

Published: *ed. pr.*: Colin Roberts, T.C. Skeat and Arthur Darby Nock, “The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos,” *HTR* 29 (1936) 39–88 (SB V 7835) repr. in an abridged form in A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 414–443; T.C. Skeat, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* Vol. VII: *The Zenon Archive* (London: British Museum, 1974) 308–309 (no. 2193); G.H.R. Horsley, *New Docs* 1:28–29 (no. 5); BL X 111 [TM 2462; CAPInv 654]

Translation: Roger S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period*, SBLSPS 16 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981) 221–222 (no. 134); AGRW 295.

Image: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1508190.pdf>

Current location: London, British Library Pap. 2710.

Similar or related documents: → P.Bagnall 42 = P.Tebt. Suppl. 1578 (Tebtynis, 250–210 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Cair. 31178 (179 BCE) [TM 3055; CAPInv 1971]; P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77–78 (178 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Hamb.dem. 1 (Tebtynis, 151 BCE); P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 (Memnoneia, Theban area, 109–8 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 (Tebtynis, 145 BCE); P.Cair 30618 A–B (Tebtynis, II BCE); P.Cair. 31179 (Tebtynis, 147 BCE); P.Cair. 30619 (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Dem.Louvre E 7840 bis = P.Louvre Eisenlohr 6 (ed. Françoise de Cenival, “Comptes d’une association religieuse Thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis [P.Démot. Louvre E 7840 bis],” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 37 [1986]: 13–29); BGU XIV 2371 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); PSI XII 1265.9, 13 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); SB III 6704 [285] (Aphrodito, Upper Egypt, VI CE).

British Library Pap. 2710. A single sheet of papyrus 25.3 × 18 cm., cut from a roll, with a join running down the centre. The top and the sides are intact, but there is no indication how long the sheet was. This appears to be a copy or the first draft of the document, which accounts for the fact that l. 7, “the aforementioned month and day,” has no counterpart in the papyrus. It is unclear whether the *verso*, which contains a statement of an account, is related or not to the association bylaws. It is extremely fragmentary and impossible to reconstruct.

⟨recto⟩

Ὁρίων Ἀρυώτου ἀγέλ(ης) αἰγ(ων) Ἦ
τριάκοντα δύο / λβ

- ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
νόμος ὃν ἔθεντο [κα]τὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς Ὑψίστου συνόδου
τοῦτον εἶναι κύριον,
5 καὶ ποιοῦντες καθότι διαγ[ορ]εῦει πρῶτον μὲν προχειρισάμενοι ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
ἡγούμενον Πετεσοῦ[χον] Τεεφβέννιος, ἄνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν
ἄξιον, εἰς ἐ[ν]ιαυτὸν [ἀπὸ τοῦ] προ[γ]εγ[ρ]αμμένον μη{ι}νὸς καὶ ἡμέρας
συνεσ-
φ[ό]ρ[οι]ς δὲ πᾶσι π[οιεῖσθ]αι κατὰ μη{ι}να πόσι[ν] μίαν α ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς
ἱερῷ ἐν αἷς ἐν ἀνδ[ρῶν] κοινῷ σπένδοντες εὐχέσθω{ι}σαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
τὰ νο-
10 μιζο[μεν]α ὑπὲρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεο(ῦ) καὶ κυρίου(υ) βασιλέως· ὑπακούσιν δὲ
πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγουμέ-
νου καὶ τ[οῦ] τούτου ὑπηρέτου ἐν τε τοῖς ἀγῆκουσι τῷ κοινῷ καὶ
παρέστοναι ἐπὶ τὰ[ς]
δοθη[σομ]ένα{ι}ς αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας καὶ [σ]υνλόγους καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ
ἀποδημί[ας]
καὶ μ[η]{ι}[δ] ἐνὶ αὐτῶν ἐξέστω{ι} συνταγματαρχήσιν μη{ι}δὲ
σχί[σ]ματα συνίστασ[θ]αι
μη{ι}δ' ἀπ[ο]χωρή{ι}σε[ιν] ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ο]υμένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν
φράτραν
15 καὶ μη{ι} γ[ε]νεαλογ[ή]σιν ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ μηδὲ
κακο-
λογ[ή]σιν ἕτερος [τὸν] ἕτερον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ μη{ι}δὲ λαλήσιν μη{ι}-
δὲ ἐπ[ικα]λέσιν καὶ μὴ κατη{ι}γορή[σ]ειν [α] τοῦ ἑτέρου μη{ι}δὲ
ἀπόρρη{ι}σιν
διδ[όναι] ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν[αυτ]ὸν καὶ μη{ι}δὲ δα[σύν]{ι}εῖν τὰς συμποσίας
μη{ι}δὲ ἐπε{ι}γεσ-
θ[ι]. α] εἰ τ[ό]πον ἐκ τὸπ(ου) [μη]{ι}δ' ἀπὸ κλισί(ας) εἰς τ[ῆ]ν ἑτέραν καὶ
μη{ι} κωλύσιν τὸν
20 [.] δη[μοσίω]ι καὶ ἀ[ντ?]{ι} τοῦ πρὸς τε τὰς συμβολ(ὰς) καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα ἐπὶ
[± 28 letter] ηπει καὶ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν
[± 35 letters] ε [. . .] ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν πατήρ
[γένηται ±44] η[·]χ[·]κη

«verso»

- Πνεφερω(ς) β τῆς ἀνὰ χειρο() Ασ
25 γ Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) ω
Σωκράτης η τῆς ἐνεστ(ώσης) Ασ
δ Πετοσεῖρις Ασ
Πε[τ]εσοῦχο(ς) β τῆς ἐπὶ χει() Α[σ]
γ [·.]ρ Καλειβίς [Αρ]

Apparatus: 1. or ἀργ(υρίου), BL X 111 : ἀγελ() αι . previous ed. || 5 καθότι, BL X 110; *ed. pr.*: καθι || Pap. ἐπ' || 8 Pap. π[οιεῖσθ]ε || 9 Pap. εὐχέσθωισαν || Pap. τᾶλλα || 12 Pap. δοθεῖ[σομ]έναις || 13 Pap. συνπε ματαρχήσιν BL X 111: συντευματαρχήσιν || 15 Pap. γ[.]γεαγογ[±?]; BL X 111 : γ[ε]γεαλογ[ήσιν] || 17 Pap. ἐπ[ικα]λήσιν || Pap. μὲ || Pap. ἀπόρρησιν || 18 Pap. μηδὲ || BL X 111: ἀποκλέψειν prev. ed. || 20 Pap. τᾶλλα

Harion son of Haryotes, a herd of goats, 32 (drachmae)

Thirty-two making 32

For good fortune.

The bylaws (*nomos*) which those of the association (*synodos*) of Zeus the Highest made jointly, that it should be authoritative. (5) Acting as it prescribes, they first chose as their president (*hēgoumenos*) Petesouchos son of Teephbennis, an eloquent man, worthy of the place and of the company, for a year from the aforementioned month and day, that he should make for all the contributors one banquet a month, the first day, in the sanctuary of Zeus, at which they should in a common *androon*, pouring libations, pray and perform the other (10) customary rites on behalf of the god and lord, the king. All are to obey the president and his servant (*hyperetēs*) in matters pertaining to the association (*koinon*), and they shall be present at all command occasions (*paraggeliai*) to be prescribed for them and at meetings (*sylogai*) and assemblies (*synagōgai*) and outings (*apodēmiai*). It shall not be permissible for anyone of them to lead contingents or to make factions or to leave the brotherhood (*phratra*) of the president for another, (15) or for men to enter into one another's pedigrees at the banquet or to abuse one another at the banquet or to chatter or to indict or to accuse one another or to resign for the course of the year or to cloud (blemish?) the drinking or to hurry from place to place or from one couch to another at any time, nor to hinder the (20) [president?] ... (to? for?) the public and (instead?) to . . .for the contributions and other (?) levies ... and each of them shall contribute ... If any of them (becomes?) a father, (he shall contribute ?) ...

verso

Pnepheros 2nd (seat), the current (year? month?)	1200
3rd (seat) Apollōnios	800
Socrates 8th (seat), the pending (year? month?)	1200
4th (seat) Petoseiris	1200
Petesouchos 2nd (seat), the next (year? month?)	1200
3rd (seat) Kaleibis	[[1100]]

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; associative term: κοινόν; bylaws (νόμος); leadership terms: ἡγούμενος and his assistant (ὕπηρετης); contributions; monthly banquets and other activities.

Location: Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 1760. Philadelphia. Barrington Atlas 75 E2.

- I. 2: τριάκοντα δύο λβ: 32, perhaps the number of members in the club.
- II. 6, 10, 14: ἡγοούμενος is used of the village mayor or the president of professional associations, especially in the Fayūm (Westermann 1932, 23). See e.g., BGU VII 1615.6 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE); P.Grenf. II 43.9 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE); P.Mich. II 121.r.IV, abstract 6 [210] (Tebtynis, 42 CE); P.Mich. V 244.7, 16, 19, 45 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Ryl. II 94.1 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); P.Tebt. II 401.23 [214] (Tebtynis, early I CE); P.Tebt. II 484v.1–2 (Tebtynis, 14 CE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); W.Chr. 497 = P.Grenf. II 67.2–4 (Bakchias [Arsinoites], 237 CE)
- II. 6–7: τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιον: the τόπος probably referred to the meeting place of the association. → Index VIII Epigraphical/Papyrological Genres: Building inscriptions, τόπος inscriptions. A comparable expression occurs on the decree of Athenians in Delos in II BCE, praising a gymnasiarch who acted ἀξίως τοῦ τε τόπου καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προαίρεσεως (ID 1504.27–28; Delos, 47/6 or 146/5 BCE).
- I. 8: α: Wilcken (1937: 220) proposes that α is an ordinal, referring to the first day of the month.
- I. 9: ἀνδρῶνι. In the architecture of a Greek house the *andron* (“men’s room”) was reserved for men as a dining space.
- II. 9–10: Offering sacrifices and libations on behalf of the king was a typical gesture of loyalty (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 49–50). See BGU VIII 1767: ὑπὲρ τε τ[οῦ] κυρίου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῖς παρασταθεῖ[σι] θύμασιν ἐπισπεύσας; BGU VIII 1768: θυσίας τε καὶ σπονδὰς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ κυρίου βασι(λέως) καὶ σοῦ ποιησά-μ[ενος].
- I. 13: συνταγματαρχήσιν: Wilcken (1937, 220–221) read συνπνευματαρχήσιν and proposes the emendation συνπνευματαρχήσιν. Brashear (1993, 34) reads συνπε.μα-ταρχήσιν, lending strength to Wilcken’s proposal. For the fourth letter *tau* remains both valid and more intelligible. Nock *et al.* (1936, 51) consider συντευματαρχήσιν, but reject the reading συνταγματαρχήσιν, as it “seems impossible palaeographically and is on other grounds hardly thinkable.” Skeat (1974), however, retracted his earlier objection in light of the presence of the rank, συνταγματάρχης, in P.Lond. VII 1986. The verb συνταγματαρχέω is also attested in Philo (*Ios.* 176).
- I. 14: Nock *et al.* (1936, 52) were troubled by the use of φράτρας. Given the date and location, it could not refer civic phratries (e.g., P.Hib. I 28 = W.Chr. I 25), another type of religious group, a sub-unit of the association, or a conspiracy (cf. P.Mich. XIII 660, VI CE). Yet here it seems to be synonymous with σύννοδος.
- I. 15: γ[ε]νεαλογ[ή]σιν: Brashear reads]νεαγογ[against Nock, *et al.* (1936, 52–3)]νεαλογ[but he does not provide justification for reading a *gamma* instead of a *lamda*.
- II. 16–17: μη{ι} δὲ λαλήσιν μη{ι}|δὲ ἐπι[κα]λήσιν. Cf. IG II² 1368.108 [51], where unauthorized speech-making is prohibited at meals. Nock suggests idle chatter, citing the *Book of the Dead* 125 and *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.9 where speaking (i.e., chattering) is discouraged.
- I. 17: ἀπόρρη{ι}σιν: → a letter from a club member, tendering his resignation (P.Mich. IX 575 [238]). It can also refer to a refusal of testimony (Plutarch, *Mar.* 5.5: ἀπόρρησιν τῆς μαρτυρίας), a prohibition (Plutarch, *Quaes. rom.* 357A; Demosthenes

33.31; Suda, Alpha 3500), or abandonment (Plato *Resp.* 2.357A). In this context, it clearly addresses the members of the association, not the president specifically. Barring the members from leaving the association, perhaps in attempt to avoid payment of dues or fines or to join a rival club, seems to be the best translation.

- I. 17: $\mu\kappa\eta\{\iota\}\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\{\sigma\}\epsilon\iota\nu\llbracket\alpha\rrbracket$ τοῦ ἐτέρου. Cf. IG II² 1368 [51]. The point is no longer abusive speech at the banquet, but legal accusations that would bring a member to court. So Nock *et al.* (1936, 52), citing Plato, *Leges* 11.915E: ἐράνων δὲ περί, τὸν βουλόμενον ἐρανίζειν φίλον παρὰ φίλοις· ἐὰν δὲ τις διαφορὰ γίγνηται περί τῆς ἐρανίσεως, οὕτω πράττειν ὡς δικῶν μηδενὶ περί τούτων μηδαμῶς ἐσομένων, “now in regard to the collections of *eranoi*, whoever wishes to collect money as a friend among friends (may do so); but some dispute arises concerning the collection, they should act on the understanding that in regard to this, no legal recourse will be possible.”
- I. 18: $\mu\eta\{\iota\}\delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\{\sigma\}\nu\{\iota\}\epsilon\iota\nu$: *ed. pr.*: $\mu\eta\iota\delta'$ (I. $\mu\eta\delta'$) ἀ[φα]νόμεν. Brashear (1993, 34) favours the present emendation, pointing to BGU XIV 2371.4 [253]: $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha\delta\epsilon\delta\alpha\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ τὴν οἰνοποσίαν. In both cases, the meaning is obscure.
- II. 18–19: ἐπείγῃσθα[ι] ἀεὶ τ[ό]πον ἐκ τόπου: Skeat (1974) finds the idiom of moving from one place to another also in P.Lond. VII 2049: μετακίνησον τόπον ἐκ τόπου καὶ οὐ καταδιώξει ἡμᾶς (concerning rotation of wine casks in a tavern), but the expression is not rare (see, e.g. LXX Job 2.8; *Test. Job.* 24.2; Plutarch, *De exilo* 607E; Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2.15; Galen, *De nat. fac.* 2.3 and *passim*).
- I. 19: *Ed. pr.*: ἀποκλέψειν. Brashear (1993, 34–35) proposes the present emendation, which follows well from the prohibition just before it.

verso

- II. 24–29: the numerals β, γ, η, δ, β, γ probably refer to the seating positions in the triclinium. See Van Minnen 1987, 52 n. 75. See a similar notation in P.Mich. V 246 [211] where all the seating assignments are placed in the left column.
- II. 24–29: The amounts in copper drachmae are equivalent in silver to 1.6 AR dr. (800), 2.5 AR dr. (1200) and 2.3 AR dr. (1100, cancelled).
- I. 24: τῆς ἀνὰ χειρο() should probably be restored as τῆς ἀνὰ χεῖρα, “for the present year.” See SB X 10292.8–10: τὸν | λόγον τῆς εἰσπράξεως τῆς ἀνὰ χεῖρα || πενταετίας, “the account of sales for the present quinquennium.”

Comments

This appears to be a private or draft copy of the regulations for an Egyptian association. The elected president, who has an Egyptian name, Πετεσοῦχος Τεεφβέννιος, may be attested elsewhere, in P.Tebt I 90 which mentions a Πετεσοῦχος Τεεφμε(. . .) at least a decade earlier. The hand is very similar to BGU VIII 1764, 1768 (64–44 BCE), 1826 (51 BCE), and 1846 (50–49 BCE), all from Herakleopolites (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 39).

This association has many characteristics of earlier Demotic associations: it met in a temple, unlike most Attic private associations which usually met in private shrines; its constitution technically envisaged only one year of existence (renewable), with provision made for the election of a president and his assistant; and the association has only a president and an assistant as officers rather than

the trio of *epimelētēs*, *grammateus* and *tamias* typical of Athenian associations (→ GRA I *passim*).

Demotic associations from the Fayûm were typically established for a single year and laid out the rules for that year. The rule of an association of devotees of the Crocodile god (Souchos) and gods associated with Souchos, who met in cemetery of the crocodile of the village of Soknebtynis, begins with the formula,

They shall say: “We shall hold an assembly before Sobek and the gods associated with Sobek for the festivals and processions of Sobek and the gods [associated with Sobek and on the days which] members of the House have adopted as assembly dates during the aforesaid period. We shall contribute (7) our dues every month, besides the contributions for functions for which we must make payment. We shall hand them over to the representative of the House when they become due each month.” (P.Cair. 30606 [191], Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE = Spiegelberg 1908, no. 30606; de Cenival 1972, 45–58)

In the next year, 157/56 BCE the same association renewed its *nomos*, again appending the names of the members with a list of donations (P.Cair. 30605). The formal similarity of P.Lond. VII 2193 to these Demotic associations (and to P.Assoc. 1 [151 BCE]; P.Cair. 31179 [148/7 BCE]; P.Cair. 30618 [138/7 BCE]; P.Cair. 30619 [138/7 BCE]; P.Prag.Satzung. [137 BCE]), including the year-long duration of the *nomos* and the appearance of a membership and donation list, suggests that P.Lond. VII 2193 was modelled on existing Egyptian practices.

Bagnall and Derow point out that unlike most Greek associations, there is listing no officers other than a president and his assistant (Bagnall and Derow 2004). Yet it seems a mistake to draw too sharp a distinction between Demotic and Greek associations (Paganini 2017). The regulations of P.Lond. VII 2193 conform to those of many other Greek associations in Egypt, including the yearly renewal of bylaws and officers. Many bylaws from Graeco-Egyptian associations from Tebtynis include membership lists: P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]; P.Mich. V 244 [212]; and P.Mich. V 245 [219], and some of the membership lists from Tebtynis might have been the appendices to bylaw → P.Mich. V 247 [209]; P.Mich. V 248 [213].

The role of the bylaws + membership list, as pointed out above apropos of P.Cair. 30606 [191], had a legal function, signalling the members' approval of the bylaws (and indicating an obligation of compliance). Association *nomoi* also had legal force: there are instances of members or relatives of members bringing a complaint against an association for non-performance of contract (e.g., P.Enteux. 20 [189]; 21 [190]). A copy of the bylaws and membership list were probably kept in the grapheion of the town (→ P.Mich. II 123r vi.18; ix.45; x.6; xi.36; xvii.38; II 124 ii.23 [216]) where they could be consulted in the case of a dispute about performance of obligations.

After electing a president for the period of a year, the members made a provision for monthly banquets, but also allowed for irregular meetings for other

purposes. The document breaks off before its conclusion, but we might also expect regulations concerning the payment of dues, both regular and payments for special occasions; provisions for mutual assistance; prescribed duties for members upon the death of a member; and fines for disobedience (Boak 1937).

At line 11–12, the members are required to be present at the παραγγελίας καὶ συνλόγους καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ ἀποδημίας. This implies that the association engaged in a number of activities above and beyond their monthly banquets. These included παραγγελία, which may refer to summons for judicial purposes. The inclusion of both συνλογή and συναγωγή seems repetitive. It may be a result of a stereotypical pairing of terms. Παραγγελία and συνλογή are paired in a decree of Euergetes II concerning associations (P.Tebt. III/1 700.33 [TM 5311]: [±35] γομένας παραγγελίας καὶ συνλόγους). The presence of ἀποδημία suggests the association also organized activities outside of the village. A list of fines in P.Mich. V 243 [206], P.Mich. V 244.7–9 [212] and P.Mich. V 245.35–37 [219] distinguish absence from a meeting in the city and one in the village. The variation suggests that meetings out of the village had a greater significance, and perhaps were reflected in the public prestige of the association.

Prohibitions of certain behaviour at banquets, such as that at line 19, against moving a party from one banquet to another are well known in other bylaws: for example, CIL 14.2112.59–60 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): *item placuit ut quisquis seditionis causa de loco in alium locum transierit ei multa es||to HS IIII n(ummum)*. P.Mich. V 243 [206] imposed a fine for taking the seat of another at a banquet: ὁ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίας κατὰ κλισίαν προαναπέιπτων τοῦ ἑτέρου. The intent of such prohibitions may have been to mitigate competitive and disruptive public behaviour as banqueters vied for the better seats at a triclinium or stibadium. A ritualistic drunken procession known as the κῶμος typically accompanied banquets of all sorts (Headlam 1922, 82–84 lists many examples), and public violence was a frequent occurrence (Murray, 144). Such komastic violence could be the cause of legal action against an association (see Demosthenes 54) and it was a common trope in Greek literature (Euripides *Cycl.* 530–540, Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1249–1255 and 1322–1340).

The document contains a mixture of Greek and Egyptian names, although names provide no guarantee of ethnicity. In the Ptolemaic period, both Greeks and Egyptians are known to have taken double names and used whichever name was most suited to their needs of the moment. Thus, we have examples of village scribes using Egyptian names in the course of their duties, only to use Greek names in private communication, and families of mixed Greek and Egyptian names, chosen depending the administrative position held by each individual (Clarysse 1985, 58–60).

The list of accounts on the *verso* are in the same hand as the rest of the document, and the two lines at the top right of the *recto* are a continuation of the accounts (Brashear 1993, 33: “offensichtlich”). Brashear suggests that members

may have been obliged to make a donation to the association when they made purchases of livestock, cf. P.Mich. V 243.5 [206] (so Brashear 1993, 33). The analogy of the Demotic associations mentioned above, however, suggest that the combination of *nomos* + membership list and donation/dues was simply a standard feature of the Egyptian association rule. Nock et al (1935, 55) suggest that the leading numbers before the accounts on the *recto* may refer to numbered subdivisions of the association. This, however, would be most improbable if, as suggested in the note on l. 2, thirty-two represents the total membership of the club. It should be noted that most of the guilds surveyed in Egypt have a relatively small membership of 20–30 members.

This document is an early attestation of worship of Zeus Hypsistos. The earliest dedications to Zeus Hypsistos are found in the region of Macedonia, dating to II BCE, and bearing Macedonian and Thracian names (Tačeva-Hitova 1978, 62–63). GRA I, pp. 305–310 discusses the cult in Macedonia with respect to SEG 46:744 [65]. The association here may be devoted to the Macedonian cult, but there is little to confirm this. Elsewhere, Zeus Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos are often associated with local solar or mountain deities. In Syria, the names were used in local worship of Ba'al (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 62). In central Anatolia, dedications associate Theos Hypsistos with the god, Holy and Just, suggesting Zoroastrian influence (Hirschmann 2007). In the Bosporan kingdom after I CE, the god was associated with local solar deities, including Mithra, and adopted as a patron deity of the Bosporan royal family (Ustinova 1999, 283). Zeus or Theos Hypsistos is also found as a healing deity during the Roman period in Athens, Cyprus and elsewhere. The shrine in Athens resembles those of other healing deities, such as at the Athenian Asclepieion or at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni (Forsén 1996, 174). Thus here, too, Zeus Hypsistos may be associated with an indigenous deity such as Ammon (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 71–72; Mitchell 1999; 2010).

The Judaeen use of Theos Hypsistos is attested throughout the Greek world, including in Egypt (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 69 and n. 80), but also in the Bosporan kingdom (Ustinova 1999, 229–232), and in Galatia (Trebilco 1991, 137). ID 2328 discusses a I BCE dedication to Theos Hypsistos that may be connected to Jewish worship, but the evidence is ambiguous and the connection tenuous. Syncretic cults devoted to Theos Hypsistos that adopted a mixture of Jewish and pagan practices are attested in IV and V CE by Christian writers Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orationes* 18.5), Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomium* 2.5), Epiphanius (*Panarion* 80.1), and Cyril of Alexander (*De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, 3).

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S., and Peter Derow, eds. 2004. "The Synodos of Zeus Hypsistos." In *Historical Sources in Translation: The Hellenistic Period*, Second Edition, 263–264. Malden, MA: Blackwell; Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. "The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt." In *TAPA* 68:212–220; Brashear, William M. 1993. *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Xenia 34. Konstanz:

Universitätsverlag; **Clarysse**, Willy 1985. "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration." In *Aeg* 65 (1/2):57–66; **Clarysse**, Willy, and E. **Lanciers** 1989. "Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period." In *AnSoc* 20:117–132; **de Cenival**, Françoise 1972. *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques*. Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d'étude 46. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Forsén**, Björn 1996. *Griechische Gliederweihungen: Eine Untersuchung zu ihrer Typologie und ihrer religions- und sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*. Helsinki: The Finnish Institute at Athens; **Headlam**, Walter 1922. *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Hirschmann**, Vera 2007. "Zwischen Menschen und Göttern: Die Kleinasiatischen Engel." In *EA* 40:135–146; **Mitchell**, Stephen. 1999. "The Cult of Theos Hypsistos Between Pagans, Jews, and Christians." In *Pagan Monotheism in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. Polymnia Athanassiadi and Michael Frede, 91–148. Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and New York University; **Mitchell**, Stephen. 2010. "Further Thoughts on the Cult of Theos Hypsistos." In *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen, 167–208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Murray**, Oswyn 1990. "The Solonian Law of Hubris." In *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics, and Society*, edited by Paul Cartledge, Paul Millett, and Stephen Todd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Nock**, Arthur, Colin **Roberts**, and Theodore **Skeat** 1936. "The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos." In *HTR* 29 (1):39–88; **Paganini**, Mario C.D. 2017. "Greek and Egyptian Associations in Egypt." In *Hellenism and the Local Communities of the Eastern Mediterranean 400 BCE-250 CE*, ed. Boris Chrubasik and Daniel King, 131–54. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; **Skeat**, Theodore C. 1974. *The Zenon Archive*. Greek Papyri in the British Museum 7. London: British Museum Publications; **Spiegelberg**, Wilhelm 1908. *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601–31270, 50001–50022 II: Die demotischen Papyrus*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 39. Strassburg: W. Drugulin; **Tačeva-Hitova**, Margarita 1978. "Dem Hypsistos geweihte Denkmäler in den Balkanländern (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Religionen, IV)." In *Balkan Studies Thessalonikê* 19(1):59–75; **Trebilco**, Paul 1991. *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*. SNTSMS 69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Ustinova**, Yulia 1999. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 135. Leiden: Brill; **Van Minnen**, Peter 1987. "Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt." In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1): 31–88; **Westermann**, William L. 1932. "Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt." In *JEA* 18:16–27; **Wilcken**, Ulrich 1937. "Urkunden-Referat. (I. P.ZEUS HYPs.)." In *APF* 12:218–221. MM/JSK

[200] I.Fayum III 204

Dedication of a *synodos* to Isis Esenchebis

Soknopaiou Nesos (?) (Arsinoites)

25 Feb 68 BCE

Published: M.L. Strack, "Inschriften aus ptolemäischer Zeit. III," *APF* 3 (1906)

126–139, 131–132 (no. 8); SB I 4211; Valdemar Schmidt *Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg: Choix de monuments égyptiens*, 2e série (Bruxelles 1910) p. 54 (no. 95; pl. 37); Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg 1 (København: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 1948) 45–46 (no. 60 and pl. 60); Bernand, I.Fayum III 133–135 (no. 204); Maria Pouline Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne [de] la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (København: Imprimerie de la Cour royale du Danemark F. Bagge, 1930) 107 (no. A766 pl. 36) [TM 8170; CAPIV 66]

Translation: AGRW 291

Current location: Ny Carlsberg Glypthek AEIN 826 (Cat.1908 E 509. Cat. 1930 A 766).

Similar or related documents: Dedications to Isis: IKios 22 (Kios, late Hellenistic or early Roman period); IPrusaOlymp 48 (Prusa near Olympus, ca. 150 CE); IMT 1542 (= SIRIS 318; Kyzikos, I BCE or I CE); IEph 1503 (= SIRIS 301; Ephesos, 138–161 CE); ITrall 86 (= SIRIS 50 = OGIS II 501; Tralles, after 132 CE); IG II² 4692 (Athens, II BCE); IG II² 4994 (I BCE); IG II² 4732 (Augustan period); IG II² 4697 (Augustan period); IG II² 4733 (time of Hadrian).

A limestone stele, 31 × 22 cm., very badly preserved. The stele is heavily damaged at the top; it has an architectural frame representing the stylized facade of a temple. On the door jambs, lotus columns support the crowns of North and South Egypt. Inside the frame, a man with short hair wearing a long skirt with an apron and in the orans position faces Isis. Below the image, Greek inscription in five lines, in alternating red and black characters (description adapted Koefoed-Petersen 1948, 46 and examination of plate 60).

[ὕ]περ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτο-
ρος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου Ἰσιδι Ἑσεργήβει θεᾷ μεγάλῃ
οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑσεργηβιακῆς συνόδου, ὧν συναγωγὸς
Ἑλενος, ὁ τό[π]ος ν^ό(του) ἐπὶ β^ο(ρρᾷ), ἀφ' οὗ οἰκ^ο(δόμησεν) Ἑλενος περιβόλου
ἕως

- 5 τοῦ δρ^ό(μου), λι^β(ός) ἐπ' ἀ[πη(λιώτην) ἀπὸ τ]οῦ κωμ^α(στηρίου) ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ.
L γ, Μεχ(εῖρ) κβ.

For the well-being of king Ptolemaios, the Philopator and Philadelphos god. The (members) of the *synodos* of Esenchebis, whose president (*synagōgos*) is Helenos (dedicated this stele) to Isis Esenchebis, the great goddess. The place (*topos*) (is the area) to the north and south, from the

enclosure (*peribolos*) that Helenos constructed, (5) to the processional way; (and the land) west to east, from the assembly place (*komastērion*) to the temple.

Year 13, Mecheir 22.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devotion to a deity; associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: συναγωγός; ownership or control of property (τόπος).

Location: Soknopaiou Nesos (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2157; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

II. 1–2: βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου, i.e., Ptolemy XII Auletes (r. 80–58, 55–51 BCE). See also I.Philae 50a (Philai Island, 69 BCE); Bernard, *Les Portes du désert* 50 (Koptos, 80–58, 55–51 BCE); I.Fayum II 115 (= SB III 6309; Theadelphia, 67 BCE); I.Fayum II 134.1–3 (Euhemeria, 79 BCE); I.Fayum II 136 (= SB III 6155; Euhemeria, 69/8 BCE). In some of these examples, the epithet is found without the καὶ between Φιλοπάτορος and Φιλαδέλφου.

I. 2: Ἴσιδι Ἑσεγγήβει, i.e., Isis who is (Isis) in Chembis. Alternate spelling: Αἴσιδι: Kayser, I.Alex.imp. 56 (SEG 24:1173; SB X 10686; Alexandria, 29 BCE); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 103 (Mareia, n.d.); OGIS II 704 (= IGRR I 1111; SB V 8910; 155 CE); OGIS II 741 (SB V 8933; 52 BCE).

I. 2: θεᾷ μεγάλῃ: I.Alex.imp. 56: Εἰσιδι θεᾷ μεγάλῃ (Alexandria, 29 BCE).

II. 4–5 ὁ τόπος νότου ἐπὶ βορρᾶ: For other τόπος inscriptions → Index VIII: Epigraphical/Papyrological Genres, Building inscriptions, τόπος inscriptions.

Comments

The dedicatee is Ptolemy XII Auletes (r. 80–58, 55–51 BCE) → II. 1–2 note.

Both I.Fayum III 204 [200] and I.Fayum III 205 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE) coordinate *synodos* with *synagōgos* as the designation of the president. The most common designation for the president of a *synodos* in Egypt is *prostatēs* (→ 166, 168, 169, 170, 172, 179, 203, 215), although BGU IV 1137 [168] has both a *synagōgos* and a *prostatēs* in a *synodos*. A *hēgoumenos* serves as the president of a *koinon* in 199 and 244 for a *synodos* in 211 and 214.

The president Helenos was responsible for constructing the enclosure (περίβολος) near with the temple (ιερόν). In other cases, the president (or sometimes the former president) was expected to engage in special acts of euergetism. For instance, in IGRR I 1161 (unknown location, 49 CE), a priest (Πάσιος, ἱερεὺς Κυνὸς Κεφαλίου, θεοῦ μεγίστου) is credited with constructing the περίβολιον. In the case of I.Fayum III 204 it is not clear whether Helenos has underwritten the construction of the peribolos himself (i.e., ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου) or has used other funds.

Although this association is located in Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayum, the epithet, “(the) Isis of Chembis,” indicates a connection with Chemmis/Chembis in the Delta. According to the Isis-Osiris legend, Chemnis (Barrington Atlas

74D2) was a swampy area in which Isis, upon finding Osiris' dismembered body, hid it from Seth. In the first century, Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.9.55) describes this latter location as an island (*insula*) large enough to have groves and a temple to Apollo.

Literature: **Anthón**, Charles 2005. *A Classical Dictionary: Containing the Principle Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors*. Part One. New York: Kessinger; **Ascough**, Richard S. 1997. "Translocal Relationships Among Voluntary Associations and Early Christianity." In *J ECS* 5(2):223–241; **Fischer-Bovet**, Christine 2007. "Army and Egyptian Temple Building Under the Ptolemies." Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classic; **Hölbl**, G. 2001. *History of the Ptolemaic empire*. New York: Routledge; **Koefoed-Petersen**, Otto 1948. *Les stèles égyptiennes*. Publications de la Glypthothèque Ny Carlsberg 1. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek; **Van Minnen**, Peter 1987. "Euergetism in Greco-Roman Egypt." In *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Bertinoro, 19–24 July, 1997*, ed. Leon Mooren. *Studia hellenistica* 36, 437–470. Leuven: Peeters; **Thiers**, C. 2006, "Égyptiens et Grecs au service des cultes indigènes. Un aspect de l'évergétisme en Égypte lagide." In M. Molin, ed., *Les régulations sociales dans l'Antiquité*, 275–296. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. SER

[201] I.Fayum III 205 Dedication of a *Topos*

Soknopaiou Nesos? (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 2 Jul 51 BCE

Published: Bernard, I.Fayum III 136–138 (no. 205) [**TM** 8171; CAPInv 68]

Translation: Jane Rowlandson, *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) no. 12.

Current location: Louvre no. E 27113.

Similar or related documents: → *Dining hall inscriptions*: I.Delta I 1036,2 = **TM** 7265 (Memphis, 209–204 BCE): dedication of a *hesiatorion* by Ποσιδώνιο[ς] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῖται; I.Fayum I 73 [**202**] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); SB I 996 [**256**] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE); I.Fayum I 87 (Karanis, 69–79 CE): dedication of a *deipnētērion*; I.Fayum II 106 (Theadelphia, 140 BCE): dedication of a *hesiatorion* and altar to Ἡρῶν μ[έ]γ[α]λος; I.Fayum II 122 [**229**] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); SEG 41:1638 [**221**] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); SEG 54:1758; *Other building inscriptions*: I.Fayum I 96 (Karanis, III CE); I.Fayum I 99 (Philadelphia, 59 CE); I.Fayum II 121 [**227**] (Theadelphia, 93 CE); I.Fayum III 177, 178, 180, 181.

(From autopsy): Limestone stele, 52.5 × 27.7–28 cm. Semi-circular top with inscribed wings and two uraei; Isis feeding Horus (left); king (right) making an offering; offering table in the centre. Inscription below in crudely cut letters in the lower panel, 20.5 × 22 cm. Letter height: 2 cm.

- ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης
 Κλεοπάτρας θε-
 ᾱς Φιλοπάτωρ τό-
 πος Σνοναιτια-
 5 κῆς συνόδου
 ὧν συναγωγός
 Ὀννώφρις λεσώνης·
 Λ α, Ἐπίφ α.

Apparatus: 6 Pap. συναγωγος

For the well-being of Queen Kleopatra the Philopator god. This place (*topos*) of the *synodos* of (Isis) Snonaïtiakē (has been dedicated), whose *synagōgos* is Onnophris, the chief administrator (*lesōnēs*).

Year 1, Epeiph 1.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective worship of a deity; associative term: σύννοδος; leadership terms: συναγωγός and λεσώνης; ownership of property (τόπος).

Location: Soknopaiou Nesos? (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2157; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

I. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης; → JIGRE 22.1 [154] *note*.

II. 2–3: Κλεοπάτρας θε|ᾱς Φιλοπάτωρ: Kleopatra VII is named without her brother Ptolemy XIII. Bernand (1975–1981, 3:137) notes that Ptolemy XII Auletes died March 51 BCE, leaving a will naming Ptolemy XIII, then only 10 years old, and Kleopatra VII (17 years old) as heirs. Bernand suggests that Kleopatra was already associated with the throne by Ptolemy XII Auletes in the final year of his reign.

II. 4–5: Σνοναιτια|κῆς. A local epithet of Isis.

I. 7: λεσώνης, *lesonēs*, or *lesonis*, a translation of *mr-šn*, the principal administrator of a temple, sometimes rendered in Greek as προστάτης or ἀρχιερεὺς. → Bonnet 1952, 423–424; de Cenival 1972, 154–159. BGU I 37 (Arsinoites, 50 CE); BGU III 916.8–9 (Arsinoites, 69–79 CE): οἱ [τέσσα]ρ[ε][ς] | λεσῶνες Ἰσιδος [N]εφρόμ[ι]δο[ς] θεᾶς μεγίστης; CPR XV 29 (Soknopaiou Nesos, I CE): λεσ[ῶ]ν(ις) θεοῦ Σονοπαίου; P.Tebt. II 313.5–6 (Tebtynis, 210–211 CE), etc.

Comments

Compare other τόπος dedications → I.Fayum III 204.4 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE) *note*. For dedications of dining rooms, → I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); SEG 41:1638.1 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE) and I.Fayum I 87 (Karanis, 69–79 CE):

- 1 ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐέσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῦ οἴκου Πνεφερῶτι καὶ Πετεσοῦχῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς μεγίστοις τὸ διπνητήριον Λ γ ΤΡΛΠ[]ΔΕΙΦΡΕΛΩΑΥΟΛΡΧΟ[]ΟΥΔ[– –]ΟΜΙ[]ΧΡΥ[] ΕΛΥ[]Γ[]Ν[]ΕΥΕ ἡγουμένου ΤΑΤΙΩΝ ἀγ[α]θῇ τύχῃ Ι[]Ι[]Δ [Ε]πείφ[ι] ιε΄.

For the well-being of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus and his entire household. This dining room (*deipnētērion*) was dedicated to Pnepheros and Petesouchos and to the associated (*sunnaoi*) great gods. Year 3 «unreadable letters» . . . of the president Tation?. For good fortune: . . . Epeiphi 15.

Literature: **Ascough**, Richard S. 2016. “Carving Out Public Space: τόπος Inscriptions and Early Christ Groups.” In *Epigraphik und Neues Testament*, ed. Thomas Corsten, Markus Öhler, and Joseph Verheyden. WUNT 365, 93–110. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; **Bernand**, Étienne 1975–81. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. 3 vols. Leiden and Paris: Brill; Institut français d’archéologie orientale; **Bonnet**, Hans 1952. *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter; **de Cenival**, Françoise 1972. *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques*. Publications de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d’étude 46. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

[202] I.Fayum I 73

Dedication by Sheep and Donkey Rearers

Soknopaiou Nesos (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

24 BCE

Published: Fritz Krebs, “Griechische Steininschriften aus Aegypten,”

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Philologisch-historische Klasse (Göttingen: Dieterichsche, 1892) 536;

Fritz Krebs, “Ägyptische Priester unter römischer Herrschaft,” *ZÄS* 31

(1893) 31–42, p. 33; J.G. Milne, *A History of Egypt, Vol. V: Roman Rule*

(London: Methuen, 1898) 183 (no. 1, with image p. 129 fig. 87); Seymour

de Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–

452, 561–571, 429–430 (no. 3); J.G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, Catalogue

général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 17 (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 1905) 27–28 (no. 9202; facs.); Dittenberger, *OGIS* II

655; R. Cagnat, *IGRR* I 1116; *SB* V 8895; Bernand, *I.Fayum* I 142–144

(no. 73) [**TM** 42851; *CAPInv* 1244]

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 9202.

Similar or related documents: → *sheep and donkey rearers* (προβατο-

κτηνοτρόφου): P.Mich. V 243 [**206**] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. II 123r

iii.40, viii.26 [**216**] (Tebtynis 45/46 CE); P.Ryl. II 229.4 (Arsinoites, 38

CE); P.Hamb. I 34.6 [**235**] (Euhemeria, 160 CE); *Building inscriptions*: *SB* I

996 [**256**] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE); *I.Fayum* II 122 [**229**] (Theadel-

phia, 109 CE); *SEG* 41:1638 [**221**] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); *SEG* 54:1758;

Dedications: *IBosp* 1134 [**93**]; *IBosp* 75 [**94**].

Stele, 52 × 41 cm. Milne’s description (1905, 27): “A stele of square shape, surmounted by a pediment with flattened top, within which is a sundisk with wings

and uraei: the wings are treated in a scheme of two rows of feathers, the inner row at an angle with the outer: a small triangular space below the disk and between the wings is filled with three rows of round bosses. Below is a scene in a sunken panel: to the left, a crocodile with a hawk's head, wearing a peaked crown (perhaps meant for the crown of Upper Egypt), seated looking to the right: facing it, a human figure with the head of a ram, wearing a loin-cloth and holding in its right hand a standard. The work is very rude, in low relief: the eye of the crocodile is inlaid with red as was formerly that of the other figure."

- ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος Αὐτοκρά-
τορος θεοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ ἡ οἰκοδομή
τοῦ περιβόλου τῷ θεῷ καὶ κυρί-
ῳ Σοκνοπαίῳ παρά τῶ(ν) ἐκ Νείλου
5 πόλεως προβατοκτηνοτρόφων
καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκν-
ων εὐχῇ· L ζ Καίσαρος, Φαμ(ενώθ) κ.

Apparatus: 5 Pap. προβατοκτηνοτροφοῦν

For the well-being of Caesar Emperor, god of god, the building of this precinct is dedicated to the god and lord Soknopaios by the (guild of?) sheep and donkey rearers (*probatoktēnotrophoi*) at Nilopolis and their wives and children, in accordance with a vow. Year 6 of Caesar, Phamenoth 20.

Notes

Association? Probable: collective dedication to an Emperor; although no specific associative terms are present, the collective construction of a *peribolos* and the consequent control of space suggests a guild.

Location: Soknopaiou Nesos (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2157; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

l. 1: ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος, → JIGRE 22.1 [154] note.

l. 2: θεοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ: certainly a shorthand for θεοῦ θεοῦ υἱῷ, honouring Augustus as the son of the divinized Caesar (→ SEG 1:282 [62]). The θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ formula may have been common in Egypt and in Demotic. → BGU XVI 2594, used of Augustus in a receipt translated into Greek from Demotic (27 BCE); OGIS I 90A.10, C.48, referring to Ptolemy V Epiphanes, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς, a decree with translations in Demotic and Egyptian hieroglyphics (196 BCE); P.Oxy. XII 1453 = Sel.Pap. II 327, used of Caesar Augustus in a contractual oath by lamplighters (30/29 BCE); and I.Fayum II 113, used of Ptolemy X Alexander Philomētor, θεὸς θεοῦ (93 BCE).

l. 4: Σοκνοπαίῳ. → Davoli 2007; 2014.

l. 5: προβατοκτηνοτρόφων → P.Bingen 58 (Philadelphia, 22 CE); P.Iand. III 26a (Theadelphia, I/II CE); P.Lond. III 604 B (Krokodilopolis, 47 CE); P. Lond. III 842.10 (Aprias, 140 CE); P.Mich. II 121v. Abstract 4.xii [210] (Tebtynis, 42 CE); P.Mich. II 123r iii.40 [216] note; P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Ryl. II 73.6–7 (Euhemeria, 32–31 BCE); P.Ryl. II 131.21–22 (Euhemeria, 31 CE); P.Ryl. II 143.11–12 (Euhemeria, 38 BCE); P.Ryl. II 229.4 (Arsinoites, 38 CE), where the

προβατοκτηνοτρόφος is to supply a donkey; P.Hamb. I 34.6 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE); P.Strasb. IV 181.8–9 (Euhemeria, 166 CE): a complaint about a herdsman who has allowed sheep to graze on another's property; P.Wash. Univ. I 1.14–15 (Oxyrhynchus, 27–37 CE). Although κτηνοτρόφος often refers to the raising of cattle, it is more likely in Egypt that it refers to the rearing of donkeys, as it clearly does in O.Fay. 14 → [207] (Euhemeria, 1 CE) and P.Phil. 1.28 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE). Accordingly, we translate προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι as ‘sheep and donkey rearers. The contexts in which the term appears include declarations to the size of herds, and complaints against προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι who allowed sheep to graze on, and destroy, the crops of others. It is important to note that the προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι were not necessarily or typically the shepherds: the προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι as owners were responsible for tax declarations concerning the size of flocks; shepherds were typically not the owners but workers paid to care for the sheep → P.Hamb. I 34 [235] *comment*.

- II. 6–7: τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων. It is not clear whether women (wives) were also considered members of the association or not.

Comments

This is one of two inscriptions found at the site of a small temple dedicated to the god Soknopaios and to Isis Neferses (for the other inscription → I.Fayum I 70 = SB V 8886). The relief on the stele suggests the sheep and donkey rearers cultivated a close relationship to the god Soknopaios. But shepherds and sheep and donkey rearers were often involved with temples for more than worship; they leased temple land for pasturage of their herds (Johnson 1936, 228 → P.Mich. II 121.4.11, 12 [210]).

It was not unusual for associations to engage in euergetism on behalf of temples and deities (→ IApamBith 35 [119 or 104 BCE], a stele dedicated to Cybele from Stratonike erected by a *thiasos*; MAMA IX 49 [I–II CE], a column in central Asia Minor dedicated to Zeus Bennios on behalf of a farmers association; IG XII,2 109 = AGRW 259, a statue of Aphrodite from Lesbos, dedicated by leather-workers). Banqueting is often emphasized in discussions of association life (MacMullen 1974, 77–78), but we see here a display of piety without reference to feasting. Although conviviality and comradeship were prominent in association life, devotion to the gods, or at least displays of it, also played an important role (Harland 2013, 49–50). It was typical for associations to take a deity as a patron (Harland 2013, 51).

The construction of an encircling wall attests to the wealth of the sheep rearers (→ Bernand, commentary on I.Fayum I 73 for II. 3 and 5). This is perhaps also linked to the importance of weaving in Egypt (Johnson 1936, 228).

It remains uncertain whether these sheep and livestock rearers constituted a formal guild or not. Guilds of sheep and livestock rearers are attested in P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE) and the same guild is probably mentioned in Kronion's account (P.Mich. II 123.iii.40; viii.26 [216], Tebtynis, 45/46 CE). The sheep and livestock rearers of P.Hamb. I 34 [235] = SB XXIV 16313) were

certainly a guild, making a declaration through their elders (*presbyteroi*) concerning flocks under their care. Whether the sheep rearers of I.Fayum I 73 constituted a guild is less certain: no association terms (*synodos*, *koinon*) are present, and no administrative terminology (*prostatēs*, *hēgoumenos*) appear. The collective ownership or control of property is a better indication that this might be a formal guild. Compare IEph 20 [127]) the building of a tax station by a guild, supported by member and non-member contributions.

For complaints about the activities of individual προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι, → P.Bingen 58; P.Iand. III 26a (fragmentary); P.Mich. V 228; P.Ryl. II 131; P.Ryl. II 143; P.Strasb. IV 181 (one breeder and his sons); P.Ryl. II 73: receipts for use of grazing land: P.Ryl. II 229 (Arsinoites, 38 CE) mentions that a breeder is to supply a man with a donkey.

Literature: Davoli, Paola 2007. “The Temple Area of Soknopaiou Nesos.” In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology, Lecce*. Ed. Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14, 97–124. Galatina: Congedo (106–108); Davoli, Paola 2014. “The Temple of Soknopaios and Isis Nepherses at Soknopaiou Nesos (El-Fayyum).” In *Le myrte et la rose: Mélanges offerts à Françoise Dunand par ses élèves, collègues et amis*, ed. Gaëlle Tallet and Christiane Zivie-Coche. Archéologie des sociétés Méditerranéennes. Montpellier: Équipe, 97–124; Harland, Philip A. 2013. *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*. 2nd revised ed.; Johnson, Alan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; MacMullen, Ramsay 1974. *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*. New Haven: Yale University Press. MM

[203] IGRR I 1114

Dedication of a Statue of a Patron

Memphis (Ptah Temple)

17 BCE

Published: E. Miller, “Étude sur une inscription grecque decouverté dans les ruines du Temple de Ptah à Memphis,” *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne* 1 (1872) 51–54, p. 52; Giuseppe Botti, *Notice des monuments exposés au musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandrie: L. Carriere, 1893) 143 (no. 2486); Giuseppe Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandre* (Alexandrie: A. Mourés, 1900) 246 (no. 50); Breccia I.Alex.Mus. 30 (no. 45; ph. plate XII no. 35); SB I 983; Cagnat, IGRR I 1114; Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, p. 30 (no. 2) [TM 102690; CAPInv 1359].

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum?

According to Miller, a block of grey granite, $12 \times 9 \times 8$ cm. discovered in the ruins of the temple of Ptah.

Φιλέρων προστατήσας
τὸ ἔτος Καίσαρος, ἀνέθηκε
Ἡρακλείδην τὸν ἐαυτοῦ
πατρὼνα καὶ εὐεργέτην

5 τοῖς νέμουσι τὴν σύνο[δον] ἔτους ἢ Καίσαρος Μεχρί[ρ –].

Phileros, who was president (*prostatēs*) in the 13th year of Caesar, dedicated (this statue of) Herakleidēs, his patron and benefactor, (5) to those who formed the association (*synodos*), Year 13, Mecheir x.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; use of leadership terms: προστατήσας; dedication to a patron and benefactor.

Location: Memphis. TM geo ref. 1344; Barrington Atlas 75 E1.

l. 1: προστατήσας → IGRR I 1095.2 [163] note.

l. 5: τοῖς νέμουσι τὴν σύνο[δον]. On νέμω, → I.Alex.imp. 93.2 [172] note. This is the same language as the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*: (BGU V 1210.240 §108 [234]) οἱ [i] σύ]νοδον νέμοντες κατεκ[ρίθ]ης[α]ν ἐκ ٥ φ, ἐνίστε μόν[οι] οἱ [π]ρο[σ]τάται, “Those who form a *synodos* are condemned to a fine of 500 dr., (though) sometimes only the presidents (are fined).” The date of this provision of the Gnomon is uncertain and hence it might not have been in force in 17 BCE. On the force of the Gnomon in Egypt, see the Introduction and Arnatoutoglou 2005.

Literature: Arnaoutoglou, Ilias 2005. “«Collegia» in the Province of Egypt in the First Century A.D.” In *AnSoc* 35:197–216.

[204] I.Fayum III 212

Dedication by a Guild of Bread and Cake Bakers

Arsinoites

19 Feb 3 CE

Published: Heinrich K. Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1857) 1:136–137; Giacomo Lumbroso, *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 4 (1868–1869) 718–720 (no. 2) = Giacomo Lumbroso, *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 5 (1869–1870) p. 230 (no. 4) = Giacomo Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de*

l'Égypte sous les Lagides (Turin: L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, 1869) 134 (no. 2); SB I 984; SB I 2035; Cagnat, IGRR I 1117; I.Fayum III 146–149 (no. 212) [TM 92028; CAPInv 1249].

Location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum II 17423, Ägyptische Sammlung 205.

Arched limestone stele. 55 × 33 × 10 cm. A bas relief depicts Isis and Sobek on the left. On the right, a man followed by a woman and a child bring them offerings. Above, in the arch, two crocodiles wear the crown of Lower Egypt. The inscription is crudely engraved.

- ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος,
θεοῦ υἱοῦ, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστ-
οῦ, Ποπλίου Ὀκταουίου ὄντος ἐπὶ τ-
ῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
5 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου καθαρο-
υργῶν καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν
Ἡρακλείδην Σοχώτου προστ-
άτην τοῦ λβ L Καίσαρος στ-
ῆλην καὶ εἰκόνα {ν} ὀρθήν διὰ βί-
10 ου· L λβ Καίσαρος,
Μεχὶρ κε.

Apparatus: 2 Pap. θεὸν || Pap. Δία || Pap. Ἐλευθέριον || 3 Pap. Σεβαστὸν || 9 Pap. λιθίνην

For (the well-being) of Emperor Caesar, son of god, Zeus Eleutherios, Augustus, (and) Publius Octavius, governor of Egypt, the association (*plēthos*) of (5) Arsinoite specialty bakers and cake makers honoured Herakleidēs son of Sochotēs, their president (*prostatēs*) for the 32nd year of Caesar, with a stele and a statue, for life. Year 32 of Caesar, Mecheir 25.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καθαρουργῶν καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν; leadership term: προστάτης; collective dedication and honouring of the association's peer benefactor, the προστάτης; yearly election of a president.

Location: Arsinoites.

1. 1: ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, → JIGRE 22.1 [154] note.
1. 2: Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου: stone: ΔΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΝ: Equivalent of Jupiter Liber, common in Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean, → IGRR I 1295 (Karnak, 27 BCE – 14 CE); OGIS II 659 (Tentyris, 1 CE); I.Philae 142 (Philae, 7 BCE).
1. 3: Ποπλίου Ὀκταουίου: praefect of Egypt 2/1 BCE–3 CE. This document provides the latest date for his tenure. For the earliest date → BGU IV 1200 (Reinmuth 1967, 76–77).
11. 5–6: καθαρουργῶν καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν: → Lumbroso (1869, 134) on pastries and flat cakes being a specialty of Arsinoites, owing to its renown for high-quality olive

production. Strabo 17.35 reports that Arsinoites is “the only nome planted with large, full-grown olive trees, which bear fine fruit. If the produce were carefully collected, good oil might be obtained; but this care is neglected, and although a large quantity of oil is obtained, yet it has a disagreeable smell.”

- l. 9: καὶ εἰκόνα{ν} ὀρθήν. For KAIHKON (*vac.*) ANOPHHN, Brugsch (1857) reads καὶ εἰκόνα (καὶ) ἑορτήν. Lumbroso (1869) revises this as εἰκόνα λιθίνην (followed by Bernand), suggestive of a statue rather than a bas relief. Sijpesteijn (1982) argues a less drastic error on the part of the cutter, suggesting καὶ εἰκόνα{ν} ὀρθήν, adopted here.

Literature: Lumbroso Giacomo 1869. *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*. Turin: L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (134 n. 2); Reinmuth, O.W. 1967. “A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt 30 BC to 299 AD.” In *BASP* 4:75–128; Sijpesteijn, Pieter J. 1982. “SB I 984: Ein Vorschlag.” In *ZPE* 46:248. MM

[205] P.Ryl. II 94 Bail for Five Weavers

Euhemeria (division of Themistos, Arsinoites) 15–36 CE

Published: J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. II Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915) 61–62 (no. 94); Arthur S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, eds. *Select Papyri* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934) 188–189 (no. 255) [TM 13009; CAPInv 1280]

Current location: Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 94.

Similar or related documents: → *Weavers*: BGU VII 1572 [233] = P.Phil. 10 (duplicate) (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); BGU VII 1564 [→ 232] (Philadelphia, 138 CE); P.Mich. I 57 [185]; P.Oxy. II 259; P.Grenf. II 43 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE).

A single sheet of papyrus 15.4 × 13.3 cm.

- Ἡρακλῆς Πετεσοῦχ(ου) ἡγούμενος γερδίων
 Εὐημερήας καὶ Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) Ἀσκληπιάδου
 γραμματεὺς τῶν αὐτῶν γερδίων
 Ἦρωνι χ(ε)ριστῇ Σώτου ἐξηγητοῦ χα(ίρειν).
 5 ὁμο{υ}λογοῦ[μ]εν ἐγγεγυῆσ{σ}θαι
 παρὰ σοῦ Ἀφ[ε]ῖν Ἀφεῖτος καὶ Ἀρπα-
 γάθην Ὀρσε[ν]ουφιος καὶ Ἡρᾶν Ὀρσεν(ούφιος)
 καὶ Μέλαν[α] Ἐ[ρ]γέως καὶ Ἡρακλῆν
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοὺς πέντε γερδίους

- 10 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Εὐημερήας
καὶ ἐπάναγκον παραστήσει<ν> σοι αὐτοῦ<ς>
ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ἐκδικοῦντες τὰ διὰ
τοῦ ὑπομνήματος Πανινούτιος τοῦ
Ἀφροδισίου ἐρι(ουργοῦ) ? Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) ὁ προγεγραμμέ-
15 νος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ> Ἡρακλήου διὰ
τ[ὸ] μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα. L
[. . Τιβε]ρί[ο]υ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Ἐπεῖφ ιη.

Apparatus: 5 Pap. ἐνγεγυῆσθαι || 7 Pap. Ὅρσε[ν]ουφιον || 9 Pap. Ἀπολλωνι. || 11 Pap. ἐπάνανκον || 12 Pap. ἐρή || Pap. τοα || 15 Pap. αὐτὸ

Hēraklēs son of Petesouchos, president (*hēgoumenos*) of the weavers of Euhemeria, and Aphrodisios son of Asklēpiadēs, secretary (*grammateus*) of the same weavers, to Heron agent of Sotas, *exegētēs*, greetings. (5) We acknowledge that we stand as sureties to you for Apheus son of Apheus, Harpagathēs son of Orsenouphis, Hēras son of Orsenouphis, Melas son of Hergeus, and Hēraklēs son of Apollōnios, all five weavers of the (10) said village of Euhemeria, and that we must produce them to you whenever you choose, to answer the claims in the petition of Paninoutis son of Aphrodisios the wool-worker. I, the aforesaid Aphrodisios, (15) have written for Hēraklēs because he is illiterate. The ..th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 18.

Notes

Association? Certain: artisans in the plural (γέρδιοι); leadership terms: ἡγούμενος, γραμματεὺς; members collectively offering a surety for five others in the guild.

Location: Euhemeria (division of Themistos, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 675; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

l. 4: ἐξηγητοῦ: The *exegētai* were Roman functionaries with an assortment of duties. By the end of I *ce*, they were “true municipal officials” operating out of the metropoleis (Rowlandson 2010, 247).

l. 16: τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα: This is a common expression to indicate illiteracy. It refers specifically to knowledge of Greek letters and does not necessarily preclude knowledge of Demotic (Youtie 1975a, 102–104). Demotic was itself largely unknown outside of priests and professional scribes, and genuine illiteracy was widespread in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Illiterate parties in contractual exchanges were in a vulnerable position. They typically turned to close relatives or legal guardians to serve as *hypographeus* or, as here, fellow members of trade associations (Youtie 1975b, 102–114).

Comments

In this document, the president and the secretary of the weavers guild, offer themselves as a surety for five other members of the guild who are respondents

in legal action brought by a wool worker. Their surety acts as a guarantee that the five members will appear for judgment when it becomes necessary. Failure to produce the defendants could result in the guarantors being held liable for further fines (→ P.Mich. I 57 [185], P.Oxy. II 259). The provision for mutual assistance was typical of guild contracts and was one of the clear benefits of membership (→ P.Mich. V 243 [206]). Demotic bylaws also have provisions that the association would stand surety or otherwise assist members in the case of arrest and prosecution (→ P.Lille.dem. 29.15 [188] and Boak 1937, 217–218).

Literature: Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. “The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *TAPA* 68:212–220; Reiter, Fabian 2004. *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites: ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten*. Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologia Coloniensis, 31. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh (p. 115 n. 24 on dating); Rowlandson, Jane 2010. “Administration and Law: Graeco-Roman.” In *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, edited by Alan Lloyd, 1:237–254. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (67–68, 135); Youtie, Herbert C. 1975a. “Because They Do not Know Letters’.” In *ZPE* 19:101–108; Youtie, Herbert C. 1975b. “Υπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt.” In *ZPE* 17:201–221. MM

[206] P.Mich. V 243

Bylaws of a Guild of Sheep and Donkey Rearers

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 14–37 CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak, “The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt.” *TAPA* 68 (1937) 212–220; Arthur E.R. Boak in Elinor M. Hussenman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 90–100 (no. 243) + BL IX 160 [TM 12084; CAPInv 1408].

Translations: Mees 2002, 387–388; AGRW 300.

Current Location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P. 720.

Similar or related documents: → *sheep and donkey rearers* (προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι): I.Fayum I 73 [202]; P.Mich. II 123r iii.40, viii.26 [216] (Tebtynis 45/46 CE); P.Ryl. II 229.4; P.Hamb. I 34.6 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE); *other association bylaws*: P.Mich. V 244–248 (all from the early to mid-first century, from Tebtynis); P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 (Tebtynis, 145 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis,

158/57 BCE); 30619 a+b (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Cair. 31179 (Tebtynis, 147 BCE); P.Berol 3115 (Memnoneia, 109–8 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE).

Papyrus, 37 × 23 cm. The papyrus is from the archive of Kronion son of Apion, the *nomographos* of Tebtynis [TM ARCH id. 93]. The editor describes it as follows: “The papyrus has been broken along the top, and a considerable portion is missing. It is also torn along the left-hand side, and is damaged at the upper and lower left-hand corners. In addition, there are numerous holes towards the left-hand side of the sheet and the surface has been abraded in several places. Originally there was a left-hand margin of 3 cm.” (Boak 1944, 90–91).

⟨traces⟩

[. . . ἔτ]ους Τιβερίου Καίσαρ[ος] Σεβαστοῦ Ἡρώνα Ὀρσεῦτος σὺν ᾧ ἐπ-
ἀναγκον εὐωχέισθωσαν κατὰ μῆνα τῇ ιβ,
ἐκάστου εἰς ἐπιμήν[ι]ον τελοῦντος τὰς ἐξ ἴσου κατ’ ὄνομα κεκριμένας
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα δύο, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀδωσιδικούντος ἐπὶ
τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλ[λω]ν ἐξέστω {ι} τῷ προστάτῃ ἐνεχυράζειν. ἐὰν δὲ τις
ἐκπαροινήσῃ ζημιούσθω {ι} ὁ ἐὰν τῷ κοινῷ δόξῃ.

ἐὰν δὲ τιγὶ [ζ]σύλλο[γ]ος παραγγελῇ καὶ μὴ παραγένηται, ζημιούσθω {ι}
ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κόμης δραχ(μὴν) μίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεω(ς) δραχ(μὰς)
τέσσαρας.

- 5 [ἐ]ὰν δὲ τις γαμήσῃ, δότω {ι} ₪ β, παιδογονίου ἄρρενο(ς) ₪ β, θηλείας ₪ α,
ἀγορασμοῦ ἐγγαίου ₪ δ, ἀγέλης προβάτων ₪ δ, κτηνῶ(ν) ₪ α.
ἐὰν τις παρίδῃ τινὰ ἐν ἀηδία καὶ μὴ συνεπισχύσῃ ἐπὶ τὸ συλλῦσαι αὐτὸν
τῆς ἀηδίας, δ[ό]τω {ι} ₪ η. ὁ δ’ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχία(ς)
κατὰ κλισίαν προαναπ{ε}ίπτων τοῦ ἐτέρου δότω {ι} περισσότερον
τριῷβολον τοῦ ἰδίου τόπου ἑκάστος. ἐὰν τις τοῦ ἐτέρου κατη-
γορήσῃ ἢ {ι} διαβολὴν ποιήσῃται, ζημι(ούσθω) ₪ η ἐὰν τις τὸν ἕτερον ὑπο-
νομεύσῃ ἢ {ι} οἰκοφθορήσῃ, ζημιο(ύσθω) ₪ ξ. ἐὰν τις πρὸς ἰδιωτικ(όν)
παραδοθῇ, ἐγγυάσθωσαν αὐτὸν ἕως ἀργ(υρίου) ₪ ἑκατὸν πρὸς ἡμέρ(ας) λ,
ἐν αἷς ἀπευλυτήσῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἴη μὲν ὑγεία· ἐὰν τις τῶν
- 10 συνοδ{ε}ιτῶν τελευτήσῃ, ξυράσθωσαν πάντες καὶ ἐστιάτωσαν ἡμέρ(αν) α,
ἐκάστου παραχρῆμα εἰσφέροντος ₪ α καὶ κάκεις δύο,
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστιάτωσαν ἡμέρ(αν) α. ὁ ἐπὶ κεφαλικοῦ μὴ
ξυρησάμενος ζημιο(ύσθω) ₪ δ. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων μὴ μιανθεῖς
μηδὲ [στέ]μμα καταστήσας ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ζημιο(ύσθω) ₪ δ. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἃ
ἐὰν τῷ κοινῷ δόξῃ, κύριος ἐ{σ}τω {ι} ὁ νόμος ὑπογραφεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
πλειίστων· κύριος τῷ προστάτῃ ἀποδοθήτω {ι}. Ἡράκλειος Ἀφροδισίου
(ὡς ἐτῶν) μβ ο(ύλῃ) παρὰ μεσόφρ(υον).

Ὀρσῆς Κρονίδου (ὡς ἐτῶν) με ο(ύλῃ) ὄφρ(υεῖ).

- 15 Μιεῦς Ἀρμιῦσιος (ὡς ἐτῶν) μς ο(ύλῃ) πρ(οσώπῳ) ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν)
Ἀρμιῦσις Φασῶτος (ὡς ἐτῶν) νε ο(ύλῃ) . . . δε(ξι).

⟨hand 2⟩ Ἡρῶν Ὀρσεῦτος εὐδοκῶ {ι} προστάτης καθὼς πρόκειται.

⟨hand 3⟩ Σωτήρι[χ]ος Σωτηρίχου εὐδοκῶ.

- <hand 4> Πάτρων Πατύνι<ο>ς εὐδοκῶ
 20 <hand 5> Ἡρώδης Σωτηρίχου εὐδοκῶ.
 <hand 6> Ψενοβάστις Ἡρώδου εὐδοκῶ
 <hand 7> Ἡρώδης Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου εὐδοκῶ.
 <hand 8> Ὀρσενού[φ]ις Ἀρμιύσι<ο>ς εὐδοκῶ. {.
 <hand 9> Ἀπολλόνιος Ἀφροδισίου εὐδοκῶ.
 25 <hand 10> Ἡρακλῆ[ς] Ἀφροδισίου καὶ Ἀρμιύσις Φασῶτος καὶ Ὀρσῆς
 Κρονίδου [κ]αὶ Μιεύς Ἀρμιύσι<ο>ς εὐδοκοῦμεν καθῶς
 πρόκιτα[ι]. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Νικάνωρ
 Ἡλιοδώ[ρο]ν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς γράμ<μ>ατα.
 <hand 11> Ὀρσ[ε]νοῦφις Ὡρου εὐδοκῶ {ι}.
 30 Ὀρσεγοῦφις Ἀφροδισίου εὐδοκῶ {ι}.
 Ἡρακλᾶς Πτο[λε]μαίου εὐδοκῶ {ι}.
 [ὕ]π[ε]ρ[α]ψ[εν] ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ὀρ[σ]ενούφ[ις] Ὡρου τοῦ
 [. διὰ τ]ὸ μὴ εἰδέναι
 [αὐτοὺς γράμματα].

<verso>

ερη..πραξίω. . .χ

Apparatus: 6 Pap. τωὶ || 11 Pap. ἐστιαν || 13 Pap. κυρια || 17 Pap. εὐδωκῶ || Pap. καθὸς || 18 Pap. εὐδοκῶι || 19 Pap. εὐτυκῶ || 21 Pap. εὐτοκο || 24 Pap. ἐτογῶ || 26 28 Pap. τω

. . . in the year . . . of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Heron son of Orseus, with whom they must have a monthly banquet on the 12th (of the month), each member contributing monthly dues of twelve silver drachmae which have been determined for each on an equal basis. It is permitted for the president (*prostatēs*) to exact a surety from one who fails to pay his dues in these or any other matters. If a member behaves badly owing to drunkenness, he shall be fined whatever the association (*koinon*) decides. If a member is sent an announcement of the meeting and does not attend, he shall be fined one drachma (if the meeting is) in the village and four drachmae if it is in the city.

(5) If a member marries, he shall contribute two drachmae, two drachmae for the birth of a male child, one drachma for a female, four drachmae if land is purchased, four drachmae for a flock of sheep, one drachma for donkeys. If a member ignores someone (i.e., another member) who is in distress and does not assist in helping him out of his trouble, he shall pay 8 drachmae.

Whoever at the banquets, when taking his seat, shoves in front of another shall pay an extra 3 obols to sit in his own place. If a member prosecutes or calumniates another (member), he shall be fined 8 drachmae. If a member commits intrigue against, or corrupts the home of another (member), he

shall pay 60 drachmae. If a member has been arrested for a private debt, they shall stand surety for him for up to one hundred silver drachmae for 30 days, during which time he shall release the men (from their pledge).

May health prevail! (10) If one of the members (*synoditai*) should die, all of the members shall shave themselves and shall hold a banquet for one day, each member contributing immediately one drachma and two loaves. In the case of other deaths (i.e., the death of family members), they shall hold a banquet for one day. Whoever does not shave his head shall be fined 4 drachmae. Whoever does not defile himself (by participating in the funeral) or has not put a wreath at the tomb shall be fined 4 drachmae. Other matters shall be as the association decides.

This law shall be valid when signed by the majority of members. When validated, it shall be returned to the president (*prostatēs*).

Hērakleios son of Aphrodisios, about 42 years old, with a scar between his eyebrows.

Orsēs son of Kronidēs, about 45 years old, with a scar on an eyebrow

(15) Mieus son of Harmiusis, about 46 years old, with a scar on the left side of his face

Harmiusis son of Phasos, about 55 years old, with a scar . . . right

⟨hand 2⟩ I, Heron son of Orseus, president (*prostatēs*), approve (the bylaws) as has been set forth.

⟨hand 3⟩ I, Soterichos son of Soterichos, approve.

⟨hand 4⟩ I, Patron son of Patunis, approve.

⟨hand 5⟩ (20) I, Hērodēs son of Soterichos, approve.

⟨hand 6⟩ I, Psenobastis son of Hērodēs approve.

⟨hand 7⟩ I, Hērodēs son of Hērodēs also called Isidorus, approve.

⟨hand 8⟩ I, Orsenouphis son of Harmiusis, approve.

⟨hand 9⟩ I, Apollōnios son of Aphrodisios, approve.

⟨hand 10⟩ (25) We, Hēraklēs son of Aphrodisios and Harmiusis son of Phasos and Orsēs son of Kronides and Mieus son of Harmiusis, give our approval as indicated above. Nikanor son of Hēliodōros wrote for them because they are illiterate.

⟨hand 11⟩ I, Orsenouphis son of Horos, approve.

(30) I Orsenouphis son of Aphrodisios, approve.

I, Hēraklēs son of Ptolemaios, approve.

Orsenouphis son of Horos, also called . . . wrote for them because they are illiterate.

⟨verso⟩

. . .

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: κοινόν (members called συνοδεῖται); bylaws; leadership terms: προστάτης; monthly banquets and activities including funerals with membership dues and contributions; probably a common fund (κοινόν); evidence of

guilds of προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι in Tebtynis at the same time (P.Mich. II 123r iii.40 [216]; P.Mich. V 240.i.31, Tebtynis, 46 CE).

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

- II. 1, 6: εὐωχέισθωσαν, εὐωχία often connotes public feasting. A fragmentary letter to a *stolistēs* and an unnamed association (*plēthos*, perhaps priests) invites the addressee(s?) to celebrate feasting, merry-making and crown-wearing with all of the association: διὸ γράφομεν ὑμῖν ὅπως εὐωχῆσθε καὶ εὐφραίνεσθε [καὶ σ]τεφανηφορίαν ἄξετε [σὺν] παντὶ τῷ πλήθει (P.Oxy. LXXIII 4960, Oxyrhynchus, II CE). In 84 CE, a certain Didymos invites Apollōnios to a feast where he can celebrate (συνεωχηθῆ[ς]) with Didymos (BGU II 596, Arsinoites, 10 May 84 CE). Musicians and entertainers are contracted to perform at such feasts (P.Fam.Tebt. 54, 219 CE; P.Oxy. XXXIV 2721, 234 CE). This is also a common term for feasting in sympotic literature. This kind of feasting receives a negative valence in early Christian writings (cf. συνεωχούμενοι in 2 Pet 2:13; Jude 12).
- I. 3: ἐνεχυράζειν → P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] note.
- I. 4: εἰάν δέ τιτι [ἔ]σῳλο[γ]ος παραγγελῇ καὶ μὴ παραγένῃται: → P.Lond. VII 2193.11–12 [199]: παρῆσονται ἐπὶ τὰ[ς] δοθη[σομ]ένας αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας καὶ [σ]υνλόγουσ καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ ἀποδημί[ας]. . . . “and they shall be present at all command occasions to be prescribed for them and at meetings and assemblies and outings. . . .”
- I. 5: κτηνῶ(ν) Ἦ α.: On the translation of κτήνος as “donkey” rather than “cattle” → I.Fayum I 73.5 [202] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE) note. The fact that the purchase of a flock of sheep requires a contribution of 4 dr., while the purchase of κτήνα requires only 1 dr. also suggest that this does not refer to cattle, but rather donkeys.
- II. 6–7: ὁ δ’ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις | κατὰ κλισίαν προαναπειπτῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου: Cf. CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE) 25–27: “It was further voted that any member who moves from one place to another so as to cause a disturbance shall be fined 4 sesterces.”
- I. 11: ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων μὴ μανθῆις: i.e., by entering the death house and participating the funeral.
- I. 13: Ἡράκλειος Ἀφροδισίου. The name is spelled as Herakleios in I. 13 but apparently the same person, Ἡρακλῆ[ς] Ἀφροδισίου is called Herakles in I. 25.
- II. 17–31: εὐδοκῶ, “I approve.” This is an extremely common formula attested in various forms of binding agreement. In association documents, an alternate of this approval formula is ἐνρήφισμαι → P.Mich. V 246.20–23 [211]; P.Mich. V 244.45–46 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V. 247.17–18 [209] (Tebtynis, 40–41 CE) and P.Mich. V 248.8–10 [213]. P.Ross. Georg. II 8.1–10 (unknown, II BCE) uses the εὐδοκῶ formula for 10 members of οἱ ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, approving an account of wheat (?)

Comments

Since the top of the papyrus is missing, where the name of the society and the deity honoured or trade of the members would normally be indicated, it is impossible to know whether this is a religious association or a professional guild or a convivial society. There is no mention of libations to gods or mysteries enacted or sacrifices and no indication that the meetings occurred in a temple – indeed, they seem to have been mobile to the extent that the association

sometime met in the village and at other times in the city. Boak (1944, 92) suggests that the mention of flocks and herds (l. 5) might point to a guild of *προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι* (sheep and donkey rearers → P.Mich. II 123r iii.40 [216] *note*) and notes that sheep and donkey rearers are known to have been active in Tebtynis and associated with the *ἀπολύσιμοι* (→ P.Mich. II 123r iii.40; viii.26 [216]). In Soknopaiou Nesos, *προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι* made a dedication for the temple (I.Fayum I 73? [202], 24 BCE).

Most of the members seem to have belonged to one of one of nine family groups:

- {A} Hērakleios son of Aphrodisios (42 years old)
Apollōnios son of Aphrodisios
Hēraklēs son of Aphrodisios
Orsenouphis son of Aphrodisios (illiterate)
- {B} Orses son of Kronides (45 years old) (illiterate)
Hēron son of Orseus, President
- {C} Mieus son of Harmiusis (46 years old) (illiterate)
Orsenouphis son of Harmiusis (or perhaps son of {D})
- {D} Harmiusis son of Phasos (55 years old) (illiterate)
- {E} Soterichos son of Soterichos
Hērodēs son of Soterichos
- {F} Psenobastis son of Hērodēs
Hērodēs (=Isidorus) son of Hērodēs
- {H} Patron son of Patunis
- {I} Orsenouphis son of Horos (scribe and member)
- {J} Hēraklēs son of Ptolemaios (illiterate)

Hērakleios son of Aphrodisios (illiterate, 42 years old) is also mentioned as owning a house next to a property being sold in a document written by Eutychos the elder (P.Mich. V 306). Orsenouphis son of Harmiysis is connected with the estate of Iulia Augusta and the children of Germanicus Caesar) (SB XX 14314, 26 CE).

The first four might be brothers, all sons of Aphrodisios; Orsenouphis may be the brother of Mieus, or the son of Harmiusis {D}; and Psenbastis and Hērodēs may be brothers, both sons of a Hērodēs. There also seems to be at least two sets of fathers and sons: the president Hēron is the son of one of the oldest members, Orses; and Hērodēs is the son of Soterichos.

This *nomos* specifically stipulates that the monthly dues of 12 dr. have been assigned on an equal basis (ἐξ ἴσου, l. 2). Equality of participants at a banquet is a debated issue in Graeco-Roman literature on *symposia*, often concerning seating arrangements or the distribution of individual or collective portions. In *Quaest.conv.* 643AB. Plutarch debates how equality at a *symposia* is to be performed by serving food in individual rather than common dishes: καίτοι τίν' ἔχει διαφορὰν ἢ κύλικα καταθέντα τῶν κεκλημένων ἐκάστῳ καὶ χοῦν, ἐμπλησάμενον οἴνου, καὶ τράπεζαν ἰδίαν ὥσπερ οἱ Δημοφωντίδαι τῷ Ὁρέστῃ λέγονται, πίνειν κελεῦσαι μὴ προσέχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις: ἢ τοῦθ' ὅπερ νῦν γίγνεται, κρέας προθέμενον καὶ ἄρτον, ὥσπερ ἐκ φάτνης ἰδίας ἕκαστον εὐώχεῖσθαι, “And is it

not the same thing to provide a different cup and different table for every guest (as the Demophontidae treated Orestes), as now to set each man his loaf of bread and mess of meat, and feed him, as it were, out of his own trough?" The equal monthly contribution of this association contrasts sharply with other contemporaneous associations in Tebtynis, in particular the *synodos* of Harpokrates (→ P.Mich. V 246 [211], ca. 43–49 CE) in which the contributions are indexed by rank of seating at the *triclinium*.

In the Ptolemaic-era associations in Fayûm and in Tebtynis in particular, unequal contributions seem to be the norm: → P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, ca. 114 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE). In these associations, dues are sometimes indexed to status within the group, with officials contributing more than regular members (→ Monson 2007, 189–295). In some of the Greek accounts such as P.Tebt. III/2 894 (ca. 114 BCE) [194] office holders pay substantially more than the regular 100 drachmae contribution. Monson notes that this hierarchical arrangement resembles the dues arrangements in the Demotic accounts (→ P.Cair. 30606 [191]). A rare exception may be P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris(?), 109/8 BCE) which calculates the cost of a banquet on the basis of equal contributions.

The dues required of the members of the association represented by P.Mich. V 243 have attracted special comment. Venticinque notes:

With regard to Egypt in particular, the dues paid by a member of the unidentified guild of P.Mich. V 243 in Tebtunis in the first century AD, for instance, amounted to 144 drachmae per year. Such a sum would have provided enough wheat for a household of four members in Egypt, depending on location, according to the calculations made by R.P. Duncan-Jones (1990, 144). He based his calculations on an assumption that the average person required 10 artabae (30 kg) of wheat per year, at 3.5–8.0 drachmae per artaba, so four persons would cost between 140 and 320 drachmae a year (this is a basic calculation which does not take into account differences in age or gender). (2010, 274 n.4)

The dues of the association do appear to be relatively high not only with respect to subsistence requirements, but also relative to the dues of other associations. Kronion son of Apion, the *nomographos* of Tebtynis, paid only 4 dr. as an annual contribution to the *synodos* of the god (P.Mich. II 127 1.20; 2.33 [217]). However, comparing the dues of Ptolemaic and Roman associations using wheat equivalents, we can see how there appears to be approximately two levels of dues, those between 1–3 artabae of wheat equivalent and those between 18–22 wheat equivalent.

Document	Date	Annual Contribution (AE dr.)	Annual Contribution. (AR dr.)	Wheat equiv.

P.Cair. II 30605	145 BCE	1200 dr.	5 AR dr.	?
P.Tebt. III/2 894	114 BCE	1200 dr.	2.5 AR dr.	1 art.
P.Tebt. I 118	112/1 BCE	1200 dr.	2.5 AR dr.	1 art.
P.Tebt. I 224	109/8 BCE	1260 dr.	2.5 AR dr.	1.05 art.
SB III 7182	II–I BCE	3,240 dr.	6.75 AR dr.	2.7 art
SB III 6319	99–30 BCE	1800–2800 dr.	3.75–5.8 AR dr.	1.5–2.3 art
P.Lond VII 2193	69–58? BCE	1200 dr.	2.5 AR.dr.	1 art
P.Mich V 243	14–37 CE		144 dr.	18 art.
P.Mich. II 127	45/46 CE		4 dr.	0.5 art.
P.Mich V 246	43–49 CE		10–24 dr.	1.25–3 art
P.Lond. III 1178	200–212 CE	100 denarii ?		22 art

Literature: Alston, Richard 2001. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge; Arzt-Grabner, Peter 2014. 2. *Korinther*. Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (376–381); Broekaert, Wim 2011. “Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a *Collegiatus*.” *AnSoc* 41:221–256; Clarysse, Willy 2001. “Use and Abuse of Beer and Wine in Graeco-Roman Egypt.” In *Punica – Libyca – Ptolemaica: Festschrift für Werner Huß, zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Klaus Geus and Klaus Zimmermann. *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, 104 = *Studia Phoenicia* 16. Leuven: Peeters, 159–166; Eckhardt, Benedikt 2014. “Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations, Systems Theory and Societal Evolution. Preliminary Perspectives.” In *CAS Sofia Working Paper Series* 6:1–35; Fikhman, Izhak F. 1994. “Sur quelques aspects socio-économiques de l’activité des corporations professionnelles de l’Égypte byzantine.” In *ZPE* 103:19–40; Gambetti, Sandra 2009. *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction*. *JSJSup* 135. Leiden: Brill; Gibbs, Matthew 2011. “Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their Raison d’Être.” In *AnSoc* 41:291–315; Langellotti, Micaela. 2016. “Professional Associations and the State in Roman Egypt: The Case of First-Century Tebtunis.” In *CdÉ* 91(181):111–34; Martinez, David, and Mary Williams 1997. “Records of Loan Receipts From a Guild Association.” In *ZPE* 118:259–263; Mees, Allard W. 2002. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen*. Monographien, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: R. Habelt; Monson, Andrew 2006. “The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations.” In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; Monson, Andrew 2007. “Private

Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts.” In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, ed. Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14, 179–196. Lecce: Congedo Editore; **Perpillou-Thomas**, Françoise 1993. *Fêtes d’Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d’après la documentation papyrologique grecque*. Studia Hellenistica 31. Leuven: Peeters; **Préaux**, Claire 1948. “A propos des associations dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine.” In *RIDA* 1 (2e série):189–198; **Reiter**, Fabian 2005. “Symposia in Tebtynis: zu den griechischen Ostraka aus den neuen Grabungen.” In *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum: Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*. Edited by Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, 131–140. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz; **Schnabel**, Eckhard J. 2006. *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*. Historisch-theologische Auslegung (HTA). Wuppertal: Brockhaus; Giessen: Brunnen (281); **Schnöckel**, Karl Heinrich 2006. *Ägyptische Vereine in der frühen Prinzipatszeit: Eine Studie über sechs Vereinssatzungen (Papyri Michigan 243–248)*. Xenia 48. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2009. “Common Causes: Guilds, Craftsmen and Merchants in the Economy and Society of Roman and Late Roman Egypt.” Thesis (Ph.D.). Chicago: University of Chicago; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2010. “Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt.” In *GRBS* 50:273–294; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2013. “Matters of Trust: Associations and Social Capital in Roman Egypt.” In *CHS Research Bulletin* 1(2); **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (14–15, 39–42, 49–50, 52–53, 57, 82, 99, 119, 150); **Wolff**, Hans Julius 1978. *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Abt. 10, Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums 5. Munich: C.H. Beck. RJO/JSK

[207] SB VI 9112 A Guild of Donkey Drivers

Arsinoites 27/28 CE
Published: Herbert C. Youtie, “Greek Ostraca from Egypt,” *TAPA* 81 (1950) 99–116, 102–103 (no. 2) (SB VI 9112) [TM 14112]
Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library O. Skeat 2
Similar or related documents: → O.Fay. 14 (1 CE); O.Deiss. 81 (Arsinoites, 24 CE); O.Fay. 17 (35 CE); O.Lund 1 (Arsinoites, 19 CE).

Ostrakon, 8.9 × 6.1 cm.

Ἡρᾶτι γρ(αμματεῖ). μέρισον Πετε-
σούχ(ω) Μαρσι(σούχου) Κορνηρίου
Ἀτικοῦ ὕ(πὸ) (πυρὸν) ὄνους δεκα-

- δύο θη(σαυροῦ) Πετεςούχ(ου). L ιδ
5 [Τιβερίο]υ Καίσαρος.

To Heras, secretary (of the donkey drivers' guild?). Deliver to Petesouchos son of Marsisouchos twelve donkeys belonging to Cornelius Atticus, loaded with wheat from the granary of Petesouchos. Year 14 of Tiberius Caesar.

Notes

Association? Probable: the only indication of a possible guild is the reference to Heras' roles as a γραμματεὺς; based on the similarities with other ostraca (O.Fay.14 and O.Fay.17), this is probably indicative of an occupational guild of donkey-drivers.

Location: Arsinoites. Barrington Atlas 75.

- I. 1. The request does not specify the association for which Heras is the secretary. By the context and a comparison of similar ostraca, we can infer that he is a member of the donkey-drivers guild → O.Fay. 14 (see below); O.Fay. 17 (see below).
- II. 1–2: Πετε|σουχ(φ) Μαρσι(σουχου). Youtie cites SB I 5232.12–13 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 14/15 CE) where Petesouchos son of Marsisouchos is a witness to a sale (dated 11/12 CE). He observes, however, that Marsisouchos (a theophoric name related to Souchos or Sobek the crocodile god) was common in Tebtynis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Theadelphia.
- II. 2–3: Κορνηρίου | Ἀττικοῦ. The ordinary rendering of the series of genitives would suggest that Petesouchos is the grandson of Cornelius Atticus. This would suggest that Atticus had settled in Egypt after the reduction of Egypt to a Roman province, either in Alexandria or the Fayûm and had married an Egyptian woman. If so, this must have at least been complicated, given the restrictions and outright bans on Roman citizens marrying Egyptians and the possibility of their property being confiscated (→ Gnomon of the Idios Logos, BGU V §§49–55). Préaux (1952, 293) proposes to resolve this anomaly by suggesting that the genitive Κορνηρίου Ἀττικοῦ might be attached to ὄνους and that Cornelius Atticus was the owner of the donkeys.
- II. 3–4. ὄνους δεκαδύο: A single donkey carried 3 (Youtie 1952, 101 n. 2) or 3½ artabae of wheat (Johnson 1936, 409). This shipment therefore consists of 36 or 42 artabae. The artaba itself is a measure of uncertain value and could have contained between 20 kg and 33.65 kgs., hence between 720 kgs. and 1413.3 kgs. For calculation of the weight of one artaba → Mayerson 1998, 190.
- I. 4: L ιδ, i.e., 27/28 CE.

Comments

This document resembles several others that instruct the donkey-drivers guild to entrust the shipment of a load of grain from a private storehouse to a named individual. E.g., O.Fay. 14 (Euhemeria, 1 CE):

Μάρω(νι) γρ(αμματεῖ) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον Πετεςούχ(φ)
Σισίοτος ὑπ(ὸ) κριθ(ήν) ὄνον ἕνα θη(σαυροῦ)
Πετῶτος Ξενίου. L λ Καίσαρος, Παῦ(νι) ιε.
〈hand 2〉 Ἀπολ(λώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι) Παῦ(νι) ιε.

To Maron secretary of the donkey-keepers. Deliver to Petesouchos son of Sisois, one donkey loaded with barley from the granary of Peteus son of Xenias. Year 30 of Caesar, Pauni 15.
 <hand 2> I Apollōnios have recorded this.

O.Fay 17 (Euhemeria, 35 CE)

Ἀπολλωνίου γρ(α)μ(ματεῖ) ὄγγω, μέρισον Φάσι[τ]ι
 Ἡλιοδώρου ὑπὸ λαχανοσπέρμον ὄνους δύο
 εἰς θησαυρὸν Λιβύλλης διὰ Πεθβῶς
 Πάτρωγος πρ(). L κα' Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,
 5 Παχῶ(ν) ιθ'.

To Apollōnios secretary of the donkey-drivers (guild). Deliver to Pasis son of Heliodōros two donkeys loaded with vegetable seed to the storehouse of Livia, through Pethbōs son of Patrōn . . . Year 21 of Tiberius Caesar. Pachon 19.

Against Meyer (O. Deiss. 81), Youtie deduces that these “likely concern deliveries made by the guilds in the regular course of private business,” citing the lack of reference to private granaries in transportation receipts (Youtie 1950, 102).

Donkey caravans moved continuously throughout the year, transporting grain from village granaries to Nile ports, where the shipments were transferred onto cargo boats bound for Alexandria. The shipments waxed at the beginning of harvest in the spring, and into the summer, and waned when the Nile became too shallow for larger boats. Donkey-driver guilds were obligated to have at least three donkeys on hand for use by the state, and the guild coordinated the movement of donkeys between villages to accommodate varying demand (Youtie 1950, 101; Johnson 1936, 403–404).

Literature: Johnson, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Mayerson, Philip 1998. “The Sack (ΣΑΚΚΟΣ) is the artaba writ large.” In *ZPE* 122:189–194; Préaux, Claire 1952. “Papyrus littéraires et documents (Égypte gréco-romaine).” In *CdÉ* 27(53):293–295. MM

[208] P.Mich. V 313

Lease of Land by an Association of Public Farmers

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

5 Dec 37 CE

Published: Elinor M. Husselman in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 249–252 (no. 313) [TM 12123; CAPIInv 1819]

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.646.

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. II 121 (Tebtynis, 42 CE)

Papyrus, 15 × 22 cm., broken at the bottom. Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93].

ἔτους δευτέρου Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μηνὸς Περιτίου
θ Χοιάχ θ ἐν Τεβτύνει της Πολέμονος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτον νομοῦ.

ἐμίσθω-

σαν Ὡρος Ἀρμιύσιος Ἀρπαρήους ὡς L ξη οὐλή πήχ[ει] δ[ε]ξιφ και
Ὀρσενοῦφης

- 5 Ὡρουανχιούτος ὡς L νη οὐλή γαστροκνημία δεξ[ι]α και Ἀρμαεῖς Πετεσού-
χου ὡς Lνε οὐλή γαστροκνημία ἀριστερᾷ και Στοτουήτης [Κ]ολλούθου ὡς
L ν

οὐλή δακτύλῳ μικρῷ χεῖρὸς ἀριστερᾶς και Αὐνῆς Τεφορσῶτος ὡς L λγ
οὐλή μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν και Ὀννώφρις [Κ]ολλούθου ὡς L λε οὐλή
γόνατι δεξιῳ, οἱ ἐξ πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν της αὐτῆς κώ-
μης, και Ἀρμιῦσι {ο}ς Ὀρσεῦτος, γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν, ὡς L νε οὐλή
πήχ[ει] δε-

- 10 ξιῳ, οἱ ἐπτά Ἡρακλείδη {ς} Διδύμου Πέρση της ἐπιγονῆς ὡς L ν οὐλή
ῥινὴ μέση {μεμισθωκέναι αὐτῷ} τὸ καθ' ἥμισυ μέρος δρυμ[οῦ] θεοῦ
λεγομένου, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτου μέρους, περὶ τὴν αὐτ[ή]ν κώμη-
ν Τεβτύνιν, φλοὸς και ἄρ<ου> και κορσίων, και Κανάβι<ος> λεγομένου χερ-
σονομῶν, εἰς ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δευτέρου ἔτους Γαίου
15 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ· τοῦ δὲ ἄρ<ου> και ὦσαι εἰς κατ[ά]βρω-
σιν χοιριδίων· φόρου τοῦ παντὸς κατ' ἔτος ἀργ[υ]ρίου ἐπισήμου νομίσ-
μα[τος] κε]φαλαίου δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα
vac.

<hand 2> Ὡρος Ἀρμιύσι<ος> Ἀρπαρήους και Ὀρσενοῦφης Ὡρουανχιούτος
και Ἀρμαεῖς Πετεσούχου και Στοτουήτης Κολλούθου και

- 20 Αὐνῆς Τεφορσῶτος και Ὀννώφρις Κολλούθου, οἱ ἐξ
πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν, και Ἀρμιῦσις γραμμα-
τεὺς γεωργῶν, οἱ ἐπτά τῶν αὐτῶν γεωργῶν ὁμολο-
γοῦμ[ε]ν μεμισθωκέναι Ἡρακλείδῃ Δι[δ]ύμ[ου]
κατὰ τὸ ἥμισον μέρος δρυμοῦ θεοῦ λεγομένου τὰ ἐκ
25 τοῦ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτου μέρ<ου>ς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώ[μην]
Τε[β]τύνιν<ν>, φλ<ο>ς και ἄρ<ου> και κορσίων, και Κανάβι<ος> λε-
γομένου χερ]σονομῶν, εἰς ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ-

<traces of 1 line>

Apparatus: 8 Pap. προσβοῖτεροι || Pap. γεωργῶν || 11 Pap. ῥινῇ || Pap. ἥμισον || 13
Pap. χορσεων || 16. Pap. χοιριδίων Pap. καθ || 21 Pap. γεωργῶν || 22 Pap. γεωργῶν ||
26 Pap. κορσινῇ

Year 2 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Peritios 9 (which is) Choiak
9, in Tebtynis of the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome. H ðros son
of Harmiysis son of Harparēs, about 68 years old, with a scar on his right

arm, and Orsenouphis son of Horouanchis, about 58 years old, with a scar on his right calf, and Harmaeis (5) son of Petesouchos, about 55 years old, with a scar on his left calf, and Stotouetis son of Kollouthos, about 50 years old, with a scar on the little finger of his left hand, and Aunes son of Tephorsos, about 33 years old, with a scar on left side his forehead, and Onnophris son of Kollouthos, about 35 years old, with a scar on his right knee – the six of them being elders (*presbyteroi*) of the public farmers from the same village, and Harmiysis son of Orseus, secretary (*grammateus*) of the farmers, about 55 years old, with a scar on his right forearm, – (10) these seven have leased to Hērakleidēs son of Didymos, a Persian of the epigone, about 50 years old, with a scar on the middle of his nose, the half share of the so-called “Marsh of the God,” the portions on the east around the same village of Tebtynis of the reed beds and arum and lotus root, and the so-called “Kanabis” (consisting) of the dry pastures, for two years from the current second year of Gaius (15) Caesar Augustus Germanicus (on the following conditions). (We will deliver) the arum and whatever there is for fodder for pigs. The rent of all the land is sixty drachmae of minted silver coin, for one year *vacat*. <hand 2> We, Hōros son of Harmiysis son of Harparēs, and Orsenouphis son of Horouanchis, and Harmaeis son of Petesouchos, and Stotouetis son of Kollouthos, and (20) Aunēs son of Tephorsos, and Onnophris son of Kollouthos – the six elders of the public farmers, and Harmiysis, secretary of the farmers, – the seven belonging to (the association of) the same farmers – acknowledge that we have leased to Hērakleidēs son of Didymos, the half share of the so-called “Marsh of the God,” (25) the eastern portions, around the village of Tebtynis of the reed bed and arum and lotus root, and the so-called “Kanabis” (consisting) of the dry pastures, for two years from the current [– –]

(APIS translation adapted slightly)

Notes

Association? Probable: a collective of δημόσιοι γεωργοί; leadership terms: πρεσβύτεροι, γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν; collective interaction with a leasee of land; evidence of guilds of δημόσιοι γεωργοί in Oxyrhynchus in 54 CE: P.Fouad 18; membership list.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

- I. 3: Ὡρος Ἀρμύσιος is also named in P.Mich. V 244.43 [212] but it cannot be the same person, since the first is said to be 68 years old in 37 CE, while the second is said to be only 32 six years later in 43 CE.
- II. 3–4, 18: Ὀρσέγγουφις | Ὀρουανχιούτος. P.Mich. II 121 (Tebtynis, 42 CE) names Ourenouphis son of Horouanchis, identified as being about 55 years old, who leased one allotment of land to Apollōnios (recto.ii.vii.1), and a second, along with Pallaus, to a certain Orseis (recto.iv.v.1). He is identified in a declaration of the γραμματεῖς of the public farmers (δημόσιοι γεργοί) of Tebtynis. In V 313.8 (37 CE), five years earlier, Ourenouphis in P.Mich. V 313 is 58 years old and as one of the six *presby-*

teroi of the public farmers. This means that the Ourenouphis of P.Mich. II 121 cannot be the same person as his namesake in P.Mich. V 313.8. The latter Ourenouphis, however, is probably named in P.Mich. V 260.8 as owning an allotment of land to the south of land subject to a sale.

- l. 8: δημοσίων γεωργῶν, public farmers. → P.Lond. II 256 = W.Chr. 344 (Ptolemaïs Euergetis, 11 CE); P.Fouad 18 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 54 CE), οἱ ἔξ πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξύρυγχων; P.Berl.Leihg. II 44 (Theadelphia, 157 CE); P.Berl.Leihg. II 26 (Theadelphia, 167 CE); SB XXIV 16294 (Theadelphia, 54 CE).
- l. 9: A namesake of Ἀρμῦσιος Ὁρσεῦτος, γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν, ὥς L νε (55 years old) is named in P.Mich. II 121.r.i.xi.1, ii.v.2, and iv.v.3 five years later (42 CE) where Harmiysis is also identified as γραμματεὺς γεωργ(ῶν). Since in 42 CE he is said to be only 51 years old, this Harmiysis cannot be the γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν of P.Mich. V 313.
- l. 10: Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς : “Persian of the Descent”: a term appearing frequently in Egyptian papyri from the mid-III BCE. While the term perhaps originally referred to members of the Persian military settlement or their descendants, all such “Persians” in the early Ptolemaic period bear Greek names and lack any clear indication of military status. Oates concludes that the term effectively meant “civilian.” The term “Persian,” in Oates’ view, pointed to the fact that Persians had been conquered by the Macedonians, thus placing such “Persians” in a status inferior to that of the Macedonian settlers, but superior to that of the Egyptians.

For reasons that are still unclear, Egyptians began to enter the ranks of the “Persians” and by the end of the second century BCE the term had come to designate a pseudo-ethnic group. Egyptian names appear in this context and the designation “Persian” seems to mean a hellenizing Egyptian, i.e., an Egyptian that had risen above the status of a “mere” Egyptian. Hence the term was the “least honorific status a person of the ruling class could have” (Oates 1963, 118).

By the Roman period the term also denoted a legal status in which the person so designated placed him/herself in the category of a debtor and was thus subject to the ἀγώγιμος clause in business dealings. Thus a Persian of the Descent was susceptible to personal execution in the case of default and was prohibited from seeking asylum in a temple, the traditional right of an Egyptian. In papyri from the Roman period the term uniformly designates persons subject to the ἀγώγιμος clause.

Literature: Oates, John F. 1963. “The Status Designation: ΠΕΡΣΗΣ, ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ.” In *YCS* 18:1–126.

[209] P.Mich. V 247
List of Guild Members

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) early I CE
Published: Arthur E.R. Boak in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 118–119 (no. 247) [TM 25173; CAPIV 1277]

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.695

Digital image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-3039>

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212]; P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE); P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE).

One papyrus 16.5 × 28.5 cm., written on the *recto*, slightly damaged at the bottom; *verso* is blank. The first hand is a small, neat, upright cursive; the second, likewise cursive, is small and sloping; the third is written in irregular uncials. Kronion Archive (TM ARCH id. 93).

⟨hand 1⟩ ἡγούμενο(ς) Φεμνᾶσις Ψονσεῦτους ὡς L λς, οὐ(λῆ) τραχήλ(ω) ἐκ δεξιῶν

Φεμνᾶσις Ὀρσέως Σβήβιο(ς) ὡς L λε οὐ(λῆ) ἀντικ(νημίω) δεξιῶ
Σιγῆρις Πετσίρι(ν)ος ὡς L λα οὐ(λῆ) γαστροκνη(μιά) ἀριστερᾷ
Παποντῶς Παβελλήους ὡς L λθ οὐ(λῆ) φάκος ὀφρύ{ε}ι ἀριστερᾷ

5 Νῦλος Λαβήσιος ὡς L κβ οὐ(λῆ) πῆχ{ε}ι δεξιῶ

Ἀρμιῦσις Ὀννόφριος ὡς L μβ οὐ(λῆ) πῆχει ἀριστερῶ
Μαρρής Μαρρήους ὡς L λ οὐ(λῆ) μετώπω ἐκ δεξιῶν
Ὀννόφρις Μαρρήους ὡς L λς οὐ(λῆ) γαστροκνη(μιά) ἀριστερᾷ
Κρονίων Παβελλήους ὡς L λς οὐ(λῆ) καρπ(ῶ) δεξιῶ

10 Ὀννόφρι(ν)ος Λαμαίτις ὡς L λα οὐ(λῆ) δακτύλ(ω) (τρίτῳ) χ{ε}ι(ρὸς) ἀριστερᾷ(ς)

Μιῦσις Παβελλήους ὡς L λθ οὐ(λῆ) γαστροκνημιά ἀριστερᾷ
Λαβῆσις Ἀπολλωνίου ὡς L νβ οὐ(λῆ) ἀντικνη(μιά) ἀριστερ(ῶ)
Ἡρακλῆς νεώτερος Ἡρώδου ὡς L λγ οὐ(λῆ) μετώπ(ω) ἐκ δεξιῶν
Ἀμάεις Παεῦτος ὡς L κς οὐ(λῆ) πῆχ{ε}ι ἀριστερῶι

15 Ῥομαίς Παβελλήους ὡς L κς οὐ(λῆ) ἀντικνημ(ίω) δεξιῶ
Τεφερσῶς Παεῦτος ὡς L κς οὐ(λῆ) μετώπω μέσῳ ὑπὸ τρίχα.

⟨hand 2⟩ Ἡρακλῆς νεώτερο(ς) Ἡρώδου ἐψηφισμαι. ⟨hand 3⟩ Ἀρμιῦσις Ὀννώφρι(ν)ος ἐψηφισμαι.

Apparatus: 2 Pap. Ὀρσεύς || 7 Pap. μετόπω || 13 Pap. μετόπ(ω) || 16 Pap. μετόπω || 18 Pap. ἐψηφισμε

The president (*hēgoumenos*): Phemnasis son of Psonseus, about 36 years

old, with a scar on the right side of his neck; Phemnasis son of Orsis son of Sbēbis, about 35 years old, with a scar on his right shin; Sigeris son of Petsiris, about 31 years old, with a scar on his left calf; Papontos son of Pabellēs, about 39 years old, having as a mark a mole on his left eyebrow; (5) Nilos son of Labesis, about 22 years old, having a scar on his right forearm; Harmiysis son of Onnophris, about 42 years old, with a scar on his left forearm; Marrēs son of Marrēs, about 30 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the right; Onnophris son of Marrēs, about 36 years old, with a scar on his left calf; Kronion son of Pabellēs, about 36 years old, with a scar on his right wrist; (10) Onnophris son of Onnophris son of Lamaitis, about 31 years old, with a scar on the third finger of left hand; Miysis son of Pabellēs, about 39 years old, with a scar on his left calf; Labēsis son of Apollōnios, about 52 years old, with a scar on his left shin; Herakles the younger, son of Hērōdēs, about 33 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the right; Hamaeis son of Paeus, about 26 years old, with a scar on his left forearm; (15) Rhomais son of Pabellēs, about 26 years old, with a scar on his right shin; Tephersos son of Paeus, about 26 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead beneath the hair; <hand 2> I, Hēraklēs the younger son of Hērōdēs, have voted. <hand 3> I, Harmiysis son of Onnophris, have voted.

Notes

Association? Certain: space at the top of the papyrus for inscribing the bylaws; leadership terms: ἡγούμενος; from the Kronion archive and was likely filed with the village archive along with a copy of the association's bylaws; similarities to other membership lists makes it very likely to be an association; membership list.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

- I. 2: Φεμνᾱσις Ὀρσεως Σβηβιος; Phemnasis' father, Orseus son of Sbebis is mentioned in the register from the Tebtynis grapheion, P.Mich II 123r xvi.18, 30.
- II. 6, 18: Ἀρμιυσις Ὀννόφριος; may also be the same Ἀρμιυσις Ὀννόφριος mentioned in P.Mich X 587 (Tebtynis, 24/25 CE) → *comments*.
- II. 17–18: ἐψηφισμαι, “I have voted.” Only two members of the guild are apparently able to write their own names.

Comments

Headed by a ἡγούμενος, this list gives sixteen names of the members of an unnamed association. Similar association membership lists with subscriptions appear in P.Mich. V 244 [212], P.Mich. V 246 [211] and P.Mich. V 248 [213]. Only names with patronyms, ages, and identifying scars are listed and the text is written on the bottom half of the papyrus. Boak suggests the top portion was left empty in order to be filled with the association's regulations at some later point in time by a scribe at the *grapheion*. Another possibility is that a previous *nomos*

had already been filed at the *grapheion* and this list functioned to extend the validity of the previously approved regulations for another year.

Half of the members of the association seem to come from three families: the sons of Pabelles (Papontos, Kronion, Miysis, and Rhomais), the sons of Marres (Marres and Onnophris) and the sons of Paeus (Hamaeis, Tephersos).

Given the similarities to other such lists from the *grapheion*, this list of guild members has been dated by the editor to the early first century. It now might be possible to assign a more specific date to the papyrus. P.Mich. X 587 names a certain Harmiysis son of Onnophris, age 26, in a *παράμνη* contract in 24/25 CE. If this Harmiysis is the same as the Harmiysis son of Onnophris, age 42, named at ll. 6 and 18 above, then P.Mich. V 247 is sixteen years later than P.Mich. X 587, and should be dated to 40/41 CE. The identification scars, however, are not the same: the Harmiysis of P.Mich. V 247 is said to have a scar on his left forearm, while the latter Harmiysis has a scar on his left calf.

Literature: Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. "The organization of gilds in greco-roman Egypt." In *TAPA* 68:212–220; **Langellotti**, Micaela. 2016. "Professional Associations and the State in Roman Egypt: The Case of First-Century Tebtunis." In *CdÉ* 91(181):111–34; **Monson**, Andrew 2006. "The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations." In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; **Monson**, Andrew 2007. "Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts." In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, ed. Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 14, 179–196. Lecce: Congedo Editore; **Préaux**, Claire 1948. "A propos des associations dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine." In *RIDA* 1 <2e série>:189–198; **San Nicolò**, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck; **Schnöckel**, Karl Heinrich 2006. *Ägyptische Vereine in der frühen Prinzipatszeit: Eine Studie über sechs Vereinssatzungen (Papyri Michigan 243–248)*. *Xenia* 48. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2010. "Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt." In *GRBS* 50:273–294; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. 40, 77–78, 82–83). RJO

[210] P.Mich. II 121.r.iv Abstract 6
Abstract from a Grapheion

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

21 May 42 CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak, ed., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part I*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 28, Michigan papyri II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933) 7–80, pp. 70–72 (*recto* IV.vi) [TM 11964; CAPInv 1272].

Translation: Translations: Mees 2002, 386–387.

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.622

Archive of Kronion son of Apion, nomographos of the grapheion of Tebtynis [**TM ARCH** id. 93]. A large papyrus roll, 2.39 m. × 29.30 cm. containing a daily register of abstracts of the contracts recorded at the grapheion of Tebtynis during the four last months of the 2nd year of the Emperor Claudius.

recto col. iv, abstract 6 (21 May 42 CE)

- 1 ὁμολογ(εῖ) Πεθεῦς Πεθεῦτο(ς) γέρδ(ιος) (Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) ὥς L λε ο(ὐλή) ὄφρ(ύι) δε(ξιᾷ) ἡγοούμενο(ς) γρ(αμματεὺς) γερδί(ων) κώμη(ς) Κερκεσοῦχ(ων) Ὡρο(υς) τῆς (Πολέμωνος) μερίδ(ος) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος) L Παποντ(ῶτι) Ἑρακ() ὥς L λς ο(ὐλή) μετόπφ μέσῳι <καὶ> Ἄρπα. . Παποντ(ῶτος) ὥς L λε ο(ὐλή) ὄφρ(ύι) ἀρ(ιστερᾷ) καὶ Πτόλλιδι(?) Πτόλλιδος) ὥς L λ ο(ὐλή) γό(νατι) ἀριστερ(ῶ) καὶ Παποντ(ῶτι) Παπ(οντῶτος)
- 2 ὥς L λ ο(ὐλή) ὄφρ(ύι) ἀρ(ιστερᾷ) καὶ Πτόλλιδι(ι) Ἑρακ(?) ὥς L μ ο(ὐλή) μή(λω) ἀρ(ιστερῶ) τοῖς ε γερδ(ίοις) τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς(ς) κώμης(ς) συνόδο(υ) ἐπάναγκ(ον) ἀποδώσ(ε)ιν Πεθεῦν προσ[τάτη(ν)] τοῖς προγεγρ(αμμένοις) ἐν μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος(ς) L 1 ρβ αἱ εἰσιν τιμῆ(ς) ζυτικῆς(ς). ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) Ἀλκιμος ὥς L λ ο(ὐλή) μήλωι ἀριστ(ερῶ). τ' ἄλλα ἀκ(ο)λούθ(ως).

Apparatus: 1 Pap. μετόπ(φ)

Petheus son of Petheus, a weaver and a Persian of the epigone, about 35 years old, with a scar on the right eyebrow, president (*hēgoumenos*) and secretary (*grammateus*) of the weavers of the village of Kerkesoucha Orous in the division of Polemon for the current year, acknowledges to Papontos son of Hērak(1), about 36 years old, with a scar in the middle of the forehead, and Harpa . . . son of Papontos, about 35 years old, with a scar on the left eyebrow, and Ptollis(?) son of Ptollis, about 30 years old, with a scar on the left knee, and (2) Papontos son of Papontos, about 30 years old, with a scar on the left eyebrow, and Ptollis son of Hērak(), about 40 years old, with a scar on the left cheek, the 5 being weavers belonging to the *synodos* of those of the same village, that he, Petheus, the president

(*prostatēs*), shall be obliged to pay to those aforementioned in the month Kaisareios of the current year 92 drachmae, the price of beer. Signed: Alkimos, about 30 years old, with a scar on the left cheek. The rest in conformity.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος and reference to plural artisans: γέρδιοι; leadership terms: ἡγούμενος, προστάτης; collective of artisans of a particular village: γραμματεὺς γερδίων κώμης Κερκεσούχων.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). **TM** geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

l. 1: (Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς). → P.Mich. V 313.10 [208] *note*.

l. 3: Kerkesoucha Orous (Arsinoites, division of Polemon). **TM** geo ref. 1070. Barrington Atlas 75 unlocated.

l. 11: ἐν μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ, i.e., 25 Jul–23 Aug. 42 CE.

l. 12: ₪ ρβ αἶ εἰσιν τιμῇ(ς) ζυτικῇ(ς), 92 dr. which is the cost of beer. This cannot have been the cost of beer for one banquet. According to P.Mich II 127 [217] the cost of a keramion of wine ranged from 14–24 obols/keramion, with a median of 19.5 and a mode of 18 (3 drachmae). Since according to Diocletian's price edict Egyptian beer cost only one-quarter of the cost of wine (Kropff 2016, 1–19), if this ratio held in the first century, 92 drachmae would account for 1200 litres of beer!.

l. 13: ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) → Youtie 1975.

Comments

The guild is an association of weavers located in the village of Kerkesoucha Orous, but the grapheion is that of Kronion, the *nomographos* of Tebtynis.

Col. iv, abstract 6 records an agreement by the president and secretary of the *synodos* of the weavers of Kerkesoucha Orous to pay the sum of 92 drachmae to five other members of the association for the cost of beer furnished or to be furnished by them to the members of the corporation. The naming of the *hypographeus* implies that the principals were illiterate and required a scribe or clerk to write and sign the declaration on their behalf (→ Youtie 1975).

The agreement by Petheus is also mentioned on the *verso*, col. iii.13 ὁμολ(ογία) Πεθεῦτο(ς) πρὸς Παποντῶ(τα) ἀργυ(ρίου) ₪ ρβ, “acknowledgement of Petheus to Papontos for 92 silver drachmae.” According to the *verso*, col i.1–3 and col. iii.4 the agreement was registered (along with other documents) on 26 Germanikeios = 21 May 42 CE.

Petheus son of Petheus, who is called both ἡγούμενο(ς) and προσ[τάτη(ς)] also appears in the register at *recto* col. iii abstract 5 (registered 13 May 42 CE):

ἐμίσθωσεν Δίδυμος ὡς L με ο(ὕλη) ἀντίχ(ειρι) δε(ξιῶ) καὶ | Ἀλέξανδ(ρος) ὡς L με ο(ὕλη) ἀγκ(ῶνι) ἀρ(ιστερῶ) | ἀμφό(τεροι) Τελέσιο(ς) Πεθεῦτ(ι) Πεθε(ῦτος) (Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) ὡς L μ ο(ὕλη) ὀφρ(ύι) δε(ξιᾶ) καὶ τῇ τούτο(υ) | γυναικ(ι) Θενφανῆ(τι) Ψοσνε(ῦτος) ο(ὕλη) ὀφρ(ύι) δε(ξιᾶ) μετὰ | κ(υρίου) αὐτο(ῦ) Πεθε(ῦτος) ἀλλή(λων)

ἐγγ(ύοις) εἰς ἔκτισιν τὸν | ὑπάρχο(ντα) ἡμῖν <καί(?)> ταῖς γυναιξὶ ἐν Κερκεσούχ(οις) ὤρους τῆς (Πολέμωνος) | θησαυρὸν σὺν πυλῶν(ι) καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ πυλῶνο(ς) πυρικὸ(ν) | οἴκο(ν) καὶ τὸ πρὸ το(ῦ) θησαυρο(ῦ) κατάλυμα, ἃ καὶ | προσέχο(ν) ἐν μισθ(ώσει), ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸ(ν) ἕνα ἀπὸ το(ῦ) | προκ(ειμένου) χρό(νου) μη(νός) Γερμανικήου, φό(ρου) το(ῦ) | παντὸ(ς) κριθ(ῆς) νέας | καθαράς ἀδῶλ(ου) (ἀρταβῶν) ν μέτρ(ω) τῷ τοῦ θησαυρο(ῦ) | καὶ ἐξερέτ(ων) ἀλεκ(τόρων) β ἀξίω(ν) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργ(υρίου) Γ δ καὶ Ἀμενσοισίο(ις) (ἀρτάβης) α αὐτ(ῆς), τῆς δὲ κονεσης τοῦ θησαυροῦ ὄντ(ος) πρὸς το(ῦς) μεμισθ(ωκότας), τῷ μεμισθ(ωμένω) χωρηγο(ῶντι) ἐπὶ μόνῃ κονιάς(ει) τὴν ὑποργ(ίαν) | φό(ρου) ἐν μη(νι) Νέωι Σεβαστῶι τοῦ ἰσιόντο(ς) Δ· | ὑποργ(αφεύς) Ἡρώδῃ(ς) Ἡρώδ(ου) ὡς Λ λε ο(ύλῃ) | μετόπ(ω) ἐξ ἀριστερ(ῶν). τὰ ἄλλ' ἀκ(ο)λούθως.

Didymos, about 45 years old, with a scar on the right thumb, and Alexandros, about 45 years old, with a scar on the left elbow, both sons of Telēsis, have leased to Petheus son of Petheus, a Persian of the epigone, about 40 years old, with a scar on the right eyebrow, and his wife Thenphanes(?), daughter of Psosneus, with a scar on the right eyebrow, with Petheus himself as her guardian, (the two being) mutual sureties for recovery, the granary with a gateway belonging to us and(?) our wives in Kerkesoucha Orous in the division of Polemon, and in the < - - part> of the gateway a storeroom for wheat <OR: a porter's lodge(?)>, and the stable in front of the granary, all of which they have previously held in lease, for one year from the stated time in the month Germanikeios, at a total rental of fifty artabai of new barley, pure and unadulterated, by the measure of the granary, and two choice cocks together worth 4 silver drachmae, and at the Amesysia one artaba of barley, the whitewashing of the granary being the duty of the lessors, while the lessee, who furnishes the labor for a single whitewashing, (shall pay) the rental in the month Neos Sebastos of the coming year. Signatory: Hērōdēs son of Hērōdēs, about 35 years old, with a scar on the forehead to the left. The rest in conformity.

and *recto* col. iii abstract 6 (registered 17 May 42 CE)

ὁμολογ(εῖ) Πεθεῦς Πεθεῦτο(ς) (Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) ὡς Λ μ ο(ύλῃ) ὄφρ(ύι) δε(ξιῷ) Διδύμω Τελέσιο(ς) ὡς Λ με ο(ύλῃ) ἀντίχ(ειρι) δε(ξιῷ) ἔχ(ειν) παρ' (αὐτοῦ) παραχρῆ(μα) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμάς) νβ παραθ(ήκην) ἀκίνδ(ονον). ἀποδό(σει) ὅπῃ(νίκα) ἐὰν αἰρῇ(ται). ὑποργ(αφεύς) Πασιπῶς Ἡρακλίδ(ου) ὡς Λ νε ο(ύλῃ) τραχ(ήλω). τ' ἄλλ' ἀκ(ο)λούθ(ως).

Petheus, son of Petheus, Persian of the epigone, about 40 years old, with a scar on the right eyebrow, acknowledges to Didymos son of Telēsis, about 45 years old, with a scar on the right thumb, that he has received from him in cash 52 silver drachmae as a deposit free from all risk. He will repay this sum whenever he (Didymos) may choose. Clerk (*hypographeus*): Pasipos son of Heraklides, about 55 years old, with a scar on the neck. The rest in conformity.

and *recto* col. ii abstract 4 (registered 11 May 42 CE)

ὁμολογ(εῖ) Θαήσις Πατύνιο(ς) ὡς Λ μ' ο(ύλῃ) ἀντίχ(ειρι) δε(ξιῷ) μετὰ κυρίο(ν) τοῦ ἑαυτῆ(ς) ὁμοπατρ(ίου) καὶ ὁμομη(τρίου) ἀδε(λφου) Σαραπίωνο(ς) ὡς Λ μδ' ο(ύλῃ) ὑπὸ μη(λον) δε(ξίων) καὶ γενάμενος αὐτῆς ἀνὴρ Πεθεῦς Πελώεις ὡς Λ μγ' ο(ύλῃ) ἀντικ(νημῖω) δε(ξιῷ) ἀπέχ(ειν) παρ' αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα διὰ χ(ε)ῖρ(ος) ἐξ οἴκου ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) φμ καὶ ἀπέχ(ειν) τὴν φερνή(ν) ἣν ὀφ(ε)λειεν καὶ τὰ παράφερνα καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνκαλ(εῖν). τὰ ἄλλ' ἀκ(ο)λούθως.

Thaësis, daughter of Patynis, about 40 years old, with a scar on the right thumb, acting with her guardian Sarapiōn, her own brother of the same father and mother, about 44 years old with a scar below the right cheek, acknowledges to her former husband Petheus son of Peloeis, about 43 years old, with a scar on the right shin, that she has received from him in cash from hand to hand out of the house 540 drachmae in silver and the dowry which he owed her and the parapherna, and that she will bring no charge against him. The rest in conformity.

Literature: Kropff, Anthony 2016. “An English Translation of the Edict on Maximum Prices, Also Known as the Price Edict of Diocletian. (Edictum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium).”

https://www.academia.edu/23644199/New_English_translation_of_the_Price_Edict_of_Diocletianus; Youtie, Herbert C. 1975. “Υπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt.” In *ZPE* 17:201–221. JSK/RJO

[211] P.Mich. V 246

Contributions to a *synodos* of Harpokrates

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) ca. 43–49 CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 115–118 (no. 246; ph.); BL VIII 213; XII 120 [TM 25172; CAPIInv 1276]

Current Location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, inv. P. 671.

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. II 127.30 [217] (Tebtynis, 1 Sept 45–17 Jan 46). Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93]: an account of private expenditures of Kronion: [εἰς τὴν σύνωδον τοῦ Ἀρποχρά(τους) κε(ραμίων) β. (ὀβ.) λς, “For the association of Harpokrates, 2 keramia (of wine), worth 36 obols (the same association?).”

P.Mich. inv. 671. Papyrus, 20 × 26 cm. Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93]. The text is almost complete with some fraying at the top of the sheet, and breaks at the bottom. The top half of the papyrus is completely blank and some of the lines (ll. 7, 8, 14) have either been left blank, or erased. The *verso* is blank.

The first hand was identified by the first editor (Boak) as belonging to Kronion. The other hands vary greatly.

Πασιψημῖς Ὁρσεῦτος ἡγο(ύμενος) συνόδο(υ) Ἀρποχράτου ὡς L με οὐλ(ῆ) ρινὶ μέση ἐκάστ(φ) ἀρώ(ματα) δύο, λάγανα δύο, ὄλβιο(ν) ἐν χωρ(ίς) φαγείο(ν)

β Ὁρσεῦς Ἡρακλήου <τοῦ καὶ Βήσι<ος ὡς L λθ οὐλῇ μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν) ἀργ(υρίου) F δέκα

- (First) Sylias twenty four silver drachmae;
 2 N[[]] twenty two silver drachmae;
 3 (10) Ptolemaios the elder son of Akousilaos, about 45 years old, with a scar on his right forearm, (contributes) twenty silver drachmae;
 4 Hērodēs son of Marion, about 45 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, (contributes) eighteen silver drachmae;
 5 The last couch of Heron: Papnebtynis son of Paanouphis, about 60 years old, with a scar on the middle of his nose (contributes) sixteen silver drachmae;
 Banquet master: K twenty silver drachmae
 2 (15) Narkissos, freedman of the sons of Maron and of Marous son of Hēraklēs, about 36 years old, with a mole on the right side of his nose, (contributes) twenty-one silver drachmae;
 3 Hērodēs son of Eutychos, about 46 years old, with a scar on his nose under his eyebrows, contributes seventeen drachmae;
 4 Serapas son of Ptolemaios, about 36 years old, with a scar on the left side of his neck, (contributes) fourteen drachmae 3 obols;
 5 Last (couch): Banquet master: Pastoous son of Pastoous, about 38 years old, with a scar on his left shin, (contributes) twelve silver drachmae.
 <hand 2> (20) I, Narkissos, a freedman, voted. <hand 3> I, Sarapiōn son of Ptolemaïs, voted. <hand 4> I, Hērodēs son of Eutychos, voted. <hand 5> I, Ptolemai<ο>s the elder, son of Akousilaos, voted. <hand 6> I, Ptolemai<ο>s the younger, son of Akousilaos, voted.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοξ; collective devoted to a deity; leadership terms: ἡγοούμενος; banquets; contributions (so likely a common fund).

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

1. 1: Ἀρποκράτου → Ἀρποκράτου in P.Mich. II 127.30 [217].
1. 2: ἀρώ(ματα) δύο → P.Oxy. 1211.10–11 (II CE): πᾶν ἄρωμα χωρὶς λιβάνου. Boak: “The plural here denotes two kinds or two portions of incense.”
1. 2: λάγανα δύο → BGU VI 1495 (unknown provenance; III BCE); P.Oxy. IX 1211.5 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); UPZ I 89 (Memphis, II CE); P.Ross.Georg. II 41.49 (Arsinoites, II CE). These type of cakes appear regularly as festival food: → Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 198–199.
1. 2: ὄλβιο(ν): probably ὄροβος, *vetch* (*Vicia ervilia*) belonging to the legume family.
1. 9: N.: Boak notes that the first letter is still visible, but the rest of the name and patronym have been erased.
- II. 14, 19: κλεισιάρχη(ς). See also O.Tebt.Pad. 68 (Tebtynis; II CE): δ κλεισιάρχη(ς) Ω [±?], “4th? Banquet master was O. . .”; O.Tebt.Pad. 69 (Tebtynis; II CE): ιε κλεισιάρχη(ς), “15th(?). Banquet master. . .”
1. 15: Νάρκισσος ἀπελεύθερο(ς) υἱῶν Μάρω(νος) καὶ Μαρῶ(ντος) το(ῦ) Ἡρακλ(ήου). On a former slave as the freedman of two or more former owners, see Sandys 1927, 220.

- l. 22: Πτολ]εμαῖς νεώτερος Ἀκουσιλάου, Ptolemaios the younger, son of Akousilaos is named in P.Mich. V 259.20 (Tebtynis, 33 CE) where he is said to be about 26 years old: Πτολεμαῖος νεώτερος Ἀκουσιλάου ὥς (ἐτῶν) κς, οὐλὴ πήχει δεξιῶι. This would imply that at the time of P.Mich. V 246, Ptolemaios was 36–42 years old.

Comments

The papyrus on which this list of contributors to the synod of Harpokrates appears is similar to other such lists from Kronion's archive. The names, contributions, and subscriptions are listed at the bottom of the document while a large space has been left at the top, presumably a space for the regulations of the association to be inscribed (see also P.Mich. V 247 and 248). A striking feature of this papyrus is that the names are grouped in three groups of five and marked by ranks, indicating the seating arrangement of a *triclinum*. Such dining rooms were in fact quite popular in Tebtynis, where excavations have uncovered multiple (at least 17) dining rooms (*deipnētēria*) with the typical three couches built in prominent locations along the *dromos* (Rondot 2000). See also the inscription dedicated to Onnophris son of Potamon, *prostatēs* of the *synodos* of Dorophoros, found in one of the *deipnētēria* (SEG 41:1638 [221]). An ostrakon from Tebtynis may also indicate the seating arrangement at a dinner:

O.Tebt.Pad. 67 (Tebtynis, II CE)

- α προστάτης
- β Κρον{ε}ίων
- γ Ἀτρῆς
- δ Σωκράτης
- 5 ε Ἡρακλῆς

1 President, 2 Kronion, 3 Atrēs, 4 Sōkrates, 5 Hēraklēs

As Dennis Smith (2003, 33) argues, ranked seating order was ubiquitous at such meals: “Ranking of the guests was a given and always had to be dealt with. Choosing the proper position for one's guests was the mark of a good host, and called for the most careful forethought so as to avoid insult and embarrassment. The location of the first rank and the other relative rankings around the table might vary depending on the local tradition and the arrangement of the couches. But it was a feature that was always present at a banquet.” The seating arrangement of the *synodos* of Harpokrates aligns with the typical order for Roman-period banquets.

The seating arrangement places Pasipsemis son of Orseus, the *hēgoumenos*, in the first seat on “highest” couch (*locus summa*), a position often designated for the host. The list then proceeds counter-clockwise, around the three couches with five diners on each couch. If this is the arrangement that the papyrus is suggesting, it is notable that the seat typically reserved for the guest of honour in a triclinium, the *locus consularis*, here is designated as “Last couch of Heron” with Papnebtynis son of Paanouphis, as guest of honour for the synod of Harpokrates.

The position of the two designated *kleisiarchēs* would then be located on the *locus imus*, the couch on which *symposiarchs* or hosts are generally seated (Smith 2003, 33).

The contributions of each member contributes can be correlated with their ranked position on each couch; that is, the amounts decrease on each couch as one moves from the highest position to the lowest. For example, on the “middle” couch (*locus medius*), Sylias pays 24 dr., NN pays 22 dr., Ptolemaios the elder son of Akousilaos pays 20 dr., Hērodēs son of Marion pays 18 dr., and Papnebtynis son of Paanouphis, who is sitting in the “last seat of Heron” pays 16 dr. Contributions also index the ranking of the couches, where the members who contribute the most are generally placed on the higher seats on the highest couches. Hence Sylias, who contributes the most (24 dr.), is placed on the first seat of the middle couch, which is the seat ranked highest directly after the first seat on the “highest” couch (*locus summa*). Pasipsemis son of Orseus, the *hēgoumenos*, occupies this seat and he has supplied two (types) of spices, two cakes, and one dish made from vetches for each member. One diner, Narkissos, also called Marous son of Herakles, does not seem to fit this scheme neatly as his contribution, 21 dr., is the highest on his couch yet he sits in the second position.

It is not entirely clear what the contributions cover. The total of contributions is about 264 dr. and 3 obol (estimating 17 dr. for Mese... in l.7) with the average being about 17 dr. per member. If the total is the annual contribution for the group, then there are about 22 dr. per meeting (assuming 12 meetings per year) to cover wine, bread, crowns, entertainment and perhaps rental of the room. This seems excessive for a banquet given that two *keramia* of wine, which is the usual amount ordered for a banquet of 15 to 20 people, costs 28 to 48 obols (= 4.5–6 dr.; P.Mich. II 127 [217]) and is generally the largest single cost for a meeting (e.g., see the accounts in P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] and P.Tebt. I 118 [195]). This suggests that the association may be collecting money surplus to the expenses for monthly banquets, for a common fund and using these funds for similar kinds of benefits that other associations in Tebtynis offer such as sureties and funerary benefits (P.Mich. V 243 [206]; P.Mich V 244 [212]). Based on a painting of Harpokrates in what appears to be the “festive dress of the officiants in the child-god’s cult” in Karanis, Riggs (2005, 32–33) has recently suggest that there may be funerary aspects to Harpokrates’ cult.

Harpokrates, the “Horus-child,” is a popular deity in the Roman-era Fayum, as evidenced not only in temples where he is worshiped alongside Isis and Sarapis, but also from the many terracotta figures that have been found of this child deity. Perpillou-Thomas (1993, 88–89) suggests that Harpokrates is associated with some type of domestic festival as several of the terracottas represent Harpokrates stirring a pot, which may indicate preparing festival food in the god’s honour. Another festival in the god’s honour, known as *harpokratia*, which was usually celebrated on 13 Tybi, is also attested in P.Fay. 117 (108 CE; see also Stud.Pal. XXXII 183, 113; P.Bru. inv. E. 7535 = SB VI 9199).

Frankfurter (1998, 133) argues that the domestic cult of Harpokrates in the form of the popular terracotta figurines and the *harpokratia*, which was perhaps the procession of the god, served to connect people to temples. Along with other social functions, the *synodos* of Harpokrates likewise may be an extension of the activities of the temples in Tebtynis, connecting villagers to the ritualization of a popular deity.

Literature: **Arzt-Grabner**, Peter 2014. 2. *Korinther*. Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; **Fikhman**, Izhak F. 1994. "Sur quelques aspects socio-économiques de l'activité des corporations professionnelles de l'Égypte byzantine." In *ZPE* 103:19–40; **Frankfurter**, David 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; **Langelotti**, Micaela. 2016. "Professional Associations and the State in Roman Egypt: The Case of First-Century Tebtunis." In *CdÉ* 91(181):111–34; **Monson**, Andrew 2006. "The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations." In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; **Monson**, Andrew 2007. "Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts." In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, ed. Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14, 179–196. Lecce: Congedo Editore; **Perpillou-Thomas**, Françoise 1993. *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*. Studia Hellenistica 31. Leuven: Peeters; **Préaux**, Claire 1948. "A propos des associations dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine." In *RIDA* 1 (2e série):189–198; **Riggs**, Christina 2005. *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt. Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation. Oxford: Oxford University Press; **Rondot**, Vincent 2000. *Tebtynis II: Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 50 = Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 918. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Sandys**, John Edwin 1927. *Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*. 2nd ed., revised by S.G. Campbell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Schnöckel**, Karl Heinrich 2006. *Ägyptische Vereine in der frühen Prinzipatszeit: Eine Studie über sechs Vereinssatzungen (Papyri Michigan 243–248)*. Xenia 48. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag; **Smith**, Dennis E. 2003. *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World*. Minneapolis: Fortress; **Van Minnen**, Peter 1987. "Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt." In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1): 31–88 (52 n. 75); **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2009. "Common Causes: Guilds, Craftsmen and Merchants in the Economy and Society of Roman and Late Roman Egypt." Thesis (Ph.D.). Chicago: University of Chicago; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2010. "Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt." In *GRBS* 50:273–294; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. pp. 12, 16, 40, 50, 51, 77, 81, 110, 124, 151).

RJO

[212] P.Mich. V 244

Bylaws of an Association of ΑΠΟΛΥΣΙΜΟΙ

Tebtynis (Arsinoites, division of Polemon)

26 Aug 43 CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 100–109 (no. 244) [TM 12085; CAPInv 1409]

Translations: Mees 2002, 388–389; AGRW 301.

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, inv. P. 1277

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. II 123r iii.40 [216] (Tebtynis, 46–47 CE): λ χιτρογραφιῶν καὶ γραφῆς) ἀπολυσίμω(ν) καὶ προβατοκτη(νο-τρόφων) Ε ια, “On the 30th. (For) written declarations and those exempt from liturgical duties and for sheep and donkey rearers: (fee:) 11 dr. See also P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE); P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, I CE); P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE); P.Lille.dem 29 (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Cair. 30605; 30606 [191]; 30619 a+b; 31179; P.Berol 3115; P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE).

Papyrus from the *grapheion* in Tebtynis, 32 × 28.5 cm. Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93]. Boak (1944) describes the papyrus as follows: “The papyrus is somewhat broken along the line of a fold which coincides with the left-hand end of the lines of the text, and is much abraded in other places. The main hand is a rather large upright cursive, easily legible where the ink has been preserved. Lines 1–20 form a single column extending from the left-hand margin to the extreme right-hand edge of the sheet. Below them lines 21–44 are arranged in two parallel columns, with lines 21–34 in the first and lines 35–44 in the second. Lines 45 and 46 start from the left-hand margin, as do lines 1–20. The notation on the *verso* is in the first hand of the *recto*.”

ἐτ[ο]υς τρίτου Τιβερί[ο]υ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ

Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Καισαρείου ἐπαγομένων τρίτη

• • ἐν Τεβτύν<ει> τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινόεϊτου νομοῦ. ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι ἄνδρες

τῶν ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεως ἀπολυσίμων οὐσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔδοξαν

ἑαυτοῖς κοινῇ γνώμῃ προχειρίσαι τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἀγαθώτατον καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν Κρονίωνα Ἡρώδου ἐπ’ ἐνιαυ-

5 τὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ <ε>ισιόντος τετάρτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,

Αὐτοκράτορος, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κρονίωνος εἰσάγοντος τὰ δημόσια τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολυσίμων λαογραφίας τε καὶ δαπάνας

- πάσας τοῦ αὐτοῦ πλήθους. ἐὰν δὲ συνταγὴν δῶ ὁ ἡγούμενος ἐπ[ι] μὲν
 κόμης καὶ μὴ παραγένηται τις ζημιού-
 σθω{ι} εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς δύο πλὴν ἀνατιλεωση. . . ὃ
 δραχμὴν μίαν, ἐπὶ ξένης δραχμᾶς τέσσα-
 ρας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς μητροπόλεως δραχμᾶς ὀκτώ{ι}. ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ὑπογεγραμ-
 μένων ἀνδρῶν παραδοθῇ ἕως πρὸς
 10 [ἀ]ργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ἱκανοδοθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐφ' ἡμέρας
 ἐξήκοντα. τὸν δὲ ἀδωσιδικοῦντα καὶ μὴ
 πλη{με}ροῦντά τι τῶν δημοσίων λαογραφίας ἢ{ι} καὶ δαπανῶν ἐξ<ε>ῖναι
 τῷ Κρονίῳ ἐνεχυράζ<ει>ν αὐτοὺς ἐν τε τῇ
 πλατε<ί>α καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ παραδιδόναι αὐτοὺς ἢ σώματα αὐτῶν· ἐφ'
 ᾧ δὲ οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι ἄνδρες διαγρά-
 [ψ]ο[υσιν] ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
 μένου Κρονίωνος τὴν λαογραφίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ <ει>σιόν-
 [τ]ος τετάρτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος· ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ πίνονται κατὰ μῆνα
 15 ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡμέραις τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κρονίωνος προεκφέροντος
 πόσιν προπόσεως καὶ πάντας ἐνακούειν
 τῷ αὐτῷ ἡγουμένῳ. ἐὰν δέ τις κεφαλαιωτῆς τελευτήσῃ <ἢ> πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ
 ἢ γυνὴ ἢ{ι} τέκνον ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελ-
 φή καὶ μὴ μαινηθῇ τις τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν ζημιούσθω{ι} ὁ τοι-
 οῦτος εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς
 τέσσαρας καὶ ἐστιαθήσεται ὁ παθὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν, τὸν
 δὲ ἀδωσιδικοῦντα καὶ μὴ πλη{με}-
 ροῦντά τι ὁμοίως κα[ι] τῶν συμβολῶν καὶ δαπανῶν ἐξ<ε>ῖναι τῷ αὐτῷ
 ἡγουμένῳ ἐνεχυράζ<ει>ν καὶ
 20 παραδιδόναι καθὼς πρόκειται.

<col. i>

- Κρονίων Ἡρώδου ἡγούμενος) ὡς L λε οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντικ(νημίω) ἀριστερῷ
 Ὀνόφρις Νεφερωτός ὡς L μ οὐλ(ῆ) ὀφρύ{ε}ι ἀριστερᾷ
 Ψενκῆβικς Μαρρήους ὡς L λη οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν) ὑπὲρ
 ὀφρ(ύν)
 Πανενσεῦς Ἀρμιύσιος ὡς [L] λ οὐλ(ῆ) ὀφρύ{ε}ι δεξιᾷ
 25 Σιγῆρις Πακήβκιος ὡς L θ οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν) παρὰ κρότα(φον)
 Πακῆβικς Σιγήρεως ὡς L λ̄ε οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντί<ει>ρι ἀριστερῷ
 Σεκονῶπις Παποντῶτος τοῦ καὶ Διοδώρο(υ) ὡς L λβ ο(ὐλῆ) μετώ(πῳ)
 μέσῳ.
 Ἀνχιούς Ἀνχιούτος.ερ. ε. ὡς L λ οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντικ(νημίω) δεξιῷ
 Ὀρσεῦς β Πετερμούθιο(ς) το(ῦ) καὶ Κυβερόμνε(ως) ὡς L λγ οὐλ(ῆ)
 ἀντί<ει>(ρι) ἀρ(ιστερῶ)
 30 Παπνεβτύνις Παπνεβ[τ]ύ[ν]ιο(ς) ὡς L λγ οὐλ(ῆ) ὑπὲρ μῆλο(ν) ἀριστε[ρ]ὸν
 Κρονίων Λαβήσιος ὡς [L] λ? οὐλ(ῆ) ῥινὶ ὑπὸ μεσόφρυν

Εὐτυχο(ς) Εὐτύχο(υ) το(ῦ). ὥς L λ οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντίχ(ε)ρι δεξιῶ
 Ὅρσεϋς Πετεσοῦχο(υ) το[ῦ] Φ[. . .]. ρῆς ὥς L ν οὐλ(ῆ) πήχ(ε)ι δεξιῶ
 Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Πρώτο(υ) το[ῦ] Ἐρ[μ]α[ίου] ὥς L λε οὐλ(ῆ) πήχ(ε)ι δεξιῶ.

⟨col. ii⟩

- 35 Σισώεις Εὐτύχο(υ) οἰκοδόμο(ς) ὥς L λθ οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπῳ μέσῳ
 Λαβῆσις Λαβήσεως ὥς L λε οὐλαῖ μετώπῳ
 Ἀρμάεις Ἀρμάειος ὥς L λγ οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντίχ(ε)ρι ἀριστερῶ
 Κόμων Ἀνχιούτος ὥς L λζ οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπῳ ἐκ δεξιῶν
 Ὅρσεϋς Παπνεβτύνεως ὥς L λ οὐλ(ῆ) δακτύλῳ μι(κρῶ) χ(ειρὸς) ἀρ(ισ-
 τερᾶς)
 40 Ἑρμᾶς Ἀνχιούτος ὥς L λγ οὐλ(ῆ) γό(νατι) ἀρ(ιστερῶ)
 Ὅρσεϋς Ἀρυώτου Νανᾶς ὥς L λδ οὐλ(ῆ) δακτύλῳ (πρώτῳ) χ(ειρὸς)
 ἀρ(ιστερᾶς)
 Ἀμάεις Μαρρήους ὥς L λε οὐλ(ῆ) ὀφρύ{ε}ι ἀριστερᾶ
 Ὁρως Ἀρμύσιος ὥς L λβ οὐλ(ῆ) δακτύλῳ (πρώτῳ) χ(ειρὸς) δεξιᾶς
 Παποντῶς Παπνεβτύνε(ως) ὥς L λβ οὐλ(ῆ) ποδὶ ἀριστερῶ.

⟨at the bottom⟩

- 45 ⟨hand 2⟩ Κρονίων Ἡρ[ώ]δου ἡγούμενος ἐψηφισμαι καθὼς πρόκειται.
 ⟨hand 3⟩ Εὐτυχος Εὐτύχου τοῦ [καί]. [. .]. πεου ἐψηφισμαι.

⟨verso⟩

⟨First hand⟩ χ(ειρὸς) γρ(αφον) Κρονίωνο(ς) τοῦ Ἡρωδίωνος.

Apparatus: 1 Pap. τριτηῖ || 2 Pap. αὐτωῖ || Pap. οἰπογεγραμμένοι || 3 Pap. ἔδωξαν || 4 Pap. κυνῇ || Pap. προχίρισε || 6 Pap. δαπανῶν || 7 Pap. πασῶν || Pap. δῶ || 8 Pap. κυνὸν || 9 Pap. μητροπώλεως || Pap. παραδωθῇ || 10 Pap. εἰκανοδοθήσονται || Pap. κυνοῦ || 12 Pap. παραδιδونه || Pap. οἰπογεγραμμένοι || 13 Pap. κυνοῦ || Pap. οὐσίας || 14 Pap. πίνοντε || 15 Pap. προπόσεως || 16 Pap. κεφαλεωτῆς || Pap. κυνὸν || 18 Pap. τέσσαρες || Pap. ειστιαθήσονται || Pap. κυνοῦ || 20 Pap. παραδιδونه || 23 Pap. μετόπω || 25 Pap. μετόπω || 27 Pap. μετό || 31 Pap. μεσώφρουν || 35 Pap. μετόπω || 36 Pap. μετόπωι || 38 Pap. μετόπω || 45 Pap. ἐψηφισμε

Third year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, in the month of Kaisareios, on the third intercalary day, at Tebtynis in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Having assembled, the undersigned men of Tebtynis who are *apolysimoi* of an estate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator decided by common consent to elect one of their number, a most excellent man, Kronion son of Hērodēs, to be supervisor (*epimelētēs*) for (5) one year from the month of Sebastos of the coming fourth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. The same Kronion will collect the public charges of the poll tax (*laographia*) of the same *apolysimoi* and all the expenses of the association (*plēthos*).

If the president (*hēgoumenos*) gives a command (to attend a meeting) in the village and someone is not present, he shall be fined two silver drachmae

(payable) to the common fund (*koinon*), except in the case that . . . one drachma. If (the meeting) is not at the usual place, four drachmae; and if it is in the metropolis, eight drachmae.

If any of the undersigned men is arrested (for a debt) up to the (10) amount of one hundred silver drachmae, the association will stand surety for him for a period of sixty days. But if someone fails to pay his dues and does not pay some of the poll tax (*laographia*) or some of the expenses, Kronion shall have authority to exact a surety from him, whether in the town square or in his house, and hand over either him or his slaves.

Agreed that the undersigned men shall pay from the common fund (*to koinon*) to the above-mentioned estate on behalf of the above-mentioned Kronion the poll tax (*laographia*) for the coming fourth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. Agreed that they shall hold a banquet (literally, drink) monthly on the days of the (15) god Augustus, with the above mentioned Kronion supplying drink for the toasts, and everyone shall obey the president (*hēgoumenos*).

If a president (*kephaliotēs*) should die, or his father or mother or wife or child or brother or sister and any of the undersigned men does not defile himself (attend the funeral), he shall be fined four drachmae (payable) to the association. The one who is bereaved shall be feasted by the association (*koinon*) for one day. If anyone fails to pay his dues and likewise does not pay some of his contributions and expenses, the aforementioned president is authorized to exact a surety from him and (20) hand him over as mentioned above.

col. i

Kronion son of Hērodēs president, about 35 years old, with a scar on his left shin. Onnophris son of Nepheros, about 40 years old, with a scar on the left eyebrow. Psenkebkis son of Marres, about 38 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the left above the eyebrow. Panesneus son of Harmiusis, about 30 years old, with a scar on his right eyebrow. (25) Sigeris son of Pakebkis, about 29 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the left by the temple. Pakebkis son of Sigeris, about 35 years old, with a scar on his left thumb. Sekonopis son of Papontos who is also called Diodōros, about 32 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead. Anchious son of Anchious . . ., about 30 years old, with a scar on his right shin. Orseus the younger, son of Petermouthis, who is also called Kuberomnis, about 33 years old, with a scar on his left thumb. (30) Papnebtynis son of Papnebtynis, about 33 years old, with a scar above his left cheek. Kronion son of Labēsis, about 30(?) years old, with a scar on his nose under the eyebrows. Eutychos son of Eutychos son of . . ., about 30 years old, with a scar on his right thumb. Orseus son of Petesouchos, also called Ph. . ., about 50 years old, with a scar on his right forearm. Petesouchos son of Protos, also called Hermais, about 35 years old, with a scar on his right forearm.

⟨col. ii⟩

(35) Sisoeis son of Eutychos, the carpenter, about 38 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead. Labēsis son of Labēsis, about 35 years old, with scars on his forehead. Harmaeis son of Harmaeis, about 33 years old, with a scar on his left thumb. Komon son of Anchious, about 37 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the right. Orseus son of Papnebtunis, about 30 years old, with a scar on the little finger of his left hand. (40) Hermas son of Anchious, about 33 years old, with a scar on his left knee. Orseus son of Haruotes son of Nanas, about 34 years old, with a scar on the first finger of his left hand. Amaeis son of Marres, about 35 years old, with a scar on his left eyebrow. Horos son of Harmiusis, about 32 years old, with a scar on the first finger of his right hand. Papontos son of Papnebtynis, about 32 years old, with a scar on his left foot. ⟨hand 2⟩ (45) I, Kronion son of Hērodēs, president, have cast my vote in favour (of the law), as has been indicated above. ⟨hand 3⟩ I, Eutuchos son of Eutuchos, also called . . . have cast my vote.

⟨verso⟩

Chirograph of Kronion son of Herodion.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: κοινόν, πλῆθος; leadership terms: ἐπιμελητής, ἡγούμενος, κεφαλαιωτής; bylaws; collectivity (ἀπολύσιμοι; possibly the same group of ἀπολύσιμοι in P.Mich. II 123.iii.40; viii.26; xxii.44 [216]); banquets and other activities; reference to a common fund (κοινόν); voting.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

1. 3: ἀπολύσιμοι: → P.Lond. II 445.7 (Bakchias, 14–15 CE): ἀπολύσιμος τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσιᾶς. The term ἀπολύσιμος is used often of discharged soldiers (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:203) and of priests given exemption from taxation (ibid.). Preisigke suggest that these ἀπολύσιμοι were veterans settled on the estate, while Oertel (1917, 95 n. 1) thinks that an ἀπολύσιμος is exempt from serfdom and hence not bound to the estate. Boak (1944, 101) observes that neither possibility is viable given the ages and names of the members: all but two are under forty and one is 29 years old, which excludes their being veterans (which presupposed an enlistment of twenty years). Moreover, most of the members bear Egyptian names (some have Greek names or alternate names); legionaries, however, normally assumed Roman names and since they became Roman citizens upon discharge, they would have retained Roman names. Since the word ἀπολύσιμος implies some sort of exemption, Boak suggests that they may have been exempt from liturgical services (canal and dyke work, transportation, liturgies) (see also Chalon 1964, 106; Toepel 1976, 43–44; Parássoglou 1978, 57–63; Gibbs 2008, 43). P.Phil. 1.26 [230] from half a century later uses the related term ἀπολυόμενοι for priests, those who maintained transport animals, the ill, physicians, potters, weavers, fullers, carpenters and goldsmiths, all of whom were exempt from compulsory public services (liturgies). There are several examples of *apolysimoi* collecting taxes, see comments below.

- l. 4: ἐπιμελητής: This is also the designation for the president of an association of slaves in Philadelphia (II BCE) → SB III 7182.frag. 1/2.14 [193].
- l. 7: τοῦ αὐτοῦ πλήθους: Gibbs (2008, 21) wonders whether the name of the association was τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀπολυσίμων. As they are named in P.Mich. II 123r xxii.44 [216].
- ll. 7, 16, 19, 45: ἡγούμενος: → P.Lond. VII 2193.6 [199].
- l. 8: ξένη: designating a place other than one's legal residence, P.Mich. X 580.7; P.Oxy. II 251.11, 252.10, etc.
- l. 11: ἐνεχυράζειν: On the seizure of securities → P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] note.
- l. 16: κεφαλαιωτής: Lat. *capitularius*, president or treasurer. The term is more common after the late third century, where it often refers to an officer with fiscal responsibilities or the responsibility to submit names for liturgies. The earliest attestation, apart from P.Mich. 244, is Stud.Pal. XX 67v.i.5, ii.7 (Arsinoites, II/III CE). The term appears in numerous ostraca and papyri from the late III-early IV CE: O.Mich. I 266–269, 351–352, 582–582, 591, 593–594 (Arsinoites, III/IV CE); III 1052, 1071, 1094 (Arsinoites, III/IV CE); O.Heid.443 (IV CE); O.Leid.Gr. 342 (IV CE); O.Mich. I 86, 109 148–150 (Karanis, IV CE); P.Lips. 40 iii.17 (Hermopolis, IV CE); P.Lips. 89.2 (379 CE): κεφαλ[α]ιωτής ταρσικαρίων; and from IV CE Oxyrhynchus: P.Oxy. X 1253.16, 19; XXXIV 2729; L 3576; LIV 3769; LXIII 4374; LXXXIV 5364 (late IV CE): a receipt from two ‘presidents’ of the Judaeans: κ[εφαλαι]ωται . . . Ἰσιδώρου κεφαλεωτῇ Ἰουδαίων; PSI XII 1265.9, 13 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE), etc.
- l. 25: Σιγήρις Πακήβκιος: → P.Mich V 248.6–7 [213].
- l. 26: Πακήβκις Σιγήρεως: → P.Mich V 248.2 [213].
- l. 31: Κρονίων Λαβήσιος: Kronion Labēsios is named in a sale of a house, P.Mich. V 332, where he bought a three-story house and provided a loan of 132 dr.; in P.Mich. V 315, he leased a catocic allotment; he also sold a house to his brother Apollōnios, P.Mich. V 277.
- l. 37: Ἀρμάεις Ἀρμάειος: In P.Mich. V 342, Harmaeis bought a house from his brother taxed by the priests of Soknebtynis; in P.Mich. V 235, he bought a half share of a three-story house.
- l. 41: Ὀρσεύς Ἀρυώτου Νανᾶς: Orseus took a loan from Galates son of Lysimachos of 450 dr. in P.Mich. V 336; he sold two slave children to Galates as well, P.Mich. V 278.

Comments

This νόμος comes from a guild of *apolyssimoi* on an imperial estate belonging to the Emperor Claudius near Tebtynis and hence probably tenant farmers, exempt from some taxes or liturgical duties (Gibbs 2008, 43). It may be identical with the association mentioned in the grapheion account of P.Mich. II 123r xxii.44 [216], *plēthos apolisimōn*, and again in the same papyrus at iii.40 and viii.26, *apolisimoi kai probatoktēnotrophoi*. For *probatoktēnotrophoi* → I.Fayum I 73 [202] (24 BCE); P.Hamb. I 34.6 [235] (II CE). *Apolyssimoi* are also mentioned on estates outside of Tebtynis, often indicated by the term ἀπολύσιμος τῆς NN οὐσίας, for example, in Philadelphia (P.Brit.Mus. inv. 2248, 37/38 CE; P.Gen. II 91, 50–51 CE) (cf. Hanson 2010), Bakchias (P.Lond. II 445, 14–19 CE), and Arsinoites (P.Ross.Georg. II 12, after 48 CE).

The association consists of 24 members, all male. Like many other Graeco-Egyptian associations (→ P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] *comment*), this was constituted only for one year. One of its roles was the collection of the poll-tax (*laographia*) for the year 43–44 CE. The collection of various taxes seems to be a liturgy performed by cultivators of estates. A list of persons from Philadelphia (P.Gen. II 91.16–27, 50–51 CE) records two *apolysimoi* who acted as collectors of the poll tax:

- Ὁρίων Πετοσίρε[ως ἀπολύσιμος τῆς]
 15 Μαικηνατιανῆς οὐσίας γεγον[ώς]
 πράκτωρ λαογραφίας τῷ διελη[λυθότι]
 δεκάτῳ (ἔτει) καὶ ἀπολύσιμος γ[εωργό]ς
 γεγονώς τῷ ια (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐ[τοκράτορος]
 20 μὴ ὦν ἐν λευκώματι, ᾧ ὑπ[ά]ρ[χ]ει περὶ τ(ήν)
col. ii
 κόμην κληρο(ς) κατοικ(ικῆς) (ἀρουρῶν) ε ἄξι(ος) (δραχμῶν) Ἀφ
 καὶ ἄμπελος (ἀρουρῶν) ζ ἄξι(ος) Ε λ· · ·
 Δημήτριος Ἰσιδώρου ἀπολύσιμος τῆς Πετρωνιανῆς οὐσίας γεγονῶς
 25 πράκτωρ λαογραφίας τῷ διεληλυ(θότι)
 δεκάτῳ (ἔτει) μισθωτῆς ζυτοπωλ(είου)
 ὑπὸ τὴν κόμην τοῦ ια L Τιβερίου (ll.23–27). . .

20 Pap. ἄμπελου

Hōrion son of Petosiris, exempted from the estate of (15) Maikēnatē, having been collector of the poll tax (*praktor laographias*) for the past ten years and exempt cultivator in the 11th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus Autokrator, who is not on the public list, who owns near the village catocic land of 5 arourae worth 1500 drachmae and vineyards of 7 arourae worth . . . drachmae...

Demētrios son of Isidōros, exempted from the estate of Petronianē having been the (25) collector of the poll tax (*praktor laographias*) for the past ten (years) is lessee of the beer-shop from the village for the 11th year of Tiberius.

In the previous year, Horion Petosiris had apparently not been listed as an *apolysimos* or on the public list, which had led to a complaint against him by another tax collector for “scorn[ing] his obligations, no longer undertaking the collection, although he is neither an exempt cultivator nor in the public list” (P.Mich X 582.9–12, Philadelphia, 50 CE). The plaintiff, Nemesion son of Zoilos, appealed to an unnamed official to write to Clotios the local centurion, to compel Horion to take up this liturgy. In P.Ryl. II 141 (Euhemeria, 37 CE) another public cultivator and collector of public dues, Petermouthis son of Heracleus, also a cultivator on an estate of Antonia, the wife of Drusus, complained to a centurion, Gaius Trebius Justus, about the abuse he suffered as he attempted to collect taxes from several shepherds. These complaints suggest that there were two regulatory mechanisms for tax liturgies. Given that the complaints span the same time period, it seems that self-regulation of tax

collectors by the association was a complementary means by which such tax farming was regulated.

Besides tax collecting, this association also served as a banqueting society and was expected to stand surety for members arrested for debt and to attend the funerals of its members and their immediate kin. These functions are comparable with other associations from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. There is, however, no indication that the association was expected to pay for the funeral, beyond providing a funeral banquet for a deceased member.

Selection of the president, designated variously as *hēgoumenos* (ll. 7, 16, 19, 45) and *epimelētēs* (l. 4), was by election for the period of a year.

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RJO/JSK

[213] P.Mich. V 248 Membership List of a Guild

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) early I (45–47) CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 120 (no. 248, ph.) [TM 25174; CAPIV 1278]

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.699

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE); P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, I CE).

Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93]. One papyrus, 20 × 28.5 cm. Written on the *recto*; *verso* is blank. The first hand is a small, well-formed cursive; the second is written in large crude uncials; the third is an ill-formed cursive; the fourth has small, rather careful uncials; and the fifth is a neat upright cursive. The upper 18.5 cm. of the papyrus is blank.

- Εὐτυχο(ς) (τρίτος) Εὐτύχο(υ) ὡς L ν, οὐλή γενί(ω) ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν),
 Πακῆβκις Σιγήρεως ὡς L νς, οὐλή ὑπὲρ μῆλο(ν) δεξιὸ(ν) πα-
 ρὰ κρόταφον
 Διόδωρος ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τινων Παποντῶς Κολλούθου ὡς L λη, οὐλ(ῆ)
 γαστροκνη(μῖω) δεξιῶ καὶ Χράτης
 Ἀκουσιλάου ὡς L ξ, οὐλ(ῆ) μῆλο(ις) ἀμφο(τέροις) καὶ Ἡρακλᾶς
 Ἀρπαήσιος ὡς L κθ, οὐλ(ῆ) δακτύλ(ω) (τρίτῳ) χ<ε>ι(ρός) ἀρ(ιστερᾶς)
 5 Παεῦς Παεῦτος ὡς L λ, οὐλή μετώπ(ω) μέσ(ω) καὶ Πανεσνεοῦς
 Ἀρμύσιο(ς) ὡς L λβ, ο(ὐλή) ὀφρύ{ε}ι
 217 δεξιᾶ, Χράτης Χαιρήμωνος το(ῦ) καὶ Ὀννόφριο(ς) ὡς L μ, οὐλ(ῆ)
 μετώπ(ω) ἐκ δεξιῶ(ν), καὶ Σιγήρις Πα-
 κῆβκις ὡς L λγ, οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπ(ω) ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν).
 <hand 2> Διόδωρος Κολλούθου ἐψηφισμαι. <hand 3> Χράτης Ἀκουσιλάου
 ἐψηφισμαι. <hand 4> Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀρπαήσιος ἐψηφισμαι. <hand 5> Χράτης
 Ὀννόφριο(ς) ἐψηφισ-
 10 μαι.

Apparatus: 5 Pap. μετόπ || 6 Pap. μετόπ || 7 Pap. μετόπ

Eutychos the third, son of Eutychos, about 50 years old, with a scar on his chin on the left; Pakēbkis son of Sigeris, about 56 years old, with a scar above his right cheek near the temple; Diodōros, among some known also as Papontos son of Kollouthos, about 38 years old, with a scar on his right calf; and Chratēs son of Akousilaos, about 60 years old, with a scar on both cheeks; and Hēraklas son of Harpaēsis, about 29 years old, with a scar on

the third finger of his left hand; (5) Paeus son of Paeus, about 30 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead; and Panesneous son of Harmiysis, about 32 years old, with a scar on the right eyebrow; Chrates son of Chairemon also called Onnophris, about 40 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the right; and Sigeris son of Pakēbkis, about 33 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the left; <hand 2> I, Diodōros son of Kollouthos, have voted. <hand 3> I, Chratēs son of Akousilaos, have voted. <hand 4> I, Heraklas son of Harpaēsis, have voted. <hand 5> I, Chratēs son of Onnophris, have (10) voted.

Notes

Association? Probable: might be same association of ἀπολύσιμοι from P. Mich V 244 [212]; membership list; voting (i.e., approval of bylaws).

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

ll. 8–10: Four members of the guild are able to write and indicate their approval of the bylaws.

Comments

The mention of “voting” or “approval” in ll. 8–10 suggest that this list, like that of P. Mich V 247 [209], is a membership list that was appended to a *lex collegii* (compare P. Mich. V 243 [206]; P. Mich. V 244 [212] → Paganini 2016). It provides names, ages and identifying scars, but unlike no. 247, it does not identify a president (ἡγούμενος). The list has been approved (ἐψηφισμαί) by four members in their own hands.

As scholars have noted, three persons listed here may be the same as P. Mich V 244 [212]: Pakēbkis son of Sigeris (cf. 244.26, “about 35 years old, with a scar on his left thumb”); Sigeris son of Pakēbkis (cf. 244.25, “about 29 years old, with a scar on his forehead to the left by the temple”); and Panesneous (Panesneus) son of Harmiysis (cf. 244.24, “about 30 years old, with a scar on his right eyebrow”). If these are the same persons, then the date of this list of association members would be either from 45 or 47 CE. This raises the possibility that both of these documents were produced by the same association of *apolysimoi* and that P. Mich. V 248 is a membership list of this group from a few years later (Schnöckel 2006). On the other hand, these lists may be from two separate associations and are evidence of men holding multiple memberships as we may have in the case of Kronion, the *nomographos* (cf. P. Mich V 127). However, there are additional familial connections to take into account that may bring the two documents closer together. The list above includes Diodōros, also as Papontos son of Kollouthos who is the father of Sekonopis son of Papontos also called Diodōros (244.27), and Eutychos the third, son of Eutychos, who is the brother of Sisoeis son of Eutychos, the carpenter (244.35). Such familial connections may not determine whether this list is related to the association in

244, but what they do give is more evidence for Venticinque's (2010) contention that associations linked families and households and their activities, rather than "supplanting or compensating for deficiencies in family structures."

Literature: Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. "The organization of gilds in greco-roman Egypt," *TAPA* 68:212–220; Gibbs, Matthew 2011. "Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: their *raison d'être*." In *AnSoc* 41:291–315; Langellotti, Micaela. 2016. "Professional Associations and the State in Roman Egypt: The Case of First-Century Tebtunis." In *CdÉ* 91(181):111–34; Monson, Andrew 2006. "The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations." In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; Monson, Andrew 2007. "Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts." In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, ed. M. Capasso and P. Davoli. *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 14, 179–196. Lecce: Congedo Editore; Paganini, Mario C.D. 2016. "Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt." In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. *JJP Supplement* 28, 1889–901. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation; Préaux, Claire 1948. "A propos des associations dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine." In *RIDA* 1 (2e série):189–198; Schnöckel, Karl Heinrich 2006. *Ägyptische Vereine in der frühen Prinzipatszeit: Eine Studie über sechs Vereinssatzungen (Papyri Michigan 243–248)*. Xenia 48. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag; Venticinque, Philip F. 2010. "Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt." In *GRBS* 50:273–294; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. 77–78). RJO

[214] P.Tebt. II 401.vi.23–24 Account of a Beer Merchant

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) after 14 CE
Published: Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*, University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archaeology 2. Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 52 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1907) 270–272 (no. 401) [TM 13555].
Translation: Johnson 1936, 382–383 (no. 231).
Current Location: Berkeley, Bancroft Library P.Tebt. 400.

Papyrus account, written on the *verso* of P.Tebt. II 400, this is an account with 8 columns (1–5, 8 are untranscribed). Four fragments: frag. 1: 23 × 25.1 cm.; frag. 2: 22.4 × 20.3 cm.; frag. 3: 23.3 × 25.1 cm.; frag. 4: 23.4 × 21.2 cm.

«col. vi»

23 Ψοσνεὺς Φωμνάσις δ(ιὰ) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) ἡγ(ουμένου) κώμης συνό(δου)
χό(ε)ς ς

Λυσίμαχο(ς) (ὁμοίως) βαλανεύς εἰς οἶκ(ον)

χο(ῦς) αΛ

Apparatus: 24 Pap. βαλανεὺς

⟨col. vi⟩

Psonsos son of Phemnēsis (delivered) by Orsenouphis the president (*hēgoumenos*) of the village association (*synodos*) 6 *choes*.

Lysimachos manager of the bathhouse, likewise, for his house, 1 ½ *choes*.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοξ; leadership term: ἡγούμενος.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

ll. 23, 24: χό(ες) ς: 19.5 litres, or about 2 *keramia*.

Comments

The account is that of a beer-seller, and most of the entries are for deliveries to houses, of 1–1.5 *choes*. Since the purchase is recorded under the name of the president of a *synodos*, and given the amount of beer (about 19.5 litres = 2 *keramia*), it is likely that this is for a monthly or periodic banquet. On the liturgical obligations of a guild president to supply beer, see P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2 [210] (Tebtynis, 42 CE); P.Mich. V 244.15 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE).

Another papyrus, P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE) appears to represent an account recording payments from association members, probably related to a banquet (with twenty men).

⟨13 lines missing⟩

00 ἔκθεσις εἰς συνπλήρωσι[ν] Ἑ ιβ χωρὶς
δαπανῶ(ν) συνόδ(ου) Δαμά ἀνδρῶν κ, (γίνονται)
Ἑ νβ.
00 Μεστω(οῦς) ἡγούμεν(ος)
00 Παπνεβτῦ(νις) Σιλίβου

Payment for completing (what was owing?): 12 dr. apart from the expenses of the *synodos* of Dama, 20 men, making 52 dr. Mestuous the president; Papnebtynis son of Silibos.

Literature: Johnson, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Westermann, William L. 1932. “Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt.” In *JEA* 18:16–27.

[215] P.Lips. II 131

Letter to Members of a Priestly *synodos*

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

before 46 CE

Published: Ruth Duttonhöfer, *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig (P.Lips II)*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 10 (Munich: K. Saur, 2002) 91–95 (no. 131); BL XII 99 [TM 44414; CAPInv 1859]

Current Location: Leipzig, Universität FF 7.

Kronion Archive [TM ARCH id. 93]. One papyrus, 12.2 cm × 7.3 cm .

<col. i>

- [Π]ε[τ]ε[σ]ούχῳ Μαρρείου
 [προσ]τάτῃ συνόδου ἱερέων
 [διὰ Ψε]γκήβκιος τοῦ Ψοίφιος
 [ἐπιστ]άτου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 5 [συνοδε]ῖταις
 [παρ]ᾷ Σιγήριος τοῦ Παώπιος[ς]
 [καὶ Πν]εβτύνιο(ς) τοῦ Ψοίφιος
 [ἱερέ]ων τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδ[ο]υ.
 [ἐπεὶ ὁ] κύριος ἡμῶν Σεκνεβτύν[ις],
 10 [θεὸς μέγας] ἔκρινεν ὑμεῖν
 [±10]ς συνόδους καὶ με[.]
 [±15]μης
 [±15]ον.

 To Petesouchos son of Marreios, president (*prostatēs*) of the *synodos* of priests, through Psenkebkios son of Psoiphis, superintendent (*epistatēs*), and to the rest of the (5) members (*synoditai*), from Sigeris son of Paopis and Pnebtynis son of Psoiphis, priests of the same *synodos*. Since our lord Seknebtynis, (10) the great god, has ordered us . . . associations (*synodoi*) and . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοδος and συνοδεῖται; leadership terms: προστάτης, ἐπιστάτης, ἱερεὺς; collective devotion to a deity.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

l. 9: Σεκνεβτύν[ις]: → P.Tebt. II 284.5–6 (Tebtynis, 70 BCE? 41 BCE).

Comments

Duttonhöfer (2002, 94) suggests that l. 10 refers to a command given by the god though an oracle. Seknebtynis is recorded as offering an oracular answer to a

question in P.Tebt. II 284, in which Lysimachos writes to his sister reporting that Seknebtynis has ordered him not to come down until the 21st of the month, at which point he will come: θέλει ὁ Σεκνεβτῦ(νις) | ὁ κύριος θεὸς καταβῆ[ι]σσομαι ἐλευθέρως. In P.Lips. II 131 it would seem that the god had given an oracular command to the members of the synod, the content of which is not preserved except that it appears to involve several *synodoi*.

Literature: Duttonhöfer, Ruth 2002. *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig (P.Lips II)*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 10. Munich: K. Saur.

[216] P.Mich. II 123–124

Grapheion Accounts

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

45–47 CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak, ed., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part I*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 28, Michigan papyri II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933) 87–178 (no. 123); 179–185 (no. 124) + BL X 123 [TM 11967, 11969]

Current Location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.966, 966a.

Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93]. P.Mich. II 123: Papyrus roll, 310 × 28 cm. P.Mich. II 124: Papyrus roll, 33.5 × 22 cm. These are registers (*ἀναγραφαί*) of all the documents that were filed in the *grapheion* of Tebtynis during the month of Neos Sebastos of the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius, each indicating the γραμματικόν or scribal fee charged for each document. I have added in parentheses the month and day relevant to each entry.

P.Mich. II 123 (Thoth 30 to Kaisareios 30, 45–46 CE)

recto

iii.40 (Θωθ) λ χ<ε>ιρογραφῶν καὶ γραφῆ(ς) ἀπολυσίμω(ν) καὶ
προβατοκτη(νοτρόφων). ƒ ια

iii.41 (Θωθ λ) χ<ε>ιρογρ(αφία) πλήθους γερδίων εἰς τοὺς {εἰς} ἐπιστάτας. ƒ η

...

vi.16 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ α) ἀναφώρα βαφέων. ἐπὶ λόγ(ο) (ὀβ.) θ

vi.17 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ α) ἀναφώρα γναφέων. (ὀβ.) ιδ

vi.18 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ α) νόμος συνόδο(υ) Ψοσνε(ῦτος) ἐλαιουργο(ῦ).
ἐλέου κο(τύλαι) δ

vi.19 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ α) γραφὴ ραβδιστῶν. ƒ δ (ὀβολοὶ) η . . .

vi.25 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ς) χ<ε>ιρογραφία πλήθο(υς) ἐριοπωλῶν ƒ η

...

vii.27 ἀναφώρα Πετεεῦτο(ς) καὶ ἄλλο(υ) ἀλοπωλῶ(ν) φόρο(υ) ƒ ση. (ὀβ.) ιδ

...
viii.26 (Χοίαχ ιδ) χ<ε>ιρογραφία ἀπολυσίμων καὶ προβατοκτηνο(τρόφων) περὶ
το(ῦ) φυλά(σσειν) ὑδά(τια). χάρις

...
ix.45 (Τῦβι γ) [±?] νόμος συνόδο(υ) Κρονι..[±?]

...
x.6 (Τῦβι) θ νόμο(ς) συνόδο(υ) Κρονίωνο(ς) Καμήους. (ὀβ.) ια

...
xi.36 (Μεχειρ ε) νόμος [σ]υνόδου Ἡρακλήου Πίχιο(ς) ἐπαύλεω(ς). (ὀβ.) κ

...
xiv.17 ια ὑπόμ<ν>η(μα) Ἡρώδου ἡγουμένο(υ) ῥαβδιστῶν. (ὀβ.) ζ
xiv.37 κβ χ<ε>ιρογρ(αφία) Ἡρακλᾶτος γραμματέω(ς) ἀλ{ε}ιέων καὶ ἐτέρω(ν)
ἀλ{ε}ιέων

xvi.12 (Παχὼν κη) νόμος ποιμένων (ὀβ.) η

...
xvii.9 (Παῦνι) ιβ ὁ[μο(λογία)]νο() πρὸ(ς) Ψοσνεῦν ἐλαιουργὸ(ν)
ἀποχῇ(ς). (ὀβ.) ι

...
xvii.38 (Παῦνι κγ) νόμο(ς) οἰκοδόμων. (ὀβ.) ι

...
xxi.31 χ<ε>ιρογρ(αφία) ἡγο(υμένου) γερδίων

...
xxi.40 ἀναφόρια Ἡρακλᾶτ(ος) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) ἄλοπω(λῶν) Ταλι καὶ Θ.[±?]

...
xxii.27 ἀναφόρια ἄλοπωλῶ(ν) Ἰβίων (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) Ε̅ φος [±?]

...
xxii.44 (μηνὸς Kaisa[ρείου λ) [συ]νγρ(αφή) πλήθο<υ>ς ἀπολυσ[ίμων ±?]

...

Apparatus: vi.18 Pap. ἐλευργο(ῦ) || vi.25 ἐριοπολῶν || vii.27 Pap. ἄλοπολῶ ||
viii.26 BL X 123 περὶ το(ῦ); Pap. περὶ τὸ || x.6 Pap. δ || xiv.37 Pap. γραμματέο ||
xvi.12 Pap. πυμένων || xvii.9 Pap. ἐλευργὸ || xxi.40 Pap. ἄλοπο || xxii.27 Pap.
ἀλοπολῶ.

iii.40 (Thoth) 30 (= 27 Sept) Declaration and document of those released from
(public service) (*apolyssimoi*) and the sheep and donkey rearers: 11 dr.

iii.41 (Thoth) 30 (= 27 Sept) Declaration of the guild (*plēthos*) of weavers to the
supervisors: 8 dr.

...
vi.16 (Neos Sebastos) 4 (= 31 Oct) Payment by the dyers: on account, 9 obols

vi.17 (Neos Sebastos) 4 (= 31 Oct) Payment by the fullers: 14 obols.

vi.18 (Neos Sebastos) 4 (= 31 Oct) Bylaws (*nomos*) of the *synodos* of Psosneus
(the) oil worker(?): 4 kotylai of oil.

vi.19 (Neos Sebastos) 4 (= 31 Oct) List of cloth-beaters. 4 dr. and 8 obols

vi.25 (Neos Sebastos) 6 (= 2 Nov) Declaration of the guild (*plēthos*) of wool merchants: 8 dr.

...

vii.27 Payment by Peteus and another salt merchant. 208 dr. Fee: 14 obols.

...

viii.26 (Choaik) 14 (= 11 Dec) Declaration of those released from (public service) and the sheep and donkey rearers about guarding the waterways: free.

...

ix.45 (Tybi) 3 (= 29 Dec) [. . .] Bylaws (*nomos*) of the *synodos* of Kroni. . .

...

x.6 (Tybi) 9 (= 4 Jan) Bylaws (*nomos*) of the *synodos* of Kronion son of Kames: 11 obols. . . .

xi.36 (Mecheir) 5 (= 30 Jan) Bylaws (*nomos*) of the *synodos* of Heraklēs Pichis. Farm building (?) 20 obols.

...

xiv.17 (Pharmouthi) 11 (= 7 Mar) Memorandum, (made) by Herodes, president (*hēgoumenos*) (of the *synodos*) of the cloth beaters. 7 obols.

...

xiv.37 (Pharmouthi) 22 (= 18 Mar) Declaration, by Heraklas secretary of the (*synodos*) of fishermen and the other fishermen

...

xvi.12 (Pachon) 28 (= 24 May) Bylaws (*nomos*) of shepherds: 8 obols.

...

xvii.38 (Pauni) 23 (= 17 Jun) Bylaws (*nomos*) of the *synodos* of builders: 10 obols.

...

xxi.31: Declaration of the president (*hēgoumenos*) of the (*plēthos*) of weavers

...

xxi.40 Payment by Hēraklēs and the other salt merchants of Tali and Th..[±?]

...

xxii.27 Payment by the salt dealers of Ibion (Eikosipentarouron), 576 dr. (fee): [±?]

...

xxii.44 (30 Kaisareios = 23 Aug): Agreement of the guild (*plēthos*) of those exempt from liturgical service (*apolysimoi*) . . .

P.Mich. II 124 (29 Neos Sebastos—1 Choaik 46–47 CE)

recto

ii.15 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ κθ) χρεῖρογρ(αφία) πλῆθος ἐριοπολῶ(ν). Ἑ η

ii.19 (μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ λ) δόσις διὰ ἡγο(υμένου) πλῆθος(ς) γερδίω[ν] ὑπὲρ χρεῖρο(γραφίας). Ἑ δ . . .

ii.23 (Χοίακ α) νόμος συνόδο(υ) θεοῦ .[.]. . . .

Apparatus: ii.15 Pap. ἐριοπολῶ || ii.23 συνῶδο.

- ii.15 (29 Neos Sebastos = 25 Nov) Declaration of the guild (*plēthos*) of the wool merchants: 8 dr. . . .
 ii.19 (30 Neos Sebastos = 26 Nov) Gift (received) through the president (*hēgoumenos*) of the guild (*plēthos*) of the weavers, for their written declaration: 4 dr. . . .
 ii.23 (1 Choiak = 27 Nov) Bylaws (*nomos*) of the *synodos* of the god . . .

Notes

Associations? Sixteen associations are listed along with either associative terms, or leadership terms, or both, or appear to be identical with a contemporary Tebtynis association attested elsewhere; two simply list artisans in the plural, but are also likely associations. Certain: the ἀπολύσιμοι (iii.40), are also attested in 123.viii.26, as clearly as an associations in 123.xxii.44, and as a πλῆθος in **212**; the προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι (iii.40) are attested in 123.viii.26 and are clearly as an association in **206**; πλῆθος γερδίων (iii.41; 124.ii.19), also attested in Tebtynis in 123.xxi.31, with ἡγούμενος in 124.ii.19; σύνδοδος Ψοσνε(ῦτος) (123.vi.18; 123.xvii.9), with a νόμος; ῥαβδισταί (123.vi.19; 123.xiv.17), with a ἡγούμενος; πλῆθος ἐριοπολῶν (123.vi.25; 124.ii.15); ἀλοπῶλαι (123.vii.27), identifiable with the guild of salt merchants in **219**; σύνδοδος Κρονι. (123.ix.45), with a νόμος; σύνδοδος Κρονιώνο(ς) Καμήους (123.x.6), with a νόμος; σύνδοδος Ἡρακλήου Πίχιο(ς) (123.xi.36), with a νόμος; ἀλειεῖς (123.xiv.37), with a γραμματεὺς; ποιμένες (123.xvi.12), with a νόμος; οἰκοδόμοι (123.xvii.38), with a νόμος; σύνδοδος θεοῦ (124.ii.23), with a νόμος. Probable: βαφεῖς (123.vi.16); γναφεῖς (123.vi.17); ἀλοπῶλαι Ἰβίων Εἰκοσιπενταρῶρων (123.xxii.27); ἀλοπῶλαι Ταλί καὶ Θ... (123.xxi.40).

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

ii.23: (Χοϊάκ α) νόμος συνῶδο(υ) θεοῦ .[.] . . . The same association is noted in P.Mich. II 127.i.20 [**217**].

iii.40: προβατοκτη(νοτρόφων). → I.Fayum I 73.5 [**202**] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE) *note*. I.Fayum I 73 is a dedication of the προβατοκτηνοτρόφες and a guild of προβατοκτηνοτρόφες is attested in P.Hamb. I 34.6 [**235**] (Euhemeria, 160 CE) in a declaration to the *stratēgos* of six “elders of the προβατοκτηνοτρόφες” concerning the total flocks of the members of guild. (→ Kruse 1998).

vi.19: ῥαβδιστῶν, lit. rug beaters.

Comments

These are day accounts of records filed with the local *grapheion* in Tebtynis. The two accounts are from 45–46, 46–47 CE and are divided by month and day, recording the scribal activities, documents filed, and charges levied. During that time Kronion produced multiple documents, mostly declarations and copies of bylaws, for a large number of guilds and associations:

πλῆθος ἀπολυσίμων, ἀπολύσιμοι, those exempt from liturgical obligations (CAPInv 1409)

123.iii.40: ἀπολύσιμοι

- 123.viii.26: χεῖρογραφία ἀπολυσίμων
 123.xxii.44: πλήθοις ἀπολυσίμων
 =? P.Mich. V 244 [212]
 προβατοκτη(νοτρόφοι), sheep and donkey rearers (CAPInv 1408, 1458)
 123.iii.40: προβατοκτη(νοτρόφων)
 123.viii.26: προβατοκτηνο(τρόφων)
 =? P.Mich. V 243 [206]
 πλήθος γερδίων, γέρδιοι, association of weavers (CAPInv 1275)
 123.iii.41: πλήθους γερδίων
 123.xxi.31: χεῖρογρ(αφία) ἡγο(υμένου) γερδίων
 124.ii.19: ἡγο(υμένου) πλήθο(υς) γερδίω[v]
 βαθεις, dyers (CAPInv 1459)
 123.vi.16: βαφέων
 γναφεῖς, κναφεῖς, fullers (CAPInv 1460)
 123.vi.17 ἀναφόρια γναφέων
 σύνοδος Ψοσνε(ῦτος), *synodos* of Psosneus the oil worker (CAPInv 1430)
 123.vi.18: νόμος συνόδο(υ) Ψοσνε(ῦτος) ἐλαιουργο(ῦ)
 123.xvii.9 ὁ[μο(λογία)]γο() πρὸ(ς) Ψοσνεῦν ἐλαιουργό(ν) ἀποχῆ(ς)
 ῥαβδισταί, rug beaters (CAPInv 1431)
 123.vi.19 γραφή ῥαβδιστῶν
 123.xiv.17 ὑπόμνη(μα) Ἡρώδου ἡγουμένο(υ) ῥαβδιστῶν
 πληθος ἐριοπωλῶν, wool merchants (CAPInv 1274)
 123.vi.25: χεῖρογραφία πλήθο(υς) ἐριοπωλῶν
 124.ii.15: χεῖρογρ(αφία) πλήθοις ἐριοπωλῶ(ν)
 ἀλοπῶλαι, salt merchants (CAPInv 1660)
 123.vii.27 ἀναφόρια Πετεεῦτο(ς) καὶ ἄλλο(υ) ἀλοπῶλο(υ)
 ? = P.Mich. V 240.i.31 (Tebtynis, 46 CE): ἀναφόρια Ὀρσενούφιο(ς) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) ἀλοπω(λῶν) (ὀβολοί) κ
 ? = P.Mich. V 245 [219] (=CAPInv 1658): ἀλοπῶλαι τῶν ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεως
 ἀλοπῶλαι Ἰβίων Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων, salt merchants of Ibion Eikosipentarouron (CAPInv 1661)
 123.xxii.27 ἀναφόρια ἀλοπωλῶ(ν) Ἰβίων Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων
 ἀλοπῶλαι Ταλὶ καὶ Θ..., the salt merchants of Tali and Th... (CAPInv 1662)
 123.xxi.40 ἀναφόρια Ἡρακλᾶτ(ος) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) ἀλοπω(λῶν) Ταλὶ καὶ Θ[±?]
 σύνοδος Κρονι.[±?], *synodos* of Kroni(on?) (CAPInv 1975)
 123.ix.45: νόμος συνόδο(υ) Κρονι..[±?]
 σύνοδος Κρονίωνο(ς) Καμήους, *synodos* of Kronion son of Kames (CAPInv 1976)
 123.x.6: νόμο(ς) συνόδο(υ) Κρονίωνο(ς) Καμήους
 σύνοδος Ἡρακλήου Πίχιο(ς), *synodos* of Herakles son of Pichis (CAPInv 1977)
 123.xi.36 νόμος [σ]υνόδο(υ) Ἡρακλήου Πίχιο(ς)
 ἀλιεῖς, fishermen (CAPInv 1434)
 123.xiv.37 χεῖρογρ(αφία) Ἡρακλᾶτος γραμματέω(ς) ἀλ{ε}ιέων καὶ ἐτέρω(ν) ἀλ{ε}ιέων
 ποιμένες, shepherds (CAPInv 1275)
 123.xvi.12 (Παχών κη) νόμος ποιμένων
 οἰκοδόμοι, builders (CAPInv 1432)
 123.xvii.38 (Παῦνι κγ) νόμο(ς) οἰκοδόμων
 σύνοδος θεοῦ, *synodos* of the god ... (CAPInv 1437)
 124.ii.23 νόμος συνόδο(υ) θεοῦ [.]. . .

Eighteen collectivities of workers are mentioned in P.Mich. II 123–124. Of these

several are certainly formal associations: those that are identified as a *σύνδοξ* or *πλήθος*, those that have *νόμοι*, and those in which an official, mostly a secretary or president, is named. This means that of the eighteen groups, twelve were likely formal guilds: the *apolysimoi*; the weavers; the *synodos* of Posneus the oil worker; the rug beaters; the wool merchants; the *synodos* of Kronion; the *synodos* of Kronion son of Kames; the *synodos* of Hēraklēs son of Pichis; the fishermen; the shepherds; the builders; and the *synodos* of the god. It is less clear, at least from Kronion's notations in P.Mich. II 123–124, that the sheep and donkey rearers represented a guild, but the nearly contemporary P.Mich. V 243 [206] suggest that they belonged to a guild. The same goes for the several groups of salt merchants (cf. P.Mich. V 245 [219]). Less clear are the dyers and fullers. But if ἀναφόρια in those entries refer to payments made by these collectivities, it is likely that they too are guilds, as are the salt merchants who likewise are reported as making payments collectively.

Seven *nomoi* (bylaws) are reported by Kronion during this period. This likely reflects the requirement that the bylaws of associations and their memberships be updated and filed with the village archives yearly → P.Cair. 30606 [191] *comment*.

Literature: Boak, Arthur E.R. 1923. "The Anagraphai of the Grapheion of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon." In *JEA* 9(3/4):164–167; Bowman, Alan 2013. "Agricultural Production in Egypt." In *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production*, ed. Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson, 219–253. Oxford studies on the Roman economy. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; Burkhalter, F. 1990. "Archives locales et archives centrales en Egypt romaine." In *Chiron* 20:191–216; Boak, Arthur E.R. 1923. "The Anagraphai of the Grapheion of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon." In *JEA* 9/3–4:164–167; Burkhalter, F. 1990. "Archives locales et archives centrales en Egypt romaine." In *Chiron* 20:191–216; Clarysse, Willy 2003. "Tomoi Synkollēsimoi." In *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, edited by Maria Brosius, 344–359. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Cockle, W.E.H. 1984. "State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 BC to the Reign of Septimius Severus." In *JEA* 70:106–122; Derda, Thomasz 2006. *Arsinoites Nomos. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 7. Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University; Haighton, Angela 2010. "Roman Methods of Authentication in the First Two Centuries AD." In *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 31(1):29; Husselman, Elinor. 1970. "Procedures of the Record Office of Tebtunis in the First Century AD." In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, edited by Deborah Hobson Samuel. American Studies in Papyrology 7, 223–238. Toronto: A.M. Hakkert; Kruse, Thomas 1998. "P.Hamb. I 34, die προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι von Euhemereia und die Schafe und Ziegen der Μαικηνατιανή οὔσια." In *ZPE* 120:145–156 + pls. I–II; Langellotti, Micaela. 2016. "Professional Associations and the State in Roman Egypt: The Case of First-Century Tebtunis." In *CdÉ* 91(181):111–34; Mueller, Katja 2006. *Settlements of the Ptolemies: City Foundations and New Settlement in the Hellenistic World*. Studia Hellenistica 43. Leuven: Peeters; Muhs, Brian 2005. "The Grapheion and the Disappearance of

Demotic Contracts in Early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos.” In *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos: Leben im Römerzeitlichen Fajum: Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, edited by Sandra Lippert und Maren Schentuleit, 93–104. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz; **Pierce**, Richard Holton 1968. “Grapheion, Catalogue, and Library in Roman Egypt.” In *Symbolae Osloenses* 43(1):68–83; **Rowlandson**, Jane 1999. “Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt.” In *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times*, ed. Alan K. Bowman & Eugene Rogan, 39–158. Proceedings of the British Academy. Oxford: Oxford University Press; **Segrè**, Angelo 1926. “Note sul documento Greco-Egizio del ‘Grapheion.’” *Aeg* 7(1):97. RJO/JSK

[217] P.Mich. II 127 Kronion’s Personal Account

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 1 Sept 45 – 17 Jan 46 CE
Published: Arthur E.R. Boak, ed., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part I*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 28, Michigan papyri II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933) 193–199 (no. 127) [TM 11972]
Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.693.
Similar or related documents: for i.20 → P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE): the same *synodos* of Harpokrates? [CAPInv 1437]

Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93]. Single papyrus sheet 31 × 27.5 cm, broken at the right. Private expense account of Kronion son of Apion, *nomographos* of the grapheion of Tebtynis for the first five months of the sixth year of Claudius.

⟨Year 6, Sebastos 4 – Tybi 22 = 1 Sept 45 – 17 Jan 46⟩

- i.1 λόγο(ς) δαπ[άνη]ς {ε}ιδίας τοῦ ς L
Τιβερίου Κ[λαυ]δίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸ(ς) Σεβαστοῦ
δ τι[μη(ς)] ἐρίω(ν) χάριν σταθμίω(ν) ε ἀργ(υρίου) ƒ η
...
- i.20 (Σεβαστός λ) Πάτρωνι ἡγο(υμένω) ε L συνόδο(ν) θεοῦ. ƒ δ
...
- i.30 (Φαωφί δ) [εἰ]ς τὴν σύνοδο(ν) τοῦ Ἀρποχρά(τους) κε(ραμίων) β. (ὀβολοὶ) λς
...
- ii.13 (Ἀθύρ) κ Πάτρων[νι Τυ]ράννου (ὀβολοὶ) ι
...
- ii.33 (Χοιάκ η). Πάτρωνι Τυράννου ὑπὲρ συμβολῶ(ν) (ἔκτου) L ƒ δ

Apparatus: 4 Pap. τυ[μῆ] || 30 Pap. σύνωδο(ν)

- 1.1 Account of the private expenses of the 6th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus the Emperor, month of Sebastos.
(Sebastos) 4: The price for 5 stathmia of wool: 8 silver drachmae. . .
...
i.20 (Sebastos 30 = 27 Sept): (Paid) to Patron, the president of the *synodos* of the god for the 5th year: 4 drachmae
...
i.30 (Phaophi 4 = 1 Oct) For the *synodos* of Harpokrates, 2 *keramia* (of wine): 36 obols.
...
ii.13 (Hathyr) 20 (= 17 Nov): (Paid) to Patron son of Tyrannos: 10 obols.
...
ii.33 (Choiak) 8: (4 Dec) (Paid) to Patron son of Tyrannos, as dues for the 6th year: 4 drachmae.

Notes

Association? Certain: two cultic associations, both σύνοδοι: σύνωδος θεοῦ (maybe Souchos) (i.20), with a ἡγούμενος, and perhaps identical with that mentioned in **216** (124.ii.23); σύνωδος τοῦ Ἀρποχρά(τους) (i.40), probably identical with **211**.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). **TM** geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

1.30: (Φαωφί δ) [εἰ]ς τὴν σύνωδο(ν) τοῦ Ἀρποχρά(τους) κε(ραμίων) β. (ὀβολοὶ) λς. Schnöckel (2006, 68n.267) suggests that the *synodos* of Harpokrates is the same as that in P.Mich. V 246 [**211**]. At 36 obols for 2 *keramia* the price is exactly the median of wine prices in Tebtynis in the mid-first century (→ 1.30 *note*). See also P.Tebt. II 401.vi.23–24 [**214**] where a president is responsible for 2 *keramia* of beer for a monthly (?) banquet.

1. 30: κε(ραμίων) β. → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [**194**] *note*. Here the expense is most likely for wine, so Kronion would have paid 18 ob. (3 dr.)/*keramion*. From other expense entries in the account, we see that Kronion paid between 14 ob./*keramion* and 24 ob./*keramion* with a mean of 19.5, a median of 19, and mode of 18/*keramion*.

P.Mich II 127 gives several prices for wine ranging from 14 to 24 obols/*keramion*: 1.5: τιμῆ(ς) οἴνο(υ) Ἡρωνᾶτι νομογρ(άφω) κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) ιζ (17 obols/*keramion*); 1.18–19: τιμῆ(ς) οἴνο(υ) κε(ραμίου) α καὶ ἐλακίας κε(ραμίου) α Εὐτύχω. 1 δ, (4 dr. = 24 obols); 1.21: τιμῆ(ς) οἴνο(υ) κε(ραμίου) α. 1 δ (4 dr./*keramion*); 1.26: τιμῆ(ς) οἴν[ου] κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) ιη (18 obols = 3 dr.); 1. 27: οἴνο(υ) κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) ιη (18 obols = 3 dr.); 1. 30: [εἰ]ς τὴν σύνωδο(ν) τοῦ Ἀρποχρά(τους) κε(ραμίων) β (ὀβολοὶ) λς (36 obols for 2 *keramia* = 18/*keramion*); 1. 42: [τιμῆ(ς)] οἴνο(υ) κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) ιη (18 obols); 2.8: [τιμῆς οἴνου.] κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) ιδ (14 obols); 2.14: τιμῆ(ς) οἴν[ου] κε(ραμίου) α ἀπὸ Ταλὶ εἰσιτῶ(ν) Εὐτυχᾶ(ν). (ὀβολοὶ) κβ (22 obols); 2.42: τιμῆ(ς) οἴνο(υ) κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) κ (20 obols); 2.50: οἴνου κε(ραμίου) α (ὀβολοὶ) κ (20 obols); 3.3: οἴνο(υ) κε(ραμίων) β (ὀβολοὶ) μβ (2 *keramia* for 42 obols = 21 per *keramion*).

See also SB III 7182 [193] for the cost of wine in the second century BCE, when copper inflation accounts for the very much higher numbers.

- ii.33: συμβολή, “dues, contributions” → P.Petr. III 136.I.3 [187] *note*. Kronion reports similar expenses in 2.35, (Χοϊακ) γὰρ ἐντιῶν Μάρωνα καὶ Σωτήρχου(ν) Κρονίδου(ν) συμβολή(ης). ⲡ δ, “entertaining Maron and Soterichon son of Kronides, contribution of 4 dr.” The term also appears in P.Mich. II 123 v iii.7, iii.30, iv.22 [216] dated to sometime in Choiak.

Comments

In addition to serving as the *nomogrammateus* of Tebtynis, a role that entailed registering documents related to various cultic associations and occupational guilds, Kronion was also a member at least two cultic associations, to which he paid dues (συμβολαί), the *synodos* of the “god,” perhaps Souchos, and the *synodos* of Harpokrates [211]. The “*synodos* of the god” is also mentioned in P.Mich. II 124.2.23 [216] (46/47 CE), whose bylaws Kronion recorded and docketed.

The entry for Sebastos 30 (i.20) has Kronion paying 5 dr. to the president of the *synodos* of the god, and a few days later (Phophi 4, i.30) an expenditure for wine for the *synodos* of Harpokrates. The former entry suggests that Kronion was paying monthly (?) dues; the latter, that as an officer of the association he was supplying wine for the banquet. Note that the *synodos* of Harpokrates, P.Mich. V 246.1 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE) has the president supplying foodstuffs for the banquet.

Literature: Boak, Arthur E.R. 1923. “The Anagraphai of the Grapheion of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon.” In *JEA* 9(3/4): 164–167; Burkhalter, F. 1990. “Archives locales et archives centrales en Egypt romaine.” In *Chiron* 20:191–216; Clarysse, Willy 2003. “Tomoi Synkollēsimoι.” In *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, edited by Maria Brosius, 344–359. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Cockle, W.E.H. 1984. “State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 BC to the Reign of Septimius Severus.” In *JEA* 70:106–122; Derda, Thomasz 2006. *Arsinoites Nomos. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement, 7. Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University; Haighton, Angela 2010. “Roman Methods of Authentication in the First Two Centuries AD.” In *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 31(1):29; Muhs, Brian 2005. “The Grapheion and the Disappearance of Demotic Contracts in Early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos.” In *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos: Leben im Römerzeitlichen Fayum: Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, edited by Sandra Lippert und Maren Schentuleit, 93–104. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz; Pierce, Richard Holton 1968. “Grapheion, Catalogue, and Library in Roman Egypt.” In *Symbolae Osloenses* 43(1):68–83; Schnöckel, Karl Heinrich 2006. *Ägyptische Vereine in der frühen Prinzipatszeit: Eine Studie über sechs Vereinssatzungen (Papyri Michigan 243–248)*. Xenia 48. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag; Segre, Angelo 1926. “Note sul documento Greco-Egizio del ‘grapheion’.” In *Aeg* 7(1):97. RJO

[218] PSI VIII 901 Oath of Fishermen

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

17 Apr 46 CE

Published: Girolamo Vitelli in Girolamo Vitelli and M. Norsa, eds., *Papiri greci e latini*, VIII. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto (Florence: Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, 1927) no. 901; Sel.Pap. II 372–375 (no. 329, ll. 7–16 only) + BL II.2 143; BL III 225–226 [TM 13801; CAPIInv 1444, 1445]

Translations: Johnson 1936, 376 (no. 221); David C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 BC–AD 68*. (London and Sydney: Croon Helm, 1985) no. 730; P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007) 98.

Images: M. Norsa, *Papiri greci delle collezioni italiane; scritture documentarie dal 3 secolo A.C. al secolo 8 D.C.* Roma: Istituto di filologia classica (1946) Tav. XII.

Digital image: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi:8:901>

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum PSI 901

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich II 123r xiv.37 [216] (Tebtynis, 45/6 CE); *fishermen from Berenikis Thesmophorou*: PSI VII 737.7–8 (Arsinoites, II–III CE): ἀλιέων Διονυσιάδος καὶ Βερνικίδος Θεσμοφόρου; *other village fishermen*: P.Mich II 123r iii.7 [216] (Tebtynis, 45/6 CE): ἀλιέων Τεβτύνεως; P.Tebt. II 298r.fr.d.1.33 (Tebtynis, 107/8 CE), ἀλιέων Μούχεως; P.Corn 46 (Oxyrhynchus, 128–131 CE): ἀμφιβολεῖς κώμης; P.Sijp. 30 (Hermopolites, II CE): ἀλιέων τῆς κώμης; SB VIII 10206 (Theadelphia and Polydeukia, 148 CE); P.Louvre 1 36 (Soknopaiou Nesos): ἀλιέων ἀπὸ ποδὸς Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου; P.Thmouis 1 (Thmuis, Mendesian nome, 180–192 CE): ἀμφιβολέων; P.Athen. 35 (Theadelphia, 154 CE) οἱ τρεῖς ἀλιεῖς καὶ νομεῖς τοῦ δρυμοῦ κώμης Θεαδελφείας; *lists of fishermen*: P.Oxy. LXIV 4440 (Oxyrhynchus, I CE): ἱεροσαγηνιτῶν Ἀθηνᾶς Θοήριδος θεᾶς μεγίστης; BGU I 277 (Arsinoites, ca. 130 CE); *petitions involving fishermen*: P.Oxy. XIX 2234 (Oxyrhynchites, 31 CE); P.Oxy. II 294 (Alexandria, 22 CE); P.Laur. I 1 (Arsinoite, ca. 192–193 CE); *oaths*: P.Oxy XII 1453 (Oxyrhynchus, 30–29 CE): λυχνάπτοι τοῦ ἐν Ὁξυρύξων; P.Oxy LXVII 4583 (Oxyrhynchus, 45 CE): οἱ μελισσοῦργοι τῶν ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγγων πόλεως; P.Mich. V 233 (Tebtynis, 24 CE): φυλασσόντων τὴν ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἄφεσιν ἱερέων; *elders of a guild*: → OGIS II 729.4 [155] *note*; I.Fayum II 122.1–2 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); P.Fouad 18 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 54 CE): οἱ ἐξ πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεοργῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγγων; P.Fouad 19 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 53 CE): οἱ πέντε πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεοργῶν Ἀρεως; SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE).

Papyrus, 32 × 23.5 cm. Twenty seven lines of text written in two hands, interrupted by two spaces of 1.5 cm and 3 cm. Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93].

⟨hand 1⟩

- Ἡρακλείδης Τρύφωνος γραμματεὺς ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξηκονταδύο οὐλή ῥίνι ἐκ
δεξιῶ(ν), Ἀρμειεὺς Ἀνουβᾶτος ὡς L νη οὐλή(ῃ) ποδ(ι) ἀριστερῶ,
κ(αι) Παπεῖς Ὀννό(φρεος) ὡς L ξε οὐλή πήχ(ει) ἀριστ[ερ]ῶι ὑπί(ω), κ(αι)
Πανομειεὺς Ἀκήους ὡς L νς οὐλή(ῃ) γαστροκνη(μία) δεξιᾶ, κ(αι) Σεκονεὺς
Πατῦνις
ὡς L ξ οὐλή(ῃ) καρπ(ῶ) δεξιῶι, Ἀνχορίμφις Ὀρσευτος ὡς L μ οὐλή(ῃ) ποδ(ι)
δεξιῶι, Ἀρπαγάθης Νίλου(ου) ὡς L μβ οὐλή(ῃ) γόν(ατι) δεξιῶι, Πανομειεὺς
Ἀρμάις
ὡς L ν οὐλή(ῃ) πήχ(ει) ἀριστερῶι ὑπί(ω), Νεκχῆς Ὡπεος ὡς L ξε οὐλή(ῃ)
πήχ(ει) δεξιᾶ, Ὀρσεεὺς Ὡπεος ὡς L νε ἀναφάλ(α)κ(ρος) οὐλή(ῃ)
ἀντίχει(ρι) ἀριστερῶι, Πατῦν(ις)
5 Ὀρσεὺς ὡς L λ οὐλή ὀφρύ(ι) δεξιᾶ ἄκρα, καὶ Ὀρσεὺς Ὀρσεὺς ὡς L λε
οὐλή(ῃ) ὑπὲρ ὀφρὺν ἀριστερ(άν), Πατῦνις Σαταβοῦτος ὡς L γ<δ>{οι} οὐλή
μήλωι δεξιῶι πρὸς τῇ ῥίνι, Πελωὺς Πατῦνις ὡς L νε οὐλή(ῃ) μετώπωι μέσσωι.
⟨vacat⟩
Ἡρακλείδης Τρύφωνος γραμματεὺς ἀλιέων ἀν<υ>χιαλοῦ Βερνικίδος
Θεσμοφόρου, κ(αι) Ἀρμειεὺς Ἀνουβᾶτος, κ(αι) Παπεῖς Ὀννόφρεος
κ(αι) Πανομειεὺς Ἀκήους, κ(αι) Σεκονεὺς Πατῦνις, κ(αι) Ἀνχορίμφις
Ὀρσεὺς, κ(αι) Ἀρπαγάθης Νίλου, κ(αι) Πανομειεὺς Ἀρμάις, κ(αι) Νεκχῆς
Ὡπεος, κ(αι) Ὀρσεὺς Ὡπεος, κ(αι) Πατῦνις Ὀρσεὺς, κ(αι) Ὀρσεὺς
Ὀρεῦτους κ(αι) Πατῦνις Σαταβοῦτος, κ(αι) Πελωὺς Πατῦνις
10 οἱ δεκατρ<ε>ῖς πρεσβύτεροι ἀλιέων κωμῶν Ναρμούθεος κ(αι) Βερνικίδος
Θεσμοφόρου, οἱ δεκατέσσαρες τοῖς
παρὰ Σα[ρ]απίωνος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νομάρχου κ(αι) ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων
κ(αι) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπι<σπου>δασμοῦ τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου ὁμνύομεν
Τιβέρι[ο]ν Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτορα ἧ μὴν
μηδὲ ἔν συνιστορῆκεναι μηδὲ συνιστο-
ρήσειν ἀ[λ]ιέ<ου>σι μηδὲ σαγηνεύουσι μηδὲ ἀμφιβολέουσι κυνηγοῦσι
<ε>ἰδωλα θεῶν ὀξυρύγχων κ(αι) λεπιδωτῶν
ἀκολούθως τῇ γεγεν[η]μένῃ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε κ(αι) τῶν ἐτέρων ἀλιέων
δημοσίᾳ χ<ε>ιρογραφία. ε{ο} ὑορκοῦσι μὲν
15 ἡμῖν ε{ο} ὅ <ε>ἷ{ι}, ἐφιορκοῦσι {τὰ} δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. ἔτους ς Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτο-
ρος, Φ[αρ]μοῦθι κβ.
⟨vacat⟩

⟨hand 2⟩

Ἡρακλείδης Τρύφωνος γραμματεὺς ἀλιέων αἰγιαλοῦ Βερνικίδος, καὶ
Παπεῖς Ὀννόφρις, καὶ Ἀρμιοῖσις Ἀνουβᾶτος, καὶ Φαγομειεὺς Ἀκήους,
καὶ Σεκονεὺς Πατῦνις, καὶ Ἀγαρίμφος Ὀρσεῦς, καὶ Ἀρπαγάθης Νίλου,
καὶ Πανεμμεμειος Ἀρμαίους, καὶ Νεκχῆς Ὡπιος, καὶ

- Ὅρσευς Ὀπιος, καὶ Πατύνιος Ὀρσειους, καὶ Ὅρσευς Ὅρσευς, καὶ
 Πατύνιος Σαταβοῦτος, καὶ Πελωεῖς Πατύνιος, οἱ δεκατέσσαρες
 20 πρεσβύτεροι ἀλιευόντων ἀπὸ κωμῶν Ναρμούθεος καὶ Βερνικίδος,
 Θε(σ)μοφόρου ὁμνύομεν Τιβέριον
 Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτωρος ἢ μὴν μηδὲ
 συνεισχειρηκέναι μηδὲ συνιστο-
 ρῆσιν ἀλιευ(ο)σι μηδὲ σαγηνεύουσι μηδὲ ἀμφιβολεύουσι κυνηγοῦσι
 εἰδῶλα θεῶν ὀξυρύνχων
 καὶ λεπιδωτῶν ἀκ(ο)λουθῶς τῇ γεγεννημένῃ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων
 ἀλιέων δημοσίᾳ χειρογραφίᾳ.
 εὐορκοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν εὖ <ε>ῖ ἔπιορκοῦσι δὲ τὰ <ε>ναντία. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ
 προγεγραμμένος γραμματεὺς αὐτῶν
 25 γέγραφα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ εἰδόντων γράμματα, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς <ο>
 Ἡρακλείδης συνομώμοκα
 τὸν προκ(ε)είμενον ὄρκον. ἔτους ἕκτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
 Φαρμουῖθι δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκάδι.

|| 1 Pap. ἐξηκονταδύω || 3 Pap. γών || 4 Pap. ἀντίχη || 5 Pap. νοῖ || 10 Pap.
 προσβύτεροι || Pap. δεκατέσσαρος || 11 BL III 225 ἐπι(σπου)δασμοῦ Pap.
 ἐπιδασμοῦ || Pap. ὁμνύομεν || 12 Pap. εἴ || Pap. συνεστορηκέναι || 13 Pap.
 σαγηνεῖσι || Pap. κυνηγουντες || Pap. ὀξυρύνχων || 15 Pap. ἐφῶ || Pap. ἡι || Pap.
 ταδαναντία || 17 Pap. Τρύφονος || Pap. αἰγιαίου || 19 Pap. Σαταταβους || Pap.
 δεκατέσαρος || 20 Pap. προσβύτεροι || Pap. ἀπὼι || Pap. Θεμωφόρου || Pap.
 ὁμνυωμεγομνν || 20–21 Pap. Τιβέριων Κλαύτιων Καίσαρος || 21 Pap.
 Αὐτωικρατωρος || Pap. εἴ || Pap. συνισχειρηκαῖναι || 21–22 Pap. συνιστωιρήσιν || 22
 Pap. κυνηκουντος || Pap. ὀξοιρύνχων || 23 Pap. λεπιδωτῶν || Pap. ἀκλουθος || Pap.
 γεγαινημαῖνη || Pap. δημοσίᾳ || Pap. χειρογραφία || 24 Pap. ἀναντία || Pap.
 προγεγραμμένους || 25 Pap. ὦ || Pap. συνωμωμαιχα || 26 Pap. προκίμαινον || Pap.
 ὄρκων || Pap. Κλαυτίου || Pap. Αὐτωικράτορος

Hērakleidēs son of Tryphon, secretary, about sixty-two years old with a
 scar on the right side of his nose, Harmieus son of Anoubas, about 58 years
 old with a scar on his left foot, and Papis son of Onnophris about 65 years
 old with a scar on his upper left forearm, and Panomieus son of Akes about
 56 years old with a scar on his right calf, and Sekoneus son of Patunis,
 about 60 years old with a scar on his right wrist, Anchorimphis son of
 Orseus, about 40 years old, with a scar on his right food, Harpagathes son
 of Nilos, about 42 years old with a scar on his right knee, Panomieus son of
 Harmais, about 50 years old with a scar on his left upper forearm, Nekches
 son of Opis about 65 years old with a scar on his right forearm, Orseus son
 of Opis about 55 years old, bald at the forehead, with a scar on his left
 thumb, Patynis son of (5) Orseus about 30 years old with a scar at the edge
 of his right eyebrow, Orseus son of Orseus, about 35 years old with a scar
 above his left eyebrow, Patynis son of Satabous, about fifty years old with a
 scar on his right cheek near his nose, Pelous son of Patynis about 55 years
 old with a scar between his eyebrows <vacat>

We, Hērakleidēs, secretary of the fishermen of the shore of Bernikis Thesmophorou, and Harmieus son of Anoubas, and Papis son of Onnophris and Panomieus son of Akes and Sekoneus son of Patynis, and Anchorimphis son of Orseus, and Harpagathēs son of Nilos, and Panomieus son of Harmais, and Nekchēs son of Opis and Orseus son of Opis and Patynis son of Orseus and Orseus son of Orseus, and Patynis son of Satabous, and Pelous son of Patynis (10) – thirteen elders of the fishermen of the villages of Narmouthis and Bernikis Thesmophorou – all fourteen swear to the representatives of Sarapiōn son of Ptolemaios the nomarch, and the agent in charge of the revenues and in charge of the assessments of the Arsinoite nome by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that we have never been aware of, nor will ever be aware of fishing or using a dragnet or using a cast net to catch the images of the gods, the Oxyrhynchus fish or the Lepidotos fish, pursuant to the public declaration that has been made by us and by the other fishermen. If, on the one hand, (15) we swear truthfully, may it go well with us, but if we perjure ourselves, the opposite. Year 6 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pharmouthi 22.

⟨*vacat*⟩

⟨*a second copy of the declaration follows*, ll. 17–24⟩

I, Hērakleidēs their above-named secretary, have written this and on behalf of all of them, who are illiterate. I myself, Hērakleidēs, have also sworn the above-mentioned oath. Year six of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pharmouthi, twenty-two.

Notes

Association? Certain: ἀλιεῖς ἀναρχιαλοῦ Βερνικίδος Θεσμοφόρου: collective of workers associated with a particular village; leadership terms: γραμματεὺς, πρεσβύτεροι; perhaps related to the (later) fishermen of PSI VII 737.7–8 (Arsinoites, II–III CE); collective oath.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

- l. 5: νδ: ed. pr. νυ, but this does not make sense as an age. The uncertain letter appears to be δ thus recording an age of 54 for Patynis son of Satabous.
- l. 7: Βερνικίδος Θεσμοφόρου: TM geo ref. 430; Barrington Atlas 75 D2 (unlocated); a village in the division of Polemon in the south of the Fayûm near a marshy lake.
- ll. 10, 20: πρεσβύτεροι ἀλιευόντων, elders of the fishermen: On πρεσβύτεροι of an occupational guild → OGIS II 729.4 [155] *note*.
- l. 10: κωμῶν Ναρμούθεος. TM geo ref. 1421; Barrington Atlas 75 D2 (unlocated).
- l. 11: Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νομάρχου: Sarapiōn son of Ptolemaeus, nomarch and superintendent of the Arsinoite nome may also be the Sarapiōn mentioned in P.Mich. V 235; P.Mich V 126.27–28. Nomarchs supervised the collection of various levies and taxes including, in the Arsinoite nome, occupation-related taxes. Associations of weavers, millers, fishermen, village elders, and priests often pay these taxes as a

collective to the agents or the bank of the nomarch (Reiter 2004): fisheries tax paid to the account of the nomarch → P.Tebt. II 329 (Tebtynis, 139 CE).

- I. 13: ἀλείουσι, σαγηνηέουσι, ἀμφιβολέουσι: On methods of fishing in ancient Egypt, including the use of nets, see Brewer and Renee 1989; cf. P.Oxy. XXIX 2234.14–15. In P.Corn 46 fishermen are also called ἀμφιβολεῖς. For a broader description of fishing methods in the Greco-Roman world see Ayedéji 2004; Bekker-Nielsen 2002; Oppian, *Halieutica*, book 3.
- II. 13, 22–23: ὀξύρυγχων καὶ λεπιδωτῶν: Two types of fish, the Oxyrhynchus and Lepidotus, known to be distinctive to Egypt (Strabo *Geogr.* 17.2.4; Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 373C; Athenaeus 7.97). Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 10.46, reports the prohibition against catching the Oxyrhynchus: Ὀξύρυγχος οὕτως ἰχθὺς κέκληται, καὶ ἔοικεν ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου λαβεῖν τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κατ' αὐτό. τρέφει δὲ ἄρα τὸν προειρημένον ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κέκληται νομὸς ἔνθα δήπου καὶ τιμὰς ὁ ἰχθὺς ἔχει ὁ αὐτός. ἀγκίστρον δὲ θηραθέντα ἰχθὺν οὐκ ἂν ποτε φάγοιεν οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες, δεδιότες μὴ ποτε ἄρα αὐτῷ περιπαρεῖς ἔτυχεν ὁ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸς καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἰχθὺς ὃν εἶπον. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ δικτύοις ἄλλωσί ποτε ἰχθύες, ἀνιχνεύουσι καὶ ταῦτα, μὴ παραλαθὼν ἐνέπεσεν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ προτιμῶσιν ἀθηρίαν ἢ ἀλόντος ἐκείνου τὴν μάλιστα εὐθηρίαν. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ χωροὶ ἐκ τῶν Ὀσίριδος τραυμάτων γεγενῆσθαι: νοοῦσι δὲ τὸν Ὀσίριν ἄρα τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Νεῖλῳ εἶναι. “There is a fish that goes by the name of Oxyrhynchus and it appears to derive its name from its face and from the shape of it. The Nile breeds the aforesaid fish; and after it too a district is named, where, I believe, this same fish is held in veneration. Should the inhabitants catch a fish on a hook they will never eat it for fear lest the aforesaid fish, which they regard as sacred and to be worshipped, may have changed to impale itself on the hook. And whenever fish are netted, they search the nets in case this famous fish has fallen in without their noticing it. And they would rather catch nothing at all than have the largest catch which included this fish. And the people who live round about maintain that it was born from the wounds of Osiris. They identify Osiris with the Nile” (trans. LCL). Identification of the Oxyrhynchus and the Lepidotus with modern taxa has been the debated. While the Oxyrhynchus is generally agreed to be the *Mormyrus* because of the distinctive snout (for a description see Brewer and Renee 1989:51–2), the Lepidotus may be *Barbus brynni* (as suggested by Brewer and Renee 1989:18, 59), but this is uncertain. On the veneration of the Oxyrhynchus and Lepidotus fish see comments below.
- I. 14: χειρογραφία: fishermen make declarations in the documents from the Tebtynis *grapheion*, see comments below.
- I. 25: μὴ εἰδόντων γράμματα: This phrase indicates that Hērakleidēs acts as *hypographeus* for the fishermen. On subscriptions, illiteracy and social status see Youtie 1971; 1975; Kraus 2000.

Comments

This oath records the declaration of an association of fishermen from the villages of Narmouthis and Berenikis Thesmophorou that they will not catch the sacred Oxyrhynchus or Lepidotus fish. It lists fourteen senior (πρεσβύτεροι) fishermen with their ages and identifying scars. The document has been written in two separate hands: an unknown scribe has written the list of fisherman and the top copy of the oath, while Herakleidēs son of Tryphon, the secretary of the

fisherman has written the bottom copy (ll. 25–26). The scribes of the Tebtynis *grapheion* recorded this oath in the register (*anagraphê*) of contracts (→ P.Mich II 123r xiv.37–38 [216]):

κβ χ<ε>ργογρ(αφία) Ἡρακλᾶτος γραμματέω(ς) ἀλ{ε}ίων καὶ ἐτέρω(ν) ἀλιέων εἰς τοὺς παρὰ Σεραπᾶτος . μ . [. . .] . . (δραχμαὶ) η

(Pharmouthi) 22 (= 17 Apr) Declaration (made) by Hēraklas (sic), secretary (of the guild) of the fishermen, and by the other fishermen to the [agents] of Serapas (the nomarch), [– – –]: 8 drachmae.

Other entries in the *anagraphê* give additional activities of fishermen operating in the area, including a rent payment of 200 drachmae by the fishers of Tebtynis, and a lease of fishers' services by Galates (P.Mich II 123r iii.7, iii.34 [216]). Later in 126 CE, fishermen from Tebtynis paid a fishing tax on the nearby marshes (P.Tebt II 356).

The oath of the fishermen follows the typical conventions of oaths and contracts written in the first century CE at the *grapheion*, such as the following oath declared by four priests of Tebtynis about two decades earlier to guard certain sluice gates on the irrigation dikes near their property (P.Mich V 233, Tebtynis, 13 Sept 24 CE):

- [Μαρεψημί]ς ὡς L κα, οὐλὴ γαστροκ(νημία) ἀριστερ[ᾱ]
 Π[εχεῦς] ὡς (ἐτῶν) με, οὐλὴ ἀντίχ(ειρι) ἀριστερῶ.
 Σοκ[ονῶ]πις ὡς L μ, οὐλὴ δακ(τύλω) (πρώτῳ) χειρὸς ἀριστερᾶς.
 Φα[νῆ]σις ὡς L λθ, οὐλὴ γαστροκ(νημία) ἀριστερᾶ.
 5 Γαίφι Ἰουλίῳ Φιλῆτῳ κατασπορεῖ Ἀρσινοεῖτου
 παρὰ Μαρεψημίος τοῦ Μαρεψημίος Καλατύτιος καὶ
 {καί} Πεχε[ῦ]τος τοῦ Φοΐφιος φυλασσόντων τὴν ἀπὸ λι-
 βό[ς] τῆς γεφύρης ἄφεσιν ἱερέων καὶ παρὰ Σοκονώ-
 πι[ο]ς τοῦ Σοκονώπιος καὶ Φα[ν]ήσιος τοῦ Παστοοῦτος
 10 φυλασσόντων τὴν ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἄφεσιν
 ἱερέων. οἱ τέσσαρες ἱερεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεως
 τῆς Πολ[έ]μωνος μερίδος φυλάσσοντες τὰς προκι-
 μένας ἀφέσεις δύο ὁμνύομεν Τιβέριον Καίσαρα
 Σεβαστὸν Νέον Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν
 15 εἴ μὴν φυλάξιν ἕκαστον τὴν ἰδίαν ἄφεσιν
 χωρὶς πάσης δαπάνης καὶ παρεδρεύσιν καθ' ἐ-
 κάστην ὥραν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἔλαττον ἐπακ<ο>λου-
 θῆσαι, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τι γένηται πρόπτωμα ἢ ἐκ-
 {χ}ρηγμα ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ὑπεύθυνοι ἐσόμεθα
 20 παντὸς τοῦ ἐσομένου βλάβο<υ>ς. εὐορκούσι μὲν
 ἡμ{ε}ῖν εἴη, ἐφορκούσι δὲ [τὰ ἐ]ναν[τία].
 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότες γράμματα
 Ἀπίων ὁ τῆς κώμης νομογράφος L [ι]α
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μη(νὸς) Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ ις.
 25 <hand 2> Μαρεψημῖς Μαρεψημί<ο>ς Καλατύτιος συνονόμοκα

τὸν προκείμενον ὄρκον καὶ φυλάξω καὶ ποιήσω [κα-]
 θὼς πρόκειται. L ια Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μ[ηνὸς]
 Σεβαστοῦ ις.

⟨Hand 1⟩ [Marepsemis], about 21 years old, with a scar on his left calf; [Pecheus], about 45 years old, with a scar on his left thumb; Sokonopis, about 40 years old, with a scar on the first finger of his left hand; Phanēsis, about 38 years old, with a scar on his left calf. (5) To Gaius Iulius Philetos, inspector of sowing of the Arsinoite nome, from Marepsemis son of Marepsemis, grandson of Kalatyitis, and Pecheus son of Psyphis, who guard the priest's sluice to the west of the bridge, and from Sokonopis son of Sokonopis, and Phanesis son of Pastoos, (10) who guard the priests' sluice to the east. We four, priests of Tebtynis in the division of Polemon, who guard the two sluices mentioned above swear by Tiberius Caesar Neos Augustus Imperator, son of the deified Augustus, (15) that we will each guard his own sluice in addition to all expenses and attend it every hour so that no loss will occur; and if any collapse or break should occur, we ourselves will be responsible for (20) all damage that follows. If we make a good oath, may it be well with us, if we make a false oath, the reverse. Apion, the village *nomographos*, wrote for those who are illiterate. Year 11 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, month of Sebastos 16. (25) ⟨hand 2⟩ I, Marepsemis son of Marepsemis, grandson of Kalatyitis, have sworn the aforesaid oath with the others, and I will act as a guard and do as written above. Year 11 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, month of Sebastos 16.

These oaths and contracts evidence a change of form from earlier Ptolemaic double contracts. Yiftach-Firanko 2014 argues that the Greek double document with witnesses, a *syngraphophylax*, and seals was reformed about 14 CE to these *grapheion* style contracts with a *hypographeus* (a scribe who writes for those who μὴ εἰδόντων γράμματα, “do not know letters”), physical identification of the parties, and notation of the registration of the contract in the *grapheion*. For this kind of *grapheion* contract the top copy was sometimes written in Demotic (→ PSI VIII 909) or the space for this copy was left blank (→ PSI VIII 908). The bottom copy of the fishermen's oath was produced first, written by Hērakleidēs, and the top copy and subscription made at the *grapheion*. This is also indicated by the fact that the top copy abbreviates the dates and numbers written out in full below and lacks the *hypographē* of Hērakleidēs (l. 25). It is notable that this guild of fishermen, which is primarily comprised of Egyptians, includes Hērakleidēs son of Tryphon, a literate Greek scribe, as one of their members. This perhaps speaks to the amount of documentation in Greek that the fishermen were required to produce as part of their occupation.

Two other papyri from the mid-second century document the continued collective activity of fishermen from the small village of Berenikis Thesmophorou. A fragmentary petition (PSI VII 737) records that the fishermen of Berenikis Thesmophorou joined with those from the village of Dionysias in a complaint about fishing taxes (for other petitions involving fishermen → P.Oxy. XIX 2234, Oxyrhynchites, 31 CE; P.Oxy. II 294, Alexandria, 22 CE; P.Laur. I 1,

Arsinoite, ca. 192–193 CE). And in order to fish on Lake Moëris in 138 CE, the fishermen of Berenikis Thesmophorou paid 500 drachmae to lease a boat from the priests of Soknopaïos (P.L.Bat. XVII 1).

In her study of professional fishing across the Roman Mediterranean, Marzano notes the prevalence of fishermen, fish-salters, and fish mongers operating through various kinds of partnerships, *collegia*, and associations. What she argues for such locations as Ephesos and Cartago Nova is also true for the fishermen associations from the Fayûm, that “besides the social benefits they offered to their members, [associations] provided, through their patrons, another major service to their members: access to legal intermediation. This could be very desirable when they were competing for the same natural resources with more influential people” (Marzano 2013, 49–50).

Finally the oath above prohibits the fishermen Narmouthis and Berenikis Thesmophorou from catching the sacred Oxyrhynchus or Lepidotus fish (ll. 13, 22–23). Several Graeco-Roman authors note the cultic importance of these fish as a particular cultural practice of Egypt, and in particular, of the city of Oxyrhynchus (Strabo, *Geog.* 17.2.4; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 10.46; Athenaeus 7.97). The reverence for fish is not unique to Egypt, however, as it was apparently practiced in some places in Asia Minor as well (Pausanias 7.21; Plutarch, *Soll an.* 276C; Athenaeus 8.8). Plutarch’s discussion in *Isis and Osiris* is well known, where he links the prohibition against catching the Oxyrhynchus and Lepidotus to the myth of the dismemberment of Osiris. Plutarch claims that Egyptians abstained from eating these fish because of impurity caused by their consumption of Osiris’ phallus which Seth had tossed into the Nile (*Is. Or.* 353C, 358B). Gamer-Wallert (1970, 84–92) argues, however, that there is little to Plutarch’s assertion because there is a lack of a connection to impurity in Egyptian literary sources (and Strabo, see note at l. 13), and more importantly, bronze votives of the Oxyrhynchus with the crown of Isis/Hathor and bronze figurines of the goddess Hatmehyt with a lepidotus on her crown suggest these fish were venerated as the images of these goddesses. Other evidence, such as a Ptolemaic dedication (Bernard 1990, 101–88 BCE, cf. Heinen 1991) and P.Oxy. LXIV 4440 (Oxyrhynchus, I CE) a declaration of ἱεροσαγίνιται, “sacred net-fishermen,” associate these fish with the cult of the goddess Athena Theoris. Regardless of the source of Plutarch’s myth, the function of what he asserts is clear: to mark the cultural difference between Egyptian and Greek. Christian authors, such as Clement of Alexandria, likewise deplore Egyptian reverence for the Oxyrhynchus fish in the attempt to establish the superiority of Christian practice (*Protr.* 2.39):

‘Ἄλλ’ οὖν γε Αἰγύπτιοι, ὧν νῦν δὴ ἐμνήσθην, κατὰ τὰς θρησκείας τὰς σφῶν ἐσκέδανται· σέβουσι δὲ αὐτῶν Συνηνῖται φάγρον τὸν ἰχθύν, μαιώτην δὲ (ἄλλος οὗτος ἰχθύς) οἱ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην οἰκοῦντες, Ὁξυρυγχῖται τὸν φερώνυμον τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ἰχθύν, ἔτι γε μὴν Ἡρακλεοπολῖται ἰχνεύμονα, Σαῖται δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι πρόβατον, Λυκοπολῖται δὲ λύκον, Κυνοπολῖται δὲ κύνα, τὸν Ἄπιν Μεμφῖται, Μενδῆσιοι τὸν τράγον.

Egyptians, however, whom I have just now mentioned, are divided in regard to their pious practices. The inhabitants of Syene reverence the *phagros* fish; those who live in Elephantine (reverence) another fish, the *maiotēs*; Oxyrhynchites reverence a fish that bears the name of their area, and those of Herakleopolites worship the *ichneumon*. The Saites and Thebans worship sheep, Lykopolites the wolf, Cynopolites the dog, Memphites the Apis (bull) and those from Mendes, the goat.

Literature: Ayedeji, K.A. 2004. "Fishing Equipment and Methods in the Roman World." Thesis (Ph.D.) London, Royal Holloway; **Batten**, Alicia 2017 "Fish Tales." In *BTB* 47:5–14; **Bekker-Nielsen**, T. 2002. "Nets, Boats and Fishing in the Roman World." In *Classica et Mediaevalia* 53:215–234; **Bernard**, Etienne 1990. "Dédicace à Thouéris." *ZPE* 81:200–202; **Besta**, M.C. 1921. "Pesca E Pescatori nell'Egitto Greco-Romano." In *Aeg* 2:67–74; **Brewer**, D., and **Renee**, F. 1989. *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips; **Corcoran**, T.H. 1963. "Roman Fisherman." In *The Classical World* 56:97–103; **Gamer-Wallert**, I. 1970. *Fische und Fischkulte im Alten Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz; **Heinen**, H. 1991. "Thoeris und heilige Fische: Eine neue griechische Inschrift für Ptolemaios X. Alexander I." In *Hellenistische Studien: Gedenkschrift für Hermann Bengtson*, ed. J. Seibert, 41–53. Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte 5. Munich: Editio Maris; **Henne**, H. 1951 "PSI. 901 et la police de la pêche dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine dans ses rapports avec la religion." In *Aeg* 31(2):184–191; **Johnson**, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (376); **Kraus**, Thomas J. 2000. "(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times." In *Mnemosyne* 53:322–342; **Kreinecker**, C. 2015. "Of Fish and Men: Comparative, Text-Critical and Papyrological Remarks on Matthew 13:47–50 and the Gospel of Thomas 8." In *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honour of Michael W. Holmes*, ed. D. Gurtner, J. Hernández, and Paul Foster, 151–177. Leiden: Brill; **Kunkel**, W. 1933. "P.Berol. 13877, P.S.I. VIII 901 und des Vorkommen der Doppelurkunde im römischen Ägypten." In *Aeg* 13:253–259; **Marzano**, A. 2013. *Harvesting the Sea: The Exploitation of Marine Resources in the Roman Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; **Parássoglou**, G.M. 1987. "A Lease of Fishing Rights." In *Aeg* 67:89–93; **Reiter**, F. 2004. *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Pap.Col. XXXI), Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh; **San Nicolò**, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck (1:93–97); **Segrè**, A. 1926, "Note sul documento greco-egizio del grapheion." In *Aeg* 7(1–2):97–98, 101–102; **Troche**, Facundo D. 2015. *Il sistema della pesca nel lago di Galilea al tempo di Gesù. Indagine sulla base dei papiri documentari e dei dati archeologici e letterari*. Thesis (Ph.D.). Bologna: Università di Bologna; **Wilcken**, U. 1927 "III. Referate. Papyrus-Urkunde." In *APF* 8:86–87; **Yiftach-Firanko**, Uri 2014. "Evolution of Forms of Greek Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods." In *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt*. ed. James G. Keenan, J.G. Manning, and Uri Yiftach-Firanko, 31–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1971. "ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: An Aspect of Greek Society in

Egypt.” In *HSCP* 75:161–176; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1975. “Because They Do Not Know Letters.” In *ZPE* 19:101–108; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1980 “Short Texts on Papyrus.” In *ZPE* 37:211–219. RJO

[219] P.Mich. V 245

Bylaws of the Salt Merchants

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 18 Aug 47 CE

Published: Arthur E.R. Boak, “An Ordinance of the Salt Merchants at Tebtynis,” *AJP* 58 (1937) 210–219; Arthur E.R. Boak in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 110–115 (no. 245); SB V 8030; FIRA III no. 46 [TM 12086; CAPIInv 1658].

Translations: David C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 BC–AD 68* (London and Sydney: Croon Helm, 1985) no. 731; Fik Meijer, and Onno van Nijf. *Trade, Transport and Society in the Ancient World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) 75–76; Mees 2002, 389; Hans-Joachim Drexhage, Heinrich Konen, and Kai Ruffing, *Die Wirtschaft des römischen Reiches (1.–3. Jahrhundert): Eine Einführung* (Studienbücher Geschichte und Kultur der Alten Welt; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002) 254 (M 46); AGRW 302

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.657

Similar or related documents: → P.Lille.dem I 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Cair. 30605; 30606 [191]; 30619 a+b; 31179; P.Berol. 3115; P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. II 123r vii.27 (Tebtynis, 45/46 CE): payment by Peteus and the other salt merchants (ἀλοπῶλαι); xxii.27: the salt merchants of Ibion Eikosipentarouron; xxi.40: payment by H ēraklēs and the other salt merchants; P.Mich. V 240.i.31 (Tebtynis, 46 CE): record of a payment by Orsenouphis and other salt merchants (ἀλοπῶλαι); P.Mich. V 243–248 (all from the early to mid-first century, from Tebtynis): guild bylaws and membership lists; P.Tebt. I 120.16 (Tebtynis, after 97 BCE): mention of a salt merchant; PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE).

Papyrus, 12.9 × 28.7 cm. with multiple spelling errors. The *verso* is blank. The fragmentary end of the papyrus has a list of members of the association comparable to that found in P.Mich. V 243.13–31 [206].

ἐτους ἐβδόμου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Καισαρήου κε. ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ ὑπο-
 γεγραμμένοι ἄνδρες ἀλοπῶλαι τῶν ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεως ἔδοξεν

- 5 ἐαυτοῖς κοινῇ γνώμῃ προχ<ε>ίρῖσαι τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν
 τὸν καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ εἰσάκτην τῶν δημοσίων Ἀπύνχιν
 Ὅρσευτος τοῦ <ε>ῖσιόντος ὀγδόου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 Ἀπύνχεος εἰσάγοντος τὰ δημόσια τῆς αὐτῆς ἐργασίας
 10 ἅπαντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ <ε>ῖσιόντος ἔτους, καὶ πάντας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ-
 τὸ πωλεῖν τὸν <ν> τε ἄλλα ἐν τῇ προκ<ε>ιμένη κώμῃ Τεβτύν<ε>ι καὶ
 κεκληρῶσθαι τὸν μὲν Ὅρσευν μόνον πωλεῖν τὴν γύψον
 {μόνος} ἐν τῇ προκ<ε>ιμένη κώμῃ Τεβτύνι καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνκυ-
 ροῦσι κώμαις, ὑπὲρ οὗ διαγράφ<ε>ι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος
 αὐτῷ μέρους τῶν δημοσίων ἄλλας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα
 15 ἕξ, καὶ ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς Ὅρσευς κεκληρῶσθαι τὴν Κερκῆσιν τοῦ
 πωλεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον ἄλλα, ὑπὲρ οὗ διαγράφει ὁμοίως {ὑπὲρ τού-
 των} ἄλλας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ὀκτώ, καὶ κεκληρῶσθαι
 Ἀρμιύσιν τὸν καὶ Βελλῆν Ἀρμιύσιος μόνον τὸ {υ} πωλεῖν
 ἄλλα καὶ γύψον ἐν κώμῃ Τριστόμου τοῦ καὶ Βουκόλου, ὑπὲρ
 20 οὗ τελέσ<ε>ι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῷ μέρους δημοσίων
 ἄλλας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πέντε, ἐφ' ᾧ πωλήσουσι τὸν <ν> ἄλλα τὸν <ν>
 καλὸν ἐξ ὀβολῶν δύο ἡμίους καὶ τὸν λεπ{π} τὸν ὀβολῶν δύο
 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ λεπτότερον ὀβολοῦ ἐνὸς ἡμίους τῷ τε
 ἡ[μ]ῶν μέτρῳ ἢ τῷ τοῦ θησαυροῦ. ὥς ἂν τις πωλήσῃ ἐλάτ-
 25 τονος τούτῳ[ν] ζημιούσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀργυρί-
 [ου] δραχμὰς ὀκτώ καὶ <ε>ῖς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, καὶ ἐάν
 [δέ] τις αὐτῶν εὐρεθῇ πεπρακῶς ἐμπόρῳ πλείῳ στα-
 τήρως ἁλ{λ}ὸς ζημιούσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς ὀκτώ καὶ <ε>ῖς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, ἐάν δὲ {ω πλ^υφι}
 30 μέλλῃ ὁ ἔμπορος πλείῳ ἀγοράζ<ε>ιν Ἑ δ' ἐπάναγκον
 πάντας πωλήσειν αὐτῷ κοινῶς. ἐάν δὲ τις ἐνέγκῃ γύψ-
 ον καὶ μέλλῃ πωλ<ε>ῖν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐπάναγκον ἐαθήσε-
 ται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ὅρσευτος Ἀρμιύσιος μέχρι οὗ λάβῃ ἐπὶ
 ξένης καὶ πωλήσῃ ἐφ' ᾧ πίνονται κατὰ μῆνας αἰὶ τῇ κε
 35 ἔ[κ]αστος ζύτου χοῦν ἓνα, ἐάν τε πλερετιν, ἐάν τε λι
 [.]. στάσεος, ἐπὶ μὲν κώμῃς Ἑ α, ἐπὶ δὲ ξένης Ἑ δ, ἐπὶ
 δ[ε] τῆς] μητροπόλεως Ἑ η. τὸν δὲ ἀδωσιδικοῦντα
 [καὶ μ]ῇ [ἀ]γαπεροῦντά τι τῶν δημοσίων ἢ καὶ τῶν
 [προσε]γκληθησομένων αὐτοῖς ἐξ<ε>ῖναι τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀπ-
 40 ὕνχι ἐνε]χυράζειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τε τῇ πλατε<ύ>α καὶ ἐν
 [ταῖς οἰκί]αις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ καὶ παραδιδόναι αὐτοὺς
 [καθὼς πρό]κιτται.
 [Ἀρμιύσιος Ὅρσευτο]ς ἡγο[ύ]μενο(ς) (ὥς L) λβ οὐλῇ [ὀ]φρύ{ε}ι
 ἀρ[ι]στερᾱ
 [±?] L λα οὐλῇ χ<ε>ιρ{ε}ι ἀρ[ισ]τερᾱ
 45 [±9]υτ. (ὥς L) νε [οὐ]λῇ ποδ[ι]. . .]. . .

[±?] (ὥς L). [.]. [±?]
 [±?] (ὥς L) [±?]

Apparatus: 2 Pap. ἐλθόντος || Pap. αὐτὸ ὃ || 2–3 Pap. ὑπογεγραμμένον || 3 Pap. ἀλοπολν || Pap. ἐδόξανσαν || 4 Pap. ἐαυτῶς || Pap. κυνῆ || Pap. ἀγαθὰ || 5 Pap. ἐπιμελιτῆν || Pap. εἰσάκτον || 10 Pap. πολῖν || Pap. ται || 11 Pap. πολῖν || Pap. το || 13 Pap. χορίς || 16 Pap. πολῖν || Pap. μονος || Pap. ἄλλα || 17 Pap. οκτωί || 18 Pap. μονος || 19 Pap. γύψος || 20 Pap. χορίς || 23 Pap. τουπεῖ || 24 Pap. πολήσι || 24–25 Pap. ἐλατ[τ]ω || 25 Pap. κυνὸν || 27 Pap. εὐρηθῆ || Pap. πλῦωι || 28 Pap. τυοῦτος || Pap. κυνὸν || 30 Pap. πλῦω || Pap. ἀγοράζιν || Pap. ἐπάνανκον || 31 Pap. πάγτος || Pap. πολήσιν || Pap. κυνῶς || Pap. ἐνινκῆ || 31–32 Pap. γύψος || 32–33 Pap. αἰαθήσετε || 33 Pap. τῶς || 34 Pap. πολήση || 37 Pap. μητροπόλεος || Pap. ἄδωσιτικοῦντα || 39 Pap. αὐτῶς || 40 Pap. [ἐνε]χυράσζιν || 41 Pap. παραδιδάναι

Year seven of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the 25th of the month Kaisareios. Coming together, the undersigned men, salt merchants of Tebtynis, have decided by common consent to elect one of their number, a good man, Apynchis son of Orseus, (5) both supervisor (*epimelētēs*) and collector of the public taxes (*eisaktēs tōn dēmosiōn*) for the coming eighth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. The aforementioned Apynchis is to collect all the public taxes for the same trade for the coming year. All, acting together, (10) shall sell salt in the aforementioned village of Tebtynis and that Orseus alone has obtained (by lot) the sole right by lot to sell gypsum in the aforementioned village of Tebtynis and in the nearby villages, for which he shall pay, apart from the portion of the public charges that falls to him, another sixty-six silver drachmae. (15) Likewise, (it is agreed that) the same Orseus has obtained (by lot) the sole right in Kerkesis to sell salt, for which he shall likewise pay another eight silver drachmae. And (it is agreed) that Harmiysis, also called Belles son of Harmiysis, has obtained (by lot) the sole right to sell salt and gypsum in the village of Tristomos, also called Boukolos, (20) for which he shall pay, apart from the portion of the public charges that falls to him, another five silver drachmae; upon the condition that they shall sell high quality salt at the rate of two and one-half obols, the light (salt) at the rate of two obols, and the lighter (salt) at one and one-half obol, by our measure or that of the warehouse. If someone sells (salt) at a (25) lower price than these, such a person shall be fined eight silver drachmae (payable) to the common fund (*to koinon*) and the same for the public treasury; and if any of them is found to have sold more than a stater's worth of salt to a store, such a person shall be fined eight silver drachmae (payable) to the common fund (*to koinon*) and the same amount to the public treasury.

(30) If the merchant intends to buy more than four drachmae (of salt), it is necessary that all sell to him jointly. If someone imports gypsum and wants to sell it outside (the area), it must be left in the (storerooms) of Orseus son of Harmiysis, until he takes it outside (the area) and sells it.

(Agreed that) they shall drink always on the 25th of each month (35) each member having a chous of beer. If someone (fails to attend a?) meeting in the village (he shall be fined) one drachma, (if it is) outside (the village, the fine is) four drachmae, and (if it is) in the metropolis, eight drachmae. If someone fails to pay and does not pay any of the public charges or (fines?) laid against him, Apynchis (40) has the authority to seize a surety from him, whether in the town square or in his house or in the field, and to hand him over as was indicated above.

[Apynchis son of Orseus?] president (*hēgoumenos*), about 32 years old, with a scar on the right side. . .

[. . .] about 31 years old, with a scar on his left hand.

(45) [. . .] about 55 years old, with a scar on his . . . foot.

[. . .] about . . . years old (with a scar. . .)

[. . .] about . . . years old (with a scar. . .)

Notes

Association? Certain: ἀλοπωλται; bylaws; leadership terms: ἡγούμενος, ἐπιμελητής; common fund (κοινόν); monthly banquets, collective agreement concerning prices; partial membership list preserved.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). **TM** geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

II. 11, 15, 17: κεκληρωθῆναι, to obtain by lot: Paganini (2016, 1895–1896) points out that this choice of verb suggests a system of the distribution of rights by lot, perhaps by drawing shards with the names of salt dealers written on them. Selection by lot was used in some Egyptian associations for the assigning of priestly offices. → Bresciani 2010, nos. 25–140.

II. 25, 28: ζημιούσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος: As Kritzer and Arzt-Grabner (in Arzt-Grabner et al. 2006, 208) points out this means to frame a general rule, analogous to 1 Cor 5:5: παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου, “deliver *such a person* to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that the *pneuma* might be salvaged in the day of the Lord.”

II. 33: Ὀρσεῦτος Ἀρμιύσιος, Orseus son of Harmiysis: Perhaps the same person is named in P.Mich. V 269.2 (Tebtynis, 42 CE), an agreement to sell shares in a house.

I. 35: χοῦν, *chous*: Approximately 3.25 litres.

I. 40: ἐνε]χυράζειν, seize a surety: → P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] *note*.

Comments

P.Mich. V 245 has been key in the case that occupational guilds in general were fundamentally economic institutions and aimed at regulating trade: Thus Alston: “The guild of salt-sellers regulated their trade, as must many and perhaps all of the other trade guilds of the Roman period. They also allowed communal payment of taxes in order to gain licenses to trade” (Alston 2002, 209; see also Gibbs 2011; Venticinque 2016).

This conclusion, however, has been doubted:

The special status of salt as a commodity, for example, has not been fully taken into account in scholarly discussions; nor has sufficient attention been paid to governmental control of the production and distribution of salt in early Roman Egypt. . . . Suffice it to say here that we cannot safely assume that the salt-dealers were typical of ancient tradesmen. (Liu 2009, 15)

Despite the lack of robust empirical evidence of guilds acting intentionally to regulate or to foster economic development, it is likely that the social dynamics operative in guilds and associations – which Monson (2006) has described as “networks of trust” – had the *effect* of enhancing economic cooperation in occupational guilds and “lubricating” economic transactions (see also Broekaert 2011). In recent discussion, the question has been raised as to whether the principles of New Institutional Economics might apply to ancient guilds, in particular the idea that associations reduce transaction costs and thus facilitate economic development. It seems intuitively likely that this was the case. Yet, data are lacking to test whether occupational guilds experienced economic advancement as a result of their organization and *a fortiori* there are no macro-economic data available to test the assumption of NIE that the formation of institutions (which in this context would include guilds) had a positive effect on the society as a whole (Kloppenborg 2019).

The banqueting practices of this group also deserve comment. While many associations, especially in Italy and Greece, recognized status within the association by allotting food and drink differentially, this group insisted on each member receiving the same amount of beer. Compare CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE), a collegium of ivory or citrus-wood merchants, whose *lex* prescribes that each member should receive identical distributions of *sportulae* and food and drink at each of the banquets.

It is also clear from the use of *procheirisai* that leaders were elected, not appointed, probably yearly. Interestingly, the leader is called both an *epimelētēs* (l. 5) and a *hēgoumenos* in l. 43.

Literature: Alston, Richard 2002. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge; Arzt-Grabner, Peter, Ruth E. Kritzer, Amphilochios Papathomas, and Franz Winter 2006. *1. Korinther*. Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. “The organization of gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *TAPA* 68:212–220; Bresciani, Edda. 2010. *Narmouthis 2006: documents et objets découverts à Médinet Madi en 2006*. Monografie di “Egitto e vicino oriente.” vol. 2. Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press; Broekaert, Wim 2011. “Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a *Collegiatus*.” In *AnSoc* 41:221–256; Drexhage, Hans-Joachim, Heinrich Konen, and Kai Ruffing 2002. *Die Wirtschaft des römischen Reiches (1.–3. Jahrhundert): Eine Einführung*. Studienbücher Geschichte und Kultur der Alten Welt. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; Gibbs, Matthew 2011. “Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their Raison d’Être.” In *AnSoc* 41:291–315; Kloppenborg, John S. 2019. “New Institutional Economics, Euergetism, and Associations.” In *The Extramercantile Economies of Greek and*

Roman Cities: New Perspectives on the Economic History of Classical Antiquity, ed. John Fitzgerald, David Hollander, and Thomas Blanton. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies. London and New York: Routledge; **Liu**, Jinyu 2009. *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 34. Leiden: Brill; **Monson**, Andrew 2006. “The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations.” In *AnSoc* 36:221–238; **Monson**, Andrew 2007. “Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts.” In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, ed. Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14, 179–196. Lecce: Congedo Editore; **Paganini**, Mario C.D. 2016. “Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. JJP Supplement 28, 1889–901. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation; **Pleket**, H.W. 1990. “Wirtschaft.” In *Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. I. Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. Friedrich Vittinghoff and Friedrich Vittinghoff. Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte 1, 25–160. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett; J.G. Cotta (esp. 119–127); **Schnöckel**, Karl Heinrich 2006. *Ägyptische Vereine in der frühen Prinzipatszeit: Eine Studie über sechs Vereinssatzungen (Papyri Michigan 243–248)*. Xenia 48. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag; **Van Minnen**, Peter 1987. “Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt.” In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1):31–88 (esp. 60–72); **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. 39–41, 44, 46, 59–60, 69–70, 78, 92, 147, 217).

[220] P.Mich. V 322b

Account of a Beer Merchant

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

13 May 51 CE

Published: Elinor M. Husselman in Elinor M. Husselman, Arthur E.R. Boak, and William F. Egerton, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic series 29, Michigan papyri V (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944) 278–280 (no. 322) [TM 12133; CAPIV 1378]

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.967 [b].

Papyrus 80.4 × 28.5 cm, containing a will dividing property (P.Mich. V 322a) from 46 CE and the account of a beer shop (P.Mich. V 322b). Kronion archive [TM ARCH id. 93].

⟨col. i⟩

ἐτους ια Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος πρόσγραφον ζύφου
ζυτοπωλείου Τεβτύνεως πρὸς Ψοῖφιν Ὀννώφ(ριος)

	προστάτης συνῳδ(ου) ἱερέων. Μεχεῖρ	
5	β χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι τέσσαρες	/ χό(ες) κδ
	γ χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι ἕξ	/ χό(ες) κς
	δ χό(ες) τριάκοντα	/ χό(ες) λ
	ε χό(ες) τριάκοντα	/ χό(ες) λ
	ς χό(ες) τριάκοντα ἕξ	/ χό(ες) λς
10	ζ χό(ες) τριάκοντα τρεῖς	/ χό(ες) λγ
	η χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι	/ χό(ες) κ
	θ χό(ες) πενήκοντα τέσσαρες	/ χό(ες) νδ
	ιγ χό(ες) ἕξ	/ χό(ες) ς
	ιδ χό(ες) πέντε	/ χό(ες) ε
15	ιη χό(ες) δύο	/ χό(ες) β
	κβ χό(ες) τρεῖς ἡμισυ	/ χό(ες) γλ
	κα χό(ες) [δέκα δύο]	/ χό(ες) ιβ
	κς χό(ες) δέκα ὀκτώ{ι}	/ χό(ες) ιη
	Φαμενώθ	
20	β χό(ες) δύο	/ χό(ες) β
	δ χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι πέντε	/ χό(ες) κε
	ε χό(ες) δέκα ὀκτώ{ι}	/ χό(ες) ιη
	ς χό(ες) τριάκοντα ἑπτά	/ χό(ες) λς
	η χό(ες) δέκα ἕξ	/ χό(ες) ις
25	θ χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι πέντε	/ χό(ες) κε
	ια χό(ες) τριάκοντα	/ χό(ες) λ
	ιγ χό(ες) τριάκοντα ἕξ	/ χό(ες) λς
	ιδ χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι τέσσαρ(ες)	/ χό(ες) κδ
	ιε χό(ες) δέκα ὀκτώ{ι}	/ χό(ες) ιη
	<col. ii>	
30	κ χό(ες) τριάκοντα τρεῖς	/ χό(ες) λγ
	κδ <χόες> τριάκοντα ἕξ	/ χό(ες) λς
	κς χό(ες) πέντε	/ χό(ες) ε
	κη χό(ες) τεσσαράκοντα	[/] χό(ες) μ
	κθ χό(ες) δύο	[/] χό(ες) β
35	λ χό(ες) δέκα ἑπτά	[/] χό(ες) ις
	Φαρμοῦθ(ι) β χό(ες) δέκα ὀκ[τώ]	/ (?) χό(ες) ιη
	ζ χό(ες) δέκα ὀκτώ{ι}	/ (?) χό(ες) ιη
	ι χό(ες) τριάκοντα	/ χό(ες) λ
	ιβ χό(ες) δέκα πέντε	/ χό(ες) ιε
40	ιγ χό(ες) δέκα δύο	/ χό(ες) ιβ
	ιδ χό(ες) δέκα πέντε	/ χό(ες) ιε
	ις χό(ες) δέκα πέντε	/ χό(ες) ιε
	κβ χό(ες) ἑνδεκα	/ χό(ες) ια
	κγ χό(ες) τέσσαρες	/ χό(ες) δ
45	κδ χό(ες) τέσσαρες ἡμισυ	[/ χό(ες)] δ.
	κς χό(ες) τεσσαράκοντα δύο	/ (?) χ[ό(ες)][μβ]

	κθ χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι ἐννέα	/ χό(ες) κθ
	λ χό(ες) δέκα ὀκτώ{ι}	/ χό(ες) ιη
	Παχ(ών) β χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι ἕξ	/ χό(ες) κς
50	δ χο(ῦς) <ε>ἵς	/ χο(ῦς) α
	ε χό(ες) πεντήκοντα τέσσαρ(ες)	/ χό(ες) νδ
	ια χό(ες) τριάκοντα πέντε	/ χό(ες) λε
	ιγ χό(ες) τριάκοντα	/ χό(ες) λ
	ιε χό(ες) εἴκο{υ}σι	/ χό(ες) κ
55	ις χό(ες) τριάκοντα πέντε	/ χό(ες) λε
	ιη χό(ες) πεντήκοντα	/ χό(ες) ν
	A[. . . .].ιος σεσ(ημείωμαι) χό(ας) χιλίας ἑκατὸν	
	τ[ε]σσαράκοντα ἕξ	/ χό(ας) [Αρ]μς

Apparatus: 3 Pap. ζυτοπολείου Τεβτόνεος || 16 Pap. ἥμυς || 45 Pap. ἥμυ

Year 11 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor. List of the beer of the beer merchant of Tebtynis supplied to Psoiphis son of Onnophris, president (*prostatēs*) of the association (*synodos*) of priests. (Month of) Mecheir.

⟨*What follows in ll. 5–56 is an account for four months, from Mecheir 2 – Pachons 18, listing beer deliveries, ranging from one chous to 54 choes.*⟩

(57) I, A[. . . son of].is have recorded one thousand one hundred, forty six *choes*, making 1146 *choes*.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: προστάτης σὺνγῶδ(ου) ἱερέων.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

Comments

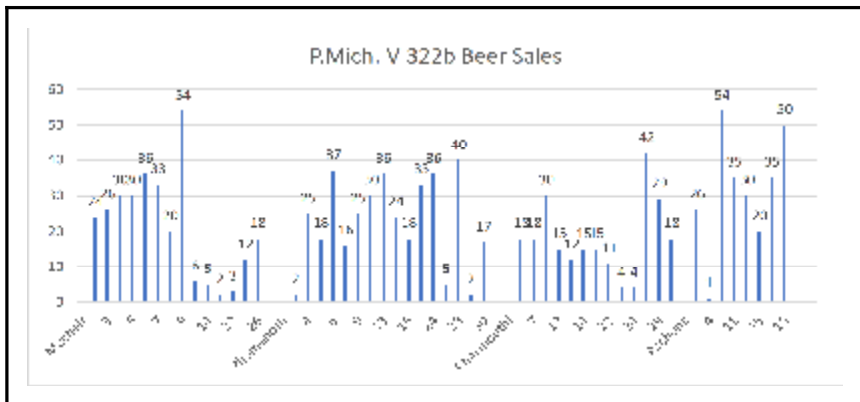
The account covers almost four months and represents 1146 *choes* or about 3724 litres of beer consumed by the association of priests. Interestingly, the account indicates purchases of beer on only 13 to 16 days per month, and never on the first day of the month. There are a few very large purchases of 50–54 *choes* but the mean is 22.45 *choes* or about 73 litres. Moreover, the purchases are not only oddly distributed throughout the month, but are highly variable.

Clarysse and Vandorpe (1995, 99) calculated the mean daily consumption of beer at 0.5 liters but acknowledged that more would be consumed on festive occasions (and probably at funerals too). Later, Clarysse (2002) adduced BGU XIII 2215.ii.12–14 (Arsinoites, 113–114 CE), which indicates that there were forty priests in the temple of Sobek at Tebtynis at the beginning of the second century CE.

- 12 Πολέμωνος με[ρ]ίδος· Τεβτύνεως ἱερὸν Σοκ-
νεβτύνεως καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν ο[ὗ] εἰς[ι]
ἱερεῖς χωρὶς ἀφηλίκων μ παστοφόροι ὁμ(οίως) μ·

Division of Polemon: At Tebtynis, the temple of Soknebtynis and the associated gods, at which there are 40 priests, excluding minors, and likewise 40 pastophores.

Clarysse (2002, 162) suggests that if the number of priests a half a century earlier was the same, this would imply an average daily consumption of 0.7 litres/priest (i.e., presumably, 3438 litres — Clarysse calculates a *chous* at 3.1 litres —, implying 859 litres/month or 21.5 litres/priest/month = 0.7 litres/day). This figure, however, seems far too low especially when one considers P.Mich. V 245.35 [219], which allocated 1 *chous* (3.25 l.) per diner at an association meal. O.Berl. 96 (II–III CE) (→ SEG 41:1638 [221] *comment*) likewise suggests consumption in the range of 3.5–4.0 litres/diner at an association dinner. Of course, not every day was a festive day, calling for 1 *chous* per diner. But the higher spikes on the graph (above) might indicate monthly banquets when more beer was consumed.



Given the four month total of 1146 *choes* (286.5 *choes* monthly) and the likelihood that there was at least one festival monthly, forty priests seems much too high a number.

Connor argues that the beer shop was associated with the temple and was either operated by the temple or rented out to a merchant. He prefers the latter option (2014, 255–256). The papyrus provides no indication of how the beer purchase was funded, but it does suggest that the purchase of the beer was the responsibility of the president.

Literature: Clarysse, Willy, and Katelijn Vandorpe 1995. *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des Pyramides*. Leuven: Presses universitaires de Louvain; Clarysse, Willy 2002. "The Use and Abuse of Beer and Wine in Graeco-

Roman Egypt.” In *Punica - Libyca - Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huss zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*. ed. K. Geus and K. Zimmermann, 159–166. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 104. Leuven: Peeters; Connor, Andrew James 2014. “Temples as Economic Agents in Early Roman Egypt: The Case of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos.” Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Cincinnati (esp. 255–256, 305–306).

[221] SEG 41:1638

Building Inscription for a *deipnētērion*

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 54–62 CE

Published: Guido Bastianini and Claudio Gallazzi, “Un’iscrizione inedita di Tebtynis e la *synodos* di Doryphorus,” *ZPE* 89 (1991) 44–46 (ph.) (trans.) (SEG 41:1638; BE 1992, 569); SB XX 15149; Vincent Rondot, *Tebtynis II: Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*, Fouilles de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire 50 = Publications de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire 918 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2000) 159 (§146) [TM 102572; CAPIInv 1973]

Current location: Museo Egizio di Torino 121195.

Similar or related documents: → *Dining hall inscriptions*: I.Delta I 1036,2 (Memphis, 209–204 BCE): dedication of a *hesiatorion* by Ποσιδώνιο[ς] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῖται; I.Fayum I 73 [202] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE); I.Fayum I 87 (Karanis, 69–79 CE): dedication of a *deipnētērion*; I.Fayum II 106 (Theadelphia, 140 BCE): dedication of a *hesiatorion* and altar dedication to Ἡρῶν μ[έγ]αλος; I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); O.Tebt.Pad. 67 (Tebtynis, II CE); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); SEG 54:1758.

Other building inscriptions: I.Fayum I 96 (Karanis, III CE); I.Fayum I 99 (Philadelphia, 59 CE); I.Fayum II 121 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE); I.Fayum III 177, 178, 180, 181 (Narmouthis, I/II CE); I.Fayum III 205 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE); *Estate of Tiberius Claudius Doryphoros*: P.Ryl. II 171 = Pap.Choix 2; P.Mil.Vogl. II 75.

A small rectangular plaque of yellowish limestone, 31.3 × 11.5 × 3.0 cm., broken in two parts with incised guidelines. Found in the excavation of a dining room (δειπνητήριον) along the dromos leading to the temple of Soknebtynis.

Ἐπὶ Ὀννόφριος τοῦ Ποτ-
άμωνος τοῦ προστάτου
συνώδου Δορυφόρου

Apparatus: 1 Stone: Ὀννόφρις || 2 Stone: ου προστάτης; SEG 41:1638 suggests ὁ{υ} followed by a nominative προστάτης or less probably τοῦ || 3 Stone: ΛΩΡΟΦΟΡΟΥ; SEG: Δωροφόρου.

(Dedicated) when Onnophris son of Potamon was the president (*prostatēs*) of the *synodos* of Dorophoros.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοξ; leadership terms: προστάτης συνώδου Δορυφόρου; ownership of property.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

Comments

This inscription was found in the late-1930s in a dining room (*deipnētērion*) during the excavations directed by Gilberto Bagnani in Tebtynis. The dining room is located along the main processional road (*dromos*) leading to the temple of Soknebtynis. In total, seventeen *deipnētēria* have been found in Tebtynis, many of which were built during the renovations to the *dromos* in the first century. Many have similar rectangular dimensions (9–10 × 7.5–8.5 m.) lined with benches on three sides, measuring 0.85–1.0 m. deep, with an entrance with a low staircase lined by various statues (lions, sphinxes, etc) (Rondot 2004). This particular *deipnētērion* is one of a series of three directly west of the famous “*insula dei papyri*” discovered by Achille Vogliano (see Gallazzi 1990, 284–285). Gallazzi argued that the papyri in the “*insula*” were refuse materials for burning rather than being stored for preservation. Like other associations in the Graeco-Roman world, associations in Egypt erected dedications for the building of dining rooms: e.g., the *deipnētēria* at Karanis in the precinct of the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos (Boak 1933, 35–41; I.Fayum I 87); at Theadelphia (I.Fayum II 122 [229]); the *hestiatoria* in Theadelphia (I.Fayum II 106); at Memphis in the Delta (I.Delta I 1036,2); and the *syssitia* in Alexandria (SEG 48:1960). For banqueting halls used by associations in Asia Minor and Italy → AGRW B5, B6, B10, B14, B19, and B23).

Grammatical issues and the identification of the last word, ΔΩΡΟΦΟΡΟΥ, make a clear reading of SEG 41:1638 uncertain. The inscription as written mixes nominatives (Ὀννόφρις, προστάτης) with genitives (τοῦ Ποτάμωνος) after the preposition ἐπὶ. Bastianini and Gallazzi propose restoring the inscription with a consistent use of the genitive: Ἐπὶ Ὀννόφριος τοῦ Ποτάμωνος τοῦ προστάτου, whereas the editors of SEG suggest keeping the cases as is and emending ου in l. 2 as ὁϋ, that is, ἐπὶ Ὀννόφριος τοῦ Ποτάμωνος ὁ προστάτης | συνώδου, “when Onnophris son of Potamon (was ?), the president of the *synodos* (dedicated this). This, however, leaves Onnophris syntactically orphaned. Comparison of this inscription with the dedication of the *deipnētērion* at Theadelphia (I.Fayum II 122.3–5 [229], Theadelphia, 109 CE) lends significant weight to the restoration of Bastianini and Gallazzi:

- 1 δ(ε)ιπνητήριον πρ-
εσβυτέρων γερ-

δίων, ἐπὶ Νεφερῶ-
 τος τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ-
 5 τος φροντιστοῦ·
 Ἡρῶν ἔγραψεν ἐ-
 π' ἀγαθῶι L ιβ
 Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου, Φαρμοῦ-
 10 θη ς.

The *deipnētērion* of the elders of the weavers, when Nepherō son of Kephalo (5) was the manager. Heron inscribed this, for good (fortune). Year 12 of the Lord, Trajan, Caesar Pharmouthi (10) 6.

It is also unclear what is meant by ΔΩΡΟΦΟΡΟΥ, as it could either be rendered as a name or as noun referring to a group. Bastianini and Gallazzi dismiss the possibility that it refers to a group on the grounds that it is grammatically singular and that *dōrophoroi*, “gift bearers,” are unattested in Egypt. On the other hand, they point to the rarity of Doryphoros as a name, except for the very well known Ti. Claudius Doryphoros, *a libellis* (secretary in charge of petitions) for Nero (Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.65). Doryphoros is known to have had estates in the Fayum (Parassoglou 1978, 22; P.Ryl. II 171 = Pap.Choix 2, Herakleia, 55/6 CE). Bastianini and Gallazzi suggest that the members of the *synodos* may be workers on Doryphoros’s estate, and cite analogous associations on estates (e.g. ἀπολυσίμοι οὐσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, P.Mich V 244.4 [212]). Another possible reading is raised by the occurrences of δοροφό() in documents like the list of wheat deliveries to the *sitologoi* of Tebtynis (P.Mil.Vogl. II 75.9, 20, 21, 144/5 CE) which some previous scholarship read as *doryphoroi*, spear-bearing soldiers or guards (e.g. Gundel 1943; Rostovtzeff 1963, 2.671; P.Mil.Vogl II 75). Youtie (1947, 1964) argues persuasively, however, that δοροφό() here refers to the estate of Doryphoros which was later known as Δορυφοριανή οὐσία.

A large group of mostly unpublished ostraca beer receipts from Tebtynis may also provide complementary evidence from the activities in *deipnētēria*. Originally, these ostraca were thought to record sales from a brewery. In his study of these beer receipts, Reiter (2005:134–135) argues instead that they provide evidence of beer consumption by associations in the *deipnētēria*: “Die Bierscheine dürften daher in Zusammenhang mit dem gesellschaftlichen Leben derjenigen Vereine gestanden haben, die die Deipneterien als Versammlungsorte nutzten.” Some of the published receipts are O.Tebt. 3–4 and O.Berl. 95–99. O.Berl. 96 (II–III CE) is typical:

Παῦνι κ
 Παμοῦν
 ζύτ(ον) δί(χωρα) ς

On Pauni 20 Pamoun: beer, 6 di(chora).

The amount of beer measured here is about 87.6 litres (based on a *dichoron* of 14.6 litres; → Mayerson 2000), which suggests it may be for a banquet in a *deipnētērion*. If, as Reiter suggests, it is for an association then six *dichora* would be about 3.5–4.0 litres per member for 20–25 people. This aligns with the one *chous* of beer [3.25 l.] per member in P.Mich V 245.35 [219] and the amount of beer purchased in the accounts of P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194]. Other ostraca may also originate in the context of these *deipnētēria*, such as O.Tebt.Pad. 67 (Tebtynis, II CE) in which members of an association are numbered (α-ε) perhaps indicating seating order (→ P.Mich. V 246 [211]).

Literature: Anti, C. 1936. "Scavi di Tebtynis", in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*. Pubblicazioni di "Aegyptus". Serie scientifica; 5, 473–478. Milan: Società editrice "Vita e Pensiero"; **Bagnani**, Gilberto 1933. "Gli scavi di Tebtunis," *Bollettino d'Arte* 27:119–134; **Bastianini**, Guido, and Claudio **Gallazzi** 1991. "Un'iscrizione inedita di Tebtynis e la *synodos* di Doryphorus." In *ZPE* 89:44–46; **Boak**, Arthur E.R. 1933. *Karanis: Seasons 1924–31*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; **Boak**, Arthur E.R. 1937. "The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt." In *TAPA* 68:212–220; **Edgar**, C.C. 1925. "Records of a Village Club." In *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso (1844–1925)*. Pubblicazioni di "Aegyptus". Serie scientifica 3. Milano: Aegyptus, 369–376; **Gallazzi**, Claudio 1990. "La 'Cantina dei Papiri' di Tebtynis e ciò che essa conteneva," *ZPE* 80:283–288; **Gallazzi**, Claudio, et al. 2000–2012. *Tebtnis*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 42, 50, 55, 56, 68, Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 853, 918, 970, 971, 1048. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Gundel**, H.G. 1943. "Weitere kleine Beiträge z. rom. Heerwesen." In *Aeg* 23:157–159; **Mayerson**, P. 2000. "The Monochoron and Dichoron: Standard Measures for Wine Based on the Oxyrhynchition." In *ZPE* 131:169–172; **Monson**, Andrew 2007. "Religious Associations and Temples in Ptolemaic Tebtunis." In *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st–7th of August 2004*, ed. Jaakko Frösén, Tiina Purola, and Erja Salmenkivi, 2:769–779. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica; **Muhs**, B. 2001. "Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis." In *JESHO* 44:1–21; **Parássoglou**, George M. 1978. *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*. American studies in papyrology 18. Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert; **Reiter**, Fabian 2005. "Symposia in Tebtynis: zu den griechischen Ostraka aus den neuen Grabungen." In *Tebtnis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum: Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, ed. Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 131–140; **Rondot**, Vincent 2004. *Tebtnis II: Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 50 = Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 918. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Rostovtzeff**, Mikhail I. 1963. *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. 2nd rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1947. "Parerga Papyrologica." In *TAPA* 78:105–122; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1964. "Notes on Papyri." In *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 11:15–30.

[222] Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x
Taxes on the Crafts

Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis (Arsinoites) 73 CE

Published: Karl Wessely, “Arsinoitische Verwaltungsurkunden vom Jahre 72–73 nach Chr..” *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde IV* (Leipzig: E. Avenarius 1905) 58–83; BL XII 267 [TM 14986]

Translations: Johnson 1936, 394–396 (no. 248) (selections); Mees 2002, 393–394.

Digital image: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00011095>

Current location: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek G 19976; London, British Library Pap. 260; London, British Library Pap. 261.

Papyrus. This is an extract from a much larger account dealing with various taxes, including the *laographia*. Ll. 378–431 deal with the χειρωνάξιον or the tax on trades.

VII

- παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου ἀμφοδάρχου Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς)
λόγος χειρωναξίου τοῦ ε L Αὐτο[κρ]ά[το]ρος Καίσαρος
380 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συνοψισμένος [πρὸς] τὸ δ L
ἤχθησαν εἰς ἀπαίτησιν τῷ δ L
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ [Σε]βαστοῦ ἀργ(υρίου) F ξ
καὶ δι[(ἀ) προσγρ]ά(φου) ἀνελήμ(φθησαν)
ἀπὸ μὲν αἰρούντων κατακριμ(άτων) κεραμέων
385 Τρύφων Κολλούθ(ου) το(ῦ) Θέωνος F λδ (ὀβολός) αL
Θεογίτων Θεογίτωνος το(ῦ) Τυράννου / β
καὶ πρὸς γνώμονα ἀνακεχω(ρ) γ L
Ἀμμώνιος Σάμβαι το(ῦ) Ἀμμωνί[ου]
/ α F ιζ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (χαλκοῖ β)
390 / ἀπὸ αἰρούντων κατα[κριμ(άτων)] F να (διώβολον) (χαλκοῖ β)
καὶ διὰ ἄλλου μετὰ σύνθεσιν τῶν λ[όγ]ων ὁμοίως κεραμε(ύς)
Ἀμμώνιος Ἀντωνίου το(ῦ) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μη(τρὸς) Σαμβούτος
/ α F ιζ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (χαλκοῖ β)
τετελ(ευτηκώς) δ L ἕως Μεχείρ ὁμοίως κεραμε(ύς)
395 Ἡρακλείδης Δίδαι το(ῦ) Ἀμμωνί[ου] μη(τρὸς) Ἀπολλωνίας / α
F η (ὀβολοί) δL
γίνον(ται) τῶν δι(ἀ) προσγ(ράφου) F οζ (ἡμιωβέλιον)

VIII

- γίνον(ται) F ρλζ (τριώβολον)
ἀφ' ὧν ἀπογί(νονται) εἰς τὸ ε L
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

- And through a supplementary document, received from the payments due from the potters (the following): (385) Tryphon son of Kollothos grandson of Theon, Theogiton son of Theogiton grandson of Tyrannos, making 2 persons (have paid): 34 dr. 1 ½ obols
- And in accordance with the *gnomon* for those decamped in year 3, Ammōnios son of Sambas grandson of Ammōnios, making 1 person (owes?): 17 dr. ½ obol, 2 chalkoi
- (390) Total payments (due?): 51 dr. 2 obols, 2 chalkoi
- And after completing the accounts, (paid) by another potter, Ammōnios son of Antonios grandson of Herakleidēs whose mother is Sambous, making 1 person (paid?): 17 dr. ½ obol, 2 chalkoi
- A potter who has died in year 4 before Mecheir, (395) Herakleidēs son of Didas grandson of Ammōnios whose mother is Apollonia, making 1 person: 8 dr. 4 ½ obols
- Total through a supplementary document 77 dr. ½ obol.
- VIII Total 137 dr. 3 obols.
- From which is deducted for year 5 of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus: (400) the potter who died in year 4 before Mecheir, Herakleidēs son of Didas grandson of Ammōnios, whose mother is Apollonia, total of 1 person: 8 dr. 3 ½ obols
- and half of whose craft tax was divided; the other half is received in the *gnomon* is received:
- The potter (405) Ammōnios son of Antonios grandson of Herakleidēs, whose mother is Sambous, total of one person: 8 dr. 3 obols 1 chalkos
- Total of what is deducted: 17 dr. ½ obol 2 chalkoi
- Leaving (to be collected) 119 dr., 5 ½ obols, 2 chalkoi
- Of these things, the individual (*katandra*) account is:
- (410) Wool rugbeaters
- IX Hellen son of Mysthas grandson of Ellen whose mother is Demetria; Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios grandson of . . . whose mother is Isidora; Souchas son of Origen grandson of . . . whose mother is Helene; Kastor son of Mysthas grandson of . . . is whose mother is . . . ania; (415) Herakles son of Ap. . . (grandson of) . . . kios whose mother is . . ., making 5 (persons), each at 12 dr., 60 dr.
- Potters
- Tryphon son of Kollothos grandson of Theon, (420) Theogiton son of Theogiton grandson of Tyrannos, making 2 persons, and in accordance with the *gnomon* for those decamped in year 3, Ammōnios son of Sambas grandson of Ammōnios, making 1 person, for a total of 3 persons at 17 dr. ½ obol 2 chalkoi each: 51 dr. 2 obols 2 chalkoi.
- X (425) And in accordance the *gnomon* for the potter who has died in year 4 of Vespasian (before) Mecheir; Ammōnios son of Antonios grandson of Herakleidēs whose mother is Sambous, making 1 person 8 dr. 3 ½ obols

Total of the foregoing money 119 dr. 5 ½ obols 2 chalkoi
 [. . .] [. . .] *vac.* [. . .] 3 obols 2 chalkoi.

(430) The same (report) has been submitted to the royal scribe through Amou(. . .) in year 5 of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Phamenoth 16 and the same (with) the scribe of the metropolis for year 5, Phamenoth 20, though Dioskoros.

Notes

Association? Possible; this is an account of taxes on trades (χειρωνάξιον) where several potential groups of artisans are listed, including the potters (κεραμεῖς) and rug beaters (ἐριοραβδισταί). The collective itself appears to be liable for the trade tax of its members.

Location: Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis. TM geo 327; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

1. 378: ἀμφοδάρχου: The amphodarchos was originally an official responsible for levying troops, but here evidently is an administrative officer in charge of the Apolloniou Parembolē quarter.
1. 378: Apolloniou Parembolē: TM geo ref. 264, a quarter in Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis.
1. 379: χειρωνάξιον: Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 1346a4, after listing other forms of taxation on agriculture, on metals, on markets, land taxes, and taxes on cattle and first-fruits, says, “in the sixth (place, we have), revenue from other sources, which we term poll-tax, or tax on the crafts” (ἐπικεφάλαιόν τε καὶ χειρωνάξιον). For examples, see P.Oxy. II 285 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 50 CE): weavers; O.Berl. 28 (Elephantine, 73 CE); O.Berl. 29 (Elephantine, 83–84 CE); BGU XIII 2294.2 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 81–96 CE): weavers; P.Oxy. XLI 2957 (Oxyrhynchus, 91 CE): weavers; O.Bodl. II 1064 (Elephantine, 129 CE); P.Tebt. II 286 (Tebtynis, after 138 CE): fullers and dyers; O.Berl. 46 (Elephantine, 161 CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1647 (Oxyrhynchus, 175–199 CE): weavers; P.Oxy. XXIV 2414 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); BGU XV 2547 (Arsinoites, 215 CE): fullers, etc.
1. 383: προσγρῦ(φου): supplementary documentation on tax collection.
- II. 384, 390: ἀνελήμ(φθησαν) ἀπὸ μὲν αἰρούντων κατακριμ(άτων) κεραμέων. . . ἀπὸ αἰρούντων κατα[κριμ(άτων)], “received from the payments due from the potters (the following). . .”: The translation is controverted. Johnson (1936, 395): “by officials receiving fines from the potters. . . from the officials collecting penalties,” but one might more reasonably expect the officials to be named, or at least ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν αἰρούντων. . . . Τὰ αἰρούντα more likely means “what is due.” Wallace (1938, 204) renders this as “from the fines due” and Kruse (1999, 170) suggests “von anteiligen (entfallenden) κατακρίματα der (folgenden) Töpfer” → P.Ryl. II 167.23–26 (Euhemeria, 39 CE): τὸν δὲ | κατ’ ἔτος φόρον ἀποδώσω αἰεὶ || διὰ τετραμήνου τὸ αἶρον | ἔμμηνα, “I will pay the yearly rent as it falls due in monthly installments”; P.Ryl. II 88.19–20 (Archelais, 156 CE): ἀποδώσετ|έ μοι διὰ διμήνου τὰς αἰρού||[σας δραχμάς] τριάκοντα ἕξ, “you will pay me every two months the 36 drachmae that are due”; P.Grenf. II 23. (Latopolites, 108 BCE): χρημάτισον . . . [ἐ]κ[άστω] τ[οῦ] μ[ην]ος (τάλαντα) ἡ Γ, πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) κε, τὰ αἰρούντα [δ] [μ]η(νὸν) (τάλαντα) λδ πυ(ροῦ) ἀνη(ριθμημένου) (ἀρτάβας) ρ, “pay . . . to each what is due, 8 talents, 3,000 drachmae and 25 artabae of wheat every month, the total for [4] months, 34 talents, the expenditures of wheat, 100 artabae.”

- II. 387, 422: καὶ πρὸς γνώμονα ἀνακεχω(ρ) γ L: “in accordance with the *gnomon* for those who decamped in the third year.” Mees (2002, 394): “Und gemäß dem Steuertarif (wird geführt als) im 3. Jahr geflohen.” Johnson (1936, 395) renders this as “Also in accordance with the *gnomon* for (a potter) who had fled in the 3rd year.”
- I. 387: ἀνακεχω(ρ): E.g., P.Gen. II 94 (Oxyrhynchus, 63 CE), a declaration by a father than his son who had been registered in the nome had decamped (ἀνεχώρησεν, I. 11) and therefore requests that he should be listed among those who have decamped for the 10th year: διὸ [ἄξιῳ] ἀγαγρα||φῆναι αὐτὸν [ἐν τοῖς] | ἀνακεχωρη[κόσιν] | ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] ἐνεστῶτος (δεκάτου) L] (II. 29–32). The clear intent is that the father would no longer be responsible for the payment of the *laographia* of the son.
- I. 392: Ἀμμώνιος Ἀντωνίου το(ῦ) Ἡρακ(λείδου): Wallace (1938, 203) argues that Ammōnios son of Antonious became a member of the guild only after the death of Herakleidēs (καὶ διὰ ἄλλου μετὰ σύνθεσιν τῶν λ[όγ]ων, 391) and was meant as a replacement for Herakleidēs.

Comments

This is an account of capitation taxes imposed on the trades (λόγος χειρωναξίου), in this case on rug-beaters and potters. Under Roman rule the state found it easier to extract per capita taxes rather than *ad valorem* (sales) taxes; all that was needed was a list of the artisans subject to the tax in a particular village. As this document shows, such lists were collected and had to be updated to take into account deaths and the departures of artisans from the village. As this papyrus indicates, guilds served as convenient nodes of tax extraction.

The question that this papyrus raises is whether guilds – here, the potters – were expected to pay the χειρωναξίον for members who had decamped and partial payments for those who had died. Van Minnen (1987, 53) observed that although guilds were not created as fiscal instruments for the provincial administration, guild paid taxes and licence fees collectively, which the provincial administration no doubt found more convenient than collecting from individual artisans (likewise Cracco Ruggini 1976, 469). Johnson (1936, 395) and Wallace (1938, 203–204), citing Stud.Pal. IV, argued that in the case of a guild member who decamped, the remaining members were responsible for the absent member’s tax liability. Similarly, Link (1993, 214): “Allem Anschein nach hafteten Tryphon und Theogeiton für den Steuerausfall, den ihr Kollege Ammōnios durch seine Flucht verursacht hatte.” If such was the practice, an analogy would be the μερισμὸς ἀνεκεχωρηκότων, first attested in the time of Trajan, the practice of applying a surcharge to those liable for the *laographia* in a particular village to cover the fiscal deficit created by those who had decamped in a given year (→ Lewis 1937, 1993; Wallace 1938, 137–140). A guild’s responsibility for collecting and conveying taxes to the nome administration would account for provisions such as those of P.Mich. V 244.10–12 [212] which authorized the president, Kronion, to collect the *laographia* and in the case of a delinquent member, “to exact a surety from [a member who had failed to pay the *laographia*], whether in the town square or in his house, and hand over either

him or his slaves.” If the nome administration assessed the *laographia* owed by guild members on the basis of the number of registered persons, this provision obviously would be a means to protect the guild from having to pay the share of a defaulting member (→ Kloppenborg 2019).

The account indicates that tax calculations were made by using tax records from the previous year – here year 4 – to arrive at the base rate for the following year, after making certain adjustments. Hence, the “base rate” established for Year 4 included the χειρωνάξιον paid by Tryphon and Theogiton (ll. 385–338), and the tax owing for Ammōnios son of Sambas, who had decamped (ll. 386–389). The total in line 390 indicates that the sum for Ammōnios had been received “from those who collect fines from the potters” (383–384: ἀνελήμθησαν ἀπὸ μὲν αἰρούντων κατακριμ(άτων) κεραμέων). Since Ammōnios was not available to pay, the burden must have fallen to his two fellow potters. The additional expense, accounting for the total of 77 dr. ½ obol includes half of the χειρωνάξιον that was owing by Herakleidēs, who had died half way through year 4, and the full tax for Herakleidēs’ grandson, Ammōnios who appears to have joined the guild half way through year 4 (to replace his grandfather).

The account for year 5 (ll. 398–408) continues to assume that the χειρωνάξιον for Tryphon and Theogiton *and* for Ammōnios son of Sambas applies. That is, even though Ammōnios had been gone since year 4, he was still deemed to owe the tax for year 5. The adjustments for year 5 included a reduction of 8 dr. 3½ obols for the deceased potter, and half of the tax for Ammōnios the grandson of Herakleidēs, who had been charged the *full tax* for year 4 and now, in effect, was being credited for the overpayment of year 4. Ll. 419–424 then restate the taxes for year 5

This suggests that *ceteris paribus* the full tax for year 6 would have been 51 dr. 2 obols 2 chalkoi for Tryphon and Theogiton *and* for Ammōnios son of Sambas, and an additional 17 dr. ½ obol. 2 chalkoi for Ammōnios the grandson, for a total of 59 dr. 5½ obols, 2 chalkoi (with the 60 dr. for the rug beaters, giving a total of 119 5½ obols, 2 chalkoi). The tax for the decamped Ammōnios son of Sambas remained payable by the potters even though Ammōnios himself could not pay it. Hence:

Name	Year 4	Year 5
Tryphon son of Kollothos	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.
Theogiton son of Theogiton	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.
Ammōnios son of Sambas	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.
Total	51 dr. 2 ob. 2 ch.	51 dr. 2 ob., 2 ch.
Herakleidēs son of Didas	8 dr. 4½ ob.	- - -
(deceased in year 4)		
Ammōnios son of Antonios	17 dr. ½ ob. 2 ch.	8 dr. 3 ob. 1 ch.
Subtotal (Potters)	77 dr. ½ obol	59 5½ ob. 2 ch.

Rugbeaters	60 dr.	60 dr.
Total	137 dr. (½ obol)	119 5½ obols 2 ch.

Since the tax was assessed on the basis of lists of active artisans from the previous year, it was essential for those subject to the tax – whether individual artisans or guilds – to notify tax officials in regard to the deaths of guild members, other employees or slaves who were subject to the χειρωνάξιον. P.Oxy. II 262 (Oxyrhynchus, 61 CE) [TM 20533] is a typical example of such a notification:

- Φιλίσκωι ἐγγλή(μυπορι) γερδ(ίων)
παρὰ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαρα(πίωνος).
ὁ δοῦλός μου Ἀπολλοφάνης
γέρδιος ἀναγραφόμενος
5 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Τεγμούθεως
ἐτελε(ύτησεν) ἐν τῇ ξένη
τῶι ἐνεστῶτι ζ L Νέρωνο(ς)
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι[κ(οῦ)]
Αὐτοκράτορος, διὸ ἀξιῶ
10 ἀναγραφῆναι τοῦτον
ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελε(υτηκότων)
τάξει, καὶ ὁμνύω {ι}
Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρ[α]
Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκρά(τορα)
15 ἀληθῆ εἶναι.
- —
L ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκρά(τορος),
Μεχ(εῖρ) κς Σεβα(στῆ).
⟨hand 2⟩ Φιλίσκος σεσημ(εῖωμαι).
20 L ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
[Κα]ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[Γερ]μανικοῦ
[Αὐτο]κράτορ[ος]
[Με]χ(εῖρ) κς [Σεβα(στῆ)].

To Philiskos the tax collector for weavers, from Sarapiōn son of Sarapiōn. My slave Apolophanes, a weaver who was inscribed at the quarter of Temgenouthes has died abroad in the current 7th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus the Emperor. Therefore I ask that this be recorded in the list of those who have died, and I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that this is true.

I, Philiskos have signed this. Year 7 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. Mecheir 27, day of Augustus.

It is more difficult to find analogous notifications regarding either a guild member or a family member who had decamped. P.Oxy. II 251 (Oxyrhynchus, 8

Jan 44 CE) [TM 20521] offers one such example, but it appears to concern the *laographia* rather than the χειρωνάξιον, since the subject is described as not having a trade:

- Διδύμωι καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι(?) (?)
 τοπογρα(μματεῦσι) κ[α]ὶ κωμογρα(μματεῦσι)
 παρὰ Θαμούνιος [τ]ῆς
 Ὀν[ν]ώφριος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
 5 χω[ν] π[ό]λεως μετὰ κυρίου
 Σαρα[π]ίωνος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος(ς).
 ὁ υἱός μου Θεῶνις Διονυσίου
 ἄτε[χνο]ς ἀναγραφόμενος
 ἐπὶ λαύ[ρ]ας Τευμενούθεως
 10 ἀνεχ[ώ]ρησεν εἰς τὴν
 [ξέ]νην τῶι διελθόντι
 [χ]ρόνῳ. [δι]ὸ ἀξιῶ {ι} [ἀ]ναγράφε(σθαι)
 [τ]οῦτον [ἐ]ν τοῖς ἀνακεχω(ρηκόσιν)
 [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου
 15 ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ
 [Γερ]μ[ανικ]οῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
 [καὶ ὁμ]νύω Τιβέριον
 [Κλαύδι]ον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν
 20 [Γερμανι]κὸν Αὐτοκράτορα
 [ἀληθ]ῆ εἶναι τὰ π[ρ]ογεγρα(μμένα),
 κ[αὶ] μηδένα πόρον ὑ[πά]ρχ(ειν)
 τ[ῷ] αὐτῷ Θεῶνι α[. . . .]
 .[.] . γεστρ[α]τε . . .[. . . .]
 25 [ε]ὐορκ[ο]ύσῃ [μ]ὲν μ[ο]ι
 [ε]ὐ εἴη {ι}, ἐπιορκού[σ]ῃ δὲ τὰ
 ἐναντία. ἐ[ὐ]τυχ(εῖτε).

— —

- ⟨hand 2⟩ Θαμούνιον Ὀννώφρι[ο]ς ἐπιδέ-
 δωκα τὸ ὑπ[ό]μνημα καὶ ὁμό-
 30 μοκα (Pap. ὁμό|μεκα) τὸν προγεγραμμένον
 ὄρκον. [Σαραπί]ων Σαραπίωνος
 ἐπιγέγραμμαι αὐτῆς κύριος καὶ
 γ[έ]γραφα ὑπὲρ [α]ὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυίας
 γράμματ[α].
 35 L δ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Κα[ί]σαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ] Γ[ερ]μανικοῦ
 Αὐ[τ]οκράτορος, Τῷβι ιβ.
 ⟨hand 1⟩ [Θα]μούνιον ὡς L νη μέσ(η)
 ἄση(μος) οφ. .[. . .]ε. .[. . .]
 40 τη() [.] . ξ. .[. . . .]εχ()
 ἄτε[χ(νος)].

To Didymos and Apollōnios . . . *topogrammateus* and *komogrammateus* from Thamnionis the daughter of Onnophris, both from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, (5) acting with a guardian, Sarapiōn son of Sarapiōn. My son Thoonis son of

Dionysios who has no trade and is enrolled in the Temgenoutheos Amphodon (10) has decamped to a foreign place in the past year. Therefore I ask that he be inscribed in the list of those who had decamped from the current fourth year (15) of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus the Emperor, and I swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus (20) Germanicus the Emperor that the foregoing (declaration) is true. Thoonis has no money . . . (25) May it be well if I am swearing truly, the opposite if I am perjuring myself. Farewell.

⟨hand 2⟩ I Thamounion son of Onnophris have written this memorandum, (30) and I have sworn the oath above. I [Sarap]ion son of Sarapiōn, her guardian, have also written this for her because she is illiterate. (35) Year 4 of Tiberius Claudis Caesar Augustus Germanicus the Emperor. Tybi 12. ⟨hand 1⟩ Thamounion, about 58 years old, . . . without a scar . . . [Thoonis son of Dionysios] who has no trade. . . .

Other such declarations are extant (→ also P.Gen. II 94, Oxyrhynchus, 63–64 CE [TM 17383]) but these too likely are family members seeking to be exempt from paying the *laographia*. It is unknown whether an association could file an analogous report in order to avoid having to pay the *χειρωνάξιον*. P.Bour. 21 [TM 102823] (Karanis, 139–145 CE), however, reports the return of a guild member from abroad:

- Σαραπίωνι βασ(ιλικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀρσιν(οίτου)
 Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος.
 παρὰ Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ σκντ[έως]
 ἀπὸ κώμης Καρα(νίδος). μηνύω
 5 Σαραπᾶν Ἡρακλείδου μη(τρὸς)
 Διοδώρας εἶναι ἀνα πόλιν.
 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι ἵνα τὸ
 [ἀ]κόλουθον γένηται.
 [L ? τοῦ κυρίου] ἡμῶν Ἀντοκρ[άτορος]
 10 [Καί]σαρος Τίτου Αἰ[λί]ου Ἀδρια[νοῦ]
 Ἀντωνίνου [Σε]βαστοῦ
 Εὐσεβοῦς [Θ]ῶθ Σεβασ[τῆ]

To Sarapiōn the royal scribe of division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites, from Akousilaos the shoemaker from the village of Karanis. I declare that Sarapas son of Herakleidēs, whose mother is Diodōra, is in the village; wherefore I am submitting this so that the proper consequences might be drawn. Year ? of Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Thoth (which is Sebaste)

Akousilaos is presumably the secretary of the guild of shoemakers and the return of Sarapas meant that he would no longer be listed as “decamped” for taxation purposes.

SB XIV 11374 (Arsinoites, 21 Feb 168 CE) [TM 14438] is a letter of a tax official to the *stratēgos* indicating that he would suspend the collection of the *ἐπικεφάλεια τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκόντων* in the interests of getting those who had decamped to return to their place of tax registration:

[ἀντίγρ]αφον ἐπιστολῆς.

- [Βαιη]νὸς Βλαστιανὸς Φωκίωνι στρα(τηγῷ) Ἀρσινοίτου Θε(μίστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδω(ν) χα(ίρειν).
- [τὰ] ἐπικεφάλεια τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκῶτων ἀπόρων συνήθως
[ἐκ μ]ερισμοῦ εἰσφερόμενα συνχωρῶι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
- 5 [ἐπ]ισχεθῆναι, ἵνα οἱ ἐν ἀναχωρή(ε)ι ὄντες ἐπανέλθωσι
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ οἱ ὄντες συμμένειν δύνονται
καὶ ὅπως τοῦτο πάντες εἰδῶσι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μου
τὸ ἀντίγραφον προτεθῆναι ἐν τε τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ
καθ' ἐκάστην κώμην. προσήκει δὲ καὶ σέ μὴ μόνον
- 10 ταῖς τῶν πρακτόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγματικῶν
προσφωνήσῃσαι προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάζε[ιν]
τίνες εἰσὶ οἱ τῷ ὄντι ἀνακεχωρηκότες τ[1–2]ς
προθέντα καὶ τὴν γραφὴν δημοσίᾳ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις
ὅθεν ἕκαστοι ἀνεχώρησαν. εἰ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
- 15 ἀναγκαῖα ἐγένετο ὑπέρθεσις τῆς εἰσπράξεως, ἀλλ' οὐ
προνοητέον ἐστίν, μηδὲ ὕστερον τοὺς ἐπι-
χωρίους κατ[αβα]ρεῖσθαι εἰσφοραῖς τῶν οὐκ ἀνακε-
χωρηκῶτων.
ἐρρῶσθ(αί) <σε> βούλομαι.
- 20 L η ὅλων Μεχείρ κς.

Baenos Bassianos to Phokio the *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, the divisions of Themistes and Polemon, greetings. The capitation taxes of those who have decamped and are indigent, which customarily are collected through *merismos*, I allow to be overlooked for the present (5) so persons who have decamped might return home and those who are at home be able to remain there. So that all might know this, a copy of my letter is to be posted in the nome capital and in every village. It is also appropriate that you not only (10) to attend to the reports of the tax collectors and other functionaries but also to determine carefully who really have decamped. . . , also displaying the list publicly in the villages from which they severally fled. For if a suspension of the collection has become necessary for now (15), then a provision should be made so that those in the countryside are not burdened with the tax payments for those who have not decamped. (20) Farewell. Year 8, Mecheir 26.

This memorandum seems to suggest both that a significant number of persons from the nome have decamped and that there were inaccuracies in the tax records, such that some listed as decamped are in fact still resident in the nome. Since the μερισμὸς ἀνεκεχωρηκῶτων was a surcharge applied to all in order to recover the deficit caused by the non-payments of those who had decamped, inaccurate records would inevitably lead not only to those who had not decamped being charged the surcharge, but all residents being charged the surcharge.

Thomas Kruse (1999, 175) has raised doubts as to whether there was corporate liability of guilds for the trade tax. The term κοινόν does not occur in this papyrus in relation to the potters (or the rug beaters). Moreover, Kruse asks that if indeed the potters were collectively liable for the tax of Ammōnios, should

one not expect an indication that Tryphon and Theogeiton would be each charged half of the tax owed by Ammōnios?

The account nevertheless raises the question, Why is Ammōnios' tax listed for both year 4 and year 5 when he is declared absent for both years and hence not in a position to pay the tax? There is no indication that the tax account is in arrears, which suggests that the tax for year 4 was paid and the tax for year 5 was due. The size of the tax, at 17 dr. $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. 2 ch., is rather odd. The tax for the rug beaters is 12 dr., which comparable to the 12–36 dr. χειρωνάξιον for other artisans in the first century CE:

O.Wilck. 16 (Thebes or Elephantine, 1 Dec 60 CE): receipt for the χειρωνάξιον μη(νιάιον) for three months, 4 dr. (suggesting a yearly tax of 16 dr.)

O.Wilck. 19 (Thebes or Elephantine, 19 Jul 68 CE): receipt for 20 dr. (unknown trade)

O.Leid. 179 (Syene or Elephantine, 23 Aug 72 CE) receipt for the χειρωνάξιον λινύφω(ν) παστοφω(ρων), trade tax on linen weavers of 12 dr.

O.Berl. 28 (Syene or Elephantine, 23 Aug 73 CE): receipt for 20 dr. (unknown trade)

O.Berol. 29 (Elephantine, 83–84 CE): receipt for 8 and 4 dr. for a total of 12 dr. (unknown trade).

O.Wilck. 45 (Syene or Elephantine, 96–97 CE): receipt for 4 and 8 dr. for a total of 12 dr. (unknown trade).

BGU XIII 2294 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 81–96 CE) is an account ὑπὲρ χειρωναξίου γερδ(ίων), “concerning the χειρωνάξιον paid by weavers” covering ten months of Paophi–Kaisareion (Oct–Jul). The fragmentary account shows payments of 8 dr. in all but one month (when the payment for Phamenoth is recorded as 4 dr.). Since other receipts from the first century suggest a weaver's tax of 36 per annum (P.Oxy. II 288.2–6, 20–24; P.Oxy II 309; P.Oxy. II 310), this suggests that the payments recorded in BGU XIII 2294 are for three weavers, and that the lower amount for Phamenoth was an underpayment.

Literature: Cracco Ruggini, Lellia 1976. “La vita associativa nelle città dell'Oriente greco: tradizioni locali e influenze romane.” In *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien: travaux du VIe Congrès international d'Etudes classiques*, 463–492. Paris: Société d'Édition “Les belles lettres”; Johnson, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Kloppenborg, John S. 2019. “New Institutional Economics, Euergetism, and Associations.” In *The Extramercantile Economies of Greek and Roman Cities: New Perspectives on the Economic History of Classical Antiquity*, ed. John Fitzgerald, et al. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies, 107–129. London and New York: Routledge; Kruse, Thomas 1999. “KATAKRIMA – Strafzahlung oder Steuer?” *ZPE* 124:157–190; Lewis, Naphtali 1937. “ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΟΤΩΝ: An Aspect of the Roman Oppression in Egypt.” In *JEA* 23(1): 63–75; Lewis, Naphtali 1993. “A Reversal of Tax Policy in Roman Egypt.” In *GRBS* 34:101–18; Link, Stefan 1993. “Anachorēsis: Steuerflucht im Ägypten der frühen Kaiserzeit.” In *Klio* 75:306–320; Van Minnen, Peter

1987. "Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt." In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1): 31–88; **Wallace**, Sherman LeRoy 1938. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton University studies in papyrology 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press (on capitation taxes).

[223] BGU VII 1615

Membership List of a Weavers' Guild

Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 26 Apr – 25 May 84 CE
Published: Paul Viereck and Friedrich Zucker, *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm. Mit 5 Lichtdrucktafeln*. BGU VII (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926) 118–120 (no. 1615) [TM 9520; CAPIInv 1744]

Current location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P.11498

Digital image: <https://berlpap.smb.museum/03037/>

Similar or related documents: → P.Corn. 23 (Philadelphia, early I CE): record of 88 weavers and other craftsmen from Philadelphia, for census or taxation purposes; P.Lond. II 257 (Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis, 94 CE): census list with some of the names of the weavers. *Weaver' guilds*: BGU VII 1564 (Philadelphia, 138 CE → [233]); BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE): complaint by 12 members of a weavers' guild; VII 1591 (Philadelphia, 123 CE): receipt for 484 dr. paid by a weavers' guild to the ἐγλήπτορες γερδίων.

Papyrus. Dimensions unavailable. Right side is broken and has lost a strip as a result of the fold.

- Λ τρι[τ]ου Αὐτοκράτορος Καί[σ]αρ[ος]
 Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ[ανικοῦ]
 μηνὸς Γερμανικῆου. λόγος ἱμα[τίων]
 τῶν ἀναδεδομένων γερδίων [ἀνὰ]
 5 γ. Ὀννόφρις Ἀρφαήσιος καὶ Ἀρποχρ[ᾶς]
 καὶ Ἡρῶν ἡγούμενος [± ?]
 Ψάμμης Ἀσκληᾶτος καὶ Ἀσκληᾶς [± ?]
 καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Μυσῶτος [± ?]
 Ἀτρῆς Ἀρφαή[σ]εος καὶ Ἀτρῆς υἱὸς [± ?]
 10 καὶ Ὡρος Πασῶτος [± ?]
 Ἄπις [[Ἀρθ^ω]] καὶ υἱοὶ β [± ?]
 Διονύσιος Νεκφερ(ῶτος) καὶ Πουῶρις ..[± ?]
 καὶ [Π]ε[ε]θ.. Ἀρμούσι[ος] [± ?]
 Ἡρακλείδης Ὡρου καὶ Ὡριγᾶς υἱὸς [± ?]
 15 καὶ Πνεφερῶς Ἡρακλείδου [± ?]
 Κεφάλων Π[ε]τε[ε]σούχ(ου) καὶ Πετεσοῦχ(ος) .[± ?]

- καὶ Ἀσκληᾶς [± ?]
 Ὀννόφρις Πανεσνέος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς [± ?]
 καὶ Τρύφων Πτολλᾶτος [± ?]
 20 Ἀρχωνᾶς Πανεγβη(οὔτος) καὶ Φᾶσ[ι]ς Φά[σιος(?)]
 καὶ Ὡρος Ἡρακλείδου [± ?]
 Πετεσίς καὶ Π[ε]τ[ε]σίς υἱ[ι]ὸς [± ?]
 καὶ Πετεσίς [± ?]

Apparatus: 2 Pap. Δομεττιανοῦ || 18 Pap. ὦ.

In the third year of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, month of Germanicus. An account of the garments that have been delivered by weavers, arranged in threes: (5) Onnophris son of Harpha ēsis and Harpokras (his son), and Heron the president (*hēgoumenos*) [. . .]; Psammis son of Asklas, and Asklas (his son) [. . .] and Hēraklēs son of Mysos [. . .]; Atres son of Harphaēsis and Hatres son of [. . .] (10) and Horos son of Pasos [. . .]; Apis son of Hartho. . . and his two sons [. . .]; Dionys^κιος son of Nekpheros and Pouris son of . . . and Peeth. . . son of Harmousis [. . .]; Hēraklēs son of Horos and Origas son of . . . and (15) Pnepheros son of Herakleidēs [. . .]; Kephalon son of Petesouchos and Petesouchos son of . . . and Asklas [son of . . .]; Onnophris son of Panesnes and his son . . . and Tryphon son of Ptollas [. . .]; (20) Archonas son of Panegbeous and Pasis son of Passis and Horos son of Herakleites [. . .]; Petēsis and Petēsis son of . . . and Petēsis [. . .].

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership term: ἡγούμενος; evidence of weavers in Philadelphia (P.Lond. II 257), although as a census list, no associative terms are present; membership list.

Location: Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 1760. Philadelphia. Barrington Atlas 75 E2.

1. 5: Ὀννόφρις Ἀρφαήσιος καὶ Ἀρποχρ[ᾶς]: Onnophris son of Harphaēsis and Harpokras (his son). Onnophris is named in the census list, P.Lond. II 257.161–162 (Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis, 94 CE) along with his son Harpokras, also a weaver: [οἰκία] Ἀπύγ[χ(εως)] Ὀννώ(φρις) Ἀρφα[ή(σεως) το]ῦ Ὀννώ(φρεως) μη(τρὸς) Θασήσεω(ς) τῆς Πετεσοῦχ(ου) γέρδ(ιος) L [. . .] | Ἀρποχ(ρᾶς) υἱὸς μη(τρὸς) Τααρμύσιο(ς) τῆς Παουίτη(ς) γέρδ(ιος) L κ[. . .]. Apynchis' son is also named Harpokras and also a weaver. See Clarysse (2016, 272) for a family tree.
1. 6: ἡγούμενος, president: → P.Grenf. II 43 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE) for another president of a weavers' guild.
1. 7: Ψάμμης Ἀσκληᾶτος καὶ Ἀσκληᾶς [± ?]: The same two are named in P.Lond. II 257.169–170: Ψάμης Ἀσκ[λᾶτος(ς) το]ῦ Παποντι(ῶτος) μη(τρὸς) Θεναπύγχ(εως) τῆς Ψάμιδο(ς) γέρδ(ιος) L v || [A]σκληᾶς υἱὸς μη(τρὸς) Θεναπύγχ(εως) τῆς Παχίριο(ς) γέρδ(ιος) L κς.
1. 11: Ἄπις [[Ἀρθω()]]: Ἀρθω(τος) or Ἀρεώ(του) has been crossed out in the papyrus. P.Lond. II 257.139 has Ἄπις Ἀ[πι]το(ς) τοῦ Ἄπιτο(ς) μη(τρὸς) Ταορσενο(ύφεως)

τῆς Πε[τεσοῦ]χο(υ) γέρδ(ιος) *L* ξ, Apis son of Apis grandson of Apis, whose mother is Taorsenouphis daughter of Petesouchos, a weaver 60 years old.

- l. 12: Διονύσιος Νεκφερ(ῶτος) καὶ Πουῶρις ..[± ?]: → P.Lond. II 257.105: Διονύσιος Νεκφ[ερῶτος τοῦ] Μύσθ(ου) μη(τρὸς) ..σωου τῆς Διονυσί(ου) γέρδ(ιος) *L* νδ, “Dionysios son of Nekpheros, whose mother is Mysthas daughter of ...sois daughter of Dionysios, a weaver, 54 years old.”
- l. 13: καὶ [Π]ε[ε]θ.. Ἀρμούσι[ο]ς [± ?]: → P.Lond. II 257.126: Πεεβ. . . Ἀρμούσιο(ς) τοῦ Διονυσίο(υ) μη(τρὸς) Η[. γ]έρδ(ιος) *L* μγ.
- l. 16: Κεφάλων Π[ε]τε[σ]οῦχ(ου) καὶ Πετεσοῦχ(ος) [± ?]: → P.Lond. II 257.96: [Κε]φάλ(ων) Πετεσ[οῦ]χ(ου) τοῦ Παουῖτο(ς) [μη(τρὸς)]εἰτ() τ[ῆ]ς Παπεῖτο(ς) *L* μζ. But l. 97 refers to another Kephalon: Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Κε[φάλ(ωνος)] τοῦ Π[ε]τεσούχ(ου) [μη(τρὸς) τ]ῆς Ἡρᾶτο(ς) *L* ις. Since ll. 5, 7 and 12 name a father (+ patronym) followed by a son (without patronym), we might assume that Kephalon son of Petesouchos is the person named in P.Lond. II 257.96 and that the second Petesouchos is Petesouchos son of Kephalon (grandson of Petesouchos) named in l. 97. Yet as Viereck and Zucker (1926, 119) point out, if the younger Petesouchos was 16 years old in 94 CE, he was only 6 years old at the time of BGU VII 1615 was composed. They propose instead that the younger Petesouchos was the son of Πετε[σοῦ]χο(ς) Νεκφερῶτο(ς) τοῦ Πετεσο(ύχου) of P.Lond. II 257.138.
- l. 20: Ἀρχωνᾶς Πανεγβη(ούτος): → P.Lond. II 257.175: Ἀρχωνίδης Πανεγβ(αύιος) τοῦ Διονυ[σίου(υ)].

Comments

The purpose of this document is unclear. It is a list of garments delivered by weavers, but the recipient is unnamed. The purpose of these garments is also unknown; their number and type are lost from the right side of the document. The reason for the organization of weavers into groups of three is another unknown, although fathers and sons are grouped together in a number of cases (ll. 7, 16, 18). It is not likely that the weavers were grouped together to provide a single finished work, as a single loom required only one operator, with the exception that some larger textiles may have required an assistant (Wipszycka 1965, 51).

The document implies 30 weavers, both in its structure (ten groups of three individuals) and in the extant text (27 named individuals, and three more implied in fragment). Viereck and Zucker call this number remarkably high. It is certainly higher than what is implied by BGU VII 1591 (Philadelphia, 30 Aug 123 CE) where the tax of 484 dr. by a group of weavers suggests a guild of 13 weavers, each paying 38 dr. (Clarysse 2016, 271). But P.Corn. 23 from first-century Philadelphia lists 88 weavers from that village. The weavers in the petition of BGU VII 1572 [233] identify themselves as initially twelve, reduced to eight after four members were pressed into liturgies. That petition, however, complains that they were a small group to begin with, so a guild of 30 members may be more typical.

Eleven of the names in the list are also found in P.Lond. II 257, a census roll for the poll tax, dated ten years later, and more overlap has probably been lost in

the lacunae of the census. This overlap of names between the two documents shows that our list belongs to the same division of Herakleidēs in Arsinoite nome as that census, in the absence of any other evidence to place it. The census roll contains 41 individuals identified as weavers, although more may be lost in the many lacunae of the document. It includes several villages in the division of Herakleidēs, and our list of weavers may do likewise, gathering members from several villages. A few possibilities arise from the comparison of these two lists. On the one hand, divisions may have comprised several guilds, headed by different presidents. On the other, the census roll may have recorded the names of weavers not enrolled in a guild.

The document may be a receipt for the delivery of an order of clothing, such as the order found in BGU VII 1564 (→ BGU VII 1572 [233] *comment*). A II CE document similar to our list, P.Ryl. II 189 = C.Pap.Hengstl 160 (Soknopiaiou Nesos, 18 Dec 128 CE), records the receipt of clothing for guards from the weavers of Soknopiaiou Nesos (→ also P.Genova I 24 [293]):

Διονύσιος Σωκράτους καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι παραλήπται
 δημοσίῳ(ν) ἱματισμοῦ κουστωδιῶν παρ{α}εἰλ(ήφωμεν) παρὰ γερδί-
 ὦν κόμης Σοκνωπαιίου Νήσου ἱστωλο . . . οὗς χι-
 θῶνους δέκα ἑννέα, / ἰθ, καὶ <ε>ἰς <σ>τρατιωτικᾶς χρείας
 5 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰου{α}δαίᾳ στρατενομένων παλλίοιλα λευκὰ
 πέντε / ε. γ L Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίακ κβ. <hand 2> Διογέν[η]ς παρέλαβα.

<hand 3> Ὀνησᾶς συνπαρέλαβα. <hand 4> Φιλόξεγος
 συνπαρέλαβα.

We, Dionysios son of Sokratēs and the associate collectors of public clothing for the guards have received from the weavers of the village of Soknopiaiou Nesos nineteen ... tunics, making 19, and for the needs of the soldiers serving in Judaea five white cloaks, making 5. The 13th year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Choiak 23. (Signed) <hand 2> I, Diogenes, have received (this). <hand 3> I, Onesas, have received (this). <hand 4> I, Philoxenos, have received (this).

Notably lacking from the receipt or from the order of BGU VII 1564 is a list of names of the weavers responsible for the fulfilment. Our document does bear some resemblance to tax accounts, which similarly list names and figures in rows and columns. It is unusual that weavers would pay taxes in kind, however, and many documents do show weavers paying taxes in coin (Johnson 1936, 538–539 lists tax rates on weavers in various regions and → e.g. PSI X 1154; P.Oxy. II 288; P.Fay. 48). A tax list, possibly an account of a poll tax (Brashear 1992, 42), includes a fragment with columns listing accounts of clothing (BGU XVI 2577, frag. d *verso*), but the *verso* of the list is unlikely to be related to the tax account; the document appears to have been re-used for the accounts of a pawn-shop once it had served its purpose (Brashear 1995, 48). Aside from BGU XVI 2577, two

petitions complain of tax collectors taking garments (P.Col. VIII 209 and BGU II 515 = W.Chr. 268), but these actions fall outside the prescribed duties of tax collection.

Literature: **Brashear**, William 1992. “Egyptians and Greeks in an Early Laographia Account (P.Berol. 25161).” In *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, edited by Janet Johnson, 41–43. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; **Brashear**, William, ed. 1995. *The Archive of Athenodōros (and Assorted Documents of the Augustan Period)*. BGU XVI. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz; **Clarysse**, Willy 2016. “Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXIX: The weavers of Philadelphieia.” In *Tyche* 31:269–84 (271–273); **Johnson**, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; **Liu**, Jinyu 2017. “Group Membership, Trust Networks, and Social Capital: A Critical Analysis.” In *Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World*, ed. Koenraad Verboven and Christian Laes. Impact of Empire 23, 203–26. Leiden: Brill; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2010. “Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt.” In *GRBS* 50:273–294, esp. 277–279; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. 72); **Viereck**, Paul, and Friedrich **Zucker** 1926. *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm. Mit 5 Lichtdrucktafeln*. BGU VII. Berlin: Weidmann; **Wipszycka**, Ewa 1965. *L’industrie textile dans l’Égypte romaine*. Archiwum filologiczne 9. Wrocław, Warszawa, and Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich. MM

[224] P.Stras. V 341

Contract for the Engagement of Musicians

Soknopaiou Nesos? (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) before 10 Aug 85 CE

Published: M. Falletti in J. Schwartz, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg [V]*, Publications de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg 3 (Strasbourg: J.C. Hinrichs and la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, 1973) 58–60 (no. 341) [BL VII, p. 248] [TM 13282; CAPInv 1968]

Translation: Gennaro Tedeschi, “Lo spettacolo in età ellenistica e tardo antica nella documentazione epigrafica e papiracea,” *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 11 (2002) 87–187, here 153–154.

Current location: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P.gr. 1137.

Papyrus, 26.5 × 7.5 cm.

[Ἀρπο]χρᾶς Μύσθου ὅ(ς) Ἐ λ [οὐ]λ(ῆ) ..ι ἀριστ(ερ)

- Στοτοῆτις Νεσθνή(φεως) ὦ(ς) *L* νς οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπ(ω) μέ(σ)ω
 [᾿Ωρο]ς [Π]αοῦτ(ος) ὦ(ς) *L* λ [οὐλ(ῆ) μή]λ(ωι) [δ]εξιῶι
 [Αρ]ποχρᾶς Μύσθου [. . .]η[. . .]ς τῶν ἀπὸ
 5 [.]ς Κερκεσοῦ[χων] Σ[τοτο]ῆτ[ι] Νεσ-
 [θ]νήφ[ε]ως καὶ ᾿Ωρωι Παοῦτ[ος] τοῖς δυσὶ
 [πρεσ]βυτέροις ^{συνόδοι} ιερέων Σοκνοπαίου θε-
 [οῦ μεγά]λῳ μεγάλου παρέξεσθαι τὸν
 [Αρ]ποχρᾶν σ[ὺ]ν τοῖς ἐπαύλοις καὶ ὁρ-
 10 [. . .]οις δυσὶ λε[ιτου]ργ[ήσο]υσι τῇ τῷ(ν)
 [πε]ρὶ τὸν Στοτοῆτιν [.] ἐφ' ἡμέ-
 [ρας] τέσσαρας <τοῦτ'> ἐστι ἀπὸ ἑπτα[κα]ιδεκάτης[ς]
 τοῦ Καισαρεῖ[ο]ν μηνὸς τοῦ [ἐ]νεστῶ-
 [το]ς δ *L* Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 15 [Δ]ομι[τια]ν[οῦ] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ[αν]ι[κοῦ]
 [ἐ]πάναγκ[. . .] δ]ὲ τὸν Στ[οτ]ῆτ[ιν] καὶ
 [᾿Ωρ]ογ ἀ[π]ο[δοῦ]ναι [τῷ] Ἀ[ρ]ποχρᾶτι
 [. . .]..[. . .]..[. . .]..[. . .]ους. . .ω
 [. . .] . . . ἀργυρίου δρ[α]χμὰς ἐν[εν]ή-
 20 [κοντα] . . . ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσε-
 [ως καὶ εὐρ]ησιλ[ογ]ίας καὶ ποιήσουσιν τῇ
 [. . .] ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φ[. . .]..[. . .]σ
 [. . .]ηρησιν ἐργαλεῦα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 ἀπ. . . θήσονται δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Κερκε-
 25 σούχ(ω)ν εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐν ὄνοις
 τρισ[ί] καὶ ἀποκαταστήσουσιν αὐτοὺς
 τ[. . .]ως εἰς Κερκεσοῦχα ἐν ὄνοις
 τρισ[ί] . ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν παραβῇ
 [δ]ώσ(ε)ι τῷ ἐνμένοντι ἐπίτιμο[ν]
 30 [ἀρ]γυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς
 [τὸ δ]ημόσιον τὰς ἴσας ..[. . .]..α..
 [.] . . .[.] *L* λγ
 [ο]ὐλ(ῆ) [με]τώπῳ μέσῳι [Σ]τοτοῆτις
 ᾿Απύ[γ]χεως (ὡς ἐτῶν) ξα οὐλ(ῆ) πῆχ(ει) ἀριστ(ερῶ)
 35 <hand 2> ᾿Αρποχρᾶς Μύ[σθου]]αι τὰς ἡμέ-
 ρας τέσσαρας λ[ε]ιτ[ου]ργήσας ἀπὸ ἑπτα-
 καιδεκάτη[ς] τοῦ Καισαρεῖου μηνὸς
 καθὼς πρόκειται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 [Σω]τήριχος ᾿Απ[ολλ]ωνίου δ[ι]ὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέ-
 40 [ναι αὐ]τὸν γ[ράμματα <hand 3> Στοτοῆ]τις
 [Ν]εσθνήφικ[ος] καὶ ᾿Ωρ[ο]ς Παοῦτ[ος]
 ἀποδώσομεν τὰς προκεκ[. . .]
 μένας ἀργ[υρ]ί[ου] δρ[α]χμὰς ἐνε-
 [νή]κοντα ε[. . .]..[. . .]σ[. . .]ται

- 45 ξγ[ρ]α[ψ]εν ὑπ[ἐρ αὐτ]ῶν[...]. . .
 . . . ες. [±9]. . . .
 [.]. . . [..]. . . . τϥ

Apparatus: 10. Pap. λειτουργ[ου]τος || 11 Pap. Στοτοῦτις || 12 Pap. τέσσαρες || 36 Pap. τέσσαρος || 42 Pap. . τους || 42–43 Pap. προκεμμεν[ο]υς

Harpochas son of Mysthas, about 30 years old with a scar on the right . . . Stotoētis son of Nechthnebis about 56 years old with a scar between his eyebrows; Horos son of Paous, about 30 years old, with a scar on his right cheek. Harpochras son of Mysthas . . . of (5) Kerkesoucha to Stotoētis son of Nechthnebis and Horos son of Paous, the two elders of the ^{association} (*synodos*) of priests of Soknopaios, the great great god; they (Stotoetis and Horos) shall offer service by suppling the said Harpochras with the rooms and two . . . (10) for the . . . associated with Stotoētis for four days, which is from the seventeenth of the month of Kaisarios of the current 4th year of Emperor Caesar (15) Domitian Augustus Germanicus . . . (and that) Stotoētis and Horos will pay to Harpokras . . . ninety silver drachmae (20) without any delay or quibbling, and they will take care . . . instruments and the other . . . and they will . . . them from Kerkesousa (25) to the island on three donkeys and deliver them back to Kerkesoucha on three donkeys. If anyone should violate (this agreement) he shall pay a penalty of one (30) hundred silver drachmae and pay to the public treasury the same amount . . . About 36 years with a scar on between his eyes; Stotoētis son of Apynchos, about 61 years with a scar on his left forearm. (35) <hand 2> Harpochras son of Mysthas . . . who performing service for four days, from the seventeenth of the month of Kaisarios, as indicated above. Soterichos son of Apollōnios wrote this for him because (40) he is illiterate. <hand 3> We, Stotoētis son of Nechthenbis and Horos son of Paous, shall pay the aforesaid ninety drachmae . . . NN (45) wrote this for them because (they are illiterate).

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοξ ιερέων; leadership terms: πρεσβύτεροι.

Location: Soknopaiou Nesos? (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) TM geo ref. 2157; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

ll. 7–8: θε[οῦ μεγά]λον, presumably Souchos.

Comments

This is a contract for suppling musicians for an event held at Soknopaiou Nesos. For other such contracts → Collart 1944. The musician, Harpochras of Kerkesoucha, was to be contracted by two elders of the temple, Stotoetis and Horos for four days, the latter responsible for transporting the equipment to and from Soknopaiou Nesos and to pay Harpochras 90 dr. for his service.

The two elders were likely empowered to enter into contracts on behalf of the association of priests.

Literature: Collart, Paul 1944. “Réjouissances, divertissements, et artistes de province dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine.” In *Revue de Philologie* 18:134–152; Connor, Andrew James 2014. “Temples as Economic Agents in Early Roman Egypt: The Case of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos.” Thesis (Ph.D.). University of Cincinnati.

[225] P.Grenf. II 43

Certificate of Payment by a Guild President

Soknopaiou Nesos (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 9 Jun 92 CE

Published: Bernard P. Grenfell, and Arthur S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897) 69–70 (no. 43) + BL I 187 [TM 11326]

Current location: London, British Library Pap. 701

Digital image:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?Ref=Papyrus_701

Similar or related documents: → P.Grenf. I 31 [TM 48349; CAPInv 767] (Pathyris, 101–100 BCE): loan of money or grain by members of an association (οἱ συνθιασίται); P.Soter. 28 (Theadelphia, 91 CE)

Papyrus, 24.1 × 8.9 cm.

- ἀντίγρα(φον) διαγρα(φῆς) διὰ τῆς
 Σαραπίω[νο]ς τραπέζης
 Ταμείων. L ἐνδεκάτου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 5 Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 μηνὸς Σωτηρίου ιε.
 Τεσσαενοῦφίς ἀρχέφο[δο]ς
 κώμης Σοκνοπαίου
 νήσου καὶ ἡγούμενος
 10 γερδίων τῆς αὐτῆς
 κώμης «διέγραψε» Ἀτρήτι Ἰσᾶτος
 φύλακι μητροπόλεω[ς]
 ὀψώνιον μηνῶν [δύ]ο
 Παχῶν καὶ Παῦνι τοῦ
 15 ἐνεστῶτος ια L ἀργυρίου

δραχμάς ὀγδοήκοντα,
γί(νονται) ἀργ(υρίου) Է π.

Apparatus: 13. Pap. ὀψόνιον

Copy of the certificate (of payment) through the bank of Sarapi ōn of the Tameion (quarter). In the eleventh year of Imperator Caesar (5) Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, month of Soterion 15. Tessenouphis the police chief of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos and the president (*hēgoumenos*) of the (10) weavers of the same village (has paid) Hatres son of Isas, metropolitan guard, his salary for the two months of Pachon and Pauni of the (15) current 11th year, (the amount of) eighty silver drachmae, making 80 silver drachmae.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: ἡγούμενος; artisans of a specific village: γέρδιοι τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.

Location: Soknopaiou Nesos (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) TM geo ref. 2157; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

I. 3: Ταμείων: A district of Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis. TM geo ref. 1021. → Alston 2002, 387.

II. 7–9: ἀρχέφο[δο]ς | κώμης Σοκνοπαίου | νήσου καὶ ἡγούμενος: → SB VI 9630 = De Kat-Eliassen 2008, 139, where an order to arrest an individual is addressed to ἡ[γου]μ[έν]ωι καὶ ἀρχ[ε]φόδωι [κώμ]ης K[...]. In that case, the ἡγούμενος is undoubtedly the president of the group of elders.

Comments

This is the copy of a receipt of payment registered with the bank of Sarapi ōn in Tameion, a district of the Arsinoites. Tessenouphis has contracted the services of Hatres, a guard based in Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis, the metropolis. This is a typical contractual exchange in Roman Egypt (Crawford 1974, 175). The *archepodos* (chief of police) is a Roman position – the earliest instance is dated 64–44 BCE (BGU VIII 1855), and the position involved a wide range of duties. The police chief identified persons in his *kōmē* charged with crimes and transported them to the metropolis for trial (BGU II 374 and 375, Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis, II–III CE); he presided over the imposition of fines and their collection (BGU I 321 and III 908); he transported persons, goods and messages between villages in the course of their duties (Lewis 1967, 16–17; SB I 5663; BGU III 892), or supplied donkeys to aid in transport (Nicole 1906, 230 n. 2; P.Oxy. I 63); and he was responsible for the protection of villages and the surrounding areas from brigandage (Bagnall 1977, 67 and 82 n. 4; P.Hibeh II 198). Ptolemaic Egypt had maintained a professional police force to deal with brigands that hid in the desert. This force was abolished at least by 42 CE (Bagnall 1977, 68).

After 42 CE guards (*phylakes*) served as village police, as adjunct to military *stationes* that maintained a network of roads and desert outposts. These guards

were poorly paid, and by the end of the of II CE, the position became a liturgy (Bagnall 1977, 67–69). The payment, here, of 80 drachmae for two months, may well have been intended for a squad of six to 12 guards, or more; *dekania* lists from Thebes, probably of guards hired for the duration of a month, usually numbered less than 20 men (Bagnall 1977, 73–76). These positions were typically filled from the local peasantry, but during the harvest months of Pachon and Panni, when field work left no spare hours, guardsmen may have been recruited from larger urban centres (Bagnall 1977, 77).

P.Grenf. II 43 is dated to almost the same time as P.Soter. 28 (Theadelphia, 91 CE), which concerns the salary of a *phylax mētropoleōs*. In that text, the guard writes to Soterichos requesting that his salary be given to another *phylax* who will come to Theadelphia shortly.

Ἐσοῦρις φύλαξ μητρο(πόλεως)
 Σωτηρίχῳ καὶ Κατὶ καὶ
 Μάρωνι χαίρειν.
 ὅτε τὸ ὀψώνιον μου
 5 τῷ καταβαίνοντι φύλ(ακι)
 τῷ Φαμενώθ μηνί,
 ἐξ[α]ντῆς.
 Λ ι Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαν[ικ(οῦ)]
 10 μηνὸς(ς) Φαμεν(ώθ) ιβ.

Esouris, metropolitan guard, to Soterichos and Kati, and Maron, greetings. Give my salary at once to the guard who (5) is coming down for the month of Phamenoth. Year 10 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, (10) Phamenoth 12.

P.Grenf. II 43 and P.Soter. 28 provide the earliest evidence for *phylakes mētropoleōs* in Egypt, although the appearance from the late 50s of ostraca and papyri ordering the payment of the salary of guards (e.g., O.Heid. 31) suggest that the institution might be as early as the time of Nero (Homoth-Kuhs 2005, 42). According to Homoth-Kuhs, the *phylakes mētropoleōs* were responsible for organizing and supervising police forces in the villages. For later examples, and for a discussion of the authority of the *phylakes mētropoleōs* → Homoth-Kuhs 2005, 40–87. Tessenouphis of P.Grenf. II 43 and the trio of P.Soter. 28 are all likely village elders, responsible for security in the village, and hence also responsible for payment of the guards. In the case of P.Grenf. II 43, the police chief was also the president of the weavers' guild, which is perhaps indexical to the importance of weaving and weavers in Soknopaiou Nesos.

Literature: Alston, Richard 2002. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge; Bagnall, Roger S. 1977. "Army and Police in Roman Upper Egypt." In *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14:67–86; Bogaert, R. 1995. "Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l'Égypte romaine, 30a-284." In *ZPE* 109: 133–173 (esp. 142); Crawford, Dorothy 1974. "'Skepe' in Soknopaiou Nesos." In *JJP* 18:169–175; De Kat-Eliassen,

Martha H. 2008. "Two Papyri from the Oslo Collection." In *Symbolae Osloensis* 37(1): 132–40; **Homoth-Kuhs**, Clemens 2005. *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im griechisch-römischen Ägypten: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Sicherheitswesens*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 17. Munich: K.G. Saur; **Lewis**, Naphtali 1967. "NOHMATA ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ." In *BASP* 4(1):15–21; **Nicole**, Jules 1906. "Le Cachet du stratège et les archéphodes." In *APF* 3 (2):226–231; **Sperber**, Dan 1996. "Costs of Living in Roman Palestine II (Continued)." In *JESHO* 9:182–211 (esp. 188). MM/JSK

[226] I.Fayum III 171

Dedication of an Association to Anoubis

Narmouthis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

I–II CE

Published: Achille Vogliano, *Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'Egitto del R. Università di Milano nella zona di Madinet Madi*, Pubblicazioni della Regia Università di Milano (Milan: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936) 54 (no. 10); SEG 8:544; SB V 8133; Bernard, I.Fayum III 92–93 (no. 171) [TM 92003; CAPIInv 1350]

Translation: AGRW 294

Current location: *in situ*, but no longer visible.

Similar or related documents: → I.Fayum III 172 [228] (Narmouthis, I–II CE).

Discovered in the south temple of Medinet Madi on the "processional way." The inscription was cut into a small rectangle at the base of the Sphinx. Letter height: 2 cm.

Ἀνούβει θε-
ῶι μεγίστῳ[ι]
σύνδοδος
εὐχὴν·

5 L η, Μεχρίρ

To Anoubis the greatest God. The association (*synodos*) (dedicated this) in accordance with a vow. Year 8, Mechir.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοδος; collective worship of a deity; collective dedication.

Location: Narmouthis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1421; Barrinton Atlas 75 D2 (unlocated).

Comments

Bottigelli (1942, 220) describes this as an “associazione religiosa” probably related to the cult of Hermouthis, the principle deity of the village. Vogliano (1936, 18) thinks that the buildings associated with this *synodos* were located along the processional way (where the inscription was found). Descriptions of associations of this type are known, notably at Karanis and Theadelphia: see I.Fayum II 87; II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE). See I.Fayum p. 910, the inscription of Psenemphais and 1037, no. 2 dedicated in the area of Kôm el-Hisn.

Literature: Bottigelli Pia 1942. “Repertorio topografico dei templi e dei sacerdoti dell’ Egitto tolemaico: II.” In *Aeg* 22(3/4): 177–265 (220); **Vogliano**, Achille 1936, *Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d’Egitto del R. Università di Milano nella zona di Madinet Madi*. Pubblicazioni della Regia Università di Milano; Milan: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

[227] I.Fayum II 121 Restoration of a Cultic Space

Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites)

7 Apr 93 CE

Published: Gustave Lefebvre, “Théadelphia,” *ASAE* 13 (1913) 88–91 (no. 15); Bilabel, SB I 5793; Bernard, I.Fayum II 66–68 (no. 121; pl. 27) [TM 91980; CAPInv 1493]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum inv. 19592.

Rectangular block of limestone, 40 × 25 cm. The name of Domitian in l. 3 has been erased. The inscription is related to the archive of Harthotēs, which dates between 5 and 61 CE (TM ARCH id. 99).

ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρά-
τορος Καίσαρος
[[Δομιτιανοῦ]]
Σεβαστοῦ
5 Γερμανικοῦ
τόπος πολιτεύ-
ματος Ἀρθώτου
μεγάλου μακαρί-
του θεᾶς μεγίσ-
10 τῆς Σαχύψεως
ἀνοικοδομήθη
ἐπὶ Πετρωνίου

- Σεκούνδου ἐπ-
 ἄρχου Αἰγύπτου
 15 διὰ ᾽Αβδωνος προσ-
 τάτου· Πρώταρχος
 ἔγραψεν· ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι,
 [L] ιβ, Φαρμουῦθι ιβ.

For the well-being of Emperor Caesar [[Domitian]] Augustus (5) Germanicus. This place (*topos*) of the community (*politeuma*) (that was founded) by the great Harthotēs, the blessed one, in honour of the great goddess (10) Sachypsis, has been rebuilt in the year that Petronius Secundus was the praefect (*eparchos*) of Egypt, (15) by Abdon the president (*prostatēs*). Prōtarchos wrote this: for good fortune, year 12, Pharmouthi 12.

Notes

Association? Probable: leadership terms: προστάτης. Despite the use of *politeuma*, which is not normally a synonym for σύνοδος or other associative term, this looks like a private association. The group was collectively devoted to the cult of a deity and controlled space.

Location: Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2349; Barrington Atlas, 75 D2.

II. 1–2: ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος: → JIGRE 22.1 [154] note.

I. 7: Ἀρθώτου, Harthotes: Harthotes and his brother Marsisouchos were public farmers and Persians of the Epigone. According to Geen (2015), Harthotes was a priest of Tothoes and had a house in the temple of Tothoes (SB XX 14440; 12 CE). In 12 CE he declared himself to be 53 years old.

I. 10: Σαχύψεως, Sachypsis: an epithet of Isis. → I.Fayum II 112.4 (Theadelphia, 93 BCE): οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἱσιδος Σαχύψιος, θεᾶς μεγίστης; 113.4–5 (Theadelphia, 93 BCE): οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἱσιδος || Σαχύψιος, θεᾶς μεγίστης.

II. 12–13: T. Petronius Secundus was praefect of Egypt (92–93 CE) and became praefect of the Praetorian Guard (94–96 CE). He was involved in the conspiracy to assassinate Domitian, but allowed to retire under Nerva. An inscription in 92 places him in Egypt (CIL 3.37 = ILS 8759d = IGRR I 1198):

Imp(eratore) Domitiano
 Caesare Aug(usto) German(ico) XVI c(onsule)
 T. Petronius Secundus pr(aefectus) Aeg(ypti)
 audit Memnonem hora I pr(idie) Idus Mart(ias)

5 et honoravit eum versibus Graecis

⟨below⟩

φθέγξαι Λατοῖδα, σὸν γὰρ μέρος ὧδε κάθηται,
 Μέμνων ἀκτεῖσιν βαλλόμενος πυρίναις.
 curante T(ito) Attio Musa prae[f](ecto) coh(ortis) II
 Thebaeor(um).

When the Emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus Germanicus was consul for the 16th time, T(itus) Petronius Secundus, praefect of Egypt, heard Memnon at the first hour on the day before the Ides of March, and honoured him with the Greek verses written below:

“You sent forth your song, O Memnon, because a part of you is seated here, when the son of Latona struck you with his brilliant rays.”

This work was supervised by T. Attius Musa, praefect of the second cohort of Thebans.

Comments

The *politeuma* is associated with Harthotēs, whose village archive covers two generations of his family and dates between 5 and 61 CE (TM ARCH id. 99) and contains 25 documents (Casanova 1975, 1979). The origins of this *politeuma* are unknown. The *politeumata* of the Phrygians [171] probably originated as a military association, given special fiscal privileges by the Ptolemies. I.Alex.imp. 24 (Alexandria, 120 CE) mentions a *politeuma* of the Lycians, which might have been originally an association of military settlers under the Ptolemies. As Czajkowski 2019 points out, the reduction of Egypt to a Roman province would have changed the status of these groups, and eliminated their military privileges, so that they became private associations (→ I.Alex.imp. 74 [171] comments). A *politeuma* of Harthotēs, an Egyptian, does not fit this pattern of military settlers with fiscal privileges. It is possible that this was a testamentary foundation, but the nature of the privileges (if any) remain unclear. In any event, in the Roman period, such a *politeuma* was probably equivalent to a *synodos* (so Lüdertz 1994, 192).

The τόπος πολιτεύματος (one expects rather τόπος τοῦ πολιτεύματος) may have been the entire temple of Isis Sachypsis (so Bernand 1975, 2:67) or more likely a portion of the temple (Lüdertz 1994, 191 n.24).

Literature: Bernand, Étienne. 1975–81. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. Leiden; Paris: Brill; Institut français d’archéologie orientale; Casanova, Gerardo 1975. “Theadelphia e l’archivio di Harthotes: Ricerche su un villaggio Egiziano fra il III^a e il I^o.” In *Aeg* 55(4): 70–158 (120–121); Casanova, Gerardo 1979. “Il villaggio di Theadelphia e l’archivio di Harthotes. Addenda.” In *Aeg* 59:112–118; Czajkowski, Kimberley. 2019. “Jewish Associations in Alexandria?” In *Private Associations and Jewish Communities in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 191, 76–96. Leiden: Brill; Geen, Karolien 2015 in Katelijn Vandorpe, Willy Clarysse, and H. Verreth. *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*. Collectanea Hellenistica - KVAB VI. Leuven, Paris and Bristol: Peeters; Lüdertz, Gert 1994. “What is the Politeuma?” In *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, ed. Jan Willem Van Henten and Pieter Willem van der Horst, 183–225. Leiden: Brill.

[228] I.Fayum III 172

Dedication of an association to Apollo

Narmouthis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

I–II CE

Published: Achille Vogliano, *Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'Egitto del R. Università di Milano nella zona di Madinet Madi*, Pubblicazioni della Regia Università di Milano (Milan: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936) 55 (no. 12) (SEG 8:545); SB V 8135; I.Fayum III 93–94 (no. 172) [TM 92004; CAPInv 1351]

Translation: AGRW 294

Current location: *In situ* on a stone supporting the lion on the right side of the path of access to the south temple of Medinet Madi. The inscription is no longer visible.

Similar or related documents: → I.Fayum III 171 [226]: association of Anoubis located on the processional way; *Apolloniastai*: I.Hermoupolis 5 [TM 7099] (Hermoupolis Magna, 80/79 BCE): οἱ παρεφ[εδρ]ε[ύοντ]ες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιᾶται; I.Hermoupolis 6 [TM 6298] (Hermoupolis Magna, 78 BCE): οἱ παρ[ε]φεδρεύοντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιᾶται καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι [κ]τίσται; I.Alex.imp. 65 [181]; P.Giss. I 99.23–25 [TM 27877] (Hermoupolis Magna, II/III CE): οἱ | παρεφεδεύοντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλ(ει) || [ξένοι.

No longer visible.

Ἀπόλλωνι
θεῷ μ-
εγίστῳ
σύνδοος.

The association (*synodos*) (dedicated this) to Apollo the greatest god.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοος; collective worship of a deity; possibly the same association as [226]

Location: Narmouthis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites); Medinet Madi. TM geo ref. 1421; Barrinton Atlas 75 D2 (unlocated).

Comments

Bottigelli (1942, 220) thinks that nos. 171 and 172 come from the same association, both related to the cult of Hermouthis, the principle deity of the temple. BGU XIII 2215.ii.15–17 (Arsinoites, 113–114 CE), a survey of temples in the Arsinoite nome, lists the temple at Narmouthis:

15 Ναρμούθεως ἱερὸν Σοκονώπεως καὶ Ἑρμο[ύ]θεως
καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν [οὗ εἰ]σι ἱε[ρεῖς] χωρ[ίς] ἀφηλ(ίκων)...
παστοφόροι ὁμοί[ως]....

At Narmouthis, the temple of Sokonopis and Hermouthis and the associated gods, in which there are *x* priests apart from minors, and likewise *y* pastaphores.

Literature: Bottigelli Pia 1942. “Repertorio topografico dei templi e dei sacerdoti dell’ Egitto tolemaico: II.” In *Aeg* 22(3/4): 177–265 (220).

[229] I.Fayum II 122 Dedication of a *deipnētērion*

Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites) 1 Apr 109 CE
Published: Seymour de Ricci, “Bulletin épigraphique de l’Égypte romaine,” *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, p. 439 (no. 45); Cagnat, *IGRR* I 1122; Marshall, *GIBM* IV 1069; Bernand, *I.Fayum* II 69–72 (no. 122) [**TM** 91981; *CAPInv* 1247].

Current Location: London, British Museum, inventory number unknown.

Similar or related documents: → *Dining rooms*: I.Delta I 1036.2 (Memphis, 209–204 BCE): dedication of a *hestiatorion* by Ποσιδώνιος[ς] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῖται; I.Fayum I 73 [**202**] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); I.Fayum I 87 (Karanis, 69–79 CE): dedication of a *deipnētērion*; I.Fayum II 106 (Theadelphia, 140 BCE): dedication of a *hestiatorion* and altar to Ἡρών μ[έ]γ[α]λος; SEG 41:1638 [**221**] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE): dedication found in a *deipnētērion*; SEG 54:1758; SEG 60:1812 [**245**] (Syene, early III BCE): dedication of a ἱστία[τόριον]. *Building Inscriptions*: I.Fayum I 73 [**202**] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); SB I 996 [**256**] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE).

Discovered *in situ* in the wall of the dining room. Dimensions unavailable.

δεῖπνητήριον πρ-
εσβυτέρων γερ-
δίων, ἐπὶ Νεφερῶ-
τος τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ-
5 τος φροντιστοῦ·
Ἡρών ἔγραψεν ἐ-
π’ ἀγαθῶι· L ιβ
Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου, Φαρμοῦ-
10 θη ς.

The dining room (*deipnētērion*) of the elders of the weavers. When Nephros son of Kephala was the (5) manager (*phrontistēs*). Hērōn wrote this, for good (fortune). Year 12 of Trajan Caesar the Lord, (10) Pharmouthi 6.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: πρεσβύτεροι γερδίων, φροντιστής; collective ownership or control of property.

Location: Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites); Medinet Madi. TM geo ref. 2349; Barrington Atlas, 75 D2.

Literature: Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[230] P.Phil. 1.1–35

Edict of Vibius on Exemption from Liturgies

Arsinoites

after 4 Aug 119 CE

Published: J. Scherer, *Papyrus de Philadelphie*, Publications de la Société Fouad I de papyrologie, Textes et documents 7 (Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1947) 1–34 (no. 1); Carmen Messerer, *Corpus des papyrus grecs sur les relations administratives entre le clergé égyptien et les autorités romaines*, Papyrologica Coloniensia 41/1 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2017) 3 (only col. 1, 18–35) + BL IV 69; BL IX 211 [TM 12713].

Translation: Allan C. Johnson, Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, and Frank Card Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes: A Translation with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961) 166–167 (no. 207).

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 49280.

Digital image:

<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Phil.&vVol=&vNum=1>

Papyrus, four fragments, 31 × 44 cm.

<col. i>

[±? Ἀρτε]μιδώρω [σ]τρ[α]τ[η]γ[ῶ]

[Ὀνο]υφεΐτ[ου ±?]

[ἀναφó]ριον δοθέν [μο]ι ὑπὸ Δωσᾶ Στεφάνου καὶ τῶν

[σὸν αὐτ]ῶ χειροτεχν[ῶν] ὑποτάξας σεσημειώμαι μέν· θαν-

- κεφάλ[λ]αιον ἐκ διατ[άμ]ατος Γα[ί]ου Οὐϊβίου Μαξιμ(ου)
ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου. καὶ ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν ὑπο-
20 γε[γ]ραμμένων εἰδὼν λαε[ι]τουργήσουσιν οἱ ἰδιωτικὴν
γῆν κεκτημένοι πλὴν ἢ μεῖζονα ταλάντου πόρον
ἔχοντες, ὅπερ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς μὴ δημοσίας ἀπογραφῆς
ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθοῦς αὐτῶν ὑποστάσεως ἐξετασθῇ [±?]
οἱ μέντοι [ί]ερεῖς ἀχθήσ[ονται μ]όνον ἐὰν ἰδιωτ[ικὴν]
25 γῆν γεωργῶσι.
εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ[ολ]υόμενοι δημο[σί]ων ±?]
ἱερεῖς λογίμων ἱερῶν οἱ τ . . . [±?] . ἀδ[±?]
μοι κτηνοτρόφοι οἱ τη[±?]
ὑπερετεῖς ἐπισινεῖς ἐπικριθέντε[ς ±?]
30 ἱατροὶ α[. . .] . εἰς αὐ[. . .] αἱ φυλα[±?]
πῶλα[ι ±?] αμεῖς [ἐλ]αιουργοὶ [±?]
γν[α]φεῖ[ς ±?] τέκτονες [±?]
χρυσο[χόοι] καὶ εἴ τινες ὀνομας[±?]
[±?] . ετο χει[ρ]ωνάξιον [±?]

Apparatus: 3 Δωρᾶ [Σ]τεφάνου: D. Hagedorn (digital image) (via Bulletin of Online emendations); BL IV 69; prev. ed: Δωσατεφάνου (or Δωσα(ς)τεφάνου) || 4 Pap. σεσημίωμε || 11 Pap. ῥιδω[τι]κ[η]ν || 18 Pap. ἐγ || 22 Pap. δομοσίας

To Artemidōros the *stratēgos* . . . of . . . I have recorded the payment given to me by Dosa son of Stephanos and the craftsmen associated with him. I am amazed (5) how the matter that was ordered by his excellency Maximus and by me is still opposed. For what he wrote remains: if some who are well off wish to take refuge in a craft, they should not succeed in doing this,

seeing how I have given orders about those who (10) have greater wealth. For when Maximus called upon (those) who had a worth of greater than one talent in property to engage in farming, while excepting the weavers along with the others, it was in violation of Maximus' judgment that if a weaver did not have property worth a talent, he would be vexed with a liturgy. (15) But if someone had more wealth in property he would try to evade with the pretense of being in a craft. It seems to me good to decide the punishment of . . . talent. Year 12 of Trajan. Thoth 11.

Chapter from an edict of Gaius Vibius Maximus, praefect of Egypt. Persons of the (20) categories listed below who own their own land shall have a liturgical obligation (to cultivate it) provided that they have a taxable estate greater in value than one talent, which has been estimated not from an unofficial declaration, but from their actual wealth: priests, however, shall be obligated only if they (25) cultivate their own land. The following are exempted from liturgies: priests of the high-ranking temples . . . maintainers of animals (*ktēnotrophoi*) for transportation . . . old men, men officially recognized as sick .. (30) physicians . . . merchants of . . . potters, manufacturers of oil . . . fullers. . . carpenters . . . goldsmiths and whoever pay the tax on crafts. . . (35) . . . Year . . .

Notes

Association? Possible; some of the artisans mentioned in the plural may constitute occupational guilds, although the term *χειροτέχναι* (l. 4) is not a term that points to a private association.

Location: Arsinoites. Barrington Atlas 75.

l. 18: Gaius Vibius Maximus, praefect of Egypt.

l. 26: οἱ ἀπ[ὸ]λύόμενοι → P.Mich. V 244 [212] *comment*.

l. 30: ἰατροὶ: On the exemption of physicians from liturgies, see P.Fay. 106 (Bakchias, Arsinoites, 142 CE).

l. 34: *χειρῶν*νάξιον, tax on crafts → Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222].

Comments

The document concerns the liturgical obligations and the exemptions of hand-workers. The first part of the document concerns those who tried to evade liturgical obligations by claiming to be in a craft, since the decree of Maximus had exempted weavers and other craftsmen from liturgical obligations (provided that their net worth was less than one talent). The edict of C. Vibius Maximus orders persons with a net worth of 6000 drachmae or more to engage in farming. It exempted not only senior priests, but also sheep and donkey rearers (*ktēnotrophoi*), physicians, merchants, potters, manufacturers of oil, fullers, carpenters, goldsmiths, and (presumably) weavers – that is, all who were subject to the tax of crafts.

Literature: **Katzoff**, R. 1969. The Provincial Edict in Egypt, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 37:415–437; **Lewis**, Naphtali 1963. “Leitourgia Papyri: Documents on Compulsory Public Service in Egypt Under Roman Rule.” In *TAPA* 53:1–39; **Llewelyn**, S.R. 1994. “The Development of the System of Liturgies.” In *A Review of Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1982–83*. Vol. 7 of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, in collaboration with R.A. Kearsley, S.R. Llewelyn. North Ryde, N.S.W.: Macquarie University, 93–111; **Oertel**, Friedrich 1917. *Die Liturgie: Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner; **Skalec**, Aneta 2013. “The Edicts of the Prefect of Egypt: The Case of P.Oxy. XXXIV 2704.” In *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Österreichs* 2(2): 553–560; **Van Minnen**, Peter 1987. “Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt.” In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1): 31–88 (esp. 49).

[231] SB XVI 12511

Invitation to a Banquet of Sarapis

Narmouthis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites)

II CE

Published: Claudio Gallazzi, “P.Mil.Vogliano n. cat. 68.57: Invito a pranzo per la Kline di Sarapis,” *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 6 (1977) 233–237 (ph.) (SB XVI 12511) [TM 26727]

Current Location: Milan, Università Statale P. 68.57

Similar or related documents: → *Invitations to the klinē of Sarapis*: P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Oslo III 157 (unknown, II CE); P.Brit.Col. inv. 1 (ed. Nelson et al. 2018) (Oxyrhynchus?, II CE); P.Oxy. I 110 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. III 523 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. LII 3693 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Yale I 85 (Oxyrhynchus?, late II CE); P.Oxy. XII 1484 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1755 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); PSI XI 1543 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXII 4339 (Oxyrhynchus II/III CE); SB XVIII 13875 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Coll.Youtie I 51 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Coll.Youtie I 52 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 (Oxyrhynchus, III? CE). *Invitation to the klinē of an unnamed god, probably Sarapis*: P.Köln I 57 = SB X 10496 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE). *Invitation to the klinē of Anubis*: SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid- to late-III CE). *Invitations to the festival (ἱέρωμα) of Isis*: P.Fouad I 76 (unknown, II CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4539 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXXV 5056 (II/III CE). *Invitations to a coronation*: P.Oxy. XVII 2147 (Oxyrhynchus, early III CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3202 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE). *Invitations to an epicrisis*: P.Oxy. VI 926 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XXXVI 2791 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XLIX 3501 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4541 (Oxyrhynchus, III

CE). *Invitation to a birthday of a child*: P.Oxy. XXXVI 2791 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. IX 1214 (Oxyrhynchus, V CE). *Invitations to a therapeuteria*: P.Oxy. LXVI 4542, 4543 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Lond. Inv. 3078 = SB XIV 11944 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE). *Invitations to weddings*: P.Oxy. III 524 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); SB V 7745 (unknown origin, II CE); P.Fouad.Univ.7 (unknown, II CE); P.Oxy LXXV 5057 (II/III CE); SB XIV 11652 (Arsinoites, II/III CE); P.Köln VI 280 (unknown origin, II/III CE); P.Fay. 132 (Arsinoites, III CE); P.Oxy. I 111 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. VI 927 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1579 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1580 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XXXIII 2678 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); SB XXII 15358 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1486 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE); P.Oxy. XII 1487 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE); P.Apoll. 72 (unknown origin, VII CE). *Invitations to banquet with no stated occasion*: P.Heid.inv. G 1639 (ed. Berkes 2018); SB XVI 12596 (unknown origin, mid-II CE); P.Oxy. IV 747 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1485 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); O.Medin.Madi 31 (Narmothis/Arsinoites, II/III CE). *Epistolary invitations*: P.Cair.Zen II 59282 (Philadelphia, 250 BCE): invitation to a sacrifice in honour of the king; P.Cair.Zen IV 59707.15–16 (Philadelphia, mid III BCE): reference to ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τοῖς κεκλημένοις εἰς τὰ Βασίλεια; UPZ I 66 = P.Par. 43 = Sel.Pap. I 99 (Memphis, 153 BCE): announcement of a wedding and an invitation to come that day (5. παραγενόμεν) οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν); PSI XII 1242 (unknown, I BCE – I CE): invitation to the first birthday of a child; BGU II 596 (Arsinoites, 84 CE); SB VII 7575 (Elephantine, I/II CE): invitation to come to the festival; P.Oxy. XLVI 3313 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE): apology for not attending a wedding; P.Oxy. LII 3694 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); BGU I 333 (Fayum, II/III CE); P.Oxy. I 112 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE); T.Vindol. II 291 (Vindolanda, 97–105 CE): *ut venias | ad nos iucundiorum mihi*.

Papyrus, 3.6 × 6.8 cm., broken on the left.

- [ἐρ]ωτᾷ σε
 [. . .]ων δεῖπνῆσαι
 [ἐν τῇ] ἑαυτο[ῦ] {τη}
 [οἰκίᾳ εἰς] κλ[ε]ῖνῃν
 5 [τοῦ κυρίου] Σαράπιδος(ς)
 [γινομένην] ἐπαύριον
 [ἥτις ἐστὶν . . .] γενέσια
 [±10] γενέσια
 [±10] ἀπὸ
 10 [ῥας ?]

Apparatus: 2. Pap. διπνῆσε || 6. Pap. ἐφάυριον

NN invites you to dine in his own house for a “table (*klinē*) of (5) [Lord] Sarapis,” [which will occur] tomorrow, [which is . . .] the birthday [. . .] from the *xth* hour.

Notes

Association? Possible; may refer to an association which engaged in banquets (called ‘a table of Sarapis’); but equally could be a private devotion to Sarapis.

Location: Narmouthis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1421; Barrington Atlas 75 D2 (unlocated).

Comments

See the comments on P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262].

The large majority of extant papyrus invitations are from Oxyrhynchus. SB XIV 11652 (Arsinoites, II/III CE), along with P.Fay. 132 (Arsinoites, III CE), and O.Medin.Madi 31 (Narmouthis/Arsinoites, II/III CE) are from Arsinoites, but display the same morphology as the Oxyrhynchite invitations.

As the comments on P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262] indicate, the majority of the invitations are to the *klinē* of Sarapis. The *klinē* is likely a dining room located in one of the temples in Narmouthis or a *deipnētērion* in the village. SEG 60:1794 records a dedication to Sarapis and to Zeus Helios and the associated deities discovered in the “House of Anoubis” in Narmouthis:

- A Σαράπιδι
B Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι
καὶ τοῖς συνναίοις θε-
οῖς· Γ[± 5]ανες . [..]
ὕπερ εὐσ[εβίας]

(Dedicated to) Sarapis

(Dedicated to) Zeus Helios, the Great Sarapis, and the associated deities . . . for piety.

Cultic associations dedicated to Anubis and Apollo are attested in Narmouthis: I.Fayum III 171 [226] (Anubis); I.Fayum III 172 [228] (Apollo).

P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE) records the use by a *thiasos* of the *klinē* in a temple in Oxyrhynchus:

- 1 ἀγα[γ]εῖν α. . . [±15]
τὸν θίασον καὶ . [±12 τήν]
ιεράν κλ{ε}ίνην ἐγ[±15]
θα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[±12 ἐπι-]
5 τελεσθῆναι ὑπ[έρ] τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου]
θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Καίσαρος
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σύνπαγ-
τος αὐτοῦ οἴκου τύχης τὰς θυσίας καὶ
σπονδάς· διὸ ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνεται
10 ἐπιχωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡξιωμένοις
πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν τῶν [εἰς] τὸ θεῖον
ἀνηκόντων παρεωρ[α]θῆναι. εὐτύχ(ει).
<hand 2> Σόις Τεῶτος ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ἀνα-

φόριον. L ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐέσπασιανου⁹
 15 Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ζ.

... the *thiasos* ... hold ... sacred *klinē* ... in the temple ... the sacrifices and libations be (5) completed for the good fortune (*tychē*) of our god and lord, Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus and all of his household. Therefore I ask, if it seems (good), that you (10) consent to the things I have requested so that nothing that pertains to the divinity be overlooked. Farewell. <hand 2> I, Sois son of Teos, have submitted the petition. Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, month of Sebastos.

Literature: **Arzt-Grabner**, Peter 2016. “Why Did Early Christ Groups Still Attend Idol Meals? Answers from Papyrus Invitations.” In *EC* 7(4): 508–529; **Berkes**, Lajor 2018. “An Unusual Party Invitation from Graeco-Roman Egypt.” In *Across the Mediterranean – Along the Nile: Studies in Egyptology, Nubiology and Late Antiquity dedicated to László Török on the occasion of his 75th Birthday*. Vol. 1. ed. Tamás Bács, Ádám Bollók, and Tivadar Vida, 277–281. Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; **El-Mofatch**, Rasha Hussein 2016. “Where is the Party?” In *Studying Papyri*. Vol. 3 of *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*. ed. Thomas Derda, Adam Łajtar, and Jakub Urbanik. JJP Supplement 28, 1993–2010. Warsaw: Faculty of Law and Administration, and Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw; **Epp**, Eldon J. 2004. “The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri: ‘Not Without Honor Except in Their Hometown’?” *JBL* 123(1): 5–55; **Gilliam**, J.F. 1976. “Invitations to the Kline of Sarapis.” In *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*, ed. Ann Ellis Hanson. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 19. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt; **Horsley**, G.H.R. 1981. “Invitations to the Kline of Sarapis.” In *A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1976*. Vol. 1 of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 1–9. North Ryde, N.S.W.: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University; **Koenen**, Ludwig 1967. “Eine Einladung zur Kline des Sarapis (P.Colon. inv. 2555).” In *ZPE* 1:121–126; **Llewelyn**, S.R. 2002. “Invitation to a Wedding.” In *NewDocs* 9:62–66 [on P.Köln VI 280]; **Nelson**, Max 2018. “P.Brit.Col.Inv. 1 and Invitations to Sarapis Dinners.” In *ZPE* 205:207–212; **Pruneti**, Paola 2016. “Alcune considerazioni sui biglietti d’invito.” *Analecta Papyrologica* 28:117–128; **Salomons**, R.P., and Klaas A. **Worp** 1985. “Some Nijmegen Papyri.” In *ZPE* 58:93–95; **Skeat**, Theodore C. 1975. “Another Dinner-Invitation from Oxyrhynchus (P.Lond. Inv. 3078).” In *JEA* 61:251–254; **Vandoni**, Mariangela 1964. *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’antichità 8. Milano: Istituto editoriale cisalpino; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1948. “The Kline of Sarapis.” In *HTR* 41(1): 9–29.

[232] P.Mich. IX 543
Declaration by a Guild of Camel Rearers

Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

135–136 CE

Published: E.M. Husselman, ed. *Papyri from Karanis, Third Series (Michigan papyri IX)*. American Philological Association, Philological Monograph 29 (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1971) 55–57 (no. 543); BL VII 113; VIII 215; IX 162 [TM 12036]

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.5895

Photo: Elaine K. Gazda, *Karanis, an Egyptian town in Roman times: Discoveries of the University of Michigan expedition to Egypt (1924–1935)* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, 1983) fig. 7.

Similar or related documents: → P.Hamb. I 34 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE): declaration of the elders of a guild of sheep and donkey rearers (προβατο-κτηνοτρόφοι).

One papyrus, 14.7 × 12.2 cm., broken at the fold. Verso is blank. Declaration by a certain Dioskoros, acting as official of the guild of the camel herds of Karanis, to the *stratēgos* Archias, giving the total number of camels held in the village. The editors conclude that no more than four or five names are missing from the bottom of the sheet, thus suggesting a membership of 12 or 13 camel rearers.

- Ἀρχία στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακ(λειδου) μερίδος
Διόσκ[ορος M. . .]νος τοῦ Φαῆσιος ἀπὸ κώμης
Καρανίδ[ος καμ]ηλοτρόφ[ου]ς τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
ὁμνύω τῇ[ν Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
5 Ἀδριανοῦ Σ[ε]βαστοῦ τύχην ἀπογρ(άφεσθαι) καμήλους
[ἐ]ν τῇ κῶ[μῃ] τελ(ε)ious πεντήκοντα πέν-
τε γί(νονται) νθ, πῶλ(ους) ιγ γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κάμηλ(οι) οβ,
ὥν τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα
Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) Πτολ(εμαίου) κάμηλ(οι) δ
10 Διόσκ(ορος) Μ[. . .]() κάμηλ(οι) ς πῶλ(οι) β
Κρον(ίων) [. . .]() κάμηλ(οι) η πῶλ(οι) β
Ἀτρῆ(ς) [Πε]τεσοῦχο(υ) κάμηλ(οι) β
Ὡρίω[ν]. . . ου κάμηλ(οι) ε
. . . δ[± ?]νου κάμηλ(οι) ε πῶλ(ος) α
15 Ἀνθ[± ?] κάμηλ(οι) ι πῶλ(οι) δ
Πτολ(εμαῖος) [± ? κ]άμηλ(οι) β

Apparatus: 2 Pap. Φαῖσεως, so BL VII 113 || 3 Pap. [καμ]ηλοτρος || 5 Pap. εἶναι, so BL IX 162 || 6 Pap. τελίους || 7 Pap νε (55) altered to νθ (59) J.R. Rea, JEA 60 (1974) 294 || Pap. ις altered to ιγ (13): J.R. Rea, JEA 60 (1974) 294 || Pap. οβ (72) altered to ξη (68) J.R. Rea, JEA 60 (1974) 294 || 8: so BL IX 162, ὥν τὸ κατ'

ἄνδρα; prev. ed. ὅν πρω[$\frac{1}{2}$?] || 13 so BL VII 113; prev. ed. Ὀρ[ι(ων) || 14 so BL VII 113; prev. ed. . δ[-ca.? -] vacat.

To Archias, *stratēgos* of the division of Herakleidēs in the Arsinoite nome. I, Dioskoros son of M. . . son of Phaēsis of the village of Karanis, a camel rearer (?) of the same village, swear by the fortune of Emperor Caesar Traianus (5) Hadrianus Augustus that I have registered fifty-five adult camels in this village, making 59 and 13 colts, making in total 72 camels, of which the individual (*kat' andra*) holdings are:

Aphrodisos son of Ptolemaios: 4 camels; (10) Dioskoros son of M. . . : 6 camels, 2 colts; Kronion son of . . . : 8 camels, 2 colts; Atres son of Petesouchos: 2 camels; Horion son of . . . ; (NN) . . . : (NN son of NN) 5 camels, 1 colt; (15) Anth . . . 10 camels, 4 colts; Ptolemaios son of . . . 2 camels;

Notes

Association? Possible; the papyrus lacks both associative and leadership terms, Dioskoros, however, might be the προστάτης or γραμματεὺς of a guild of camel owners, obliged to report herd sizes on behalf of guild members.

Location: Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1008; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

- l. 1: Ἀρχία στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος. Archias is attested as *stratēgos* (134–138); BGU I 73 (135 CE); BGU III 869 (135 CE); W.Chr. 87 (135–136 CE); CPR V 2 (134–136 CE); P.Bagnall 31 (after 138 CE); P.Gen. IV 161 (136 CE); P.Petaus 127 (135 CE).
- l. 3: [καμ]ηλοτρος; perhaps καμηλοτρόφος, camel rearers. → San Nicolò (1972, 1:111–124) on guilds of rearers.

Comments

This is a declaration of the number of camels owned by a various individuals, perhaps members of a transportation guild. Since the declaration is made by Dioskoros son of M[...] we should assume that he is the president of the guild. Avogadro (1935, 33) has collected numerous declarations (mostly by individuals) of camels.

Rea (1974, 294) notes that although the original tally was 55 (written out and uncorrected), 4 camels were added (he suggests from l. 9) making νθ (59) instead of νε, and that the number of colts cannot be ις (16) but must be ιγ (13) for the corrected total of οβ (72).

Literature: Avogadro, Sandra 1935. “Le ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ di proprietà nell’ Egitto greco-romano.” In *Aeg* 15(1/2): 131–206; **Bastianini**, Guido, and J.E.G. **Whitehorne** 1987. *Stragi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt: Chronological List and Index*. Papyrologica Florentina 15. Firenze: Gonnelli; **Kruse**, Thomas 1998. “P.Hamb. I 34, die προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι von Euhemereia und die Schafe und Ziegen der Μαικηνατιανή οὐσία.,” *ZPE* 120:145–156; **Rea**, J.R. 1974. “Review of *Papyrus from Karanis* by Elinor M. Husselman.” *JEA* 60:292–294; **San Nicolò**,

Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht.* 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck.

[233] BGU VII 1572 Petition of the Weavers' Guild

Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 17 Dec 139 CE

Published: Paul Viereck and Friedrich Zucker, *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm. Mit 5 Lichtdrucktafeln*, BGU VII (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926) 76–77 (no. 1572) = P.Phil. 10 (duplicate) [TM 9480]

Translation: AGRW 296

Image: <http://www.papyrology.uw.edu.pl/papyri/pberlin11713.htm>

Current Location: Warsaw, Department of Papyrology P. Berlin 11713

Similar or related documents: → *weaver' guilds*: BGU VII 1615 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE): list of 30+ members of a weaver's guild; P.Phil. 23–31 (Philadelphia, 123–139 CE): receipts for the payment of the γερδιακόν (weaver's tax); BGU VII 1564 (Philadelphia, 138 CE → [233]): order to pay a weavers' guild for clothes produced for the army; BGU VII 1591 (Philadelphia, 123 CE): receipt for 484 dr. paid by a weavers' guild to the ἐγγλήπτορες γερδίων; BGU VII 1616 (Philadelphia, 118/9 or 139/40 CE): receipts of payments of the γερδιακόν by 15 weavers; P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE): report about linen merchants (οἱ λινέμποροι) and linen weavers (οἱ λινόϋφοι) who provided linen for local temples; *receipt of garments*: P.Ryl. II 189 = C.Pap.Hengstl 160 → [223] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 18 Dec 128 CE); P.Tebt.UC 1607c (ed. Gibbs and Sampson 2019) (Tebtynis, late I CE).

Papyrus, dimensions unavailable. Much of the right side is lost, with only fragments intact along the bottom right. The lacunae have been filled with text from P.Phil. 10.

- Δίῳι στρατηγῷ Ἀρσινοεῖτ[ου] Ἡρακλεῖδ[ου μερίδος]
παρὰ γερδίων κώμης Φιλαδελφεία[ς, ἐπειδὴ εἰλήφα]-
μεν ὑπογῶς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀργυρίο[υ ἢ ?, ἵνα ἱμα]-
τισμὸν δημόσιον κατασκευάσωμεν σ[± 13–14]
5 μενοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρ[γ]ασ[ία]ς ἀνδρε[ς δέκαδύο καὶ καθεσ]-
τηκότες ἀπαρτίσαι τὸ κεκελευσμέν[ον ± 10–11]
τοῦτων τέσσαρες ἐδόθησαν εἰς ἐπι[± 13–14]
ἐνεκα τῆς χρείας ἀφηρέθησαν ἀφ' ἡμ[ῶν καὶ εἰς Ἀλεξάν]-
δρειαν ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ε[± 8–10] γεγενό-
10 μεθα, ἀναγκαίως ἐπὶ σὲ κατεφύγαμεν [καὶ αἰτ]οῦμεν,

- ἐάν σοι δόξη, ἐπιτρέψαι ἐαθῆναι ἢ μᾶς τοῦς [κατα]λειπομέ-
 νους ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἀπερισπάστο[υς] ἃ[πὸ πασῶν] χρει-
 ῶν, ὅπως τὸν ἐγδεδομένον ἱματι[σμὸν τελ]έσωμεν
 καὶ παραδῶμεν καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἐπὶκε[ῖται ἡ]μῖν ἑτέρου δη-
 15 μοσίῳ ἱματισμοῦ ἐγδοσίς, ἣν πάλιν ἡμεῖς ἀπαρτίσαι δεή-
 σει, ἢν' ὧμ(εν) πεφιλανθρωπημένοι. ἡμεν δ[ἐ γ]έρ[διοι ἅ]νδ[ρε]ς
 δεκαδύο, ἐξ ὧν οἱ τέσσαρες ἀπεσπάσθησα[ν, ὥστε ν]ῦν [εἶν]αι
 ἡμᾶς ἄνδρες ὀκτώ.
 Λ γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
 Σεβαστοῦ
 20 Εὐσεβοῦς μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ κ.

Apparatus: 5 BL II.2 33: ἄνδρε[ς δέκαδύο καὶ καθες]- || 15 Pap. ἱματισμον || 16 BL II.2 33: ἡμεν δ[ἐ γ]έρ[διοι ἅ]νδ[ρε]ς || 18 Pap. ὀκτώ{ι}

To the *stratēgos* Dion of the division of Herakleidēs of the Arsinoite nome, from the weavers of the village of Philadelphia. Drachmae were recently entrusted to us from the treasury that we might furnish military garments (*himation dēmosion*), and by vow we are able, (5) although we have twelve men from our guild (*ergasia*) to complete what has been ordered; but since even from those, four were handed over to accompany a shipment of grain (*epiploos*), and for the sake of the liturgy (*chreia*) they were taken from us, and were conveyed to Alexandria, and now we have become even fewer, (10) by necessity we appeal to you and we request, if it should seem right to you, to permit those of us yet left behind to be left alone, not hindered from the craft by any other liturgies, so that we may finish the contracted garments and submit them, and especially because of the contract pressed upon us (15) for the other public garments, which there has long been need for us to finish, so that we may be dealt with humanely. We were formerly twelve men, from whom four were dragged away, such that we are now eight men. In the third year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Antoninus Augustus (20) Pius, on the 20th day of the month of Hadrianus.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: ἐργασία; collective interaction with *stratēgos*; weavers (γέρδιοι) in the plural.

Location: Philadelphia (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 1760. Philadelphia. Barrington Atlas 75 E2.

Comments

The weavers guild appeals to the *stratēgos* that no more of their members be conscripted for public service. The detail of the public service is lost in the lacuna of this document. This gap and several others have been restored from a copy of this petition, P.Phil. 10, which names the liturgy as ἐπίπλους, a

requirement to sail with a shipment of grain (→ P.Lond. II 301 for an example of an oath to fulfill this public service). Members of the guild were taken to Alexandria, a distance of almost 400 km. Grain shipments went down the Nile to Alexandria throughout the year, and there was a continual need for guards to protect the shipments from theft along the way. Even a relatively small shipment of 1,200 *artabae* of grain demanded five guards (Thompson [Crawford] 1983, 69–73).

Membership in a professional association provided meagre protection from such conscription. P.Phil. I [230], dated between 120–124 CE and also from the region of Arsinoites, mentions a general exemption from public liturgies for weavers, but the petition here makes no mention of this exemption. There exist other cases where individuals took advantage of legal exemptions from liturgies only after their resources have been almost entirely depleted (→ P.Oxy. VI 899, a petition of Apollonarian; P.Fay. 106, a petition from a doctor). There appears, at the very least, to be a reluctance to avoid liturgies and there was likely great social and legal pressure to fulfill them (Scherer 1947, 22–23).

The number of weavers seems quite low when compared to the lists in BGU VII 1615 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE: 30 weavers) and P.Corn. 23 (Philadelphia, I CE: 88 weavers), and the petition complains that their number was low to begin with. Liu (2017, 214) wonders why these twelve weavers, now reduced to eight, did not simply admit other weavers to their guild. Her suggestion is that the guild deliberately blocked other weaver's from access to public orders, which were likely not very common. Hence, this might be an example of a guild attempting to monopolize one aspect of the economy, to the benefit of its members, but to the exclusion of others.

The payment mentioned here may be the subject of BGU VII 1564 (138 CE) (+ BL VIII 45; IX 27; XI 28), which provides details for a military order of garments:

- ἀ[ντίγραφ]ον ἐπιστάλ[μα]τος, Ἀμμ[ώ]ν[ιος] Πολυδεύκους [κ]αὶ Συρίων Ἡρᾶ
καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου οἱ γ' ἱματοπ(ῶ)λαι καὶ Ἑρμῆ(ς)
ἀ[γο]ρᾶ[ς] μετροπόλ(εως)] Ἡρακλείδῃ τραπ(εζίτῃ) χα(ίρειν). χρημάτισον
Ἡρακλείδῃ Ὠριγᾶτος καὶ Ἡρώνι ἀπελευθέρῳ Ποπλίου Μηνοῦ καὶ
Διοσκόρῳ ἀπελ(ευθέρῳ)
τοῦ με[γίστου] θεοῦ Σαράπιδος γε[ρδί]οις κόμης [Φιλ]αδελφείας ὥστε αὐτοῖς
καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς γερδίοις τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) πα-
εἰς προχ[ρεῖαν] τιμῆς ἱματισ[μο]ῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κελευσθέντος ὑπὸ Ἀουιδίου
Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος κατασκευασθῆναι
5 εἰς μὲν χρ[είας] τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκ[ίᾳ] στρατευμάτων χιτῶνος λευκοῦ ζωστοῦ
ἐνὸς μήκ(ους) πῆχ(εων) γλ πλάτους πῆχ(εων) γ δακ(τύλων) δ [. . .]
ὀλκῆς μῶν γλ δ ἐπὶ λόγ(ο)υ ἐκ Բ κδ, συρίων λευκῶν τεσσάρων μήκ(ους)
ἐκάστῃς πῆχ(εων) 5 πλάτους πῆχ(εων) δ ὀλκῆ(ς) μῶν(ν) γλ δ
ἐπὶ λόγ(ο)υ ἐκάστῃς ἐκ Բ κδ / Բ ρς / ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτό) Բ ρκ, εἰς δὲ χρεῖας τοῦ ἐν τῇ
Σεβαστῇ παρεμβολ(ῇ) ὕγιαστηρίου
λώδικος λευκῆς ἀπλῆς μιᾶς μήκ(ους) πῆχ(εων) 5 πλάτους πῆχ(εων) δ ὀλκ(ῆς)
μῶν(ν) δ ἐπὶ λόγ(ο)υ Բ κη / ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ ἐπιστάλ(ματος)

- ἀργ(υρίου) ƒ ρμη, ἀπό δὲ τῶν τῆς προχρείας τῶν λωδίκων ƒ κη
 ὑπελογήθη(ησαν) εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν λόγ(ο)ν ρ ƒ ζ,
 10 ἐφ' ᾧ ποιή[σ]ουσιν τὸν ἱματισμὸν ἕκ τε καλῆς καὶ μαλακῆς καὶ λευκοτάτης
 ἑρεᾶς χωρὶς παντὸς ῥύπου εὐφυῆ εὐπαγῆ
 εὖσημα ἄρεστὰ ἀσινῇ μὴ ἀποδέοντα τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξωδιασθ(ε)νίσσης αὐτοῖς
 εἰς προχρείαν τιμῆς. ἐὰν δέ τι ἐξ αὐ-
 τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς παραδόσεως ἀπολέγῃ ἢ ἐλάσσοις συντιμῇ, ἀποδώσουσι ἐξ
 ἀλλήλ(ε)γγύης τῶν μὲν ἀπολεγόν(τ)ων τὴν τιμὴν
 μετὰ καὶ τῶν τελῶν καὶ δαπανῶν, τῶν δ' ἐλάσσω τὸ ἀποδέον, ἃ καὶ
 παραδώσουσι ἐν τάχῃ ἔχοντα τὰ προκ(ε)ίμενα μέτρα καὶ ὅλκ(η)ν
 χωρὶς ἄλλων ᾧν ὀφείλουσι δημοσίων ἱματισμ(ῶ)ν. *Λ* δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ
 15 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Θωθ ιβ.

Copy of payment order. Ammōnios son of Polydeukes, Syriōn son of Heras, Herakleidēs son of Herakleidēs, all three clothing merchants, and Hermes, of the agora of the city, to Herakleidēs, banker, greeting. Pay to Herakleidēs son of Horigas, Heron freedman of Publius Maevius, and Dioskoros freedman of the most great god Sarapis, weavers of the village of Philadelphia, for themselves and the other weavers of the said village on their mutual security the following sums as advanced payment of the price of clothing forming part of that which was ordered by his excellency the praefect Avidius Heliodorus to be manufactured: for the requirements of the troops (5) in Cappadocia, for one white belted tunic 3½ cubits long, 3 cubits 4 fingers broad ... weighing 3¼ minae, on account 24 drachmae, and for four white Syrian cloaks, each 6 cubits long, 4 cubits broad, weighing 3¾ minae, on account 24 drachmae apiece, making 96 drachmae, combined total 120 drachmae, and for the requirements of the sanatorium in the imperial camp, for one plain white blanket 6 cubits long, 4 cubits broad, weighing 4 minae, on account 28 drachmae, total of the payment order 148 drachmae of silver; but from the advance of 28 drachmae for the blankets 6 drachmae were deducted for the exchequer. (10) It is understood that they will make the clothing of good, soft, pure white wool without any defilement, well woven, firm, well salvaged, satisfactory, undamaged, not worth less than the price paid to them in advance for the garments. If on the delivery any of these is missing or is judged to be of inferior value, they shall repay on their mutual security the price of the missing articles, together with the taxes and expenses, and the deficit of the inferior articles. And they shall deliver them promptly, having the aforesaid measurements and weights, apart from other public clothing which is due from them. The second year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus (15) Antoninus Augustus Pius, Thoth 12. (Translation: Grenfell and Hunt 1897, no. 395)

The details of the order give some sense of the labour required for the production of textiles. Twelve weavers were commissioned to complete six items. If this is the order referred to in BGU VII 1572, then in the wake of the conscription of four labourers, the work remained incomplete more than a year later. The complaint of BGU VII 1572, however, does imply that they received additional commissions in the intervening time, and military commissions of this sort may have proceeded at a rapid pace (cf. commentary for P.Phil. 10).

The contract puts a clear price on the goods, indicating the value of the labour and supplies involved in the production of textiles. The price for textiles appears to be dependent on their weight rather than their size. The value of a drachma, in terms of its spending power, is notoriously difficult to ascertain, but general costs of living for Egypt in this period have been calculated. The total revenue for this commission might have supplied about half of the yearly wage for a single unskilled worker (Scheidel 2010, 430). A good many more commissions would therefore be necessary to supply a living for twelve weavers and their families.

The *stratēgos* addressed here is mentioned also in BGU II 422.

Literature: **Droß-Krüpe**, D. 2012. "Purchase Orders of Military Garments from Papyri of Roman Egypt." In *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times*, ed. Marie-Louise Nosch, 13–18. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books; **Gibbs**, Matthew, and C. Michael **Sampson** 2019. "A First-Century Receipt from the Receivers of Public Clothing in Tebtunis (P.Tebt. UC 1607c)." In *BASP* 56:65–78; **Grenfell**, Bernard P., and Arthur S. **Hunt**. 1897. *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri*. Oxford: Clarendon; **Jones**, A.H.M. 1960. "The Cloth Industry under the Roman Empire." In *The Economic History Review* 13(2): 183–192; **Liu**, Jinyu 2017. "Group Membership, Trust Networks, and Social Capital: A Critical Analysis." In *Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World*, ed. Koenraad Verboven and Christian Laes. *Impact of Empire* 23, 203–226. Leiden: Brill, esp. pp. 213–215; **McGing**, Brian C. 1990. "Lease of a Linen-Weaving Workshop in Panopolis." In *ZPE* 82:115–121; **Schehl**, F. 1930. "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Antoninus Pius." *Hermes* 65:178–179; **Scheidel**, Walter 2009. "Real Wages in Early Economies: Evidence for Living Standards from 1800 BCE to 1300 CE." Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics. *JESHO* 53(3): 425–462; **Scherer**, Jean, ed. 1947. *Papyrus de Philadelphie*. Publications de La Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents 7. Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Sheridan**, Jennifer A. 1998. *Columbia Papyri IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex*. American studies in Papyrology 39. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press; **Thompson** (Crawford), Dorothy 1983. "Nile Grain Transport under the Ptolemies." In *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, edited by Peter Garnsey, Kieth Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker, 64–75. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. MM

[234] BGU V 1210

Gnomon of the Idios Logos (§108)

Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites)

after 149 CE

Published: Wilhelm Schubart, Emil Seckel, and Woldemar Uxkull-Gyllenband, eds. *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos*, Ägyptische Urkunden aus den

Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin; Griechische Urkunden 5/1–2 (Milan: Weidmann, 1973); Salvatore Riccobono, *Il Gnomon dell'Idios Logos* (Palermo: Palumbo 1950); Sel.Pap. II 206 [TM 9472]

Translation: Johnson 1936, 711–717 (no. 444)

Current location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P.11650.

§108

240 ο[ι σύ]νοδον νέμοντες κατεκ[ρίθ]ησ[α]ν ἐκ ٥ φ, ἐνίοτε μόν[οι] οἱ
[π]ρ[ο]σ[τά]ται.

Those who form a *synodos* are condemned to a fine of 500 dr., (though) sometimes only the presidents (are fined).

Notes

Location: Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2349; Barrington Atlas, 75 D2.

l. 240: → I.Alex.imp. 93.2 [172] note.

Comments

The Gnomon of the Idios Logos (“Rules of the Private Account”) was a compendium of regulations pertaining to Egypt as the “private estate” of the Emperor. Issued by Augustus, the earliest fragment is P.Oxy. XLII 3014 (Oxyrhynchus, I CE), but the most complete copy is BGU V 1210 during the principate of Antoninus Pius.

§108 appears to constitute a blanket prohibition of associations, but this of course conflicts with the empirical data which indicates that associations of many kinds were common in Egypt, both before the Imperial period and well into the Imperial period. Riccobono (1950, 247) concludes that it was only “*associazione non autorizzata (collegia illicita)*” that were prohibited. But this presupposes a clear definition of an illicit association, which is lacking. It is better to conclude that this provision was available to a praefect to be invoked *ad hoc* as was required by circumstances. Fiscal practices even in the first century, but especially in the third and fourth, when guilds became points for the extraction of taxes, meant that associations were simply part of the system of taxation and could not easily be abolished or suppressed without serious damage to the fiscal system. There is little evidence of this provision being invoked.

Literature: Liu, Jinyu 2005. “Local Governments and Collegia: A New Appraisal of the Evidence.” In *A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World. Essays in Honor of William V. Harris*, ed. Jean-Jacques Aubert and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 216. Munich and Leipzig: Saur; Meyer, Paul M. 1920. *Juristische Papyri: Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die juristische Papyrskunde*. Berlin: Weidmann (343); Riccobono, Salvatore 1950. *Il Gnomon dell'Idios Logos*. Palermo: Palumbo (p. 247)

[235] P.Hamb. I 34
A Guild of Sheep and Goat Rearers

Euhemeria (division of Themistos, Arsinoites)

Jan–Feb 160 CE

Published: Paul M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek I* (Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1911–24) 147–149 (no. 34): col. I only; new edition: Thomas Kruse, “P.Hamb. I 34, die προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι von Euhemereia und die Schafe und Ziegen der Μαικηνατιανή οὐσία,” *ZPE* 120 (1998) 145–156 (SB XXIV 16313) [TM 11382]

Translation: Johnson 1936, 235–236 (no. 129).

Current location: Hamburg, Bibliothek gr. 290.

Similar or related documents: → *sheep and donkey rearers* (προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι): I.Fayum I 73 [202]; P.Mich. V 243 [206]; P.Mich. II 123r iii.40, viii.26 [216] (Tebtynis 45/46 CE); P.Ryl. II 229.4 (Arsinoites, 38 CE).

Papyrus, 20.5 × 38 cm. Cursive hand, with at least 4 columns.

 $\langle col. i \rangle$

- Εὐδῶρ στρα(τήγῳ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Θεμ(ίστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ων)
καὶ Ἄρη βασιλ(ικῳ) γραμ(ματεῖ) Θεμίστου μερίδος
πα[ρὰ] .σε.ς Ὀρσενούφεως καὶ Διοδώρου Διοδώρου
κ[αὶ] Ἀπῦ[λ]χεως Ἡρακλήου καὶ Ὀρσενούφεως Ὀγνόφρεως
κ[αὶ] [.] . . . Ἀρσύθμεως καὶ Ἀπῦγχεως Ἀρσύθμεως
τῷ[ν] ἐξ πρεσβυτέρων προβατοκτηνοτρόφων
[κώ]μης Εὐήμερείας. Ἀπογραφή πρ[ο]βάτων καὶ ἀκίγδων
[τοῦ ἐν]εστῶτος κγ L Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
[ῶν] ἔχομεν ἐν διαταγῇ σὺν ὑπογεγραμμένοις
[προ]βατοκτηνοτρόφοις ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης Μαικαι-
[νατι]ανῆς οὐσίας πρόβ(ατα) ωῖθ αἴγας κη ὦν τὸ κ(ατ' ἄνδρα).
[Διό]δωρος Ὠρίωνος καὶ Ἡρῶν υἱὸς πρόβ(ατα) θ αἶξ α
[Ἀπ]ύγχις Ἡρακλήου πρόβ(ατα) ι
..[. . .]ς Ἡρωνος πρόβ(ατα) ς
15 Κάστωρ Διδύμου πρόβ(ατα) . αἶξ α
[Οφ]ελλίων Ὀφ[ε]λλίωνος πρόβ(ατα) ι
[Ἡρ]ακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου πρόβ(ατα) θ
[Ζ]ώιλος Ζωίλ[ο]υ πρόβ(ατα) δ
... ..ων ε[.]ε.. πρόβ(ατα) ζ αἶξ α
20 Πάων Πάωνος πρόβ(ατα) γ
Παποντῶς Ὀκκελλοῦς πρόβ(ατα) ι
Νέων καὶ Παποντῶς πρόβ(ατα) κς αἶξ [α]
Ὀρ[σ]εὺς καὶ Ἡρωνίωνος πρόβ(ατα) ιδ αἶξ [α]
Ὠρίων Χαιρήμωνος πρόβ(ατα) γ
25 Σωτᾶς Ἡρωνος πρόβ(ατα) η

	Διδᾶς Ἡρωνος	πρόβ(ατα) ι. () αἷξ α
	Ἡρων Αἰλουρά	πρόβ(ατα) ς
	A. . .ως Ἀπύγ[χεως]	πρόβ(ατα) β
«col. ii»		
	Πετεσοῦχος Ἀρσύθμεως	πρόβ(ατα) β
30	Ὀρσεκᾶς Ὡσεως	πρόβ(ατα) β
	Διδᾶς καὶ Ἀπύγχις υἱὸς	πρόβ(ατα) ζ
	ῥΩσις Ἀρσύθμεως	πρόβ(ατον) α
	Ὀρσεὺς Ἀρμιέως	πρόβ(ατα) ζ αἷξ α
	ῥΩσις Ἀπύγχεως	πρόβ(ατα) ς
35	Ἀρητίων Πάτρωνος	πρόβ(ατα) ς αἷξ α
	Ἀρπαῆσις Ὡσεως	πρόβ(ατα) η
	Ἀρπαῆσις καὶ Παντύνις	πρόβ(ατα) θ
	καὶ μόνου Ἀρπαῆσεως	πρόβ(ατα) δ
	Ὀνόφορις Ὀρσε[νο]ύφεως	πρόβ(ατα) ιγ
40	Ἀπύγχις Ἀρμιέως	πρόβ(ατα) ε
	Ὁ[ρ]σενούφις Ἡρά	πρόβ(ατα) δ
	[±?].σα.. καὶ A[...]. . .ως	πρόβ(ατα) η
	Σαραπίων	πρόβ(ατα) .]
	[Π]ετε[ρ(?)]μου . . . [±?]	πρόβ(ατα) ς
45	Ἀπύγχις . . .εως	πρόβ(ατα) δ
	Διονύσις Ἀπύγχεως	πρόβ(ατα) γ
	Ἡρακλῆς Διονυσίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆ(ς) υἱὸς	πρόβ(ατα) δ
	Σ[ο]κονήρ[ε]υς(?) Ὡ[σεως]	πρόβ(ατα) η
	Διόδωρος Διοδώρου	πρόβ(ατα) β (?)]
50	[K]εφάλων Ἡρακλ[έους]	πρόβ(ατα) δ
	Ἡρων ..εωνου [πρόβ(ατα) ζ αἷξ α
	Ἡρων Ἡρωνος	πρόβ(ατα) ς
	[Π]αίτης ἀπ(άτωρ) Θε.. [±?]	πρόβ(ατα) ?
	[. . . .]ς Ἀφροδισίου	π[ρ]όβ(ατα) ε
55	[. . . .]ν.[. . . .]ς [±?]	πρόβ(ατα)] ς
«col. iii»		
	[. . . .].α. . .σ	πρόβ() .
	Ἀρπαῆσις Ὠρί[ωνο]ς [πρόβ()] [.]	
	Ὀρσεγ[οῦ]φις ἀπ(άτωρ) Θε.. [±?]	πρόβ() [.]
	[. . .].[.]φ[. . .] Ἀρπαῆ[σε]ως [πρόβ() [.]
60	A. . .ω.	
	ῥΩος	
	Ὀγγόφορις [±?]	
«Traces of 21 lines»		
«col. iv»		
	Ἡρα[±?]	
«Traces of 17 lines»		

- 102 Διο[±?]
 ‹Traces of 4 lines›
 107 Πη[±?]
 Ἡσ[±?]
 ‹Traces of 2 lines›
 111 Δ[±?]

Apparatus: 3 Pap. Διοδωρος Διοδώρου || 4 Pap. Ἀπύγχις || Pap. Ὀρσενούφης || 5 Pap. Ἀπύγχις || 9 Pap. ἔχωμεν || 11 Pap. αἴγαις

To Eudōros the *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, divisions of Themistes and Polemon, and to Arēs the royal scribe of the division of Themistes, from . . . son of Orsenouphis and Diodōros son of Diodōros, and Apynchis son of Heraklēs and Orsenouphis son of Onnophris and . . . and [. . .] son of Harsythmis, and Apynchis son of Arsythmis, being the six elders (of the guild of) sheep and donkey rearers (*probatoktēnotrophoi*) of the village of Euhemeria. Register for the current year 23 of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, of the sheep and goats that we have under our control, with the (10) herdsmen listed below, from the estate of Maecenas, on the basis of mutual sureties: 819 sheep and 28 goats, of which the individual distribution is as follows:

Diodōros son of Horion and Heron his son: 9 sheep, 1 goat; Apynchis son of Herakles: 10 sheep; . . []s son of Heron: 6 sheep; (15) Kastor son of Didymus: . . . sheep 1 goat; Ophellion son of Ophellion: 10 sheep; Herakleidēs son of Herakleidēs: 9 sheep; Zoilos son of Zoilos: 4 sheep; . . . 7 sheep, 1 goat; (20) Paon son of Paon: 3 sheep; Papontos son of Okkeles: 10 sheep; Neon and Papontos: 26 sheep 1 goat; Orseus and Heroninos: 14 sheep, one goat; Horion son of Chairemon: 3 sheep; (25) Sotas son of Heron: 8 sheep; Didas son of Heron: 10 sheep . . . 1 goat; Heron son of Ailouras: 6 sheep; A. . .os son of Apynchis: 2 sheep

- ‹col. ii› Petesouchos son of Harsythmis: 2 sheep; (30) Orsekas son of Osis: 2 sheep; Didas and Apynchis his son: 7 sheep; Osis son of Harsythmis: 1 sheep; Orseus son of Harmieus: 7 sheep, one goat; Osis son of Apynchis: 6 sheep; (35) Aretion son of Patron: 6 sheep one goat; Harpaēsis son of Osis: 8 sheep; Harpaēsis and Pantynis: 9 sheep; and by himself, Harpaēsis: 4 sheep; Onnophris son of Orsenouphis: 13 sheep; (40) Apynchis son of Harmieus: 5 sheep; Orsenouphis son of Heras: 4 sheep; [. . .] and [. . .]os 8 sheep; Sarapiōn . . . ? sheep; Peter. . . . mou 6 sheep; (45) Apynchus son of . . . is: 4 sheep; Dionysis son of Apynchus: 3 sheep; Herakles son of Dionysios and Hēraklēs his son: 4 sheep; Sokonereus son of Osis: 8 sheep; Diodōros son of Diodōros: 2 sheep; (50) Kephalon son of Hēraklēs: 4 sheep; Heron son of . . .eon: 7 sheep, one goat; Heron son of Heron: 6 sheep; Pauites an orphan: x sheep.; . . .s son of Aphrodisios: 5 sheep; (55) . . . 6 sheep.

‹cols. iii–iv are too fragmentary to translate›

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: πρεσβύτεροι προβατοκτηνοτρόφων; collective interaction with *stratēgos* and *basilikogrammateus*.

Location: Euhemeria (division of Themistos, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 675; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

Comments

Several other guilds of sheep and donkey (or goat) rearers are known in the Fayum (→ similar and related documents). P.Hamb. I 34 appears to be a declaration, probably for tax purposes, of the holdings of various guild members. It should be noted that the owners of flocks were not necessarily (or even typically) the shepherds (νομεῖς, ποιμένες) who were hired to graze the flocks away from agricultural lands (since sheep are predators on crops). The owners were responsible for declarations of the size of the flocks as they are here; the shepherds did make declarations of ownership, since they were not owners, but they were typically identified by the village of their tax registration, since as transient workers, they followed the flocks, and might stray far from their village. See, e.g., P.Princ. II 24 (Oxyrhynchus, 21 CE) and Kloppenborg and Callon 2010.

Like other occupational guilds in Egypt, this guild is presided over by elders (*presbyteroi* → OGIS II 729.4 [155] *note*), most of whom do not appear in the list of flock owners.

Literature: Kloppenborg, John S., and Callie Callon 2010. "The Parable of the Shepherd and the Transformation of Pastoral Discourse." In *EC* 1(2): 218–60; Kruse, Thomas 1998. "P.Hamb. I 34, die προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι von Euhemeria und die Schafe und Ziegen der Μακρηνατιανή οὐσία.," *ZPE* 120:145–156.

[236] P.Tebt. II 287

Trial Summary involving Fullers and Dyers

Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites) 161–169 CE

Published: Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*, University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archaeology 2. Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 52 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1907) 47–50 (no. 287); Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde: Erster Band: Historischer Teil, Zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1912) 287–288 (no. 251) + BL VI 198; VII 270; X 276 [TM 13450; CAPInv 1961].

Translation: Johnson 1936, 396–397 (no. 249).

Current location: Berkeley, Bancroft Library P.Tebt. 287

Digital image: <https://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/apis/ucb/images/7064.jpg>
(recto)

Similar or related documents: → P.Tebt. II 286; BGU IV 1087 = BGU I 9.

Papyrus, 20.8 × 25.2 cm. Regular cursive on *recto* along the fibers.

- [±60 L] Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν
[κυρίων Σεβαστῶν ±31] ννγ[. . . ἀπό] τοῦ Ἀρ[σινοίτ]ου καὶ προσ-
ελθόντων Λονγεῖ-
[νος ρήτωρ εἶπεν· ±23 οἱ μὲ]ν εἰ[σί] γναφεῖς οἱ δὲ] βαφεῖς τὴν ἐργασίαν,
δίδονται δὲ ὑπὲρ τέλους
[±13] χειρῶ[να]ξ[ίου ὑπὸ μὲν τῷ]ν γναφῶν ἐτήσιαι δραχμαὶ <ἐκατὸν>
ἐνενήκοντα δύο ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαφῶν
5 [διακόσiai ὀγ]δοήκοντα ὀκτῶ κατὰ τὸν [γν]ώμονα καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν.
Μαξίμου δὲ τινος κατασταθέντος ἐξεταστοῦ
[ἐν πλέονι αὐ]τοῦς ἡ ἔδει παραγράψαντος ἐνέτυχον τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ
ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Κράσσον τὸν κράτιστον
[διοικητ]ήν, ὃς μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ ἐγλο[γ]ιστὴν ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτὸν εἰκοσαετ[ί]αν τὴν ὑπὸ χεῖρα
[±?] προσφωνήσαντός τε αὐτοῦ μηδὲν πλέον δεδόσθαι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν
γνώμονα κατὰ ταῦτα ἡθέλησεν αὐ-
[τοὺς τὴν ἀ]πόδοσιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ οὕτως μέχρι τούτου ἀπέδωκαν. ἐπεὶ
οὖν νῦν κατ[α]σταθεῖς τις ἐπιτηρητὴς
10 [±?] ν βούλετα[ι π]λέον ἢ κατὰ τὸν γνώμονα αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἐνέτ[υ]χον
τῷ στρατηγῷ π[α]ρατιθέμενοι
[±11 καὶ ἐπε]ῖ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ [στρατη]γοῦ ἐπ[οιή]θη ἐδέησεν αὐτοὺς
ἐντυχεῖν σοι. Πρώταρχος ρή-
[τωρ εἶπεν·] κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα Κρ[άσσω ±9]τ. [. . . .] ἐξετάσεως ἤχθη
περὶ τούτου εἶδος τῷ κρα-
[τίστῳ Λιβερ]άλι καὶ ὑπέγραψεν μὴ ἀπ[αιτεῖν]. Σευηρ[ι]ανὸς εἶπεν·
παρόντος τοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ ὃ[ς] καὶ ἐντευξε-
[±14]ν τὸν ἐγλογιστὴ[ν]. . . . <hand 2> ἀνέ]γνων.
15 [<hand 1> ±18] .[.] . . . τωγ [..]ξ[. . . . βαφέω]ν καὶ γναφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἀρσινοεῖτου παρόντος Ἑρμί-
[ου τοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ τοῦ Ἀρσι]νοεῖτου [Λονγεῖνος ρήτ]ωρ εἶπεν· ἐχθὲς
ἐν[έτ]υχόν σ[οι] οἱ συνηγοροῦμενοι
[±12 περὶ ὧν ο]ὐ δ[ε]όντως ἀπα[ιτοῦνται ὑπὸ ἐ]πιτηρητοῦ ἀσχολήματος
χειρωναξίου καὶ ἐπὶ ε-
[±15 ἡ]χθαι τῷ [κρ]α[τ]ί[στ]ῳ Λιβεράλι καὶ ὑπογεγ[ράφ]θαι περὶ π[λ]έονος
πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ ζητεῖσθαι
[±27] . . [±15] τὸ ἀκρ[ε]ῖβές μάθης, δεόμεθα οὗ[ν] παρό[ν]τα αὐ-
20 [τὸν (?) ±30 Ἑρμίου ἀναγνόντ]ος τὸ ἀχθὲν εἶδος Λιβεράλι Σευηριανὸς
[εἶ]πεν·
[±17] .[. . .] .[.] .[.]τ.[..]νν[±14]ος τοῦ ἐπιτηρητοῦ τῷ κρατίστῳ
ἐπιστρ[α]τήγῳ.
[±?] <hand 2> ἀνέγνων

Apparatus: 3 Pap. ὑπερ || 4 Pap. ὑπο || Pap. δραχμαὶ χεῖλαι; Wilkens δραχμαὶ «έκατόν» || 8 prev. ed. ἐπισκέψασθαι; BL X 276: the lacuna is too short for this || 10 prev. ed. τέλους χειρωναξίου; BL VI 198: Lewis 1967: there is no evidence of an ἐπιτηρητὴς τέλους χειρωναξίου || 11 Pap. ὑπο || 13 Pap. ὑπεγραψεν || 19 Pap. ἀκρειβές

. . . in the xth year of Antoninus and Verus the Lords Augusti, the fullers and dyers from the Arsinoite nome, having been summoned and having appeared, Longinus, advocate, said: “Of these men, some are fullers and other dyers by trade. For the tax on trades one <hundred> ninety two drachmae are paid yearly by the fullers and (5) two hundred and eighty eight by the dyers according to tariff and custom. A certain Maximus was appointed inspector (*exetastēs*), having wrongly entered a larger sum against them than was due, they appealed to the praefect (*hēgemōn*), who referred them to his excellency Crassus the procurator (*διοικētēs*). The latter summoned the *eklogistēs* of the nome and ordered him to verify the accounts of the last twenty years, and, when he reported that no more had been paid than was sanctioned by the tariff, he decided that they should pay on this scale, and they have done so up to the present time. A certain supervisor (*epitērētēs*) . . . (10) has now been appointed, who wishes to demand from them a larger amount than that of the tariff, and they therefore petitioned the *stratēgos*, adding a statement . . . , but as nothing was done by the *stratēgos* they were obliged to appeal to you.” Prōtarchos, advocate, said: “. . . in accordance with the decision . . . a report on the subject was laid before his excellency Liberalis, who made an endorsement that they should not be required to pay.” Severianus said: “When the *eklogistēs* is present, who also ordered . . . the *eklogistēs* . . . <hand 2> I read it (15) <hand 1> . . . of the dyers and fullers from Arsinoites, once Hermias the *eklogistēs* of Arsinoites was present, Longinus the advocate said, “Yesterday, the men pleading their case met you . . . concerning which, incorrectly, was demanded of them by the superintendent (*epitērētēs*) of the tax upon trades and for . . . brought to his excellency Liberalis and a memorandum was made not to demand any more from them . . . the exact instruction. We beg, therefore, the one here . . . (20) once Hermias read out the policy brought to Liberalis Severianos said “. . . of the superintendent, to his excellency the *epistratēgos* . . . <hand 2> I read it.

Notes

Association? Possible: associative terms are missing, but the fullers and dyers (γναφεῖς καὶ βαφεῖς) appear to be collectively liable to certain taxes, and appeal collectively against a decision of the ἐπιτηρητὴς.

Location: Tebtynis (division of Polemon, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2287; Barrington Atlas 75 D2.

Il. 4, 10, 17: χερσ[va]ξ[ίου], craft tax → Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x.379 [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis, 73 CE) note.

- II. 4–5: χειρῶ[να]ξ[ίου] ὑπὸ μὲν τῶ[ν] γναφέων . . . δραχμαὶ ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα δύο, trade tax (paid) by the fullers: 192 drachmae. There are two related issues. First, the papyrus has χεῖλαι (thousand) rather than ἑκατόν (hundred). Wilcken (1912, 288): “Unter der Annahme eines Schreibfehlers in Z. 4 von χίλαι, statt ἑκατόν würden sich hier die selben Summen ergeben, die sich aus anderen Urkunden berechnen lassen, nämlich für die Walker $16 \times 12 = 192$ und für die Färber $24 \times 12 = 288$ Drachmen pro Jahr.” This certainly produces a more satisfying figure and assumes that the χειρῶνάξιον for fullers was 16 dr. yearly.

The second issue is whether Wilcken’s figure of 16 dr. (taken from BGU IV 1087, Arsinoites, 276 CE) is a monthly or a yearly figure. The only other attestation of a χειρῶνάξιον for fullers is O.Wilck. 1487 (unknown provenance, uncertain date), which states the tax at 2 dr. monthly or 24 dr. yearly. Other trades paid *yearly* rates in the range of 12–40 dr.: SB XVI 12695 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE); O. Ashm. 23 (Elephantine, II/III ce): receipt 12 dr. 2 obols. (unknown trade); O. Wilb. 33 (Elephantine, 188 CE): receipt for 4 dr. for two months of tax (unknown trade), implying a yearly tax of 24 dr. Many were expressed in yearly figures and collected in one or two instalments over the course of the year, e.g. O.Wilck. 16 → Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] *comment*. To understand the 16 dr. of BGU IV 1087 as a monthly tax for each fuller would yield a yearly tax of 192 dr. which is surely far too high. The aggregate yearly tax paid by the fullers (192 dr.) suggests a guild of 12 members. To take the unemended higher total of 1092 would imply a guild of more than 60 members, which for Tebtynis is far to large.

- I. 5: [διακόσαι ὄγ]δοήκοντα ὀκτώ. Since the *ed. pr.* χεῖλαι for the sum charged to the fullers, Grenfell and Hunt restore this lacuna as [χεῖλαι ὄγ]δοήκοντα ὀκτώ. See the previous note.
- I. 5: The tax inspector (*exetastēs*) was a new post instituted during the Roman period (Wilcken and Mitteis 1912, 210) → BGU IV 1062.19 (mid-III CE) for a contract delegating the duties of the superintendents (*epitērētēs*) of the miller’s tax. Among their duties, the superintendents are expected to compile their accounts and furnish a copy for the *exetastēs*, who will be sent to them for this purpose. The implication of our proceedings here is that tax collectors also relied on the assessment of the *exetastēs* for the tax amount.
- I. 6: The unnamed praefect is probably M. Sempronius Liberalis (154–159 CE), mentioned again at I. 13 and at I. 20 (P.Tebt. II 287 n. 6; W.Chr. 251).
- II. 6–7: Crassus is probably the procurator (*dioikētēs*) Manilius Crassus, attested 158 CE in P.Oxy. XXIV 2411.43–55, and in P.Thm. 1 CLXIX 6, thus suggesting an emendation here of [διοικητ]ήν for [ἐπιστράτηγ]όν in P.Tebt. II 287.7. The earlier trial may therefore be dated between 157–159 (Bastianini 1975, 293 n. 5). In Hadrianic times, control over financial affairs had been transferred from the praefect to specific procurators, such as the *dioikētēs* here (Jördens 2012, 57).
- II. 7, 13–14: The *eklogistēs* operated in Alexandria (P.Tebt. II 287 n. 7; Wilcken and Mitteis 1912, 209 and see P.Amh. II 69.4), and his presence implies that both this hearing and the previous one took place there, or in Memphis, where the *eklogistēs* might have followed the praefect for settlements with the districts (W.Chr. 251).
- I. 13. Severianus is probably the procurator Annus Severianus, attested at about 165/66 CE in P.Thm. LXXXIV.7–8; XC.17 (Bastianini 1975, 293 n. 5 *contra* Grenfell and Hunt, P.Tebt. II 287, who suggest he may be a praefect).

Comments

The documents contains the recorded minutes of proceedings before Severianus, probably the procurator, regarding an appeal made by the fullers and the dyers of the Fayûm against a superintendent (*epitērētēs*) who allegedly exacted more than was customary for the tax upon their trades. They had previously been overcharged by a tax inspector (*exetastēs*) named Maximus, and had at that time appealed to the praefect Liberalis, who referred them to the procurator, Crassus. After Crassus had verified their accounts for the past twenty years, he had ruled in their favour. Presently, another minor official, an unnamed superintendent of the tax, had again increased their obligation. They appealed first to the *stratēgos* (unnamed), who did nothing, and then to the current judge, Severianus, who was probably the procurator. Severianus appears to have followed the same procedure Crassus had previously, adjourning for the day to summon the *eklogistēs* of Arsinoites, who could verify their accounts. The record of his judgement is lost from the end of the fragment.

The movement of this case from one official to another suggests the representatives of the fullers and dyers may not have known to whom they should best petition. They may have addressed their petitions on the basis of which official was the source of their complaint. In the earlier case they had fallen afoul the calculations of the tax inspector (*exetastēs*), to whom tax collectors reported. They had appealed to the praefect, Liberalis, the chief Roman official in Egypt. The praefect referred them to an official of lesser rank, the procurator, who had greater charge of the financial operations in the province. In the present case, where they had a complaint against the superintendent (*epitērētēs*) of the tax, their attempt to petition the *stratēgos* first is understandable, as superintendents of taxes were expected to report monthly to the *stratēgos* of the nome (→ BGU IV 1062.16–17). Failing that, previous experience may have informed their decision to move on to the current procurator.

Grenfell and Hunt (1907, 48) suppose that both groups were guilds, that these guilds were subject to a regular tariff (since it does not seem to have varied from year to year), and that their numbers remained constant.

Notably absent from the text is any reference to guild titles for the members of the fullers or the dyers. No association president or *grammateus* is mentioned. Although the two groups of tradesmen protest the increase in their taxes as an aggregate, there is no indication that any among them have been singled out as a representative of the groups for the proceedings. Furthermore, if the argument of Wilcken and Mitteis is correct (see note for ll. 4–5, above), the tradesmen are protesting their individual taxation rates, rather than a tax imposed on the associations as a whole.

On the issue of the corporate liability of guilds for trade taxes for recalcitrant (or dead) individuals → Johnson 1936, 394–396 (no. 248); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x.385–395 [222] *comment*.

Literature: **Alston**, Richard 2001. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge, esp. pp. 209–210; **Bastianini**, Guido 1975. “Lista dei prefetti d’Egitto dal 30a al 299p”. *ZPE* 17:263–321, 323–328; **Bowman**, Alan K. and Dominic **Rathbone** 1992. “Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt.” In *JRS* 82:107–127; **Gibbs**, Matthew 2011. “Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their raison d’être.” In *AnSoc* 41:291–315; **Johnson**, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; **Jördens**, Andrea 2012. “Government, Taxation, and Law.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, edited by Christina Riggs, 56–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press; **Lewis**, Naphtali 1967. “NOHMATA ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ.” *BASP* 4(2): 26–36; **Wallace**, Sherman LeRoy 1938. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton university studies in papyrology 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press (200–201); **Wilcken**, Ulrich and L. **Mitteis** 1912. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Erster Band: historischer Teil erste Hälfte: Grundzüge*. Berlin and Leipzig: B.G. Teubner; **Wilcken**, Ulrich 1913. “III. Referate.” In *APF* 5:198–300. MM

[237] P.Lund IV 11

Account of a Cult Association of the Dioskuroi

Bakchias? (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE

Published: Erik J. Knudtzon, *Bakchiastexte und andere Papyri der Lunder Papyrussammlung (PLundUnivBibl. 4)* (Lund: H. Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1946) 57–68 (no. 11, ph. plate 5); SB VI 9348 + BL III 105 [TM 28120; CAPInv 1860]

Current location: Lund, University P.81.

Similar or related documents: → *Club Accounts*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (unknown; II/III CE). *Account of expenses for festivals*: P.Ross.Geog II 41 (Heroninus archive; Arsinoites, late II–III CE).

Papyrus, 17.4 × 17.6 cm., broken at the top and bottom; the verso is blank. The papyrus is now missing, but there is a photograph at Lund University Library. The papyrus may belong to the archive of the temple of Soknobraisis (TM ARCH id. 235).

<col. i>

	λόγος δ[απάν]ης στολισμ[οῦ]	
	θεῶν Διο[σ]κ[ο]ύρων L ι Με[σο(ρή)] α	
	σινδόγες β βύσσιγαι	⊢ ριθ
	οἴνου δ[ί]χ(ωρα) β	⊢ μη
5	μυροβαλάνου κοτ(ύλη) α	⊢ ιβ
	μέλιτ[ο]ς κοτ(ύλαι) γ	⊢ κθ
	[έ]λαιου χρηστοῦ	⊢ ιβ
	χρίματος κοτ(ύλη) α	⊢ ις
	μύρου κοτ(ύλη) α	⊢ ιβ
10	σμήρνης	⊢ η
	κρόκου	⊢ η
	σταφίδος	⊢
	σ[τ]ροβύλων	⊢ ζ
	ὀρνίθων	⊢ κ
15	ὀρνιθοτροφ(ε)ῶν	⊢ α 5 ob.
	ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνφ[υ]	⊢ μη
	ἄρτυμάτων	⊢ α 5 ob.
	λύχνων	f
	κοκκάλου	(χαλκοῦς α)
20	στεφανίων	⊢ ς
	ἀγγείων	⊢ δ
	ξύλου ὀρθοῦ	⊢ δ
	χόρτου	⊢ δ
	τραγη[μ]άτων	⊢ δ
25	σίτου (ἀρτάβαι) β	⊢ μ
	(ἀρτάβη(?)) α	⊢ κ

<col. ii>

	οἱ δὲ συ[ντε]λ[ο]ύντες]	
	εἰς τὸν ἐγ[γεγραμ-]	
	μένον στολισμ[όν·]	
	Διόσκ[ο]ρος οὐετ(ρανός)	⊢ ρ
5	Διόσκυρος Ἰσί[ω]νος	⊢ ρ
	Φιλ[ό]ξεγος	⊢ ρ
	[Ν]εφωτιαν[ό]ς	⊢ ρ
	Διογένης. . .	⊢ ρ
	Σερήνφ[ς] ο]ύετ(ρανός)	⊢ ρ
10	Ἀπολινάριος οὐετ(ρανός)	⊢ π
	Πτολεμαῖος [οὐ]ετ(ρανός)	⊢ ξ
	Ἀπολινάριος οὐ[ε]τ(ρανός)	⊢ ξ
	Ὀρίων οὐετ(ρανός)	⊢ ξ
	Διόσκορος Ἡρακ[λ]ᾱ	⊢ ξ
15	Διογένης	[⊢ ξ]
	Ζώλος Ἡφαιστ()	⊢ ξ
	Δεῖος Μάρων(ος)	⊢ [ξ]
	[Ω]ρίων ἐλαιου[ργός]	⊢ ξ
	Διονύσιος	⊢ [ξ]
20	[Π]τολεμαῖος οὐετ(ρανός)	⊢ ξ
	. . . ονας	⊢ κ
	Ἀκῆς	⊢ κ
	Ἑρμείας	⊢ κ

Apparatus: i.10 Pap. ζμήρνης || i.15 Pap. ὀρνιθοτροφῶν

<col. i>

Account of the expenses for dressing the Dioskuroi gods for year 10, Mesore 1.

2 linen sheets (worth) 119 dr.; 2 *dichora* of wine: 48 dr.; (5) 1 kotyle of aromatic oil: 12 dr.; 3 kotylai of honey: 29 dr.; good oil: 12 dr.; 1 kotyle of unguent oil: 16 dr.; 1 kotyle of sweet oil: 12 dr.; (10) myrrh: 8 dr.; saffron: 8 dr.; *Delphinium Staphisagria*: ? dr.; (15) bird cage: 1 dr. 5 obols.; radish oil: 48 dr.; condiments: 1 dr., 5 obols; lamps: 4 obols; pine nuts: 1 chalkos; (20) small crowns: 6 dr.; vessels: 4 dr.; wood: 4 dr.; grass: 4 dr.; dried sweetmeats: 4 dr.; (25); 2 artabae of grain: 40 dr.; 1 artaba of ? 20 dr.

<col. ii>

Those who have contributed to “dressing” (of the gods) listed here: Dioskoros, a veteran: 100 dr.; (5) Dioskoros son of Ision, 100 dr.; Philoxenos,

100 dr.; Nephotanius, 100 dr.; Diogenēs son of . . . 100 dr.; Serenos, a veteran: 100 dr.; (10) Apolinarios, a veteran: 80 dr.; Ptolemaios, a veteran, 60 dr.; Apolinarios, a veteran, 60 dr.; Orion, a veteran, 60 dr.; Dioskoros son of Heraklas 60 dr.; (15) Diogenes [60 dr.]; Zoilos son of Hephaist. . ., 60 dr.; Deios son of Maron, 60 dr.; Orion the oil manufacturer, 60 dr.; Dionysios, 60 dr.; (20) Ptolemaios, veteran, 60 dr.; . . . onas, 20 dr.; Akes, 20 dr.; Hermeias, 20 dr.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to deities; banquets; membership contributions.

Location: Bakchias (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites), TM geo ref. 392. Barrington Atlas 75 E1.

- i. 1: στολισμὸς θεῶν: This is not the daily care for the cult statues, but a major festival in which new linen clothing is provided and at which there is a banquet. Knutzson (1946, 64) suggests that this is a yearly festival, even if monthly banquets were also held. The term appears often in formula relating to the clothing ritual for Egyptian gods, e.g. OGIS I 56.B.4 = I.Delta I 989.1.4 (Kanopos, 238 BCE): καὶ προφήται καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἰσπορευόμενοι πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν θεῶν; *Thèbes à Syène* 37.3–5 (Eileithyias polis, 238 BCE): ὁ προφήτης ἢ τις τῶν εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον ἡρμημένων ἱερέων [πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν] τῶν θεῶν; OGIS I 90.6 (Bolbitine [Rosetta], 196 BCE): οἱ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἰσπορευόμενοι πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν | θεῶν.
- i. 3: σινδόγες β βύσσιγαι Ἑ ριθ: An almost contemporary papyrus, P.Louvre 4.29–30 = BGU I 1 (Soknopaiou Nesos [Arsinoites], before 166 CE), lists the tax value of three such linen cloths at 100 dr.: καὶ εἰς ταμιῆν ὀθονίων βυσσίνων στολισμῶ(ν) || τριῶν τῶν θεῶν μηνὶ Νέφ Σεβαστῶ ζ Ἑ ρ, “[Paid to the nomarch]: for the cost of three fine linen sheets for the dressing of the gods in the month of Nea Sebasta 7, 100 drachmae.”
- i. 4: δ[i]χ(ωρα) β = κεράμιον β = about 28 litres.

Comments

This account is likely for a yearly festival of the “dressing of the gods.” The association consists of twenty members, many of them veterans. Knutzon (1946, 62) observes that as deities who provide assistance, the Dioskuroi had a special appeal to soldiers.

The list of members falls into four groups, those contributing 100 dr., 80 dr., 60, and 20 dr., for a total of 1340 dr. This suggests that this association, like others, had a sliding scale of membership dues, linked to the resources of members.

The amount and number of the provisions are in striking contrast to the rather simple fare on offer at most association meals. P.Ross.Georg. II 41 (Heroninus archive; Arsinoites, late II–III CE) also offers a more complex lists of provisions for several festivals held in the Fayum:

⟨frag. A col. i⟩

- 1 [-ca.? δελφάκ]ιν α [⊢ κδ]
 [±? ὀρν]ίθια β [⊢ ις]
 [±?]τετρα[±?]
 [±?]ιον ⊢ β (ἡμιωβέλιον)
 5 [±? κολοκ]υνθίων ⊢ β (ἡμιωβέλιον)
 [±? ῥῶ]ν ⊢ δ
 [±? στε]φανίων ⊢ η
 / ⊢ ρ χ(αλκοῦς) α
 [±? Ῥοδοφ]ορίοις πό(λεως(?))
 10 [±?]γτια ζεύγη μ
 [±?] (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ(?)) ⊢ ξ
 ὀξυρυγίτια β ⊢ μ
 δελφάκιν α ⊢ κδ
 στεφανίων ῥοδι(νων) ⊢ ιβ
 15 ὑπόδημον λευκὸν ⊢ κ
 ῥῶν ⊢ δ
 / ⊢ ρξ
 Δηλίοις δίχωρον οἴνου
 μεμφι^τκὸν ⊢ κ
 20 ὄψαρίων ⊢ ι[β]
 δελφάκιν ⊢ κ[δ]
 ῥῶν ⊢ δ [±?]
 στεφανίων ⊢ η[±?]
 / (⊢ ?) ξη

⟨col. ii⟩

- 25 [±?-]ηκασι
 Παντελίοις Αἰγ[υπτίων ±?]
 δίχωρον οἴνου ⊢ κ]
 δελφάκιν [α ⊢ κδ]
 παντελίτια [±?]
 30 / ⊢ [±?]
 στεφανίων [±? ⊢ η]
 ὑπόδημα πορφυρα [±?]
 / ⊢ ς
 Σαραπίοις φορτικὸν [⊢ κ]
 35 μεμφιτικά κερ(άμια) β [⊢ μη]
 ὀρνίθια δ ἐκ ⊢ ς [⊢ κδ]
 ῥῶν [⊢ δ]
 στεγφανίων [⊢ η]
 / ⊢ ρδ [±?-]
 40 Μηροβόλ[λ]ια Α[ι]γυπτί[ων]
 δίχωρον οἴνου [⊢ κ]
 βη<σ>σίον ὑάλου α [±?]
 οὔ(νου(?)) κοπτ(ίτ(?))ης α [±?]
 ῥῶν [⊢ δ]
 45 μήλ[ων ±?]

⟨frag. B⟩

⟨col. iii⟩

- [.]αμε[.]σοις Αἰγυπτίων
 διπλ[άσι]ον Θηβαϊκὸν ⊢ μ
 δελφάκιν ⊢ κδ
 λαγανίων καὶ χοινικαίων χοινικαίων {⊢}
 50 ἐ(πὶ τὸ) αὐ(τὸ) ⊢ ξ
 ῥῶν ⊢ δ
 ὀρνίθια β ⊢ ις
 στεφανίων ⊢ δ
 ἐλαίου ραφανίνου κοτυλ(αῖ) κ ⊢ μ
 55 οἴ(νου) μεμφιτικὸν κερ(άμιον) α ⊢ κδ
 / ⊢ σιβ
 γίνονται το[ῦ πα]ντὸς ⊢ ὡς χ(αλκοῦς) α
 δ L ὁμοίως Φαῶφι δ
 Δημητρίοις
 60 μεμφιτικὰ κερ(άμια) β ⊢ μ
 δελφάκιν α ⊢ κδ
 ῥῶν ⊢ η
 ὀρνίθια ⊢ λβ
 ὀψαρίων ⊢ ιβ
 65 στεφανίων ⊢ η
 / ⊢ ρκδ
 Κηπουρίοις καὶ Ἰσίοις
 μεμφιτικὰ οἴνου κερ(άμια) β ⊢ μ
 χοινικαῖα συζ(υγία) α ⊢ μη
 70 δελφάκιν α ⊢ κδ

⟨col. iv⟩

- ἐνκεφάλων φ[±?]
 .νοισου . [±?]
 ῥῶν [±?]
 [.]αυραφια [±?]
 75 δ[ι]πλάσια [±?]
 σελίγνια [±?]
 [ὁ]ψωνίων ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (?) [±?]
 [.]χυν [±?]
 [±?]
 80 στεφφαγ[ίων ±?]
 / ⊢ [±?]
 Στεφανηφορίοις [±?]
 παντελίτια [±?]
 οἴνου κερ(άμια) β [±?]
 85 δελφάκιν [α] [±?]
 ῥῶν [±?]
 στεφανίων [±?]
 / ⊢ ριβ [±?]
 Σουχίοις [±?]
 90 [μ]εμφιτικὰ οἴνου ±?]
 ὀψαριδίων [±?]
 δελφάκιν α [±?]
 ῥῶν [±?]

... [±?]
 95 στεφανίων [±?]
 / ρις [±?]

Apparatus: 2 Pap. ὀρν[ί]τια || 5 Pap. κολοκ]υντίων || 12 Pap. ὀξυρινχίτια || 16, 22, 37, 44, 51, 62, 73, 86, 93 3 Pap. ὄων || 18, 27, 41 Pap. δίχορον || 36, 52, 63 Pap. ὀρνίτια || 42 Pap. ἰάλου || 57 Pap. γίνεται

This account lists the expenses for several festivals. The expenses typically consist of one pig, a dichoron of wine (about 14 litres), eggs, small crowns, and in a few cases, honey and fish. The amount of wine suggests a relatively small association, of 10–20 members.

Literature: **Perpillou-Thomas**, Françoise 1993. *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*. *Studia Hellenistica* 31. Leuven: Peeters (esp. 82–87); **Roberts**, Colin, Theodore C. **Skeat**, and Arthur Darby **Nock** 1936. “The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos.” In *HTR* 29:39–88.

[238] P.Mich. IX 575 Resignation of a Member

Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites) 25 Jul 184 CE
 Published: Elinor M. Husselman, *Papyri from Karanis, Third series. (Michigan papyri IX)*, Philological monographs of the American Philological Association 29 (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1971) 129–130 (no. 575) [TM 12066; CAPInv 1380]

Translation: AGRW 289

Current Location: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, P. 5374.

Papyrus, 9.5 × 7.5 cm. A poorly written document with a variety of grammatical errors. The letter is written *verso*: on the *recto* the address. The editor notes that the hand is difficult to date, but is “probably to be placed in the second century” which would mean that the 24th year (l. 9) is either that of Antoninus Pius, who died in his 24th year (161 CE) or (more likely) Commodus, who dated his principate from the first year of Marcus Aurelius (thus, 184 CE).

⟨*verso*⟩

Θρακί ἐπιμελητῆ{ς}
 καὶ τοῖς συνοδίταις
 παρὰ Ἡπιοδώρου {τοῖς
 συνοδίταις} ἀσθενῶς
 5 ἔχων καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος
 νέμ<ε>ιν τὴν κοινήν,
 ἀξ{ε}ῖω{ι} δέξασθαι

τὴν ἀπόρρησιν εὐτύχει.

Λ κδ. ἔρρωσ{σ}ο. Μεσορή α.

⟨recto⟩

10 συνοδίταις

Apparatus: 1 Pap. θράκος || Pap. ἐπιμελητής || 2 Pap. συνοδεῖταις || 3 Pap. Ἡπιδωρος || 4 Pap. συνοδεῖταις || 5 Pap. κου || 6 Pap. νέμειν || 7 Pap. ἀξειῶι || 7 Pap. δεξάμενος || 8 Pap. ἀπόρεισιν || 9 Pap. ἐρρωσσο || 10 Pap. συνίτοις

To Thrax the supervisor (*epimelētēs*) and to the fellow association members (*synodeitai*), from Epiodōros. Since I am in a poor condition (5) and unable to participate in the association (*koinē* [?]), I ask that you accept my resignation. Farewell.

Year 24. Farewell. Mesore 1.

(10) To (my) fellow association members.

Notes

Association? Certain: membership terms: συνοδεῖται; associative term: ἡ κοινή = τὸ κοινόν(?); leadership terms: ἐπιμελητής; resignation of a member, thus a formal association.

Location: Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1008; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

l. 4: ἀσθενῶς. The majority of instances of ἀσθενεία refer to bodily ailments, especially weakness of the eye. P.Graux. I 2, however (= SB IV 7462 = Sel.Pap. II 281), is the report of collectors of the poll tax who indicate that many inhabitants have fled because of poverty and others have died without heirs. The result is that διὰ | τοῦτο κ[ιν]δυνεύειν ἡμᾶς δι' ἀσθενείαν | προλυπε[ῖν] τὴν πρακτορείαν, “therefore we are in danger of having to abandon our responsibilities due to impoverishment.” In this case, ἀσθενεία clearly means poverty. See Lewis 1937, 65 n. 2.

l. 6: νέμειν τὴν κοινήν → I.Alex.imp. 93.2 [172] *note*; IGRR I 1114 [203]: τοῖς νέμουσι τὴν σύνο[δον], “to those who formed (?) the *synodos*”; I.Alex.Mus. 144 (Alexandria; II BCE) = I.Alex.Ptol. 41: διοι[κ]ητὴν οἱ νέμ[ον]τος σὺν α]ὐτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀφρ[οδίτης] .]α[. . .]μρεους σύνοδον, “those who formed (?) with him the *synodos* of Aphrodite (honoured) [NN] . . . the *dioiketēs*.” In I.Prose I 3.3 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermou, ca. 269–246 BCE): καὶ τοῖς τὴν σύνοδον νέμουσιν, however, νέμουσιν appears to refer to some who *manage* part of the affairs of the association. In P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.6–7 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE) and in BGU IV 1074.5 (both with τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν | σύνοδον νέμοντας) the verb seems only to mean ‘to participate in’. Thus it remains unclear whether Epiodōros is a leader or president (or patron) of the association and now unable to serve, or a member/participant.

If, however, νέμειν means “to manage,” then τοῖς συνοδίταις in ll. 3–4 is not superfluous, and the sentence might be rendered “being unwell and not able to manage the members...” or “since I am poor and unable to fulfil my communal responsibility toward the members...” (Gibbs 2008, 97). Gibbs (2020 *per litt.*) suggests that he now thinks that Epiodōros is not a patron, but simply a member. That seems the best solution.

l. 6: τὴν κοινήν. The feminine form is not attested elsewhere, but accordingly to Husselman, this must be equivalent to τὸ κοινόν, the association.

- l. 8: ἀπόρρησιν: the word normally means “refusal” or even “prohibition” although the cognate verb ἀπορρήγνυμι, “break off, tear oneself away” suggests that “resignation” is also possible. Gibbs 2020 *per litt.* wonders whether the sentence means “I am asking <to be listed or retained as a member> having received a rejection/dismissal.”

Comments

In this rather pathetic letter, a guild member resigns, probably owing to his own financial misfortune. Husselman (1971, 129) suggested that Epiodōros is the patron of the club who had fallen below the census requirements for public service and hence was forced to resign. San Nicolò (1972, 2:25) cites P.Fay. 23 and 23A, both from Theadelphia (II CE), which are lists of persons who met the census requirement for liturgical service as ἐπιτηρηταί (P.Fay. 23) and a γραμματεὺς βασιλικοῦ (P.Fay. 23A). See also SB XVI 12497 [241]. P.Iand. 68.27–29 (unknown, II CE) sets the minimum census requirement of HS 3000 for membership in collegium chirstarum: censum habere non min[o]rem quam | τ[ri]gint[ar]a | milia · HS, that is, χειρισταί, or officials in charge of the collection of taxes.

There is, however, no indication that guilds normally imposed a minimum census requirement on members or even on patrons or that Epiodōros or any of the other members were eligible for a civic liturgy with a minimum wealth requirement. Although the claim to be ἀσθενὼς ἔχων, in poor condition, might be claim to poor health, it seems more likely that this masks a claim to poor financial health (Liu 2017, 210 n. 41). If that was the case, resignation was may have been due to his inability to meet the minimum member contribution. Yet as P.Lund IV 11 [237] and other association accounts indicate, many associations allowed for a sliding scale of contributions, tied to the financial means of members. If the club had a sliding scale of contributions, Epiodōros must have fallen into extreme poverty not to be able to meet even the minimum contribution level. Alternately, Husselman suggest that Epiodōros was a patron or as an officer of the club, a role that carried with it liturgical obligations which he was unable to meet. But in that case, one might expect him to resign as president or treasurer, but not as a member. Liu (2017, 210 n. 41) thinks he is simply a member.

P.Lond. VII 2193.17–18 [199] forbids members from resigning during a given year in which the νόμος is in effect: μη{ι}δὲ ἀπόρρη{ι}σιν | διδ[ό]ναι | ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνι[αυτ]ὸν, “not (is it permitted) to resign in the course of the year.”

Literature: Gibbs, Matthew. 2008. “Professional and Trade Associations in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.” Thesis (D.Phil). Oxford: Oxford University (esp. 97–98); Liu, Jinyu 2017. “Group Membership, Trust Networks, and Social Capital: A Critical Analysis.” In *Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World*, ed. Koenraad Verboven and Christian Laes. *Impact of Empire* 23, 203–226. Leiden: Brill; Lewis, Naphtali 1937. “ΜΕΠΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΟΤΩΝ: An Aspect of the Roman Oppression in Egypt.” In *JEA* 23(1): 63–75; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten*;

II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck.

[239] P.Petaus 28

A Letter about Corpse Transport

Ptolemaïs Hormou (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

II CE

Published: U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn, L.C. Youtie and Herbert C. Youtie, eds.

Das Archiv des Petaus, Papyrologica Coloniensia 4 (Köln and Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1969) 151–153 (no. 28); BL VIII 277 [TM 8847]

Translation: AGRW 290.

Current location: Cologne, Papyrussammlung inv. 318.

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. IV/1 224 (Karanis, 172–173 CE), SB XX 14282 (Apollonopolis, VII CE): acknowledgement of receipt of a corpse: P.Bodl. I 167 (Oasis Magna, July, 311 CE); Mummifiers/em-balmers: P.Köln X 414 [261] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE): νεκροφάφοι; P.OIM 8335 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE), P.Oxy. III 476 (Oxyrhynchus, 159–161 CE).

Papyrus, 11 × 16.2 cm.

- Παπαῦς Ἀσκλαῖτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολλὰ χαίρειν.
 ἀσπάζομαί σε καὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκόν σου.
 ἤδη δευτερόν σοι ἐπιστόλιον γράφω περὶ
 τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ Οὐισέμου στρ[α]τιώτου
 5 τοῦ λεγιοναρίου οὗ ἐνήνοχαν σοι οἱ ἀπὸ
 Τμουναχῆ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Φεβίχης Κουιτει-
 λεῖς καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἔδωκαν τῷ υἱῷ σου.
 καὶ σημεῖον, ὅτι εἰς τὸν νῶτον αὐτοῦ
 ῥάβδον < > καὶ ἐμβεβλημένοι εἰσὶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 10 τὴν ὄνον σου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου καὶ καθέστα-
 καν αὐτὸν ἔσω παρὰ σὸν μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ
 σου. τὰ νῦν ταῦτα πάντα γράφω σοι περὶ
 αὐτοῦ ἵνα αὐτὸν καταστήσῃς εἰς τὴν
 κώμην αὐτοῦ. ἐπ' ἐὶ δὲ ὕβριν προσέλαβα
 15 ὥδε μεγάλην καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμό-
 να με εἴλκυσαν, οὐ καθ' ἑμᾶς ὁ ἐποιήσατέ
 μοι. ἄλλο σημεῖόν σοι γράφω περὶ αὐτοῦ,
 ὅτι ἡ γυνή σου ἐξεληοῦσα ἡγόρακε ὀβο-
 λῶν τεσσάρων ἀρτύματα τῷ ναυτικῷ
 20 τῷ ἀπὸ Τμουναχῆ ἐπικαλουμένῳ Κουι-
 τειλεῖ. οὐ καλῶς μοι ἐχρήσασθε μὴ κα-

ταστήσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐ-
τοῦ. ἀσπάζομαι σε καὶ τὸν υἱόν σου καὶ ὅλον
τὸν οἶκόν σου. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι. Φαρμοῦθι ιθ.

⟨verso⟩

25 ἀπόδος ἐνὶς Κε . . ? Ἀσκληῖτι ἀπὸ [Πα]-
ψαῦτος φίλου.

Apparatus: 5 Pap. ἐνήνεχαν || 6 Pap. κουῖται || 7 Pap. ὕιω || 10 Pap. ὕιου || 10–11
Pap. καθέστα|καν || 11 Pap. ὕιου || 13 Pap. ἵνα || 14 Pap. ὕβριν || 18 Pap. ὅτε || 20
Pap. κουῖ || 21 Pap. ἐχρήσαστε

Papsaus to Askas his brother, many greetings. I greet you and your entire household. I am now writing to you a second letter regarding the body of the soldier from Visemtos, (5) a legionary, whose remains (the transporters) from Tmunache and Phebichis, Quintilius and his companion brought, which they gave to your son. The evidence: they have attached a staff to his back and, throwing him (10) on donkey that belongs to you and your son, together with your son they brought him to you. Now I am writing all these things to you about him, so that you will bring him to his village. Since I have experienced a great (15) insult and they almost brought me before the governor; was this not on account of what you have done to me? I am writing to you (with) another piece of evidence about him: your wife, when she came out, bought spices for four obols for the sailor from (20) Tmunache named Quintilius. You have not treated me well, not bringing him to his proper place. I greet you and your son and your entire house. I pray that you are in good health. Nineteenth day of the month of Pharmouthi.

⟨verso⟩

25 Deliver this to Ke[rkesoucha Orous] . . . to Askas, from Papsaus, his friend).

Notes

Association? Possible; both mortuary workers (249, 259) and donkey drivers elsewhere (207, 290, 293) were organized in guilds.

Location: Ptolemaïs Hormou (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref 2024. Barrington Atlas 75 D2

l. 4. Οὐισέμπτου: Location not known.

ll. 5–6. οἱ ἀπὸ Τμουναχῆ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Φεβῆχιδος. The editors suggest that the plural articles are somewhat misleading, given that only two transporters are really in view. In ll. 19–21, the document states that Kuiteileis comes from Tmunache, so the editors infer that his companion is from Phebichis (p. 152).

l. 8. σημείον: This means “sign”, but here it is better understood as “evidence”. Despite being in another village, the author seems to have indisputable evidence about what his fellow undertaker had done with the corpse. → Youtie 1979.

l. 16–17. οὐ καθ’ ὑμᾶς ὃ ἐποιήσατέ μοι: Cf. P.Ryl. IV 603.5 and P.Oxy. XXXI 2603.12.

Comments

This papyrus witnesses to a well-developed corpse transport guild network. The scenario described in the letter deserves comment, because the details are confusing. Papsaus is writing to his fellow undertaker, Asklas, about the transport of a soldier's body. Apparently, Asklas' son had received the remains of the soldier from one Quintilius and his companion. Papsaus claims he has evidence that the body was placed on a donkey by these transporters and was handed off to Asklas' son to eventually end up in Asklas' possession. Papsaus also seems to know that Asklas' wife bought four obols worth of spices so that the transporters could embalm the body. Despite this, Asklas has failed to send the body along to Papsaus, who is evidently the undertaker in the soldier's village. Because the village thinks Papsaus is responsible for failing to produce the soldier's body, he has suffered not only great shame, but also the threat of legal recourse. Papsaus thus writes to Asklas for the second time about the whereabouts of this corpse.

The editors of the Petaus collection suggest that because this letter concerns a soldier's body, the ἡγεμὼν is a military functionary, as in P.Mich. VIII 466.39. With so little context however, it is unclear how this term should be understood. The letter does not detail what the consequences of appearing before the ἡγεμὼν might be. In any case, the public shame of failing to procure the soldier's body for quite some time, not the threat of punishment, seems to be the impetus for Papsaus to write the second letter to Asklas.

It is noteworthy that the author uses fictive kinship, as well as language of friendship, to correspond with his colleague. The correspondence is thus, despite the accusatory tone, one between equals. Menches, the village scribe of Kerkeosiris, uses "brother," and is called thus in return, when corresponding with others of his rank (P.Tebt. I 55; P.Tebt. I 19).

It is also noteworthy that a complex network of communication seems to be in view here: Papsaus has written at least two letters about this matter to his colleague, and he has apparently received other information about the receipt of the body by Asklas' son and the purchase of spices to embalm it. It is unclear if this information was received in written form as well. The letter also details that at least six people (Quintilius, his companion, Asklas, Asklas' son, Asklas' wife, and Papsaus) are involved in the transport of the body.

Although the location of Oiuementos is unknown, it appears to be close to Ptolemaïs Hormou. From this approximate location, Phebichis is approximately 42 km. up the Nile River. The Barrington Atlas also does not list a settlement called Tmunache, but it is likely Mnachis is an alternative name. If Tmunache is Mnachis, then it is located approximately 65 km SW from Phebichis. Thus, there seems to be a "chain" of locations in view here: Kerkesoucha Horous, Phebichis, and Mnachis, all of which roughly follow the path of the river. If Papsaus is located in Kerkesoucha Orous where this papyrus was archived, we might

surmise that the body is being sent from Upper Egypt, since transporters must come from towns that are up river to deliver the body to Papsaus. The alternative scenario, that the transporters originated from up river, journeyed beyond Kerkesoucha Ouros, and were then expected to return with the body to Kerkesoucha Ouros, seems more complex and thus less likely. Thus, the body must be coming from south of Kerkesoucha Ouros.

In any case, it means that the network of corpse transporters (guild is perhaps too strong of a word given the paucity of evidence in this document) witnessed in this letter is fairly vast. The transporters have journeyed from their own towns to collect the body, and the body still requires transport to the soldier's village. Furthermore, at least two modes of transport of the corpse are attested here: boat (inferred from τῷ ναυτικῷ in l. 19) and donkey. Donkeys were especially common for transportation between cities and villages in a region (Martin 1990, 312).

With respect to the identity of the corpse being a "soldier" and a "legionary" (στρατιώτου τοῦ λεγιωναρίου), there were two legions stationed in Egypt during this period: (1) the Legio II Traiana Fortis which came into existence under Trajan (Cassius Dio 55.24.4) and existed through the fifth century; and (2) the Legio III Cyrenaica, which was probably assembled under the second triumvirate and existed until the fifth century as well.

Literature: Boyaval, Bernard 1995. "Le transport des momies et ses problèmes." In *La Mort au quotidien dans le monde romain*, ed. François Hinard, 109–115. Paris: Éditions de Boccard; **Daniel**, Robert W. 1979. "Notes on the Guilds and Army in Roman Egypt." In *BASP* 16:37–46; **Drexhage**, Hans-Joachim 1994. "Einige Bemerkungen zum Mumientransport und den Bestattungskosten im römischen Ägypten." *Laverna*, 5:167–175; **Haase**, Mareile 2016. "Zur sozialen Wahrnehmung der Bestattungsarbeiter im kaiserzeitlichen und frühchristlichen Ägypten." In *Würde und Last der Arbeit: Beiträge zur neutestamentlichen Sozialethik*, ed. Thomas Söding and Peter Wick. BWANT 209, 85–104. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1964. "Notes on Papyri." In *TAPA* 95:300–332; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1979. "Critical Trifles VIII." In *ZPE* 36:73–76. SER

[240] P.Mich. VIII 511

Recruitment to the Cult of Sarapis

Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

early III CE

Published: Herbert C. Youtie, "The Kline of Sarapis." In *HTR* 41 (1948): 9–29, pp. 15–27; Herbert C. Youtie, and J.M. Winter, *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis, Michigan Papyri VIII*. Univ. of Mich. Studies, Humanistic Series 50 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951) 141–145 (no. 511);

BL VIII 215; Maria Totti, *Ausgewählte Text der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion*, Subsidia epigraphica: Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik 12 (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms, 1985) 128–129 (no. 49) [TM 30511].

Translation: Hubert Metzger, *Nachrichten aus dem Wüstensand: eine Sammlung von Papyruszeugnissen* (Zürich: Artemis, 1974) no. 69

Current location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P.4686

Similar or related documents: → P.Cair.Zen. II 59154 (Philadelphia, 256 BCE): a request to bring “as much wood as possible” and send it by boat to Alexandria for τὴν ἐφορτὴν τῶν Εἰσιειώ[ν]; P.Cair.Zen. II 59191.3–4 (Philadelphia, 255 BCE): orders to send σχίζας | ὅτι πλ[ε]στας; P.Oxy. VIII 1144.15 (Oxyrhynchus, 75–125 CE): a temple account listing ξύλων εἰς θυσίαν; IG XII/5 606 (→ *comment*).

One papyrus, 9.5 × 16.2 cm. Found in Karanis with the archive of the praktor Sokratēs son of Sarapiōn [TM ARCH id. 109]. The verso contains a “few traces of ink,” all that is remaining of the address (*ed. pr.*).

- Πτολεμαῖος τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν.
 γ{ε}ινώσκειν σε θέλω καὶ τὴν μη-
 τέρα μου ὅτι σιωπητικοῦ τῆς
 κλ{ε}ίνης Ἦ κδ καὶ τόπου ἄλλαι Ἦ κβ.
 5 λογισάμενος οὖν ἦρκα ἀγορανο-
 μίαν ἵνα μήτε σιωπητικοῦ μήτε
 τόπου δῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διπλᾶ μέρη λαμ-
 βάνω καὶ χορηγῶ αὐτοῖς ξύλα.
 ἀπ’ ἐντεῦθεν οὖν φρόντισον καὶ
 10 ἐὰν ἀναβῆς λήμψῃ τὸ ναῦλον
 τῶν ὄνων. χρεῖα γάρ ἐστιν ε
 γόμων. ἐὰν δὲ χρεῖα μου ἦ{ν} πέμ-
 ψον μοι φάσιν καὶ καταβήσομαι
 μετὰ ἄλλων δύο φίλων ἵνα μὴ σὺ
 15 κοπιᾷς. καὶ γὰρ ἀντ<ε>ιπ<ε>ῖν ἄνθρωπος
 οὐ δύναται τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι. ἄλλη
 γὰρ δίμηνός ἐστιν <ε>ως τῆς
 κλ{ε}ίνης. ἐὰν δύνῃ τῷ σῷ ὄνῳ
 ἀνενέγκαι αὐτά ἀνένεγκον καὶ
 20 εὐρήσεις εἰς τὴν δαπάνην σου
 τὰς δραχμάς.
 <hand 2> ἔρρωσ{σ}ο.

Apparatus: 12–13 Pap. πέμψεν || 20 Pap. εὐρήσης

Ptolemaios to his father, greetings. I want you and my mother to know that the new initiate’s fee (*σιῶπῆτικον*) for (Sarapis’) *klinē* is 24 drachmae and for a seat (at the table) a further 22 drachmae. (5) Considering this, I have

therefore chosen to be the *agoranomos* so that I will not pay either the new initiate's fee or for a banquet seat, but I will also receive double portions and I will supply the wood for them. For this reason, therefore, consider the matter and if you come up you will receive the freight charges (10) for the donkeys. For we need 5 donkey-loads. If you have need of me, send word and I will come down with two friends so that you don't have (15) to do the work. For it isn't possible for a person to refuse the Lord Sarapis. It is another two months until the banquet. If you are able to bring it up with your own donkey, bring it up, and (20) you will get money (drachmae) for your expenses.

⟨hand 2⟩ Farewell.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; leadership terms: ἀγορανόμος.

Location: Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1008; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

I. 3: σιωπητικόν: literally, a fee for silence. Youtie (1948, 18 n. 43) considers whether this might be the equivalent of the Byzantine *silenatius*, an official whose duty it was to maintain silence or the εὔκοσμος of the Iobakchoi (IG II² 1368 [51]) but dismisses these. Citing the Agrippinilla inscription (IGUR 160), he concludes, plausibly, that the fee is imposed on new initiates who in the cult of Dionysos are called the σιγήται, “the silent ones” (1948, 20).

II. 4, 18: κλίνη: For invitations to the “table” (*klinē*) of Sarapis, → SB XVI 12511 [231] and P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262]. The *klinē* of Sarapis was conceived as a banquet in the presence of the god (see Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 45.27, depicts Sarapis both as host and honoured guest at his banquet. For the κλίνη of Anubis, → SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid- to late-III CE).

II. 5–6: The *agoranomos* in Egyptian cities was normally in charge of conduct within the marketplace (Alston 2002, 190–192). Presumably during festivals, the *agoranomos* might organize the festival, as he did in SEG 11:923.7–40 (Gytheum, near Sparta; 15 CE). In EKM I.Beroia 22.A3 [63] (7 BCE) the *agoranomos* was a liaison between the city and the association for the organization of a festival. The use of *agoranomos* here is a matter of title borrowing; it means “manager,” probably of the banquet.

Youtie (1948, 21) suggests the analogy of P.Petr. II 11 = W.Chr. 223: “Polycrates writes to his father Kleon, the royal engineer of the Fayyum, in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.: γινώσκέ με τὴν ἱεροποιᾶν οἰκονομεῖ[νον] καὶ εἰς γεωμέτρου πορευόμενον. Here the *hieropoios* seems to be the manager of the feast.

The tenure of office for a civic *agoranomos* might have been one year: Oertel (1965, 334) cites O. Wilcken II 360: τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ τοῦ ἐνεσ[τῶτος] δύο καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος (Thebes, 25/24 BCE). But it is unknown whether the tenure of Ptolemaios was meant to be only a single year or more.

I. 7: διπλᾶ μέρη: On double portions, see I.Prose I 40.41 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.39 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); SEG 31:122.19 [50] (Liopepsi, 121/2 CE); IPergamon 374.15 [111] (129–138 CE).

I. 10: ἐὰν ἀναβῇς, “if you come up”: Youtie (15 n. 36) comments that the ἀνα- prefix is consistent with the movement from village (Karanis) to the city (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis or Memphis) → Westermann 1924, 136.

l. 13: καταβήσομαι, “I will come down”: See the note on l. 10.

l. 14: φίλων: It is unclear whether the φίλοι are also members of the cult or other friends.

Comments

The letter, which was found in the archives of Sokratēs, was sent by Ptolemaios to his father, evidently living in Karanis. Youtie (1948) suggests that since Ptolemaios has been invited to the *klinē* of Sarapis, it is natural to suppose that he is either in Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis or Memphis, both of which have Sarapea (Brady 1935, 45). A Sarapeum is attested by OGIS 64 (244–221 BCE) and offerings to Sarapis are found at Krokodilopolis (Tran 1983, 234 no. IVC 20). A *klinē* of Sarapis is also attested in SB XVI 12511 [231] and O.Medin.Madi 31 in Narmothis/Arsinoites (II/III CE) but the uses of ἀναβαίνω/καταβαίνω in ll. 10, 13 are more comprehensible if Ptolemaios is in a nome capital rather than another village like Karanis.

Since the festival is still two months away (l. 17), Youtie (1948, 20–21) thinks that Ptolemaios may have been initiated in the previous year, and has “now completed his probationary period.” Yet the fact that he seems to have been given the choice of entering as a σιωπητικός makes it more likely that he was still at the state of new initiate, but because of his connections or skills was also offered a managerial role.

The wood was for the roasting of sacrifices → above on P.Cair.Zen. II 59154 (Philadelphia, 256 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. II 59191.3–4 (Philadelphia, 255 BCE); P.Oxy. VIII 1144.15 (Oxyrhynchus, 75–125 CE), CIL 10.444.39 (Caposele [Regio III], 81–96 CE) and IG XII,5 606 (Iulis [Cos]):

- 1 ἔδοξεν τοῖς Σαραπιασταῖς·
ἐπειδὴ Ἐπαμείνων Σωμένου
ἀνὴρ καλὸς κάγαθός ὢν διατε-
λεῖ περὶ τὸν θίασον καὶ φιλότι-
- 5 μος, χρείας τε γενομένης ἀργυ-
ρίου εἰς ξυλωνίαν τῷ θιάσῳ προ-
εισήνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον ἄτοκον· [ῥ]-
πως οὖν ἔχωμεν καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν
ἀνδράσιν φιλοτίμοις χρᾶσθαι, δε-
- 10 δόχθαι τοῖς Σαραπιασταῖς ἐπαιné-
σαι Ἐπαμείνονα Σωμένου ἀρετῆς
ἐνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἣν ἔχων δια-
τελεῖ περὶ τὸν θίασον, καὶ στεφανῶ-
σαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἅ –
- 15 νاکηρῶξαι τὸν στέφανον τοῖς
Εἰσιδείοις.

Resolved by the Sarapiastai: Whereas Epameinōn son of Sōmenes, a many of excellent character, has continued to be ambitious in matters concerning the *thiasos*, when there was a need for money for the purchase of wood supplied the *thiasos* with the money without interest; so that we might also have for the other

(matters) ambitious men, the Sarapiastai resolved to commend Epameinōn son of Sōmenes, on account of the excellence and ambitions that he has continued to show towards the *thiasos*, and to crown him with an olive crown and to announce the crowning at the festival of Isis.

Literature: **Alston**, Richard 2002. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge; **Brady**, Thomas A. 1935. *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330–30 B.C.)*. University of Missouri Studies 10/1. Columbia: University of Missouri; **Grenfell**, Bernard P., and Arthur S. **Hunt** 1900. *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*. Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch. London: Egypt Exploration Fund; **Höfler**, Anton 1935. *Der Sarapishymnus des Ailios Aristoteles*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 27. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer; **Kloppenborg**, John S. 2019. “Social Networks and the Dissemination of Elective Cults.” In *EC* 19(2):121–156; **Milne**, J.G. 1925. “The Kline of Sarapis.” In *JEA* 11(1/2):6–9; **Oertel**, Friedrich. [1965] 1917. *Die Liturgie: Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner; **Tran**, Vincent Tam Tinh 1983. *Sérapis debout: corpus des monuments de Sérapis debout et étude iconographique*. EPRO 94. Leiden: Brill; **Wessely**, Karl 1902. “Die Stadt Arsinoë (Krokodilopolis) in griechischer Zeit.” In *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 47/4. Wien: Carl Gerold’s Sohn; **West**, Louis C. 1916. “The Cost of Living in Roman Egypt.” In *CPh* 11(3):293–314; **Westermann**, William L. 1924. “The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe.” In *JEA* 10(2):134–144; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1948. “The Kline of Sarapis.” In *HTR* 41(1):9–29.

[241] SB XVI 12497 Nominations for Liturgies

Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites) 253 CE
Published: Pieter J. Sijpesteijn, “List of Nominations to Liturgies” in *Miscellanea papyrologica*, edited by Rosario Pintaudi; Papyrologica Florentina 7 (Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1980) 341–347 (SB XVI 12497) [TM 14889].
Translation: A. Doug Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2015) 43–44 (partial translation).
Current location: London, British Library Pap 1263 + Vienna, Nationalbibliothek G 32016.

One papyrus. Heroninus archive [TM ARCH id. 103].

«col. i»

1 [±? ἐπὶ τ]ϣ ἀντὶλ(αβέσθαι) . . ()

[±?]

[±? Σισοίς ±?] Σαραπ[±? ο]ν ἀπὸ ’Απολ(λωνίου) Παρεμβολ(ης) ὁμο(ίως)

† A

- [±? ἔσ]τ(ι) Σισφίς κωδ(ᾱς)
 5 [±? εἰς ἐπιμέλιαν το]ῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλ(ει) πραιτωρίου καὶ βαλαν(ε)ίου ἐπὶ
 τῷ ἀντιλ(αβέσθαι) ὁμο(ίως)
 [±? ἀπ]ὸ Ταμίων ἔχων πόρον ⊢ Α
 [±? ἀρ]γυ(ρᾱς) οἰκῶν ἐν τῇ Τελέσφω
 [±? εἰς ἐπιμέλιαν το]ῦ ἐν κώ(μη) Πτολεμαίδι Ὅρμου πραιτωρίου ἐπὶ τῷ
 ἀντιλ(αβέσθαι) ὁμο(ίως)
 [±?]νου ἀπὸ Ἀπολ(ωνίου) Παρεμβολ(ῆς) ἔχων πόρον ⊢ Α
 10 [±?] ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω δι(ᾱ) Ἰσχυρίω(νος) ἀρχ()
 [±? εἰς ἐπιμέλιαν ±?]τρολ() ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντιλαβέσθαι ὁμο(ίως)
 [±?]ωνος ἀπὸ Θεσμοφορίου ἔχων πόρον ⊢ χ
 [±?]αρεα

«col. ii»

- 14 [±?] Traces [±?]
 15 [±?]ς ἀ[πὸ ±?]
 [±?] Ἡρα[±?]
 [±?] Traces [±?]
 . [±?] Traces [±?]
 εἰς [ἐπιμέλιαν ±?] καὶ φ[. . .] . . . [ἐπ]ὶ τῷ ἀντιλ(αβέσθαι) ὁμο(ίως)
 20 [/ / ±?]κρατίωνος ἀπ[ὸ] Γυ(μνασίου) ἔχων πόρον ⊢ Α
 [±?]ντου[. . .]ν[. . .]νι() . . . της ὁμολ()
 // [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . ἀπὸ Ταμίων ὁμο(ίως) ⊢ Α
 ἔστ(ιν) ὁ τοῦ γερδίου ἀπὸ τῆς Κηλε[. . .]ς
 Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Χαιρήμονος ἀπὸ Γυ(μνασίου) ὁμο(ίως) ⊢ Α
 25 ἔστ(ι) Κοπρῆς σπαθαῖρις
 / / Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Δημήτριος Ἑρμίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ Ἀπο[λλ]ω(νίου)
 Παρεμβολ(ῆς) ὁμο(ίως) ⊢ Α
 ἔστ(ι) Ῥιάντης κτενιστής
 . αξ[. . .]ρς ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Φανίου ἀπὸ Ἀπολ(ωνίου) Π[αρε]μβ(ολῆς)
 ὁμο(ίως) ⊢ Α
 ἔστ(ιν) ὁ τοῦ Φανία ἐν τῇ παρεμβολ(ῇ)

«col. iii»

- 30 «traces»
 [±?] . μ[. . .]ς
 [Ἀπολλω]τᾶς ±? μητρ[ὸς] Πασινίκης ἀπὸ Ἀπ[ολ]λ(ωνίου) Παρεμβολ(ῆς)
 ὁμο(ίως) ±? ⊢ ±?]
 [±? ἔστ(ιν) Ἀπολ]λωτᾶς ἐργάτης [±?]
 [±?] τοῦ Καλλινίκου ἀπὸ Τε[μ]ί(ων) ὁμο(ίως) ⊢ ±?]
 35 [±?] . [. . .] . Πετραμμένους [±?]
 [±?]βα [το]ῦ Ἡρωνος ἀπὸ Ταμί(ων) ὁμ[ο] (ίως) ⊢ ±?]

- [ἔστ](ι) θυρουρὸς ἐν οἰκ(ία) Φαγία [±?]
 [±?]ος Μαρίνου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ Ἐρ[μουθιακῆς ὁμο(ίως)] ±?]
 ἔστ(ι) κιπαρᾶς οἰ(κετος) γι(νόμενος) Σαμ [±?]
 40 εἰς ἐπιμέλιαν καστέλλου καὶ κρηνῶν μητροπόλ(εως) . [±?]
 δ Σαραπάμμων ὁ καὶ Ἄριος Νίλου τοῦ Ζωίλου ἀ[πὸ ±?] ±?]
 ἔστ(ι)ν ὁ τοῦ καινοῦ γεφύχ(ου) ἐπ[±?]
 η Ἰσιδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρωνος τοῦ Σωκ[ράτους ±?] ±?]
 ἔστ(ι)ν Ἄγαθος ἐλαιουργὸς ἐν [±?]
 45 ε Θεόδωρος Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος ἀπὸ ±?] ±?]
 ἔστ(ι)ν υἱὸς Ἰσιδώρου οἰκ(οῦντος) ἐν τῷ [±?]
 ζ Ἀμμώνιος Μάγνου τοῦ καὶ Μενούθου ἀπὸ Γ[υ(μνασίου) ὁμο(ίως) ±?] ±?]
 ἔστ(ι)ν Ἀμμώνιος φλυα{ι}ρὸς ἐργάτ[ης ±?]
 β Ἀντώνιος Διόσκορος Ὀριγένους Ἀλεξανδρέ[ως ±?] ±?]
 50 ἔστ(ι) Διόσκορος Χρησιανὸς [±?]

Apparatus: 5, 8 Pap. πλατωρίου || 42 Pap. κενού

Responsibility for ? . . . Sisois son of Sarap. . . From the quarter of Apollōnios, likewise 1000 dr. Sisois is a sleepskin dealer. (5) Responsibility for the praetorium and baths of the metropolis: NN from Tamion, who has wealth (in the range of) 1000 AR dr. living in Telesos. NN son of from . . . Responsibility for the praetorium of the village of Ptolemaïs, likewise . . . [NN] from the quarter of Apollōnios, having 1000 dr. (10) [NN] . . . In the lower . . . through Ischyryion . . . Responsibility for . . . likewise, . . . [NN] from the Thesmophorion, have 600 dr. . . .

(15) . . . Responsibility for . . . likewise . . . (20) son of . . . kration from the gymnasium quarter, having 1000 dr. . . .

. . . from Tamion, likewise (having) 1000 dr. He is a weaver from Kele. . . Ptolemaios son of Herakleidēs son of Chairemon from the gymnasium quarter, likewise (having) 1000 dr. (25) He is the sword maker of Kopre . . . Didymos, also known as Dēmētrios son of Hermias of Ptolemaïs, from the quarter of Apollōnios, likewise, having 1000 dr. He is the wool-carder of Rhiantē. . . . NN also known as Herakleidēs son of Phantias, from the quarter of Apollōnios, likewise having 1000 dr. He is the . . . of Phania in the quarter. . .

(30) . . . [mother of Apollas ?] Pasinikēs from the quarter of Apo Ilonios likewise having ?? dr.; He is a labourer;

[NN] son of Kallinikos from Ta[mion] likewise having ?? dr.

(35) (son) of Petammenis . . . (son) of Heron from Tamion, likewise having ?? dr. He is a door-keeper in the house of Phantias . . .

. . . son of Marinos son of Sarapiōn from Hermouthiake, likewise having ?? dr. He is a gardener (κηπουρός) in the house of Sam. . .

(40) . . . Responsibility for the water reservoir and the fountains of the metropolis:

4th: <hand 1> Sarapammon also known as Arios son of Nilos son of Zoilos from . . . <hand 2> He is the . . . of the new landowner. . .

8th: <hand 1> Isidōros, also known as Herakleidēs son of Heron son of Sokratēs. <hand 2> He is a good man and an oil manufacturer. . .

(45) 5th <hand 1> Theodōros son of Isidōros son of Ischyriion from . . . <hand 2> He is the son of Isidōros who lives in . . .

7th. <hand 1> Ammōnios son of Magnus, also known as Menouthes from the gymnasium quarter likewise . . . <hand 2> Ammōnios is a blabbermouth and a labourer . . .

2nd: <hand 1> Antonios Dioskoros son of Origen the Alexandrian . . . <hand 2> Dioskoros is a Christian. . .

Notes

Association? Possible: Antonios probably belongs to cultic group (Christ followers); the weaver (γέρδιος) might belong to an occupational guild.

Location: Theadelphia (division of Themistos, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 2349; Barrington Atlas, 75 D2.

ll. 6, 12, 20: πόρον, accessible income. In order to be eligible for a liturgy, one had to have a certain level of income, depending on the post. See Lewis 1977, 34–35. P.Col. VIII 239 (Karanis, 220–225 CE) indicates that all those being considered for the role of *sitologos* had wealth of 700–800 dr.

Comments

Apart from this papyrus providing one of the earliest attestations of a Christian being eligible for a compulsory liturgy (which implies at least a modest degree of wealth), and the fact that this papyrus is dated only shortly after the Decian persecutions, this papyrus illustrates the fact that artisans of various sorts – weavers, wool-carders, doormen, oil manufacturers – had sufficient wealth to be considered for liturgical appointments. The list does not mention any associations, but one should assume that Antonios was the member of a cultic group, a Christ group, and it is antecedently likely that the weaver was part of a weavers' guild.

According to Van Minnen (1994, 75), two clerks produced the list and an official then ranked the candidates. The first produced the list of eligible persons, including their name, place of residence, and an estimate of their wealth. Ll. 42, 44, 46 and 48 are from the second hand. “Apparently a second clerk went over the list and added some personal detail about each candidate, presumably to give the reviewer of the list, his superior no doubt, some idea of the suitability of the candidate.” The numbers in ll. 41–49 are those of a third hand, an official who ranked the candidates. The second hand's editorial characterizations imply direct knowledge of the candidates. Interestingly, the Christian ranked second in this list. Unfortunately the first choice is missing in the lacuna. Van Minnen comments that while one might suppose that the Christian would not have been

deemed suitable for public service, that is not how the third official saw matters. “The social and economic position of at least one early Christian in Egypt can be reconstructed with some confidence. Antonius Dioskoros was an urban shopkeeper or craftsman of moderate means, who qualified for a minor public office in his home town. Because of his Alexandrian connection he may have had some advantage over his peers” (1994, 76).

Literature: Lewis, Naphtali 1963. “Leitourgia Papyri: Documents on Compulsory Public Service in Egypt Under Roman Rule.” In *TAPA* 53:1–39; Lewis, Naphtali 1997. *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*. Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli; Sijpesteijn, Pieter J. 1980. “List of nominations to Liturgies.” In *Miscellanea papyrologica*. Edited by Rosario Pintaudi. Papyrologica Florentina 7, 341–347. Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli; Van Minnen, Peter 1994. “The Roots of Egyptian Christianity.” In *APF* 40(1): 71–85; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[242] SB XXII 15787

Declaration of a *koinon* concerning Liturgies

Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites)

IV CE

Published: Pieter J. Sijpesteijn, “Known and Unknown Officials,” *ZPE* 106 (1995) 203–234 (SB XXII 15787); Nikolaos Gonis, “Two New Arsinoite *Curatores Civitatis*?” *ZPE* 137 (2001) 221–222 [TM 41711].

Current Location: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library P. 5529.

Similar or related documents: → SB XXII 15794 (letter to Aurelius); SB XXII 15786 (recommendation of liturgists); SB XXII 15816 (another letter to Oxyrhynchus *logistēs* found at Karanis); P.Petaus 45–47.

One papyrus, 7.2 × 7.2 cm. Found in Karanis, structure 26-B33C-C. The text written on the *recto* running against the fibers, *verso* bears traces of ink under a large ink stain. Broken on right side and bottom. Official letter sent by Aurelius, the representative of a guild (*koinon*) of Oxyrhynchus(?) to the *logistēs* (?) of the same city, giving him the names of persons who could be designated for liturgies.

recto

Φλαουίω Λογγ[ίνω ±?]
παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶ[ν ±? τῆς]
αὐτῆς πόλεως δι(ὰ) Α[ὑρηλίου ±? δί-]
δομεν καὶ προσαγ[γέλλομεν τῶ ἰδίῳ]

5 ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ [±?]

⟨Traces of 1 line⟩

6 -----

Apparatus: 1: Sijpesteijn: Λόγγ[ω λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυγχίτου ±? || 3–4: Pap [δι]δωμεν.

To Flavius Long[— — curator? of Oxyrhynchus], from the guild (*koinon*) of the [— —] of the same city, through Aurelius [— —]. We present and report at our [own] risk . . . [— —]

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: τὸ κοινόν τῶ[ν ±? τῆς] αὐτῆς πόλεως; collective interaction with local official about liturgies.

Location: Karanis (division of Herakleidēs, Arsinoites). TM geo ref. 1008; Barrington Atlas 75 D1.

1. 1: [...λογιστῇ: charged with the *cura rei publicae*, often in charge of the finances of the entire city, especially those of the local guilds and the nomination of liturgical offices (→ Oertel 1917, 349–450). For a list of *logistai* in Oxyrhynchus between 303 and 346 CE → Coles 1987, 222–229.
1. 4: [δίδ]ωμεν καὶ προσαγ[γέλλομεν] was a common way to submit a name or nominate someone; δίδωμι alone was more common in I–II cent. (BGU 908) and the dual verbal deployment was more common in III–IV CE. Gonis notes this form may point away from Oxyrhynchus since the term εἰσαγγέλλομεν was more common in the region. However, such phrasing occurs in two other Arsinoite papyri (P.Leit 3; P.Sakaon 52).

Comments

This text is from the University of Michigan excavations at Karanis 1927/8. Sijpesteijn 1995 argued that this text was from Oxyrhynchus and was addressed to an “as yet unattested curator” of the Oxyrhynchite nome, citing SB XXII 15790 (P.Mich, inv. 3029a, 391 CE), which is also found in Karanis, but addressed to a *logistēs* in Oxyrhynchus: Φλαβίῳ Παύλῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυγχίτου | παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Οὐενάφρεως. Flavius Paulus is in fact known from PSI X 1103.3 (Oxyrhynchus, 381 CE).

Both Sijpesteijn (1995) and Gonis (2001), however, noted that Flavius Longinus is otherwise unknown and hence, for according to Gonis, the grounds are weaker for identifying him as an Oxyrhynchite *logistēs*. “Unless there is evidence to the contrary, if a document addressed to a curator of a *civitas* whose name is lost is found in the ruins of a house at Karanis, the most economical hypothesis would be that the *civitas* in question is the one whose territory included Karanis: Arsinoiton polis” (Gonis 2002, 221).

SB XXII 15787 is most likely a recommendation of one or more liturgists by one of the many guilds attested in Arsinoites, though the name of the guild has been cut off. The text is almost identical in wording to SB XXII 15786 (P.Mich. inv. 4788b; Karanis, 310 CE) which has the full text of a liturgist recommendation:

Αὐρηλίῳ Χρήστῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) [Ἀρσινοίτου]
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Κασίου Πελαγίου κα[ὶ] Αὐρηλίου ±?]

- ἀμφοτέρων κομαρχῶν κώμη[ς Καρανίδος, δίδομεν]
καὶ προσαγ' γέλλομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν [κινδύνῳ τοὺς ἐξῆς]
5 ἐνγεγραμμένον[ος] ὄν[τα]ς εὐπόρους καὶ ἐπι[τηδείους ±?]]
〈traces of one additional line〉

To Aurelios Chrēstos, stratēgos [of Arsinoite nome] from Aurelius Kasios son of Pelagus and [Aurelius...], both komarchs of the village [Karanis. We submit] and report at our own risk, the persons mentioned [here], Since they are men of property and qualified [---]

This text likely belongs to the archive of Aurelius Isidorus (TM ARCH id. 34). It is not probable that Aurelius Isidorus was one of the names proposed for a liturgy since he had been proposed for the office of komarch in 302 CE (P.Cair.Isid. 125).

It was usually the duty of the *komogrammateus* to recommend citizens for liturgies based on their abilities and financial status. These recommendations would be sent to the *stratēgos*, as is the case above in SB XXII 15786. Higher level positions required an appeal to the *epistratēgos* from the *komogrammateus* or in this case, as was common from the III CE onwards, the *logistēs*. These liturgists were usually meant to serve their own communities but *komogrammateis* and other higher level officials were often sent to work in communities away from their own in order to avoid conflicts of interest. Unlike the *komogrammateus*, whose average tenure was three to five years and funded by local taxes, the average liturgist served a public unpaid position for one year.

In the texts above, it is not clear for which position these men are being recommended. Some of the most commonly attested public liturgies in Egypt are those of *sitologoi* (grain officials), *epiplooi* (cargo supervisors) and various security positions (*phylakes*). Lewis (1963) offers 16 different papyrus fragments that deal with the issue of public liturgies. The collection of texts show the intricacies of the nomination process such as the listing of the qualifications for office (wealth and land holdings) and petitions in protest of certain nominations. There are also several instances of people attempting to opt out of service owing to age or to acquire substitutes to finish out a term. People often attempted to acquire these substitutes due to old age or illness making them unfit for office.

Literature: Coles, Revel A. 1987. "The *Curatores Civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus, 303–346." In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume LIV*, 223–229. London: Egypt Exploration Society; Gonis, Nikolaos 2001. "Two New Arsinoite *Curatores Civitatis*?" *ZPE* 137:221–222; Lewis, Naphtali 1963. "Leitourgia Papyri: Documents on Compulsory Public Service in Egypt under Roman Rule." In *TAPA* 53(9):1–39; Lewis, Naphtali 1982. *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*. Papyrologica Florentina XI, Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli; Lewis, Naphtali 1983. *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*. Oxford: Clarendon; Oertel, Friedrich 1917. *Die Liturgie: Studien zur ptolomäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner. Jördens, A. 2012. "Government, Taxation and Law." In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, edited by Christina Riggs, 56–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press. PS/JSK

UPPER EGYPT

[243] I.Prose I 3

A *Synodos* of the Dionysiac Artists

Ptolemaïs Hermiou (Thinites, 8th Upper Egyptian nome) 269–246 BCE

Published: E. Miller, “Inscriptions grecques d’Égypte,” *BCH* 9 (1885) 131–146, pp. 140–141 (no. 2); P. Jouguet, “Documents ptolémaïques,” *BCH* 21 (1897) 184–208, pp. 191–192; Max L. Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1897) 225; Michel, *RIG* 1018; Dittenberger, *OGIS* I 50; J.G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905) 17 (no. 9270); Walther Janell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften, griechisch und deutsch* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906) 113–114 (no. 160); R. Helbing, *Auswahl aus griechischen Inschriften* (Berlin and Leipzig: Götschen, 1915) 129–130 (no. 35); SB V 8854; M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1964) 63 (no. 57); A. Pickard-Cambridge, J. Gould and D.M. Lewis, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 310; Bernand, *I.Prose* I:16–17; 2:20–22 (no. 3); Brigitte Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l’époque hellénistique*, Études d’archéologie classique XI–XII (Nancy and Paris: Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l’Antiquité, 2001) no. 60; Sophia Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003) 395–396 (no. E1) [*TM* 6374; *CAPInv* 115]

Translation: R.M. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*, Library of religion 2 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953) 14; *AGRW* 297.

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 9270.

Similar or related documents: → *I.Prose* I 6 [244] (same association); *OGIS* I 48.

Limestone stele, 114 × 59 cm. slab with a pediment 62 cm. wide, discovered in 1884. Letter height: 0.7–1.4 cm., “shallow but well cut” according to Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, 17.

ἔδοξεν τοῖς τεχνίταις τοῖς περὶ τὸν
Διώνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοῖς
τὴν σύνοδον νέμουσιν, στεφανῶσαι
Διονύσιον Μουσαίου πρῶτανιν διὰ βίου
5 κισσοῦ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εὐνοίας
ἐνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Πτολεμαίων
καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς [περὶ] τὸν μέγαν
Διώνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφούς.
ἀναγ[ορε]ῦσαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον τοῖς

- 10 Διονυσίοις καὶ ἀναγραφῆναι [τὸ]
 ψήφισ[μά] τόδε εἰς στή[λ]ην [καὶ] ἀναθεῖναι
 πρὸ τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ Διονύσου. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα
 τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην δοῦναι τὸν οἰ[κον]όμο[ν]
 Σωσίβιον.

The Artists (*technitai*) associated with Dionysos and the Sibling Gods, and those who participate in the association (*synodos*), resolved that Dionysios son of Mousaios, president (*prytanis*) for life, be crowned with an ivy wreath (5) according to ancestral custom on account of the good will he has shown to the city of Ptolemaïs and to the Artists associated with the great Dionysos and the Sibling Gods. They (resolved) to announce the crowning at the (10) festival of Dionysos and to inscribe this decree on a stele and to set it up in front of the temple of Dionysos. Sosibios the treasurer (*oikonomos*) will pay for the cost of the stele.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devotion to Dionysos and the Ptolemaic house; associative term: σύνδοξ; τεχνίται οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφοὺς καὶ οἱ τὴν σύνδοξον νέμοντες; leadership terms: οἰκονόμος; collective dedication to a patron; the same σύνδοξ is attested in 244.

Location: Ptolemaïs Hermiou (Thinites, 8th Upper Egyptian nome). Trismegistos geo ref. 2023. Barrington Atlas 77 F4.

1. 1: τεχνίται: The Artists were professional performers of the Greek dramas and performances associated with the cult and festivals of Dionysos. They included professional poets, actors, musicians, dancers, and those required to put on the performances, such as choir directors, costumers, and mask makers. → I.Prose I 6 [244], an inscription from Ptolemaïs Hermiou honouring Lysimachos which lists the roles of the members of the Dionysiac artists.
1. 1: περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον: A common expression used by Dionysiac *technitai*. Some other associations also used this way of designating their group, for example: IG XII/7 246 (Amorgos, undated): οἱ | [κορδακι]στὰι | [τῶν περ]ὶ τὸν Πύθι|[ον] Ἀπόλλωνα κορ|δάκων, “the dancers of the cordax associated with the Apollonian Pythia; IG XIV 1107 (Rome, 200–250 CE): σύνδοξ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶ, “the synod of athletes associated with Hēraklēs”; see also IEph 1084; Aphrodisias 5; and LSAM 58.6–7 (Olympos, II BCE): τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω|[να κα]ὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν, “the priests associated with Apollo and Artemis.”
1. 2: Ptolemy II Philadelphos and his wife Arsinoe II Philadelphos were worshipped as the “Brother-and-Sister” or “Sibling” gods with the cult beginning prior to Arsinoe’s death in 269 BCE.
1. 3: τοῖς τὴν σύνδοξον νέμουσιν: → I.Alex.imp. 93.2 [172] *note*. The membership of this association of Dionysiac Artists seems to be composed of two separate groups, the artists and those who participate in managing (?) the games. → *Comment*.
1. 4: Διονύσιον Μουσαίου is also mentioned in OGIS I 48.2–8 (Ptolemaïs, 278/77 BCE) as the president of a college of six *prytaneis*: ἐπειδὴ πρυτάνεις | οἱ σὺν Διονυσίῳ

Μουσαίου τοῦ ὀγδόου ἔτους, | Διονύσιος Μουσαίου Ὑλλεύς, Ἰπ[πία]ς Δίωνος
 Με||γιστεύς, Κρατίος Προκρίτου Φιλωτέρειος, Κίσσος | Νεάρχου Ἀνδ[α]νιεύς,
 Ἡλιδωρος Νικομάχου Δαναεύς, | Νεοπτόλεμος Θεοδόρου Καρανεύς, καλῶς καὶ
 ἀξίως | τῆς πόλεως προέστησαν. . . .

- l. 4: διὰ βίου: Associations often conferred this honorary title on benefactors and patrons of the group who held various offices, priests. → GRA I 447. This title usually indicates that the individual has set up an endowment (RDGE 269).
- l. 5: κισσοῦ στεφάνῳ, “ivy wreath.” → IG II² 1325.28 [32] *note*. The ivy wreath was associated with Dionysos and given to the winners of the dramatic contests at the festival of Dionysos as well as to benefactors of drama → IG II² 347, 551, 1320.
- l. 10: τὰ Διονύσια: the festival of Dionysos.

Comments

While this honorary inscription does not give a precise date, it documents the presence of the Dionysiac Artists in Egypt in the third century BCE, sometime after the first celebration of the Sibling Gods in 269 BCE and before the death of Ptolemy II Philadelphos in 246 BCE. Kallixenes of Rhodes (*apud* Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5.196–203) describes the participation of the Dionysiac Artists in the procession of the Ptolemaieia, the dynastic festival inaugurated by Ptolemy II Philadelphos in honour of his father Ptolemy I Soter (280–278 BCE) (→ Thompson 2000). Perhaps even more suggestive is a panegyric to Ptolemy, in which Theocritus suggests Philadelphos personally rewarded contestants in the Dionysia for their τέχνη (Theocritus *Id.* 17.112–114), which is a plausible reference to the *technitai*. Beyond participation in festivals and processions, the inscription here also indicates that the Artists took an active part in the presentation of royal power through the royal cult (Lightfoot 2002, 220–224; Rostovtzeff 1964, 1048–1051).

This association itself appears to be comprised of two groups of members, performers and organizers of the festivals. A decree concerning Dionysiac *technitai* in Ankyra (IGRR III 209; 128–129 CE) mentions three groups of members: the sacred victors who have won and been crowned (ἱερο[ν]εικῶν στεφανειῶν), their colleagues (οἱ τούτων συ[ν]αγωνιστῶν), and those who manage the sacred theatrical company (τῶν νεμόντων τὴν ἱερὰν θυμελικὴν σύνοδον). Bernand suggests that οἱ τὴν σύνοδον νέμοντες may have been similar to the *proxenoi* and *philotechnitai* listed in I.Prose I 6, that is, sponsors of the association who were also members (for a discussion on *proxenoi* → I.Prose I 6 *comment*). There are some indications, however, that artists were assigned (*nemēsis*) or enrolled (*katalogē*) in the various contests at the festivals (Aneziri 2003, 113–115). A decree of Amphycions from Delphi records that the *technitai* assigned various performers to contests at the *Trietērides* (the Dionysiac festival celebrated in Thebes, co-organized by the Isthmian-Nemean Dionysiac Artists):

αἱ τίς κα τῶν αὐλητῶν ἢ τῶν χορευτῶν ἢ τῶν τραγωιδῶν ἢ τῶν κω[μωιδῶν τῶν
 νε]μηθέντων εἰς τὰς τριετηρίδας ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν μὴ ἀγωνίζεται [τ]ας
 τριετηρίδας (CID 4:71, 5–7)

If any of the flute players or the dancers or the tragedians or comedians who were assigned to the Trietērides by the *technitai* do not compete in the Trietērides ...

The honorand, Dionysios, was a high-ranking official in the city of Ptolemaïs. A decree from the council meeting (OGIS I 48) of the *boulē* and *dēmos* records that Dionysios was a president of a college of six *prytaneis* of Ptolemaïs (→ also SB IV 7403) and recognizes him for his role suppressing disturbances during the elections of magistrates. The decree also places Dionysios as the resident eponymous official of Ptolemaïs, dating the activities of the council by his eighth year in the office (OGIS I 48, line 2–3). In I.Prose I 3 above, Dionysios is recognized as president for life (πρύτανις διὰ βίου). Sherk (1992, 269) points out in his study of eponymous officials that such a title would normally indicate that Dionysios has set up an endowment in perpetuity. Having such a prestigious benefactor, along with their role in Philadelphos' ruler cult of *theoi adelphoi*, indicates the elite connections the Artists enjoyed in the royal regimes of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Literature: Aneziri, Sophia 1994. "Zwischen Musen und Hof: Die dionysischen Techniten auf Zypern." In *ZPE* 104:179–198; Aneziri, Sophia 1997. "Les synagognistes du théâtre grec aux époques hellénistique et romaine: une question de terminologie et de fonction." In *Pallas: Revue d'études antiques* 47, 53–72; Aneziri, Sophia 2003. *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine*. Historia Einzelschriften 163. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner; Ceccarelli, P. 2004. "'Autour de Dionysos': Remarques sur la dénomination des artistes dionysiaques." In *Le Statut de l'Acteur dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*, ed. C. Hugoniot, F. Hurllet, and S. Milanezi, 109–142. Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais; Grant, F.C. 1953. *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*. Library of religion 2. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill; Le Guen, Brigitte 2001. *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*. Études d'archéologie Classique XI–XII. Paris: de Boccard; Lightfoot, J.L. 2002. "Nothing to Do with the *Technitai* of Dionysus?" In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. P. E. Easterling and Edith Hall, 209–224. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press; Paganini, Mario C.D. 2017. "Greek and Egyptian Associations in Egypt." In *Hellenism and the Local Communities of the Eastern Mediterranean 400 BCE–250 CE*, ed. Boris Chrubasik and Daniel King, 131–54. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; Pickard-Cambridge, A.W. 1968. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. 2nd ed., revised by John Gould and D.M. Lewis. London: Oxford University Press, 286–309; Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1964. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Clarendon; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck; Sherk, Robert K. 1992. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV: The Register: Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor." In *ZPE* 93:223–272; Sherk, Robert K. 1993. "The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities V." In *ZPE* 96:267–295, esp. 289; Thompson, D.J. 2000. "Philadelphus' Procession: Dynastic Power in a Mediterranean Context." In *Politics, Administration and Society in the*

Hellenistic and Roman World: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Bertinoro 19–24 July 1997, ed. Leon Mooren, 365–388. Leuven: Peeters; **Tondriau**, J. 1950. “La Dynastie ptolémaïque et la religion dionysiaque.” In *CdÉ* 25(50):283–316. RJO

[244] I.Prose I 6

Honorific Decree and Membership List

Ptolemaïs Hermiou (Thinites, 8th Upper Egyptian nome) ca. 246 BCE
 Published: E. Miller, “Inscriptions grecques d’Égypte,” *BCH* 9 (1885) 131–146, 131–140 (no. 1); Max Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1897) 225–226 (no. 36); Michel, *RIG* 1017; Dittenberger, *OGIS* I (1903) 51; J.G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905) 18–19 (no. 9284); G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Ägypten*, Leipziger historische Abhandlungen 18 (Leipzig 1910) 60–61; SB V 8855; M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private* (Milano, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1964) 63–66 (no. 58); A. Pickard-Cambridge, J. Gould and D.M. Lewis, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 310 (no. 5b); André Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien d’après les textes grecs. I. Les confins libyques* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1970) 458; H.J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977) II D 3a; I.Prose I 18–21 (no. 6); Brigitte Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l’époque hellénistique, Études d’archéologie classique XI–XII* (Paris: de Boccard, 2001) no. 61; Sophia Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003) 396–397 (no. E2) [TM 6375; CAPInv 115]

Translation: AGRW 298

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 9284.

White limestone stele, 105 × 50 cm. with a triangular pediment 53 cm. wide. Letter height: 0.10–0.14 cm, “well cut” (according to Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, 18). Forty-six lines of inscription, the lower part in 3 columns. Discovered in a house in Menshieh (Ptolemaïs).

ἐδοξεν τεχνίταις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ
 θεοῦς Ἀδελφούς· ὃ ἐπειδὴ Λυσίμαχος Πτολεμαίου
 Σωστρατεύς, ὁ ὑπάρχης καὶ πρύτανις διὰ βίου, τὴν τε
 εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς τούτου γονεῖς εὖνοιαν

- 5 καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ πλειόνων ἀπο-
 δέδεικται, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακεῖμενος τυγχάνει,
 τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται,
 καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντι-
 10 λαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συν-
 επιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναυξέσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα,
 καλῶς δ' ἔχει τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπι-
 σημαιομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς,
 δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν
 15 ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπογέγραπται, στεφανῶσαι
 Λυσίμαχον κιττοῦ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
 τῇ ἰα τοῦ Περιτίου μηνὸς τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἀρετῆς
 ἕνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τε βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
 καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας
 20 τῆς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς τούτου γονεῖς καὶ τῇ[ς]
 εἰς τοὺς τεχνίτας, τύχηι τῇ ἀγαθῇ. ἀναθεῖναι δ' αὐτ[οῦ]
 καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῇ προστάδι τοῦ πρυτανεῖον.
 ἀναγράφαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ κοινοῦ
 Δήμαρχον τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε εἰς στήλην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
 25 πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Διονύσου· τὸ δ' εἰς ταῦτ' ἀνάλωμα
 δοῦναι τὸν οἰκονόμον Σωσίβιον.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 27 Ζώπυρος ὁ πρὸς τοῖς
ἱεροῖς τῆς
τριετηρίδος καὶ
ἀμφιετηρίδος καὶ
τούτου ἀδελφοί·
Διονύσιος, | 47 τραγῳδός·
Μητροδωρος.
κωμικοί· | 62 αὐλητὴς τραγικῶ[ς]·
Θραικίδης.
σαλπικτῆς |
| 30 Ταυρῖνος.
τραγῳδιῶν ποιηταί·
Φαίνιππος,
Διόγνητος.
κωμικοῖς ποιηταί· | 50 Τελέμαχος,
Ἀγαθόδωρος,
Ἀπολ[λάνιος],
Ἀσκληπιό[δ]ωρος
Ἀπολλωνίου,
Ἀπο[λλ]ωνίος, | 65 Θρασύμαχος.
σκευοποιός· Βάτων.
πρόξενοι·
Δημήτριος,
Φαίδιμος, |
| 35 Στράταγος,
Μουσαῖος.
ἐπῶν ποιηταί·
Δήμαρχος,
Θεογένης, | 55 Διόδωρος.
συναγωνισταί
τραγικοί·
Ἀπολλωνίδης
Ἄρχωνος,
Κλεῖτος,
[Π]τολεμαῖος, | 70 Ἀρτεμ[ίδωρος],
Σπουδί[αιος],
Διονύσιο[ς].
φιλοτεχνῖται·
Δημήτριος, |
| 40 Ἀρτεμίδωρος.
κιθαρωιδός·
Μένιππος.
κιθαριστής·
Ἡράκλειτος. | 60 [Ζώ]πυρος
[χορ]οδιδ[ά]σ-
κ[αλος]· | 75 Στέφανος,
Λέων,
Ἀρτεμίδωρος,
Δημήτριος,
Ἀριστόνους, |
| | 61a --- | 80 --- |

45 ὀρχηστής·

Πτολεμαῖ[τος].

46a — — —

The Artists associated with Dionysos and the Sibling gods resolved: Whereas Lysimachos son of Ptolemaios of the Sostratic deme, the cavalry commander and president (*prytanis*) for life has displayed good will – and even now in many ways continues to do so – to the king and to the king's parents (5), and most importantly even now and by many ways was piously and reverently devoted to Dionysos and the other gods; and he treated the guild of Artists generously (*philanthrōpōs*) in all things, and readily assisted each member and the group as a whole, and (10) energetically gave himself for the growth of the theatrical craft (*techniteuma*); (and whereas) it is good that such distinguished men as these be honoured with the conspicuous honours, the association (*koinon*) of the Artists associated with Dionysos, (15) whose names are written below, resolved that Lysimachos be crowned with a ivy wreath in the ancestral way on the eleventh of the month of Peritios at the festival of Dionysos (*Dionysia*), on account of the excellence and reverence that he has shown to King Ptolemaios and to Dionysos and the other gods and the good will he has towards the king and (20) his parents and which he has shown to the Artists; for good fortune! (It is resolved that) a painted image of him shall be set up in the vestibule (*prostas*) of the magistrates' hall (*prytaneion*); and the secretary (*grammateus*) of the association, Demarchos, shall inscribe this decree on the stele and set it (25) up in front of the temple of Dionysos. Sosibios the treasurer (*oikonomos*) shall pay the expenses for these things.

Zopyros, who is in charge of the sacred rites for the triennial and annual festivals and his brothers; Dionysios and (30) Taurinos	Tragic actor: Metrodōros; Comics actors: (50) Telemachos Agathodōros Apollōnios Asklepodōros son of Apollōnios	Tragic flute player: Thraikides Trumpet player: (65) Thrasymachos Mask maker: Baton <i>Proxenoι</i> :
Tragic poets: Phainippos and Diognetos; Comic poets: (35) Stratagos and Mousaios; Epic poets: Demarchos, Theogenes,	Apollōnios (55) Diodōros Tragic <i>synagonistai</i> Apollonides Archonos Kleitos Ptolemaios (60) Zopyros Chorus director	Dēmētrios, Phaidimos (70) Artemidōros Spoudias Dionysios Honorary members: Dēmētrios (75) Stephanos Leon Artemidōros

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----|------------|
| (40) Artemidōros; | --- | Dēmētrios |
| Singer with a lyre: | | Aristonous |
| Menippos; | | |
| Lyre player: | | |
| Herakleitos; | | |
| Dancer: | | |
- (45) Ptolemaios. . .

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to Dionysos and the Ptolemies; associative term: τὸ κοινόν, τεχνίται οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Ἀδελφοῦς; leadership terms: γραμματεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ, οἰκονόμος; membership list; banquets/festivals; collective dedication to a patron.

Location: Ptolemaïs Hermiou (Thinites, 8th Upper Egyptian nome). Trismegistos geo ref. 2023; Barrington Atlas 77 F4.

1. 2: θεοὶ ἀδελφοί: → I.Prose I 3.2 [243] *note*.
1. 3: ἱπάρχη; “commander,” an office connected to the royal service of the king (cf. Sherk 1992, 269). That these were often eponymous officials in the Greek *polis* can be seen in a decree of traders from Asia honouring Antonia Tryphaena, IMT 1431(= AGRW 108, 41–54 CE).
1. 3: πρύτανις διὰ βίου: → I.Prose I 3 [243] *Note and Comments*.
1. 4: τοὺς τοῦτου γονεῖς: Ptolemy II’s parents.
1. 11: τεχνίτευμα: A rare word sometimes used to refer to a work of art, but here designates something more along the lines of πολιτεύμα, which can mean citizenship in general, or ιεράτευμα, the priesthood.
1. 17: τοῦ Περιτίου μηνός: Peritios is the fourth month of the Macedonian calendar.
1. 41: καθαρωιδός: one who plays and sings to the kithara. The kithara was a professional version of the two-stringed lyre. As opposed to the simpler lyre, which was a folk-instrument, the kithara was primarily used by professional musicians, called *kitharodes*.
1. 44 κιθαριστής: a kithara player.
1. 56: συναγωνισταὶ τραγικοί, “supporting tragic actors”: Other inscriptions regarding Dionysiac Artists also list supporting actors for comedy (SIG³ 690: Delphi, 130 BCE) and supporting actors as a separate group alongside the Artists: [οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται][οἱ ἐπ’ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου]καὶ οἱ τούτων συναγων[ισταὶ] (ITeas 27: Teos, imperial period).
- 1.67 πρόξενοι: While some have seen these as “honorary guests” (Bernand, Le Guen), these are most likely official “envoys” or “ambassadors” (Pickard-Cambridge) as modelled after *proxeny* among cities → *Comments*.
- 1.73 φιλοτεχνίται: friends of the art, that is, benefactors.

Comments

This decree by the Dionysiac Artists in Egypt shows the degree to which they presented themselves as conforming to a Greek civic organizational model. As

Bernand (1970, 458) observes, the language of this inscription adheres to the formulae of Greek civic honorific decrees. Beginning with the conventional ἔδοξεν (l.1) and followed with the introductory ἐπειδὴ (l. 2), this decree employs standard terms often used in civic honorary decrees: ἀποδεδείκται (ll. 4–5; e.g. IG II² 283), τυγχάνει (l. 7; e.g., IG II² 908), χρῆται (l. 8; e.g. SEG 4:395), ἀντιλαμβάνεται (l.9–10; e.g., SEG 25:149). Moreover, the *technitai* describes what it does as *techniteuma* (l. 11), a word analogous to *politeuma*. For Jane Lightfoot this analogy is at the level of a claim for autonomy, as she states, “[j]ust as a *politeuma* is a self-governing body of citizens, the *technē* has its own political existence, its own rights of self-determination, as a *polis*” (2002, 223). The Dionysiac Artists also appointed officials after the civic model, which we can see in this inscription in the offices of secretary (*grammateus*, l. 23), treasurer (*oikonomos*, l. 26), *proxenoi* (l. 67), and *philotechnitai* (l. 73). These civic offices are appointed alongside the dramatic roles, poets, musicians (kithar and flute players), dancers, and actors, and those support roles necessary to put on the dramatic festivals: chorus director, mask and prop maker, and those who performed the sacrifices. Some members occupy both administrative and dramatic roles, e.g. Demarchos the *grammateus* is also an epic poet (l. 38).

The role of the *proxenoi* for the Dionysiac artists is not elaborated on in this inscription. Some have seen these offices as “honorary guests,” who are benefactors or “friends” of the *technitai* analogous to the οἱ τὴν σύνοδον νέμοντες in I.Prose I 3 (Bernand; Le Guen; Csapo and Slater 1994). Others have emphasized the civic model where such roles would be more like an envoy or ambassador, who would act as their representatives (Pickard-Cambridge; Lightfoot 2002). There are several other honorary inscriptions by Dionysiac Artists for *proxenoi* (CID IV 112; IG VII 2486; IG XIV 615; SEG 32:438; 34.974; 37.388), most of which are very fragmentary. The artists were not the only association that appointed and honoured *proxenoi*. An inscription of a *synod* of ship owners and merchants records their application to the Athenian *boulē* to honour their *proxenos*, Dionysios son of Theophilos, who was a demesman of Halai and also the harbor supervisor (IG II² 1012 [42]). Also, cities honoured other poets as their *proxenoi* as seen in an inscription from Malis in central Greece (IG IX/2 63; III/II BCE):

[ἀγαθαὶ τύχα]· ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει· [ἐπειδὴ Πολί]τας Πολίτα Ὑπαταῖο[ς] | [ποιητὴς ἐ]πῶμ παραγενόμενο[ς] | [ἐν τὰμ] πόλιν δείξεις ἐποιήσατ[ο] | [ἐν αἷς] τὰς πόλιος ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσ[θη], | [εἶν]αι αὐτὸν πρόξενον τὰς πόλιος καὶ | [ε]ὐεργέταν, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πόλιν τε ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ γὰρ[ς] | καὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτησιν καὶ ἐπινομίαν | καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κατὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ | θάλασσαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης κα[ὶ] | αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ χρήμασιν τὸν | ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις | προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις δίδεται πά[ν]τα. ἀρχόντων Θεομνάστου, Ζεῦξιος, Δε[ξι]||[κ]ράτεος, στραταγέοντος Φιλίππου τοῦ Δε[ξι]||[κρ]άτεος, ἱππαρχέοντος Μενεφύλου, ἐγγ[υος] | τὰς προξενίας Φίλιππος Δεξικράτεο[ς].

For good fortune, the polis resolved: Since Politas son of Politas, from the deme Hypate, an epic poet, came to the city and made performances, in which he

mentioned the city worthily, he shall be a *proxenos* of the city and a benefactor, and citizenship for all times is to be given to him, and the right of possessing land and of owning a house, and the right of pasture, and safety both on sea and land, in peace and war, to him and his descendants, and their property, for all times, and all that is given to other *proxenoi* and benefactors. Archons were Theomnastes, Zeuxis, Dexicrates, the general was Philip son of Dexicrates, hipparchos was Meneplylos, and Philipp son of Dexicrates, is certifying the right of proxeny.

This inscription details the privileges given to *proxenoi* including citizenship and property, as well as privileges that are similar to those given to the Artists, ἀσφάλεια, “safety” during travel (see below). These privileges were extended to the kin of the *proxenos* Politas in perpetuity. Given the degree to which the Dionysiac Artists act like a Greek city by issuing decrees, appointing civic officers, and sending and receiving ambassadors with cities (see also IMagMai 89.52–87, where the Dionysiac Artists of Teos and Magnesia send and receive delegates, θεωποί, with the demos of Magnesia), it is likely that the *proxenoi* is not merely an honorary title but an office patterned on the civic model. It is notable that organization as a city-like group is a common practice for other associations. Associations’ mimicry of civic organization was as a “fictive” or “fantasy” *polis* (Lightfoot 2002, 222), having more of a social than political function, for example, the internalization of hierarchical civic structure (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011, 6) or the replacement of a lack of “meaningful political life” (Lightfoot 2002, 222). Yet, the Dionysiac *technitai* stand out in this regard because Greek cities and political elites did act as though these associations were cities.

The main concern between the cities and the *technitai* is the celebration of various festivals, in particular the Dionysia. They claim that they are particularly pious in their service to the gods in performing the dramatic contests and sacrifices at these festivals, and that they have been treated with *philanthrōpia* (I. 7) by Greek cities and prestigious benefactors because of this piety. Many other Dionysiac inscriptions detail what these acts of generosity involved: ἀσλία, freedom from seizure, ἀσφάλεια, security against danger (e.g., FD III 2.68), among other privileges. The royal patronage of Philadelphus’ and his elite courtiers, such as Lysimachos son of Ptolemaios, not only illustrates the elite connections of the Dionysiac artists, but also that such a relationship was in some sense mutually reinforcing: that both the artists and the royal elite were pious and authoritative devotees of the Greek gods and their festivals, particularly Dionysos (Csapo and Slater 1994, 240).

In this context, there may be a further valence that can be added to the function of the *proxenoi*. In her study of the role of *proxenoi* at the cultic centers located in Delphi, Olympia, Emporia, and Naukratis, Demetriou suggests that *proxenoi* may have had an intermediary role at cultic sites, which were in some sense exclusive, yet wanted to facilitate the participation of metics and *xenoi* (Demetriou 2012; see also Gauthier 1972). In other words, *proxenoi* acted as

guarantors for foreigners and performed sacrifices on their behalf. She argues that in this way foreigners were “incorporated, if only temporarily, into the community and thus surmounted restrictions that otherwise existed on participating in specific cults” (Demetriou 2012, 235). While there is no evidence in the inscription above that the *proxenoi* of the Dionysiac *technitai* assumed this role, the fact that the *technitai* are tasked with performing a Greek festival and sacrifice in a foreign locale raises the question of how the Dionysiac Artists negotiated the participation of non-Greeks in a festival politically and culturally marked as Greek.

Literature: **Bernand**, André. 1970. *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. I. Les confins libyques*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 91. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale; **Csapo**, E., and W.J. **Slater** 1994. *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (248); **Demetriou**, D. 2012. *Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean: The Archaic and Classical Greek Multiethnic Emporia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Gauthier**, P. 1972. *Symbola: les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*. Nancy: Université de Nancy II; **Kloppenborg**, John S., and Richard S. **Ascough** 2011. *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace. Vol. 1. Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary*. BZNW 181. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter; **Lightfoot**, J.L. 2002. “Nothing to do with the *technitai* of Dionysus?” In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, edited by P.E. Easterling and Edith Hall, 209–224. New York: Cambridge University Press; **Paganini**, Mario C. D. 2017. “Greek and Egyptian Associations in Egypt.” In *Hellenism and the Local Communities of the Eastern Mediterranean 400 BCE–250 CE*, ed. Boris Chrubasik and Daniel King, 131–54. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; **Sherk**, R. 1992. “The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor.” In *ZPE* 93:223–272. RJO

[245] SEG 60:1812

Dedication of a Dining Room

Syene (near the first cataract)

early III BCE

Published: Axel de Pontbriand, “A Greek Inscription from Area 13c,”

Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 66 (2010) 205–211 (ph.) (ed. pr.); BE 2013, 476 = SEG 60:1812 [TM 701156]

Current location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum. Inventory unknown.

Similar or related documents: → I.Delta I 1036, 2 (Memphis, 209–204 BCE): dedication of a ἐστιατόριον by Ποσιδώνιο[ς] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῖται; I.Fayum I 73 [202] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); I.Fayum I 87 (Karanis, 69–79 CE); dedication of a *deipnētērion*; I.Fayum II 106 (Theadelphia, 140 BCE); dedication of a *hestiatorion* and altar to Ἡρώων μ[έγ]αλος; I.Fayum II

122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE) dedication of a dining room (διπνητήριον) of the weavers; SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hermiou, 45 CE); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE): dedication found in a *deipnētērion*; SEG 54:1758.

Sandstone stele, 50 × 30 cm., found in Area 13c during Swiss-Egyptian rescue excavations in 2006/2007, “probably originally fixed on a wall of a religious or public building” (de Pontbriand 105). Most of the letters are painted red (ʳ) or blue (ᵇ). The significance of the colour choice is unclear.

ᵇ [— — τῶ]ν θιασιτῶν τὸ ἱστια[τόριον]

<col. i>		<col. ii>	<col. iii>
	ʳ [— —]ρου	ᵇ Κότυος	ʳ Καλλι[— —]
	ᵇ [— —]δωρου	ʳ Δημοσθένους	ʳ Χαρικλ[— —]
	ʳ [— —]του	ᵇ Πρωτ[ίω]νος	ʳ Ἀμύντο[υ]
5	[— —]	15 ʳ Ἀθηνίφωος	25 ʳ Διαγόρου
	ʳ [— —]φου	ᵇ Πολ[εμο]κράτου	ʳ Ἀντίφωου
	[— —]	ʳ Πρώγακτος	ʳ Εὐβίου
	ʳ [— —]τος	ʳ Πεδιέως	ʳ Πρωτομάχου
	ᵇ [— —]ρου	ʳ Πυθογείτωνος	Εὐάρχου
10	[— —]	20 ᵇ Πιγρέους	30 Ἀρήου
	[— —]	ʳ Μουσαίου	Ἀρ[τεμιδώρο?]υ

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: θιασῖται; control of space; membership list.

Location: Syene: Barrington Atlas 81 C1.

I. 1: *Ed. pr.*: [— — τῶ]ν θιασί τῶν, but should be read as τῶ]ν θιασιτῶν. SEG 60:1812 suggests [τὸ κοινὸν τῶ]ν θιασιτῶν, citing IG XI/4.1228.2: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐνατιστῶν; 1229.3: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐνατιστῶν; ID 1798.1–2: [τὸ κο]ινὸν τῶ[ν θι]ασιτῶν. See also EKM I.Beroia 22: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασ[ω]τῶν, etc.

I. 1: ἱστια[τόριον] (for ἔστια[τόριον]: → IG XII/1 677.16 (Rhodes, III BCE): ὑπὲρ τὸ ἱστιατόριον; CID I 13.25–27 = FD III 4:371 (Delphi, IV BCE): [π]αρέχεν Σκια[θίω]ις ἱστιατόρι[ο]ν. De Pontbriand (2010, 207) argues that the form is “the original Ionian variant” of the word.

II. 2–31: → de Pontbriand 2010 for a discussion of the names.

I. 19: Πυθογείτωνος: de Pontbriand (2010, 208) notes that Πυθογείτων is very rare in Egypt, but attested from an inscription on the road between Syene and Philae, Bernand, *De Thèbes à Syène* no. 223 (III BCE): Πυθογείτων | Νεῖλωνος | Σάμιος, “Pythogeiton son of Neilon, from Samos.” The same Pythogeiton is attested in an inscription bought in Alexandria, SB I 3444: θ[εοῖς] πᾶσι καὶ πά[σι]σας τοὺς βωμοὺς | Πυθογείτων | Νεῖλωνος Σά[μιος], “Pythogeiton son of Neilon from Samos (dedicated) these altars to all the gods and goddesses.”

Comments

The inscription was cut in three stage: first ll. 1–20, 22–28; then Mousaios (l. 21) was added; and finally Euarchos, Ares and (perhaps) Artemidōros (ll. 29–31), none of which is coloured. Mousaios was painted red. It is rather unusual to have names listed in the genitive.

De Pontbriand (2010, 210) suggests that the association is devoted to a Greek deity such as Dionysos or Asklepios. On the basis of the names (especially Pythogeiton, → note on l. 19), he suggests a connection with south eastern Asia Minor, or Rhodes or Delos. “The Greeks mentioned in the inscription may have been retainers or soldiers, joined in a religious association. The possible Rhodian (or Delian) influence supports a date of the inscription during the reigns of Ptolemy I or II,” although Ptolemy III is also possible.

Literature: de Pontbriand, Axel 2010. “A Greek Inscription from Area 13c.” In *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 66:205–11.

[246] I.Th.Sy. 303

Dedication by an Association of *Basilistai*

Setis Island [First Cataract] 143–142 BCE
Published: CIG III 4893; Dittenberger, OGIS I 130; SB V 8394; André Bernand, *De Thèbes à Syène* (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989) 266–273 (no. 303); SEG 31:1545; Heinz-Josef Thissen in Eva Bayer-Niemeier, ed. *Ägyptische Bildwerke*, Liebieghaus: Museum Alter Plastik (Melsungen: Gutenberg, 1990–1993) 3:230–237 (no. 54); Jean Bingen, “Notes d’épigraphie grecque, II et III,” *CdÉ* 56 (1981) 134–144, 137–142 (no. 6) [TM 6329; CAPInv 51]

Current location: Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 1628.

Similar or related documents: → I.Th.Sy. 302 = OGIS I 111 (Setis Island, 153/2–145 BCE): the same *synodos*, with Hērodēs son of Demophōn [TM 6398; CAPInv 48]; Bernand, *Les Portes du désert* no. 23 (145 BCE): Hērodēs son of Demophōn; I.Philae I 11 (Philae, 172 or 146 BCE): a dedication of a reconstructed temple to Ptolemy VII, Kleopatra II and Kleopatra III by a garrison commander (φρούραρχος) and member of an association (σύννοδος) of Hēraklēs (who was identified with the Egyptian deity Arensnuphis) [TM 43944; CAPInv 53]; I.Varsovie 44 (→ [154]): οἱ Σ[υ]νβασιλισταὶ καὶ Διοσκουριασταί.

Black granite stele, 117.1 × 59.4 cm., with a low relief of a mixing bowl and a single thyrsus on either side. Discovered in a small shrine.

- 1 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν,
καὶ τῶν τέκνων Ἡρώιδης Δημοφῶντος
Βερενικεύς, ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ στρατηγός,
5 καὶ οἱ συνάγοντες ἐν Σῆτι τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου
νήσῳ βασιλισταὶ ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπόκειται,
Χνούβει τῷ καὶ Ἄμμωνι, Σάτει τῇ καὶ Ἥραι,
Ἀνούκει τῇ καὶ Ἑστία, Πετεμπαμέντει τῷ καὶ
Διονύσῳ, Πετενσήτει τῷ καὶ Κρόνῳ, Πετενσήνε[ι]
10 τῷ καὶ Ἑρμῇ, θεοῖς μεγάλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς
ἐπὶ τοῦ Καταράκτου δαίμοσιν τὴν στήλην καὶ τὰ
πρὸς τὰς θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς τὰς ἐσομένας
ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐνάτας τοῦ
μηνὸς ἐκάστου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπωνύμους ἡμέρας
15 δι' ἐκάστου εἰσηνηγεμένα χρήματα, ὡς ἐπὶ ὡς
Παπίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου προστάτου καὶ
Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἱερέως τῆς συνόδου·
- Ἡρώιδης Δημοφῶντος 35 Σαραπίων Ἀμμωνίου, Ἀμμώνιος
Ἑρμίας Ἀμμωνίου Ἀπολλωνίου
20 Παπίας Ἀμμωνίου Ἀσκληπιάδης Πτολεμαίου, Ξεινιάδης
Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἰτάγου
Φιλάμμων Φιλάμμωνος Διονύσιος Ἀμμωνίου, Ἀρμόδιος
Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Βασιλείδου
Πετεαρόηρις Νησιώτης — — — ,
Φανούφιος 40 Διονύσιος Ἀμμωνίου
- 25 Δωρίων Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονυσίου
Ψένχνουβις Πελαίου Διονύσιος Σφκράτου, Εὐμένης Διονυ(σίου)
Πανίσκος Κεφάλωνος Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰτάγου
Ψενπόηρις Πετήσιος Πελαίας Ζμενιχνούβιος
30 Πρωτίων Ἡρακλείδου
Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίου
Διονύσιος Κεφάλωνος
Πάχγουβις Τοτέους
Πελαίας Πελαίου

For the well-being of King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra his sister, the Benefactor gods, and their children; Hērōdēs son of Demophōn of the deme Berenikē, the chief bodyguard and *stratēgos*, (5) and the *basilistai* who meet in Setis, the island of Dionysos, whose names are appended below, dedicated to Chnoubis also called Ammon and Satis also called Hera and

Anoukis also called Hestia and Petempamentes also called Dionysos and Petensetis also called Kronos and (10) Petensenis also called Hermes, the great gods, and to the other divinities of the Cataract, this inscribed stele and the money contributed for the sacrifices and libations that will be made at the assembly on the first nine days of each month and the other eponymous days (15) in each month, in the year that Papios son of Ammōnios was president and Dionysios son of Apollōnios was priest of the *synodos*. Hērōdēs son of Demophōn; Hermias son of Ammōnios; (20) Papias son of Ammōnios; Dionysios son of Apollōnios; Philammōn son of Philammōn; Ammōnios son of Apollōnios; Petearoēris son of Phanouphis; (25) Dōriōn son of Apollōnios; Psenchnoubis son of Pelaias; Paniskos son of Kephalon; Psenpoēris son of Petēsis; Prōtarchos son of Prōtarchos; (30) Prōtiōn son of Herakleidēs; Sarapiōnon of Apollōnios; Dionysios son of Kephalon; Pachnoubis son of Toteēs; Pelaias son of Pelaias; (35) Sarapiōnon of Ammōnios; Ammōnios son of Apollōnios; Asklēpiadēsōn of Ptolemaios; Xeiniadēs son of Itagos; Dionysios son of Ammōnios; Harmodios son of Basileides; Nēsiotēs son of . . .; (40) Dionysios son of Ammōnios; Asklēpiadēsōn of Dionysios; Dionysios son of SokratēsEumenēs son of Dionysios; Apollōnios son of Itagos; Pelaias son of Zmenichnoubis.

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: προστάτης, ἱερεύς; banquets; evidence of same group (I.Th.Sy. 302 = OGIS I 111).

Location: Setis Island. Elephantine nome. TM geo ref 2105; Barrington Atlas, 80 inset (2).

I. 1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου → JIGRE 22.1 [154] *note*.

II. 1–2: Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physcon) (r. 184–163, 145–116 BCE) and Kleopatra II (r. 175–116 BCE), then Kleopatra III (r. 142–131, 127–101 BCE). The inscription is evidently from the period prior to Kleopatra III (daughter of Kleopatra II Euergetēs) assuming rule with Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra II in 142 BCE).

II. 3–4: Ἡρώδης Δημοφώντος Βερενικεύς; Bernand argues that this is a demotic rather than a place name. Earlier inscriptions during the reign of Philomētor (I.Th.Sy. 302, 152–145 BCE; Bernand, *Les Portes du désert* 23, 145 BCE) list Hērōdēs as φρούαρχος (garrison commander) and γερροφύλαξ (border guard) and identify him as Περ[γα]μηνός, from Pergamon, but his career blossomed under Euergetes II. He is now a demesman of Berenikē and no longer defined by his former home city of Pergamon; he has numerous other high ranking offices as well as being the president of a local chapter of the Ptolemaic ruler cult.

I. 4: ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, chief bodyguard: In terms of Ptolemaic aulic titulature, this was a high ranking and essentially symbolic position. BGU III 1012, P.Heid. V 364, P.Grenf. I 38, P.Köln. I 344 all show individuals to occupy both this position and *stratēgos*, indicating that they may have been held in tandem. P.Grenf. II 14b and P.Hels 1.6 show the chief bodyguard to be listed also as a *dioiketēs*, illustrating the

need to merge military/royal roles with the civic administration. See Mooren 1975 for a discussion and prosopography of aulic titulature.

- II. 4–5: This is an example of peer benefaction, as those contributing are members of the group. Hērodēs son of Demophōn is a *stratēgos* and chief bodyguard and the remainder of the donators are identified as the *basilistai*. Peer benefaction served as a means by which to move up within the internal hierarchy of a group, since such donations elicited the same public honour as other forms of benefaction.
- I. 6: βασιλισταί, soldiers and devotees of the Ptolemaic house. → IG XII/3 443 (Thera, 300–250 BCE): Διοκλῆς καὶ οἱ Βασι[λ]ισταὶ τὸν | θησαυρὸν Σαράπι Ἰσι Ἀνουβί., “Dioklēs and the *Basilistai* (dedicated) the treasury to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis.” Ruler cults were also prevalent in Attalid Asia Minor, known as Attalistai. OGIS I 326.12 [141], dedicated to Kraton, the possible founder of the synod, describes the election (αἵρησις) and synod (συναγωγή) as worthy of King Attalos’ name. Cultic associations for the Attalids have been attested throughout western Asia Minor: CIG 3660, SEG 29:1216, ITrall 23, OGIS 305, ISardBR 27.7–9 and IKos ED 45.b5. → Harland 2014, 324–331.
- I. 16: Παπίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου προστάτου. Anagnostou-Canas (1989–1990, 224) thinks that Papias was also a member of the local gymnasium.

Comments

This inscription and I.Th.Sy. 302 = OGIS I 111 (from the same *synodos*) are the oldest depictions of a Greek official serving in an Egyptian temple. I.Th.Sy. 302, which is also from Setis Island but from the period 153/2–145 BCE during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philomētor and Kleopatra II, honours the Royal family and the same gods and refers to annual celebrations of the birthday of one of the royal officials, Boēthus:

- 1 βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλίσσηι
Κλεοπάτραι τῇ ἀδελ[φῇ, θε]οῖς Φιλομήτορσ[ι],
καὶ τοῖς τούτων τέκνοις καὶ Ἀμμωνι
τῷ καὶ Χνού[βει κ]αὶ [᾽]Η[ρ]αι [τῇ κ]αὶ Σάτει,
- 5 καὶ Ἑστία [τῇ] καὶ Ἀνούκ[ει] καὶ Διονύσῳ
τῷ καὶ Πετρεμπαμέντ[ει] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
θεοῖς ὑπὲρ Βοήθου τοῦ Νικοστράτου
Χρυσαιορέως, τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος
καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [κτί]στου τῶν ἐν τῇ[ι]
- 10 Τριακοντασχοίνῳ πόλεων Φιλομητορίδ[ος]
καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εὐ[ν]οίας ἐνε[κ]εν
ἧς ἔχων διατελ[εῖ] πρ[ὸς] τε τὸν βασιλέα
καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν κ[αὶ] τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν,
Ἡρώιδης Δημοφῶντος Περ[γ]αμηνὸς
- 15 τῶν διαδό[χ]ων καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐ[π’] ἀνδρῶν
καὶ φρούραρχος Συήνης [καὶ γερρ]οφύλαξ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω τόπων [τεταγμένος] καὶ
προφήτης τοῦ Χν[ο]ύβεως κ[αὶ] ἀρχ[ι]στολιστ[ή]ς
τῶν ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ [καὶ Ἀβάτῳ] καὶ Φίλαις
- 20 ἱερῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [ιερεῖς τῆς πεν]ταφυλίας
τοῦ Χνόμω Νεβηῖθ [καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ]

- θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν [καὶ θεῶν Φίλο]πατόρων
καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος
καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, οἱ τῇ[ν] σύνοδον
25 συνεσταμένο[ι εἰς τὸ ἐν Σῆτει] ἱερό[ν],
ὅπως ἄγωσι[ν εἰς τιμὴν Πτολεμαίου] τε τοῦ
βασιλέως κα[ὶ] τ[ῆ]ς [β]ασιλίσσης[ς] καὶ τῶν
τέκνων αὐτῶν ἐ[ν]ιαυσίας ἐ[ο]ρ[α]τὰς κα[ὶ]
τὴν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν [τὴν Βοή]θου
30 κατὰ τὸν κείμενον [βασιλικ]ὸν νόμο[ν],
ὥν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπ[ο]γράφονται].

(Dedicated to) King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra the sister, the Philomētor gods, and to their children and to Ammon also called Chnoubis, and Hera also called Satis, (5) and Hestia also called Anoukis, and Dionysos also called Petempamentes and the other gods, by Boethus son of Nikostratos the Chrysaorian, the chief bodyguard and stratēgos and founder of the cities of Philomētor and Kleopatra in the (10) Triakontaschoinos, on account of the goodwill that he continues to show to[wards the king] and the queen and their [children], by Hērōdēs the son of Demophōn of Pergamon, (15) one of the *diadochoi* and commander of men and garrison commander at Syene, and border guard and governor of the upper territories, and prophet of Chnoubis and chief *stolistēs* of the temples in Elephantine [and Abaton] and Philae (20), and (by) the other [priests of the] five-fold order of Chnomō Nebieb [and of the Sibling gods and] of the Benefactor gods [and of the Philopater gods] and of the Epiphaneis gods and of the Eupator god and of the Philomētor gods; those who gather (25) as a *synodos* in the temple [at Setis], so that they might hold [annual] festivals [to honour] king [Ptolemaios] and the queen and their children, and (observe) the birthday of Boēthos, (30) in accordance with the existing [royal] law. The names of the priests are written below.

It was more common that Egyptians would become Hellenized and join Macedonian institutions than the other way around. Yet these two inscriptions exemplify a period of intense cultural mixing that occurred after the Battle of Raphia in 217 BCE. Polybius (5.107) writes that Ptolemy employed a large number of Egyptians to aid in defeating Antiochus III. In doing so, Polybius claims Ptolemy miscalculated future events: the Egyptians were proud of their victory and understood themselves as a powerful faction in the Greek army. This expedited the co-mingling of Greeks and Egyptians. Up to this time, the royal administration was made up entirely of Greeks and Egyptians only handled temple affairs. The second century BCE witnessed Greeks coming into high ranking positions in Egyptian temples and native Egyptians taking part in Ptolemaic court life. Gorre (2013, 106) postulates two reasons for this exchange of personnel: (1) Egyptian priests needed powerful protectors and subsequently welcomed Greek officials into their priesthoods and (2) garrisons and royal officials utilized temple compounds, making close contact inevitable.

The career of Hērōdēs son of Demophōn offers an example of the overlap of royal appointments and Egyptian priesthoods. Hērōdēs' *cursus honorum* in

I.Th.Sy. 302 (153/2–145 BCE) shows Hērodēs as a member of the Ptolemaic army and one of the *diadochoi*, the second lowest rank of Ptolemaic aulic titles. He is also listed as a member of the *basilistai* priesthood, described as a “prophet of Chnoubis” and an *archistolistes*, keeper of priestly vestments. The inscription also lists the Greek and Egyptian names of gods, however, unlike I.Th.Sy. 303, the Greek name is offered first. In I.Th.Sy. 303 dedicated perhaps a few years after I.Th.Sy. 302, we see the rise of Hērodēs through both the ranks of royal house and the priesthood of the *basilistai*. He has taken on titles that were ascribed to Boēthos, the dedicator of I.Th.Sy. 302. Hērodēs became an *archi-somatophylax*, the third highest rank in aulic titulature; he appears to be the head priest of the *basilistai*; and he was the *stratēgos* of the Thebaid. Notably, he is also no longer listed as coming from Pergamon, but has the epithet “Berenikeus,” indicating his citizenship now lies with an Egyptian city. Hērodēs was singular in this regard, as very few Greek officials were raised to such high ranks within Egyptian priesthoods at this time.

The *basilistai* (or *philobasilistai*) represented a significant link between the Ptolemaic house, the army, and local cults. As I.Th.Sy. 302 and 303 show, the *basilistai* were predominantly Greek (or Macedonian), and as Caneva (2016, 137) has argued, most of them were part of the military garrison in the Thebaid and the border region with Nubia.

Upper Egypt attempted to secede in the early II BCE, and was independently ruled under the dynasty of Haronnophris and Chaonnophris (205/6–181 BCE). The Ptolemies sought to reestablish control in the region by strengthening the connection between the military and local temples. Thus, Hērodēs (in I.Th.Sy. 302) was not only *stratēgos* but also served as a senior officer in the cult as “prophet of Chnoubis and chief *stolistēs* of the temples in Elephantine.” And Dionysios son of Apollōnios, probably another military officer, had become the priest of the cult by the time of I.Th.Sy. 303. The small shrine in which I.Th.Sy. 303 was discovered had likely been constructed by the *synodos* and was used as their meeting place. Thus by a combination of euergetism, control of local priesthoods, and devotion to the Ptolemaic family, military officers maintained control over both military and cultic institutions. A new dedicatory habit developed in the Thebaid which reflected the delicate power balance between the distant Ptolemies and local temple hierarchies in the area of the First Cataract.

I.Th.Sy. 303 displays an interesting blend of Greek and Egyptian religious themes. The form of the granite tablet is quite Greek, bearing a pendent at the top with a drinking cup and thyrsus, accoutrements of the god Dionysos. The stele is headed with Egyptianizing depictions of four Egyptian gods, and the text lists the Egyptian names of the gods before Greek names, in striking contrast to other dedications. I.Th.Sy. 303 displays the more typical ὑπέρ, “on behalf,” of the royal family. This is in contrast to I.Th.Sy. 302 where the Ptolemies are addressed in the so-called “double dedication,” in which both the king and the gods are in the dative (→ Fassa 2015). The ὑπέρ + genitive style was more

widespread than the double dedication style, it the latter is attested especially during the reign of Ptolemy VIII (who was systematically equated with Sarapis) and around Philae (Fassa 2015, §37).

The list of names of cult members displays a variety of Greek and Egyptian names, all members of the ruler cult. One can see the process of intermixing through Greek names with Egyptian fathers or vice versa (e.g. Papias son of Ammōnios or Ammōnios son of Apollōnios). Unfortunately, the list of names from I.Th.Sy. 302 (ὄν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπ[ογέγραπται]) has been broken off, leaving us unable to analyze the member names from that inscription.

Literature: **Anagnostou-Canas**, Barbara 1989–1990. “Rapports de dépendance coloniale dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque I. L’appareil militaire.” In *Bullettino dell’Istituto di Diritto Romano “Vittorio Scialoja”* 31–32:151–236; **Caneva**, S. 2016. “Ritual Intercession in the Ptolemaic Kingdom: A Survey of Grammar, Semantics and Agency.” In *Erga-Logoi* 4:117–154; **Carrez-Maratray**, J.-Y. 2002. “L’épithète Philomētor et la reconciliation de 123–116.” In *Revue d’Égyptologie* 53:61–74, esp. 65–66; **Fassa**, Eleni 2015. “Sarapis, Isis, and the Ptolemies in Private Dedications: The Hyper-Style and the Double Dedications.” In *Kernos* 28:133–53; **Fischer-Bovet**, Christelle 2014. *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (esp. 279–290, 335–339); **Gorre**, G. 2009. *Les relations due clergé égyptien et des Lagides d’après les sources privées*. Leuven: Peeters; **Gorre**, G. 2013. “A Religious Continuity between the Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods? Self-Presentation and Identity of Egyptian Priests in the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BCE).” In *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. ed. Eftychia Stavrianopolou, 99–115. Leiden: Brill; **Heilporn**, Paul 1990. “La provenance de la dédicace I.Th.Sy. 302.” In *CdÉ* 65(129):116–121; **Heinen**, H. 1996. “Ein griechischer Funktionär des Ptolemäerstaates als Priester ägyptischer Kulte.” In *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters. Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums Berlin, 9–14. März 1994*. ed. Bernd Funck, 339–353. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; **Huß**, W. 1994. *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester: Studien zur Geschichte des ptolémaïschen Ägypten*. Historia Einzelschriften 85. Stuttgart: F. Steiner; **Mooren**, Léon 1975. *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 78. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën; **Mooren**, Léon 1977. *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque: contribution à l’étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l’époque hellénistique*. Studia hellenistica 23. Leuven: S.n.; **Pfeiffer**, Stefan 2005. “Die Entschreung ägyptischer Götter im griechischen Pantheon (Kat. 171–181): Bemerkungen zur Überwindung interkultureller Differenz am Fallbeispiel der Inschrift des Hērōdēs im Liebieghaus Frankfurt (LH Inv. 1628 = I.Th.Sy. 303) und verwandter Texte.” In *Ägypten – Griechenland – Rom: Abwehr und Berührung: Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie*, 26. November 2005–26. Februar 2006, ed. Herbert Beck, 285–291. Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus; **Schubart**, W. 1911. “Dodekaschoinos.” In *ZAS* 47–48:152–155; **Walbank**, F.W. 1992. *The Hellenistic World*, 119–120. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

RR/PS

[247] SB III 6184

Membership of a Synodos of Thriphhis

Ptolemaïs Hermiou (8th Upper Egyptian nome) 138–137 BCE

Published: Gustave Lefebvre, “Égypte Gréco-Romaine,” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte (ASAE)* 13 (1913) 215–226, 216 (ph., pl. I) (SB III 6184); Horbury and Noy, JIGRE 246–247 (no. 154) (partial reproduction); Alain Martin, “Notes relatives à la dédicace SB III 6184,” *CdÉ* 68 (1993) 212–218; SEG 43:1132 [TM 7236; CAPInv 155]

Translation: AGRW ID: SB III 6184

Current location: Museum of Alexandria, inv. 21748.

Stele of black granite, 80 × 165 cm. with a pediment at the top.

Λ <λ>γ [[αγ]].

- ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικός, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν,
5 καὶ τῶν τούτων τέκνων Πανίσκος Λυκόφρονος
Βερενικεὺς τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ
ἐπ’ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς καὶ οἱ συνοδεῖται, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα
ὑπόκειται, Θρίπιδι, Κολάνθα(ι), Πανί, θεοῖς συννάοις τὸ ἱερόν.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| Ἀσκληπιάδης Πτολεμαίου | Σωσίβιος Σωσιβίου |
| 10 Ζηνόδωρος Ἰππονίκου | Στράτων Διονυσίου |
| Ἀμμώνιος Πελαίου | Λύκος Παοῦτος |
| Ἑρμίας Ἑρμαῖσκου | 25 Λυσίμαχος Παποῦτος |
| Ἀπολλώνιος Φίλωνος | Ἑρμῶν Πτολεμαίου |
| Μιθροβανδάκης Σρούσου | Ἑρμόφιλος Ἀχιλλέως |
| 15 Θέων Λεωνίδου | Πτολεμαῖος Ἀσκληπιάδου |
| Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίου | Ἄρειος |
| Ἑρμίας Λύκου | 30 Εὐρυτίδας Νίκωνος |
| Ἑρμίας Ἑρμίου | Νίκανδρος Πτολεμαίου |
| Εὐβιος Βοήθου | Ἀβράμ Ἀλωσμαθοῦτος |
| 20 Σαραπίων Διονυσίου | Ἡφαιστίων Σαραπίωνος |
| Ἀμβαδίσκος Ἱερωνύμου | Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμωνίου |
| | 35 Φατρῆς Πατάϊος |
| | Ἀμώνιος Λυκόφρονος |

Year 33 [[13]]. For the well-being of king Ptolemy and queen Kleopatra his sister and queen Kleopatra his wife, benefactor gods, (5) and their children. Paniskos son of Lykophron (of the deme) Berenikeus the chief of the bodyguards and cavalry commander (*hipparchēs*) on behalf of his men and

the supervisor (*epimelētēs*), and the members of the *synoditai*, whose names are below, (set up) the temple to Triphīs, Kolanthēs, Pan, (and) the gods who share the sanctuary.

⟨28 names follow, all Greek names, and all but one with patronyms⟩

Notes

Association? Certain: collective devoted to a deity; reference to members as συνοδεῖται; leadership terms: ἐπιμελητής; control of space; membership list.

Location: Ptolemaïs Hermiou (8th Upper Egyptian nome): Trismegistos geo ref. 2023. Barrington Atlas 77 F4.

1. 2: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης: → JIGRE 22.1 [154] *note*.
1. 8: Θρίπιδι: → Bernand 1993a, 64.
1. 9: Ἀσκληπιάδης Πτολεμαίου: → I.Th.Sy. 303.36 [246] (143–142 BCE): Ἀσκληπιάδης Πτολεμαίου. While it is possible that Asklepiadēs in l. 9 is the same as his namesake in I.Th.Sy. 303.36 (thus Lefebvre 1913, 219), the two inscriptions are not in the same area of Upper Egypt, and both the name and the patronym are very common.
1. 14: Μιθροβανδάκης Σρούσου: → Schmitt 1975, 18. The name appears to be Persian.
1. 32: Ἀβράμ Ἀλωσματοῦτος: Lefebvre considered Αβραμαλως Μαθουτος as also possible. In either case the patronym is unknown.

Comments

This association of *synoditai* was devoted to Thriphīs, a rarely-attested Egyptian goddess. Elsewhere, a sandstone stele reads τόπος Ἡλιοδῶ|ρου ἱερέως | Θρείφιδος (place of Heliodōros, priest [of the goddess] Triphīs) (Bernand 1993a, 686). The inscription was sold on the antiquities market with the result that its original location is unknown. Bernand notes that since it was intended to be built into a curved wall τόπος, it may designate part of the sanctuary of the goddess Triphīs, akin to a “chapel,” where Heliodōros would exercise his priestly activities (Bernand 1993a, 66). Bernand also conjectures that Heliodōros may even have had charge of a building or a parcel of sacred land belonging to an association. This conjecture has some support from our entry. Although Bernand admits all of this is conjecture, he is more certain that it does not represent a burial plot, since τόπος is not used in this sense in Egyptian inscriptions nor does the relief on the stele give any funerary indications (→ Bernand 1993b).

At 29 members, this association is almost exactly at the mean size of a cultic association (→ Kloppenborg 2019, chap. 3). The *epimelētēs* is a citizen and demesman of Ptolemaïs Hermiou. The other members, all but one with a patronym, might also have been citizens. The names are dominantly Greek and Graeco-Egyptian, but Abram is Judaeon and Mithrobandakēs is Persian.

Literature: Bernand, Étienne 1993a. “Un prêtre de la déesse Triphīs,” *ZPE* 96:64–66; Bernand, Étienne 1993b. “Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d’Égypte.” In *ZPE* 98:103–110; Kloppenborg, John S. 2019. *Christ’s Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale

University Press; **Schmitt**, Rüdiger 1975. “Einige iranische Namen auf Inschriften oder Papyri.” In *ZPE* 17:15–24. RSA

[248] P.Ryl. IV 586

Loan from the Treasurer of a *koinon*

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 17 Oct–15 Nov 99 BCE

Published: Colin H. Roberts, and E.G. Turner, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, IV: *Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952) 50–51 (no. 586) + Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* IV 802 (description only) = SB VI 9255 (Graz portion) + BL III 162 [TM 5736; CAPIV 1532].

Translation: AGRW 304.

Image:

https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~38660~100493:Deed-of-Loan?qvq=q:metadata_schema%3D5736&mi=2&trs=3

Current location: Graz, Universität ms. I 1933 + Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 586.

Similar or related documents: → P.Ryl. IV 589 [TM 65627] (Philadelphia, 180 BCE): a ledger of loans and interest due; P.Grenf. I 31 [TM 48349; CAPIV 767] (Pathyris, 101–100 BCE); P.Texas inv. 8 = SB XXIV 16296 [286] [TM 79429] (unknown provenance, 182 or 185 BCE): the record of loans by an association; P.Erasm. I 10 [TM 41591] (Arsinoites; mid II BCE): an order to pay a loan made by a guild.

Papyrus, 10 × 24.5 cm. Two fragments. Papyrus.info, n. 8: “There is writing on a small strip of papyrus that hangs from the bottom of the fragment kept in Graz (SB VI 9255) and spans lines 8–12. It is difficult to reconcile the traces with the supplements given in P.Ryl. IV 586, especially ll. 10 and 12. Thus, either the supplements are wrong or the placing of the fragment is incorrect.”

βασιλευόντων Πτολεμ[αίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ]
Φιλομήτορος καὶ Βερενίκη[ς θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου ἔτους ἑκκαί-]
δεκάτου, τὰ δ' ἀλλὰ τῶν κο[ινῶν ὡς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῖαι]
γράφεται μηνὸς Ἀπελλαῖο[υ ±? Φαῶφι ±?]

- 5 ἐν Ὁξυρυγχῶ[ν] πόλει τῆς [Θηβαίδος· ἐδάνεισαν]
Σιμάριστος Δημητρίο[υ τοῦ καὶ]
ου Λάκων καὶ Δίδυμ[ος Μακε-]
δὼν Δημητρί[ω Πέρση τῆς]
ἐπιγονῆς . . . [±?]
10 Ἀφροδίτης Βερε[νίκης ±?]

- ἀπὸ τοῦ συσ . . [±?]
 <margin> [±] . .
 κοινῶν χρημ[άτων χαλκοῦ νομίσματος]
 τάλαντα πεντ[ήκοντα τρία δραχμάς. . .]
 χιλίας τόκου [ὡς ἐκ δύο δραχμῶν τῇ μνᾷ]
 15 ἐκάστη τὸν μῆ[να ἑκαστον. ἀποδότω δὲ ὁ]
 Δημήτριος τοῖς δεδανεικόσι [ἢ τῷ προ]-
 <margin> [±?] . . ηἰ
 χειρισθησομένῳ τοῦ κοι[νοῦ χρηματο]-
 φύλακι τὰ πεντήκοντα τρία τᾶ[λαντα δραχμάς. . .]
 χιλίας τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἐν τῷ[ι.]
 20 μηνὶ τοῦ ἑκκαίδεκάτου ἔτους. ἐ[ὰν δὲ μὴ]
 ἀποτ[είστω] καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποδ[ότω ὁ]
 [Δη]μήτριος τοῖς δεδανεικόσι [ἢ τῷ]
 [π]ροχειρισθησομένῳ τοῦ κ[οινοῦ χρη]-
 ματοφύλακι τὸ μὲν δάνειον παρα[χρήμα,]
 25 τοὺς δὲ τόκους ἀπλοῦς τοῦ τε συ[γγε]-
 γραμμένου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόν[τος χρό]-
 νου. ἔγγυος τῶν κατὰ τὴν συγγ[ραφήν]
 [πά]ντων εἰς ἔκτεισιν αὐτοῦ Δημη[τρίου]
 [γυν]ῇ Ἀσκληπίας Σωσιβίου Περσ[ίνῃ με]-
 30 [τὰ τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου. ἢ δὲ πρᾶξι[ς ἔστω]
 [το]ῖς δεδανεικόσι ἢ τῷ προ[χ]ει[ρισθη]-
 [σ]ομένῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ χρηματοφύ[λακι]
 ἐκ τε ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἂν [αἰρῇται]
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖ[ς πάντων]
 35 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κυρία ἢ συγγραφή.
 <hand 2> Σιμάριστος ὡς L ξθ μέσος με[γέθει]
 οὐ(λῆ) μετ(ώπῳ) μέσ(ῳ)
 Δίδυμος ὡς L νγ ἀναφαλ(ακρὸς) μακροπ[ρ(όσωπος)]
 τεταν(ὸς) οὐ(λῆ) ὑπὸ σιαγό(να) ἀρι(στεράν).
 40 Δημήτριος ὡς L λγ μείω(ν) η. [. . .]
 ἀστραγάλ(ῳ) οὐ(λῆ) ὀφρύ(ι) δεξ(ιᾷ) ἄλλη
 ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτήν.

Apparatus: 5 Pap. Ὁξυρυγχῶ || 6 BL IV 60 (on P.Oxy. IV 802); prev. ed.: [±11]ου || 7 BL VII 205: Λάκων is not a personal name, but an ethnic || 10–11 BL V 88: [ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν] | ἀπὸ τοῦ συστή[ματος ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ] || 21 BL III 162; prev. ed.: ἀποδ[ότω] || 24: BL III 162; prev. ed.: ἡμῶ[λιον] || 36 BL III 162; prev. ed.: ξ φαλακ(ρὸς) μακ[ροπρ(όσωπος)] || 37 BL III 162; prev. ed. μετ(ώπῳ) δεξιῷ || 38 prev. ed.; BL III 162: ὡς L νθ μεί(ζων) ἢ μέσος || 39 prev. ed. δεξ(ι).

In the 16th year of king Ptolemaios, also called Alexander, the God Philomētor, and Bernikē the god Philadelphos, and the rest of the (regnal) formulae as are written in Alexandria, *xth* of the month of Apellaios [which

is Paophi x ?] (5) in Oxyrhynchus, a city of [the Thebaid . . .] Simaristos son of Dēmētrios, also called . . . the Laconian and Didymos the Macedonian, lent x drachmae (?) to Dēmētrios, [Persian of the] epigone (of the village) of (10) Aphrodite Bernikē Polis. . . from their common funds (*koinōn chrēmātōn*), the sum of fifty-three talents, . . . thousand drachmae in copper, with an interest rate of two drachmae per month for (15) each mina. Let Dēmētrios repay the fifty-three talents and . . . (20) thousand copper drachmae with interest in the . . . month of the sixteenth year, to the lenders or to the treasurer of the association (*koinon*) who will be appointed (for that year). If he does not repay (the loan) in accordance with what is written here, Dēmētrios must repay immediately to the lenders or to the treasurer of the association (25) who will be appointed both the loan and the interest at once, when the time that has been indicated has elapsed. The surety for all the provisions in this agreement guaranteeing full payment is Dēmētrios' wife (30) Asklepias daughter of Sosibios, a Persian (of the epigone), acting with the same guardian. The right of execution shall be with the lender or with the treasurer of the association who will be appointed, on both of them or against whichever they should choose, (35) and against all of their possessions, as if by a legal decision. The contract is valid.

⟨*hand 2*⟩ Simaristos, aged about 69, with a large scar in the middle of the forehead. Didymos, aged about 59 years, with his forehead bald and a long and smooth face, with a scar under his left cheek. (40) Dēmētrios, aged about thirty-three, smaller than. . . on the ankle, and a scar on the right temple and another just below it.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: κοινόν; leadership term: χρηματοφύλαξ; reference to common funds; collective loan to an individual.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). **TM** geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

II. 1–2: βασιλευόντων Πτολεμ[αίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ] | Φιλομήτορος: Ptolemy X Alexander (110–109, 107–88 BCE, co-regent with Kleopatra III until 101 BCE, then with Bernikē.

I. 5: πόλει τῆς [Θηβαίδος; → P.Oxy. II 236.5; XIV 1628.4; XIV 1629.4; XIV 1635.2; XIV 1644.3–4; XXII 2349.1, etc.

II. 9–10, 30: Περσ[η τῆς] ἐπιγονῆς, Persian of the epigone: → P.Mich. V 313.10 [208] *note*.

II. 12–13: χαλκοῦ νομίσματος || τάλαντα πεντ[ήκοντα τρία δραχμὰς: · ·] | χιλίας, 53 talents, x thousand drachmae.

II. 14–15: τόκου [ὡς ἐκ δύο δραχμῶν τῇ μνᾷ] ἐκάστη τὸν μῆ[να: i.e., 24%.

II. 18–19: χρη[ηματοφύλακι, treasurer: P.Erasm. I 10.2 (II BCE).

I. 28: ἔγγυος, surety: → Index, s.v. surety, ἐνεχυράζειν, ἔγγυος.

I. 31: ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις: a standard execution clause found with great frequency in papyri dating from this period: BGU IV 1050.17; 1051.23; 1052.19; 1054.12; 1055.34–35;

1056.19–20; 1057.13, 29; 1099.19; 1101.13; 1115.33; 1116.29; 1117.36; 1118.48; 1121.37; 1122.27; 1127.26; 1131.56; 1133.17; 1134.17; 1136.7; 1143.27; 1144.16; 1145.38; 1146.22; 1147.20; 1150.21; 1156.22; 1161.22; 1175.10; C.Pap.Gr I 4.42; 5.127.38; 6.21; 9.19; 10.24; 13.25 (all dated between 19–5 BCE) and mostly addressed to Prōtarchos. The formula also appears in BGU IV 2044.25 (46 CE); P.Yadin 18.24, 62 (128 CE); P.Oxy. II 270.47 (94 CE); III 496.16 (127 CE); IV 729.21; VIII 1127 (183 CE); XVII 2137.35 (291 CE); LV 3800.34 (219 CE); PSI V 496.21 (334 CE).

- II. 34–35: ἐκ τε ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἂν [αἰρῆται] καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς [πάντων]: A standard formula of execution on the property of the borrower in the case of default: → BGU IV 1056.21; 1117.37; 1118.48; 1120.43; 1133.18; 1134.18; 1136.7; 1145.15, 39; 1146.23; 1149.30; 1150.22; 1151.38 [all from 19–5 BCE].
- I. 36: καθάπερ ἐξ δίκης: a standard formula authorizing self-help in the recovery of debts appearing with great frequency in leases and similar or related documents. → e.g., P.Lond. VII 1986.10 (252 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 582.20 (42 BCE); BGU IV 1015.15; 1099.22; 1101.14; 1117.40; 1119.44; 1125.12; 1133.19 (all I BCE); P.Sarap. 19.12 (118 CE); CPR I 29.20 (184 CE); CPR VII 31.20 (197 CE); P.Col VII 176.16; 177.18; 178.15; 178a.14 (all 325–336 CE); P.Oxy. IV 729.22 (137 CE); → Taubenschlag 1959, 135–141; Wolff 1970.

Comments

The sum lent by Simaristos and Didymos to Dēmētrios – 53 talents and one-five thousand drachmae – seems extraordinarily high until it is recognized that by the mid-II BCE, Ptolemaic copper currency had been devalued so that the silver to copper ratio had fallen to 240::1 (Reekmans 1951, 85–95). Thus 53 talents is equivalent to 1325 drachmae.

This document indicates that an association, here called a *koinon* could act as a lender, here represented by Simaristos and Didymos the Macedonian, probably officers in the association. A few other loan documents are known from associations: P.Grenf. I 31 [TM 48349; CAPIInv 767] (Pathyris, 101–100 BCE) is a loan of grain by Erianoupis and *hoi synthiasitai* “to an individual (Nechoutes), to be repaid with interest.” P.Texas inv. 8 = SB XXIV 16296 (unknown provenance, 182 or 185 BCE) is the record of three loans *apo tōn koinōn chrēmātōn*, “from the common chest” which Martinez and Williams (1997, 262 n. 4) plausibly interpret as referring to the common funds held by an association. Other association rules establish that the guild was able to assist members in distress (e.g., P.Mich. V 243 [206]). But guilds could also lend to those outside the guild in order to produce interest income for the group.

Literature: Martinez, David, and Mary Williams 1997. “Records of Loan Receipts From a Guild Association.” In *ZPE* 118:259–263; Martinez, David 1997. “P.Erasm. I 10: An Order for Payment from a Cult Association.” In *ZPE* 118:263–266; Reekmans, Tony 1951. “The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation.” In *Ptolemaica*, E. van ’T Dack and Tony Reekmans. *Studia Hellenistica* 7, 61–118. Leiden: Brill; Louvain: Nauwelaerts; Taubenschlag, Raphael 1959. “Self-Help in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *Opera Minora*, 2:135–141. Warsaw: Pansowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe;

Wolff, Hans Julius 1970. "Some Observations on *Praxis*." In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. Deborah Hobson Samuel. American studies in Papyrology 7, 526–535. Toronto: A.M. Hakkert.

[249] P.Ryl. II 65

Court Ruling concerning the Theft of Corpses

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

1 Mar 67 (or 95) BCE

Published: J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. II Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915) 6–7 (no. 65) + BL I 388 [TM 5284; CAPInv 1292]

Current location: Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 65.

Similar or related documents: → P.Köln X 414 [261] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Petaus 28 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE).

Papyrus, 55.4 × 16.7 cm.

frag. 1>

[±16] Πετοσεῖριν καὶ Παρεῖν [. .]ρ[±?]

[±16]ν καὶ Θεῶνιν Πετώυτος τῶν [. νεκρο]τάφω[ν] α[±?]

[±14]. σει ἦσαν πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους νεκροτ[άφοι τε]θειμένοι Αἰγυπτίαν συγγραφῇ

[ἀναγραφεῖς]αγ [τῶ]ι ιθ L Φαμενῶθ θ διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ[ι αὐτῇι] πόλει γραφ<ε>ίου περὶ ἀποδιαστολῆς

5 [τ]ῶν [ὑπ' αὐτ]ῶν σ[υμ]φωνηθέντων μερισμῶν δι' ἧς ἐπανάγκες τὸν παραβησόμενον ἢ ἀντι- ποιησόμεν[ο]ν τῶν ἀποδιασταλμένων ἐκάστωι ἀποτεῖσαι τῶι ἔθνει ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ

νομίσματ[ος . .] . . καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὰ ἴσα. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τῆς συγγραφῆς περιεχοῦσης,

τοῦ δὲ ὑπ[ομνή]ματος δηλοῦντος τοὺς περὶ τὸν Π[ε]τοσεῖριν καὶ Παρεῖν παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησασμένους

τὰ διωρισ[μένα] ἀπενηνέχθαι αὐτῶν ἀπογεγονότα πλείονα σώματα ὧν τὸ καθ' ἐν ἐπὶ τῆς

10 [ἐ]σομένης [διεξά]γωγῆς σημανθήσεται, καὶ ἡξίουν συντάξαι καταστήσαι τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους

[κ]αὶ ἐπαναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς συνεχομένους ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὰ διωρισμένα ἐπίτιμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα

[τ]ὰ εἰς τὸ βασι[λι]κόν, τυχεῖν δ' αὐτοὺς ὧν προσήκει. τούτων δ' ὄντων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πετοσεῖριν

⟨frag. 2⟩

[.] φ . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . ανεκ . . [.] . . υ . . . [.] . . . [±?]
 τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους λελοϊπότας καὶ παντάπασιν πεφυγοδικηκότας, τοὺς δὲ
 τ[ῆ]υ

15 ἔγκλησιν πεποιημένους ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων π[ε]ριεσπασμένους
 [τῆ]υ

πολυχρονίῳ καταφθορᾷ, συνεκρίναμεν τὰς διὰ τῆς τεθειμένης ὑπὸ
 τ[ούτων]

ἐκουσίως πρὸς ἀλλήλους Αἰγυπτίας συγγραφῆς διαστολὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ
 δι' αὐτῆ[ς δι-]

ωρισμένα μένειν κύρια καὶ ἀπαράβατα, καθότι καὶ ἔστιν.

⟨hand 2⟩ ἀνέγνωσται. L ἰδ Μεχέρ κδ.

Apparatus: 11 Pap. ταλλα || 17 Pap. συγγραφῆς || Pap. ταλλα

. . . Petosiris and Paris . . .

. . . and Thoonis son of Petous, who belong to the funerary workers (*nekro-
 taphoi*)

. . . all were members of the association (*ethnos*) of mortuary workers (*nekrotaphoi*), having made an “Egyptian” contract (*syngraphē*), registered (it) in year 19, Phamenoth 9, through the record office (*grapheion*) of the same city, (5) regarding the division among them of the shares agreed upon; it was provided that anyone who violates (the agreement) or claims the shares that are assigned to each (member) should be compelled to pay to the association (*ethnos*) a fine of *x* copper (drachmae) . . . and the same sum to the Royal treasury. Now while the contract contained these and other provisions, the petition now declares that those (members) associated with Petosiris and Paris, taking no heed whatever of the rules that had been established, carried off many corpses from them, (10) the details of which will be indicated in the coming inquiry. And they asked that the accused should be ordered to be brought forward and compelled to pay to them the fixed fine as well as the other sums due to the Royal Treasury and that they should receive also the appropriate punishment. These things being the case, those associated with Petosiris . . .

⟨frag. 2⟩ . . . (while we see?) that the accused have decamped and are entirely triumphant (?), but we who (15) brought the accusation are still further distracted by our opponents because of a long-standing injury, we have jointly decided that the provisions of the Egyptian contracts freely made by the parties, and the other rules thereby fixed, shall be valid and inviolate as they (currently) are. ⟨hand 2⟩ It is read: the 14th year, Mecheir 24.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: ἔθνος; membership term: νεκροτάφοι; reference to bylaws and fines related to the bylaws; collective filing of a complaint.

- I. 1: Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.
- I. 3: πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους νεκροῦ[άφοι: on the principle of unanimity in agreement, → Paganani 2016.
- I. 3: ἔθνος, “association:” → UPZ II 162.24, 27 = P.Tor.Choach. 12 (Thebes, 117 BCE) for a group of *choachytai* (mummifiers) also called an *ethnos*. Thompson (2015, 307) points out that these *ethnē* are traditional Egyptian groups, analogous to the *hiera ethnē* (priestly groups) attested in Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions. P.Count 3.148–161 (Arsinoites, 229 BCE) lists several trade groups under the heading κατ’ ἔθνος.
- II. 3, 17: Αἰγυπτίαν συγγραφὴν, Egyptian contract: that is, the contract was originally written in Demotic. Taubenschlag (1944, 13) notes instances of plaintiffs converting Egyptian contracts into Greek contracts so as to change jurisdictions. → also Monson 2012, 125–127.

Comments

This complaint underscores the fact that the bylaws of associations had the force of law and could, in the case of a breach of those bylaws, be enforced by a court. As indicated above, bylaws often had an appended membership list (→ P.Cair. 30606 [191]) or a membership list in which each member approved the bylaws (→ P.Mich. V 243 [206]). Hence, in the event of a complaint, the archival copy of the bylaws could be examined to determine whether they indeed contained the provision alleged to have been violated, and whether the defendant’s name was in fact on the list.

This papyrus also illustrates the fact that although the contract was originally in Demotic (i.e., “Egyptian”), the plaintiffs could appear to a Greek court for relief.

Literature: Monson, Andrew 2012. *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press; Paganini, Mario C.D. 2016. “Decisional Practices of Private Associations in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, Adam Łajtar, and J. Urbanik. JJP Supplement, 1889–1901. Warsaw: Taubenschlag Foundation; Taubenschlag, Raphael 1944. *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri: 332 B.C. – 620 A.D.* New York: Herald Square; Thompson, Dorothy J. 2015. “The Ptolemaic *Ethnos*.” In *Private Associations and the Public Sphere: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*, ed. Vincent Gabrielsen and Christian A. Thomsen. Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistic 8/9, 301–313. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.

[250] BGU VIII 1741, 1742, 1743 + XIV 2368

The “Racing Horse” Sailors

Herakleopolites (20th Upper Egyptian nome)

63/64 BCE

Published: Wolfgang Kunkel, “Verwaltungsakten aus spätptolemäischer Zeit,” *APF* 8, (1927) 169–215; BGU VIII 1741–1743; SB IV 7405 (=1741); SB IV 7407 (=1743); Julie Vélissaropoulos, *Les naoclères grecs: Recherches sur les institutions maritimes en grèce et dans l’orient hellénisé* (Paris: Minard, 1980) 113–115 [VIII 1741: TM 4823; VIII 1742: TM 4824; VIII 1742–43: TM 4825; CAPInv 813]

Translation: (BGU VIII 1741 only): Fik Meijer and Onno van Nijf, *Trade, Transport, and Society in the Ancient World: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 66–67 (no. 92)

Current Location: Warsaw, Department of Papyrology, P.Berol. 13952, formerly Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P.13952 (VIII 1741); P.13958 (VIII 1742); P.13957 (VIII 1743); P.25178 (VIII 2368).

Digital image: <http://berlpap.smb.museum/03963/> (BGU VIII 1741)

<http://berlpap.smb.museum/03968/> (BGU VIII 1742)

<http://berlpap.smb.museum/03967/>

<http://berlpap.smb.museum/05482/>

Similar or related documents: → SB V 8754; CPR XXVIII 11 = P.Vindob.G. 56636; P.Cair.Zen. I 59010; SB XIV 11649; P.Enteux. 27; Bernand, *Les Portes du désert*, no.103; SEG 8.703; P.Giss. I 11.

Papyri, discovered at Abusir el-Melek. Archive of the officials of Herakleopolites (TM ARCH id. 156). *recto*: 15 lines, *verso*: 1 line. Multiple hands (so Kunkel).

BGU VIII 1741 [TM 4823]

5–18 Jul 63 BCE

⟨*recto*⟩⟨*hand 2*⟩

Διονύσιος Πανίσκωι χαίρειν. τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην τὸν
σιτολόγον χρηματισμοῦ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.

vac. ? ἔρρωσο L ιη Ἐπεῖφ [. .]

Ἡρακλείδῃ.

- 5 τοῦ παρ’ Ἀπολλοφάνου προστάτου καὶ Εὐδήμου γραμματέως [τῶν]
ἀπὸ Μέμφεως ναυκλήρων Ἱπποδρομιτῶν ἀποστόλου ἀντίγραφον
ὑπόκειται. κατακολουθήσας οὖν τοῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ σηματομένοις
ἐμβαλὼς συνεπιστέλλοντος Πανίσκου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως
εἰς σκάφην Ζαβδίωνος τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, ἀγωγῆς χιλίων διακοσίων ,
10 γίνονται πυροῦ χιλιαὶ διακόσιαι καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα) ποιήσαι
πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥς καθήκει.

Ἀπολλοφάνης προστάτης καὶ Εὐδημος γραμματεὺς τῶν ἀπὸ Μέμφεως
ναυκλήρων Ἱπποδρομιτῶν Διονυσίωι συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι καὶ

ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι. παρέσταμεν εἰς ἃ ἀναδε-
δέγμεθα τῷ διοικητῇ κατὰζειν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν γεννημάτων

〈verso〉

15 Πανίσκωι

Apparatus: 13 Pap. παρεστάκαμεν

Dionysios to Paniskos, greetings. Attached below is a copy of the notification sent to Herakleidēs the *sitologos*. Farewell, Year 18, (xth) of Epeiph.

To Herakleidēs. (5) Attached below is a copy of the orders of Apollopphanēs, president, and Eudēmos, secretary, of the *Hippodromitai Naukleroi* from Memphis. Following the instructions in it, load, as authorized by Paniskos the royal scribe, into the boat of Zabdion son of Artemidōros, which has a capacity of one thousand two hundred (artabae), a total of 1200 (artabae) of wheat. (10) Make a receipt and a counter receipt for it, as usual.

Apollopphanēs, the president, and Eudēmos, the secretary of the *hippodromitai naukleroi* from Memphis to Dionysios the *syngenēs* and *stratēgos*, and in charge of the revenues, greetings and good health. We have made good on what we agreed with the *dioiketēs* to transport out of the same *nome* from the produce (of this year).

〈verso〉 (15) To Paniskos

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: προστάτης, γραμματεὺς; collective in the plural: ναύκληροι Ἴπποδρομίτοι; corporate involvement in grain transport.

Location: Herakleopolites, 20th Upper Egyptian nome. TM geo ref 2713; Barrington Atlas 75 D3–E2.

II. 1–2: Ἡρακλείδην τὸν σιτολόγον: Herakleidēs is the official in charge of state granaries (*sitologos*) in Herakleopolites from about 58 BCE (BGU XIV 2369) to sometime after 63 BCE (BGU VIII 1752) (cf. Wackenier 2008).

I. 3: χρηματισμοῦ, official document, notification: → P.Ryl. II 183.5.

I. 6: ἀποστόλου, dispatch of a vessel: → CPHerm. VI 11; P.Amh. II 138.

I. 8: Πανίσκου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως: Paniskos the royal scribe appears in several other documents from the archive of the officials of Herakleopolis. On Paniskos → Oates 1994.

I. 9: σκάφηγι: a type of wheat barge → Casson 1971.

I. 10: ἀγωγῆς χιλίων διακοσίων: on various sizes of Nile wheat barges, see Casson 1971.

I. 12: Διονυσίωι συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι: this official also appears in BGU VIII 1744 and 1747.

BGU VIII 1742 [TM 4824]

18 Jul, 63 BCE

Archive of the officials of Herakleopolites (TM ARCH id. 156). *Recto*: 19 lines, left side damaged. Multiple hands (Kunkel).

⟨hand 9⟩

Ἀμμω(νί)ω. L ιη Ἐπειφ ιδ

⟨hand 5⟩ [. ἀντι]γρα(φεῖ) θη(σαυροῦ) περι Τιλῶθιν.

[ἐμ]βαλοῦ ὥστ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν

[κατὰ τ]ὸν παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ

5 [στρατηγοῦ κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων χρηματισμὸν

[εἰς τὴν σημ]αινομένην διατετάχθαι ὑπὸ

[Ἀπολλοφάνου] προστάτου καὶ Εὐδήμου γραμματέως

[τῶν ἀπὸ Μέμ]φεως Ἱπποδρομιτῶν σκάφην

[Ζαβδίωνος] τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀγωγῆς Ἀσ

10 [πυροῦ νέου ἀ]δόλου κεκοσκινευμένου

[μέτρῳ συμβεβλημ]έγῳ πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν καὶ

[σκυτάλῃ δικαίᾳ], εἰ ἐπιβιβασθέντων φυλα-

[κιτῶν κεκληρουχ]ημένων τῶν μάλιστα

[πιστὰ παρεχόντῳ], οἷς καὶ τὸ δεῖγμα κατεσφρα-

15 [γισμένον παραδοθῆ]σεται ἔστιν οἷς ὅμοις

[αὐτοῖς(?) καὶ παρακομ].ἱτῷ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ τῆς ἐξαι-

[ρέσεως τὰς κατεσχη(μένας)] μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπίπλων γνώμης

[χιλίας δ]ιακοσίας / (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) Ἀσ καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα)

ποίη(σαι)

[πρὸς αὐ(τοῦς) ὡς καθή(κει)].

Apparatus: 15 BL III 22 ἐπιτεθῆ]σεται ἐν γείνοις ὅμοις || BL VI 18: ὁμοῖς || 16

[αὐτοῖς(?) καὶ παρακομ].ἱτῷ τοῦ; L. Koenen, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 79 (1958)

112: [ἀγγείους καὶ παρακομ]ιοῦσι παρὰ τοῦ ||

To Ammōnios. Year 18, 14 Epeiph.

[To NN the *anti*]graphēs of the granary (*thesauros*) near Tilothis. Load, for Alexandria for the crown, according to the notification of Dionysios the *syngenēs* and (5) *stratēgos*, also in charge of the revenues, and by the instructions arranged by [Apollophanēs], president, and Eudēmos, secretary of the *Hippodromitai Naukleroi* from Memphis, the ship of [Zabdion] son of Artemidōros, with a load of 1200 (artabas) of (10) new wheat, uncontaminated, sifted and checked with a measure against the bronze (standard) and with a fair strickle. There are to be on board five *phylakitai* from those allotted, who have (15) provided very good pledges. They are to seal the sample, which will be handed over in unbaked vessels, and transport it (as instructed) by the tax official who controls the wharf, with the consent of the sailors. A total of 1200 (artabae of wheat). Make a receipt and a counter receipt for it, as usual.

Notes

Location: Herakleopolites (20th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 2713; Barrington Atlas 75 D3–E2.

- I. 2: Τίλωθιν: Tilothis, renamed Neilou Polis sometime in I CE, was east of the Fayum near the Nile River. The distance to transport wheat from Tilothis to Alexandria is approximately 350 km. by river.
- I. 12: σκυτάλην δικαίαν. In order to guard against fraud, loan, lease, and other agreements regularly stipulate that grain is to be uncontaminated, sifted, and levelled with a “fair strickle”: E.g., BGU IV 1142.7 (25/24 BCE); BGU VI 1271.6 (180–145 BCE); BGU VIII 1742.12 (64/63 BCE); BGU XIV 2390.33 (160/59 BCE); 2391.9 (250 BCE); 2392.7 (250 BCE); P.Amh. II 43.10 (173 BCE); P.Dion. 17.24 (108 BCE); 19.18 (105 BCE); 20.20 (105 BCE); P.Freib. III 34.37 (174/3 BCE); P.Heid. VI 369.15 (197 BCE); P.Hib. I 98.19 (252 BCE); P.Lille I 21.26 (155–144 BCE); I 23.25 (155–144 BCE); I 24.iv.9 (III BCE); P.Tebt. III/1 815.iii.2.13 (228–221 BCE); 823.25 (185 BCE); 824.16 (171 BCE); SB V 8754.12 (49/48 BCE).
- II. 12–13: φυλακίτων: “*Phylakitai* provided an armed presence not only during the *genēmatophylakia*, the annual guarding of crops, but also on board ships (typically those involved in the transfer of grain), where they sometimes served as *epiploi*, “men on board ship,” but in this context clearly as onboard security guards (P.Tebt. III/1 706.15–18 (Tebtynis, 171 BCE)” (Bauschatz 2013,59). The *phylakitai* and other individuals selected for the various elements of the *genēmatophylakia* were required to submit written oaths of office (see P.Tebt. II 282A.2–11 [Tebtynis, II BCE]; P.Tebt. III 802).
- II. 16–17: [αὐτοῖς(?) καὶ παρακομ]·ἰφωὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ τῆς ἑξα||[ρέσεως: → BGU VIII 1743.12 *note*.

BGU VIII 1743 + BGU XIV 2368 [TM 4825]

after 23 Aug 63 BCE

Three columns. The fragment BGU XIV 2368 is broken on both the right and left sides with the writing rubbed off in various places. It completes the third column of BGU VIII 1743. The underlined parts below are BGU VIII 1743.

⟨col. i⟩

⟨hand 6⟩

- [. ἀντιγρα(φεῖ)] θη(σαυροῦ) [περὶ]
 . [. . .] ἐμβαλοῦ ὥστ' εἰς [Ἄλ]ε[ξά]νδρεια[ν εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν]
 κατὰ τὸν παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ συγγε[νοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ]
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων χρηματισμὸν [εἰς τὴν σημαينو-
 5 μένην διατετάχθαι ὑπὸ Μαλίχου προστάτου καὶ Εὐ[δήμου
 γραμματέως τῶν ἀπὸ Μέμφεως Ἱπποδρομιτῶν σκάφην
 Ἀπολ[λω]νίου ἀγωγῆς Αω, [πυρ]οῦ καθαροῦ ἄδολου
 κεκ[ῶ]σ]κινευμένου μέτρῳ [συμβεβλη(μένῳ)] πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν
 καὶ σ[κ]υτάλην δικαίαν, ἡ ἐπιβιβ[ασθέντων φυλ]ακίτων
 10 κεκλ[η]ρουχημένων τῶν μάλιστα [πιστὰ παρε]χόντων,
 οἷς [καὶ] τὸ δεῖγμα κατεσφραγισμ[έ]νον [παραδο]θήσεται
 ἔστιν [οἱ]ς [ῶ]μοις αὐτοῖς καὶ παρακόν[.]τ ωὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ
 σιτηρᾷ τῆς ἑξαῖρέσεως τὰς κατεσχη(μένας) μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπίπλων
 γνώμης χιλίας ὀκτακοσίας / (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)
 15 Αω καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα) ποιή(σαι)
 πρὸς αὐ(τοὺς) ὥς κ(αθήκει).

⟨hand 9⟩ ἀντίγρ(αφον)

⟨col. ii⟩ ⟨hand 6⟩

τοῖς φ. .[.] ἐπὶ τῇ
τηρήσει τῶν κατὰ ποταμὸν

- 20 πόπων ποταμοφύλαξι ἐπὶ λόγον
καλκοῦ (τάλαντα) εἴκοσι γίνεται (τάλαντα) κ
καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα) ποιή(σαι) πρὸς αὐ(τοὺς) ὡς κα(θήκει).

⟨hand 2⟩ Εἰς α. () Λ η Μεσο(ρή) κ

⟨col. iii⟩ (BGU VIII 1743 underlined + BGU XIV 2368)

⟨hand 2⟩ .[±?]

χρημάτισον συνεπιστέλλοντος Πανίσκου

- 25 τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμμιατέως τοῖς ἀποτεταγμένοις
π[ρὸς τῇ τ]ηρήσει τῶν κατὰ ποταμὸν [πὸρῳ]ν
[ποτα]μοφύλαξι ἀπὸ τῶν τ ν[±?]
[±?] ὑνι[ομέ]νου. .[±]
χαλκοῦ (τάλαντα) κ / (ταλαντα) κ καὶ σύμ(βολα) καὶ ἄν[τισμ(βολα)]
ποιήσαι]

- 30 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς καθή(κει).

Λ η Μεσο[ρ]ῆς [κ][±?]

⟨hand 8⟩ τοῖς γρ(αμματεῦσι)

Λ η Με(σορή) κ

Ἡρα() Ψενθώ(του)

- 35 Λ η Με(σόρη) κ

⟨hand 6⟩ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς βησ()

⟨verso⟩

⟨hand 2⟩ Πανίσκῳ

Apparatus: 12 BL VI 18 [ὦ]μοῖς |

⟨col. i⟩

[To NN (the) *antigraphus* of]the *thesaurus* near. . . . load, for Alexandria for the crown, according to the notification of Dionysios the *syngenēs*, *stratēgos*, and in charge of the revenues, by the instructions (5) arranged by Malichos, president (*prostatēs*), and Eudemos, secretary, of the *Hippodromitai Naukleroi* from Memphis, the ship of Apollōnios, with a load of 1800 (artabae) of clean wheat, uncontaminated, sifted, and checked with a measure against the bronze (standard) and with a fair strickle. There are to be on board eight *phylakitai* from those allotted (10) who have provided very good pledges. They are to seal the sample, which will be handed over, in unbaked vessels and transport it (as instructed) by the tax official who controls the wharf, with the consent of the sailors. A total of 1800 (artabae of wheat). Make a receipt and a counter receipt for it, as usual.

⟨hand 9⟩ Copy

⟨col. ii⟩ ⟨hand 6⟩ ..by those... to those who will watch the passage of the river as river guards, on account, (20) bronze talents: twenty, making 20 talents. Make a receipt and a counter receipt for them, as usual.

⟨hand 2⟩ For [NN], Year 18, Mesore 20

⟨col. iii⟩ ⟨hand 2⟩ Order, as authorized by Paniskos the (25) royal scribe, by those appointed for guarding the passage of the river as river-guards from ... [...] bronze (talents): 20, making 20 talents. Make a receipt and a counter receipt (30) for them, as usual.

Year 18, Mesore 20

⟨hand 8⟩ To the scribes. Year 18, Mesore 20. Hera(..) son of Psenth ōs (35)
(35) Year 18, Mesore 20

⟨hand 6⟩ To those out of the house of the Bēs(...).

⟨verso⟩

⟨hand 2⟩ To Paniskos

Notes

Location: Herakleopolites (20th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 2713; Barrington Atlas 75 D3–E2.

1. 12: αὐτοῖς καὶ παρακον[.]τ: this should probably be read: ἀγγεῖοις καὶ παρακομιβοῦσι following SB V 8754.12–19 (Herakleopolites? 77 BCE): ... ἐπιβιβασθέντων φυλακῖτων κεκλη|ουχημένων τῶν μάλιστα πίστιν ἐχόντων, οἷς καὶ τὸ δεῖγμα | κατεσφραγισμένον ἐπιτεθήσεται ἐν γήνιοις ὥμοις || ἀγγεῖοις καὶ παρακομιβοῦσι παρὰ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως | τοῦς καθήκοντας χρηματισμοὺς ληφθείσης καὶ τοῦ ναυκλήρου | χειρογραφίας ὅρκου βασιλικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἀποκαταστήσειν εἰς τὴν | πόλιν τὸν γόμον ἀκακοποίητον οὐ στραγευσάμενον ἐ[αυτοῦ] | πόρῳ..., after the (grain) guards that have general trust and enjoy confidence have loaded (the grain), who have also put the sealed sample (of grain) onboard (15) in unfired earthen jugs. And they (the guards) should continue to obtain the appropriate agreements from the director of the granary in the port, after the contract of the shipper has been received, in which he undertakes with royal oath to deliver the cargo to the city undamaged and without hesitation, at his own risk...

Comments

These documents come from the archives of the officials of the Herakleopolite nome, many of which concern the transport of grain. The high-ranking officials, Dionysios the *stratēgos* and Paniskos the *basilikos grammateus*, appear together in several grain transport documents, mostly dating from 64/63 BCE, with one as late as 52/51 BCE. Both were bilingual Egyptians serving the Ptolemaic administration (cf. Oates 1994), who managed and dispersed state grain to the army or other officials, and conscript workers.

In the first two documents from the month of Epeiph (BGU VIII 1741, 1742), Apollophanēs is president and Eudēmos is secretary of the *Hippodromitai*

Naukleroi of Memphis. In the final set of documents from only about a month later, a certain Malichos is now president while Eudēmos remains as secretary. Generally, the president (*prostatēs*) of an association served for a single year. This raises the possibility that the change in annual presidents has occurred in between the documents we have here. Much less likely is that this association has a new president each month. Kunkel supposed Zabdion and Apollōnios were members of the association and owned the ships. Hauben (1971) agrees that Zabdion and Apollōnios are members of the association, given that they were at least *kubernetai*. However, Hauben argues from other shipping documents that it is not likely they owned the ships.

In Ptolemaic Egypt, *nauklēroi* were employed by the state to transport cargo, most often grain. As early as the third century BCE, there is a definable pattern of such grain transport with a *nauklēros* acting as a shipping contractor for the cargo, the owner of the boat, and a *kubernētēs* (captain or pilot) of the boat:

- [. L λδ Μεσορή [κδ. όμολο-]
 γεῖ [Διονύσιος] ν[αύ]κληρος ἐμ[β]ελ[λῆσ-]
 [θαι διὰ Νεχ]θε[μ]βέους τοῦ παρὰ τῶν βα[σιλ-]
 [κῶν γραμ]μ[α]τέων εἰς κέρ[κουργον] Ξενοδόκου [καί]
 5 Ἀ[λεξάνδρου] κριθ[ῶ]ν (ἀρτάβας) Δω.
 [βασί]λεοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου]
 [Σω]τήρος L λδ ἐφ' ἱερέως Νεοπτολέμου
 τοῦ Κραίσιος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν
 [Ἀδελ]φῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλ-
 10 [φο]ν Ἀρσινόης τῆς Νικολάου μηνός
 Μεσορή κδ. [ό]μολογεῖ Διονύσι[ος]
 ναύκληρος ἐμβελῆσθα[ι εἰς] κέρ[κουργον]
 Ξενοδόκου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' [οὔ] κ[υ]βερνήτης)
 . κ. . υρίς Πάσιτος Μεμφίτης διὰ
 15 Νεχθεμβέους τοῦ παρὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν
 γραμματέων ὥστε εἰς Ἀλ[εξ]άνδρειαν
 εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν σὺν δείγματι [κριθῶν]
 ἀρτάβας τετρακισχιλίας ὀκτ[ακοσίας]
 σίτον καθαρόν ἄ[δ]λον ^{κεκοσκιν[ευμένον]} μέτρῳ [καὶ σκυτά-]
 20 λη οἷς α[ὐτὸς ἡ]νέγκατο ἐξ Ἀλεξ[ανδρείας]
 μετρήσε[ι δικαίαι.] καὶ οὐθ[έν ἐγκαλῶ.]

... Year 34, Mesore 24. Dionysios, *nauklēros*, acknowledges loading on the *kerkouros* of Xenodokos and (5) Alexander, 4800 artabae of barley, with the assistance of Nechthembes, the representative of the royal scribes. In year 34 of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy Sotēr, when Neoptolemos son of Kraisias was the priest of Alexander and the Sibling Gods, and Arsinoe daughter of Niklaos was the kanēphore of Arsinoe Philadelphos (10), Mesore 24: Dionysios, *nauklēros*, acknowledges on the *kerkouros* of Xenodokos and Alexander, whose captain (*kubernētēs*) is ... son of Pasis of Memphis, with (15) the assistance of Nechthembes, the representative of the royal scribes, for the destination of Alexandria for the royal treasury, together with a sample, fourth thousand eight hundre artabae of barley; the grain is pure, unadulterated, sieved, with a fair

measure and strickle which he himself has brought from Alexandria. I shall make no claims. (P.Hib. I 98 [TM 2825], 13 Oct 252 BCE)

While there is some earlier evidence of partnerships among *nauklēroi* (BGU X 1933, III BCE; P.Vindob.G. 56636; cf. Csaba 2009; Hauben 1971). Thompson (2012a) observes that the formal incorporation of *nauklēroi*, such as in the *Hippodromitai* of Memphis, only begins in I BCE. Börner (1939, 43) and Hauben (1971, 269) suggest this was to compete with larger shipping operations from Alexandria. On the other hand, Thompson (2012b, 69) points to similar groups across the Mediterranean, particularly in Delos, that may have influenced the formal organization of shipping.

A papyrus with instructions for grain transport (SB V 8754, Herakleopolites, 77 BCE) is perhaps the earliest evidence of an association of shippers in Ptolemaic Egypt. A wheat barge (*skapḥē*), owned by a certain Agathoklēēs, was sent to the Memphite nome for a load of state grain by Heroides and Dionysios, *tōn pros tēi naulōsei*, “who are responsible for chartering (ships)” at Memphis. Zilliacus (1939) considered Heroides and Dionysios to be the president and secretary of the *naukleroi* of Memphis. Given that there is no mention of such offices in this document, Hauben (1971) reasonably contends that they should be regarded instead as *nauklēros* and *kubernētēs*.

The name of this association, *apo Mompheōs nauklēroi Hippodromitai*, is curious with most scholars rendering it “the shippers who are located in the hippodrome of Memphis” (e.g. Van Nijf and Meijer, 1992, no 92; Vélissaropoulos 1980). There may be another possibility. Most scholars considered the names Zabdion and Malichos to be Syro-Phoenician and noted that Phoenico-Egyptians were a sizable and recognizable group in the Ptolemaic period in Memphis. Recently, Thompson (2012a, 70) has asserted the contrary, that Zabdion and Malichos are not Syro-Phoenician names, pointing to Hauben 1992. Hauben, however, responds to the claims by E. Lipinski and M. Sznycer that these names, while Semitic, were not Phoenician (326). Hauben examines and critiques the onomastic data and argues that this evidence is ambiguous. He turns instead to the contextual evidence regarding which immigrant groups were known to be in Memphis at the time and argues that “c’est sans doute dans ce milieu sémite, plus ou moins mixte mais apparemment à dominante phénicienne, plus ou moins hellénisé mais néanmoins attaché à ses propres traditions, que nous devons situer les Hippodromites de Memphis” (331).

A connection between Phoenicians and Memphis was even known to Herodotus (2.112). Phoenician shippers associations are more commonly known from Delos and Asia Minor, where we find *to koinon tōn Tyriōn Hērakleistōn emporōn kai nauklērōn*, “the association of the Tyrian Herakleist merchants and shippers” (ID 1519.35–6, Delos, 153/2 BCE) and *to koinon Bērytiōn Poseidōnistōn emporōn kai nauklēron*, “the association of the Berytian Poseidonian merchants and shippers” (ID 1520.27–8, Delos, 153/2 BCE) (see Bunnens 1979).

Additionally, one type of well-known vessel used by the Phoenicians was referred to as a *hippos* (“horse”), often having a horse’s head on the bow (Casson, 1971, 66). Thus, the name of the Memphitic shippers association may have a double meaning alluding both to the well-known Hellenistic building where horse racing occurs, and to the fact that these shippers are Phoenician or use Phoenician-style boats. Thus, the *apo Mempheōs nauklēroi Hippodromitōi* should perhaps be rendered as “the Racing-horse Shippers of Memphis.” The shippers association from Teichioussa (Ionia) likewise advertised their communal nature and their navigational skills, the *philadelphoi andres nauklēroi aplanētoi*, the “fraternal shippers who do not get lost” (IGLAM 311).

Literature: Adams, Colin 2017. “Nile River Transport Under the Romans.” In *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World*, ed. Andrew Wilson and Alan Bowman, 175–208. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; **Bauschatz**, J. 2013. *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press; **Börner**, E. 1939. *Der staatliche Korntransport im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Hamburg: Kleinert; **Bunnens**, G. 1979. *L’expansion Phénicienne en Méditerranée?: Essai d’interprétation fondé sur une analyse des traditions littéraires*. Bruxelles: Institut historique belge de Rome; **Casson**, Lionel 1971. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; **Csaba** A.L. 2009 “A New Greek Petition From Hellenistic Egypt.” In *AAnthung* 49:375–382; **Garnsey**, Peter, Keith **Hopkins**, and C.R. **Whittaker** 1983. *Trade in the Ancient Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press; **Hauben**, H. 1971 “An Annotated List of Ptolemaic Nauklēroi with a discussion of BGU X 1933.” In *ZPE* 8:259–275; **Hauben**, H. 1992. “Les nauclères ‘phéniciens’ de Memphis (63 av. J.C.).” In *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques. Actes du Colloque tenu à Louvain-la-Neuve, 13–16 mai 1987*, ed. T. Hackens and G. Moucharte, 321–331. Studia Phoenicia 9. Louvain-la-Neuve: Séminaire de numismatique Marcel Hoc; **Kunkel**, W. 1927. “Verwaltungsakten aus spätptolemäischer Zeit.” In *APF* 8:169–215; **Meijer**, Fik, and Onno **van Nijf** 1992. *Trade, Transport and Society in the Ancient World*. London and New York: Routledge; **Mooren**, Leon 1975. *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt?: Introduction and Prosopography*. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën (p. 110, no. 0101 on dating); **Oates**, J.F. 1994 “Paniskos and Heliodoros: A Strategic Pair.” In *Egitto e vicino oriente* 17:225–230; **Thompson**, D.J. 2012a. *Memphis under the Ptolemies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; **Thompson**, D.J. 2012b. “P.Entreuxis 27 and the Nile Transport of Grain under the Ptolemies.” In *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie. Genève, 16–21 août 2010*. Recherches et Rencontres 30. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Genève; **Vélissaropoulos** Julie 1980. *Les nauclères grecs: recherches sur les institutions maritimes en Grèce et dans l’Orient hellénisé*. Genève: Droz; Paris: Minard; **Vinson**, S. 1998. “PGrenf II 23.” In *ZPE* 121:197–202; **Wackenhier**, S. 2008. “Exécuteur et surveiller: le rôle du basilicogrammate dans les archives de l’Héracléopolite au premier siècle av. J.-C.” In *Egyptian Archives. Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives / Egyptological Archives*. ed. Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo. Milan: Cisalpino; **Ziebarth**, Erich 1929. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels im alten Griechenland*. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde. Reihe A. Rechts- und Staatswissenschaften, Bd. 2. Hamburg: Friedrichsen; **Zilliacus**, Henrik 1939. “Neue Ptolemaertexte zum

[251] O.Edfou III 368 A Judaeon Dining Club?

Apollonopolis Magna (2nd Upper Egyptian nome)

I BCE

Published: Kazimierz Michalowski, “O. Edfou III (no. 368),” in *Tell Edfou*, 1939, Fouilles franco-polonaises, rapports 3 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 1950) 343 (no. 368); Tcherikover, C.Pap.Jud. I 139 + BL IV 112; VIII 516; XI 297 [TM 58442]

Ostrakon. No dimensions available.

- ιε τρίτη πόσις
Θευξου[. . .]
Λυσίμαχος σο[φός(?)]
Σεφθαῖς ἐνα(γωγός) ε[±?]
5 Ἰώσηπος ἱερεὺς(ς) εν[±?]
/ Α
ις τετάρτη πόσις
Θημᾶς ἰσοτοντ. [±?]
Ἰώσηπος ἱερε(ὺς) [±?]
10 Τεύφιλος τ[±?]
τὰ ἐπὶ δόμ[α ±?]
[. . .]. ας φ
φ

Apparatus: 4 BL VIII 516 Kasher ἀνα(γνωτής); BL XI 297 Kerkeslager ἐνα(γωγός)

15th: Third banquet: Theuxos?. . . Lysimachos the sage, Sephthais, prosecutor (?), Iosēpos, priest, . . . making 1000.

16th: Fourth banquet: Themās, *isotonos*? Iosēpos the priest, Teuphilos . . . the contributions. . .

Notes

Association? Possible: periodic banquets?

Location: Apollonopolis Magna. TM geo ref. 269.(2nd Upper Egyptian nome, Apollinopolites [Edfū]). Barrington Atlas 80 B4.

- l. 1: πόσις is an unusual term for a banquet, and in the form employed here it is otherwise unattested. However, πόσις is attested, and in these cases the meaning seems to

indicate banquets including an aspect of drinking. In I.Prose I 40 [160] and ID 521, the term is used to describe a banquet where a crowning takes place, which is significant since it connects πόσις to an event (crowning) typically carried out during association banquets. In P.Mich. V 244 [212] πόσις is simply used to refer to “drinks” that will be consumed when the group convenes; in P.Lond. VII 2193 [199], it appears to be employed in reference to a banquet being held in a sanctuary of Zeus. These attestations indicate that πόσις might plausibly be understood as a reference to a banquet, despite the sparseness of evidence.

1. 6: The total of the contributions is listed here as 1000 (drachmae). This number should be understood in relation to the inflation (1::480) experienced in the Egyptian economy following the devaluation of silver which occurred during the late Ptolemaic period. → P.Petr. III 136 [187] i.1 *note*.
1. 8: The meaning of ἰσοτοντ... here is unclear. Since the other names are followed by what appears to be associative functions (ἱερέως, ἐναγωγός, σοφός), we might hypothesize that ἰσοτοντ. refers to a function as well. The form of the word as we find it here is unattested, presumably due to the fragmented nature of the ostrakon. The term appears to be related to ἰσότονος, in which case we might hypothesize that it refers to either an individual tasked with keeping the peace during meetings (much like the ἵπποι of IG II² 1368 [51]) or some sort of cult singer or harmonizer.

Comments

A Judaeon community is attested in Apollonopolis Magna several Aramaic papyri and ostraca (Kornfeld 1973; Kerkeslager 1973, 216). From the first century BCE two ostraca mention priests, perhaps Judaeon priests: O.Bodl. I 299 = C.Pap.Jud. I 120 (Thebes? Apollonopolis Magna?): Ἰσμαήλου ἱερέως; O.Ashm. 12 = C.Pap.Jud. I 121 (unknown): Θεοδ[.]. ἔχει | . . . ἱερεῖ | Δελλαίας | / λβ Λ ιβ' κδ'. Kasher (1985, 161–162) argues that O.Edfou III 368 is also evidence of a Judaeon community, mounting banquets on festivals. Tcherikover hypothesizes that the 15th and 16th indicate that the banquets are actually Passover celebrations, since two of the feasts of Passover occur in the Diaspora on the 15th and 16th of Nisan. However, we do not have contemporary attestations about the dates when Passover meals took place during this time. It is noteworthy, though, that the banquets here are being held in such close proximity to each other, rather than on the more common monthly basis as is the case with most association meals.

In order to identify O.Edfou III 368 as Judaeon, Tcherikover relied on the appearance of σοφός = סוֹפֵה, sage, and the names Septhais (= שֵׁפְתַיִם) and Teuphilos, a theophoric name often borne by Judaeans to conclude that this is the record of a Judaeon banqueting club. Septhais is a name with Semitic/Hebrew origins and low attestation in Greek evidence, and Teuphilos was, as Tcherikover states, a common name in Judaeon contexts. But these names alone represent only circumstantial evidence. Iosepos is also a name with Semitic/Hebrew origins commonly used by Judaeans, but Lysimachos is a common Greek name borne by non-Judaeans. Themis has no other attestations and is unclear of origin. Theox[os?] also has no other attestations, unless it is understood as a form of

Theoxenos, which is an attested Greek name commonly borne by non-Judaeans. Thus, it is difficult to base an ethnic categorization of this group on the names.

The mention of a sage (*sophos*) is perhaps a sturdier piece of evidence on which to base a Judaeen classification. Kasher (1985, 162) declares that this is “the Torah teacher in the synagogue.” As Kerkeslager (217 n. 406) notes, however, *sophos* “does not represent a normal title used for synagogue officials in any text contemporary with the papyrus (first century BCE) and would hardly justify Kasher’s conclusion.” Kasher also proposed to read Σεφθαῖς ἀνα(γνωτῆς), “reader” for l. 4 although he renders this “translator,” evidently assuming that scriptures were read in Hebrew and needed a translator (an unnecessary and tendentious assumption).

It is difficult to ascertain exactly to this ostrakon refers, in part because of the unusual proximity of the banquet dates and the uncommon term employed for “banquet” but also due to its fragmented nature. We can, however, say with some degree of certainty that it is probably an account. The totalling of the contributions (δόμα) in line 6 indicate that we might be dealing with an account of the association’s income following each banquet. Ostraca could be used for keeping track of income, fees, and other contributions.

Literature: Kasher, Aryeh. 1985. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] (esp. 161–167); Kerkeslager, Allen. 1998. “Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt.” In *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 134, 99–225. Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill; Kornfeld, Walter 1973. “Jüdisch-aramaische Grabinschriften aus Edfu” In *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 110:123–137; White, L. Michael 2011. “Regulating Fellowship in the Communal Meal: Early Jewish and Christian Evidence.” In *Meals in a Social Context*, ed. Inge Nielsen and Hanne Sigismund Nielsen. Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1, 177–205. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press (esp. 203, n. 4) RR/JSK

[252] I.Philae II 139

Dedication of a Statue to Isis

Philae (1st Upper Egyptian nome)

7 Sept 13 BCE

Published: CIG III 4938b; Cagnat, IGRR I 1303; SB V 8676; André Bernand, and Étienne Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969) 2:69–72 (no. 139); Adam Łajtar, “Dedication of the *Prostates* of a *Synodos* from Alexandria.” In *JJP* 22 (1992) 29–36, 34 (no. 3) [TM 80870; CAPIInv 1250]

Current location: unknown. The inscription was part of a collection of H.P. Borrell in Smyrna in the mid-nineteenth century. Its current location is unknown.

Similar or related documents: → I.Philae II 157 [255] (Philae, 8 CE)

Fragment of a statue base. Dimensions unavailable.

Ἰούλ[ιος –]μαρχος ἀνέ-
θηκεν συνόδῳ Εἰς-
ιακῇ τὴν θεάν,
L η Καίσαρος,

5 Θωθ θ.

Iuli[us. . .]machos dedicated to this *synodos* of Isis (this statue of) the goddess, year 18 of Caesar, Thoth 9.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; collective devoted to a deity.

Location: Philae (1st Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref 1767. Barrington Atlas 80, inset (2).

- I. 1: Ἰούλ[ιος; BGU IV attests the presence of dozens of Iulii in Egypt shortly after Augustus' reduction of Egypt to a province. Hence, it is not unusual to find a dedication of on of the Iulii to an Egyptian deity. This suggests the beginning of religio-cultural integration between Roman and Egyptian cults.
- II. 2–3: Εἰς|ιακῇ: Ἐισίακος is attested as a personal name (both masculine and feminine), but not elsewhere in relation to Isis. For other instances of theophoric adjectives in -ιακη → I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] *comment*.

Comments

The adjectival form of Isis' name is noteworthy. In fact, this is the only extant inscription that attests this form of the name Isis, whether for a personal name or the name of the Egyptian deity. Other inscriptions, however, attest the use of an adjectival form of the deity's name: IGRR I 1106.2 [165]: τῇ σ]υνόδῳ Σαμβαθικῇ; I.Alex.imp. 61.2–3 [178]: θερ|μουθιακῇ; I.Alex.imp. 70.1–2 [180] (restored): τῇ Απολλ(?)φνιακῇ γυναικῇ | [συνόδῳ] I.Alex.imp. 65 [181] τῆς | Ἀπολλωγνιακῇ[ς] | συνόδου, and I.Fayum III 204 [200] οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑσεγγηβιακῆς συνόδου.
RR

[253] BGU XIV 2371 Fragment of Bylaws

Herakleopolis (20th Upper Egyptian nome)

I BCE

Published: William Brashear, *Ptolemäische Urkunden aus Mumienkartonage* (BGU XIV; Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1981) no. 2371 [TM 3991; CAPInv 1514]

Translation: Mees 2002, 399.

Current location: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P.25156

Digital image: <https://berlpap.smb.museum/05072/>

Similar or related documents: Other *nomoi*, *leges*: AE 1929, 161 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE); AE 2012, 312 (Ostia, II CE); Agora 16:161 [14] (early III BCE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE); CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE); CIL 8.14683 (Africa proconsularis, II/III CE?); IG II² 1275 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1365–1366 [53] (Sounion, late II/early III CE); IG II² 1368 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG II² 1369 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG IX,1² 670 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); LSAM 80 [152] (Elaioussa Sebaste, ca. 27 BCE–14 CE); P.Bagnall 42 (Tebtynis, 250–210 BCE); P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 (Memnoneia, Theban area [Upper Egypt], 109–8 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 (145 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Cair. 30618 A–B (Tebtynis, II BCE); P.Cair. 30619 (137 BCE); P.Cair. 31178 (179 BCE) [TM 3055; CAPInv 1971]; P.Cair. 31179 (147 BCE); P.Dem.Louvre E 7840 bis = P.Louvre Eisenlohr 6; P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Hamb. 1 (151 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243 [206]; P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77–78 (178 BCE); P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE); P.Prag.Satzung (Tebtynis, 137 BCE); P.Stan.Green.Dem. inv. 21 (ed. Arlt and Monson, 2010) (Bakchias? 190–170 BCE); P.Würzb.dem 10 (Arsinoites, 245–243 BCE); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 241 (ed. Françoise de Cenival, “Papyrus Seymour de Ricci: Le plus ancien des règlements d’association religieuse [4ème siècle av. J.–C.] [Pap. Bibl. Nationale E 241],” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 39 [1988]: 37–46) (IV BCE); SB III 6704 [285] (Aphrodito, Upper Egypt, VI CE); SEG 31:122 [50] (early II CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (II/I BCE).

Papyrus from cartonnage, 21 × 25 cm. Margins of 4 cm. at top and bottom, 1 cm. at left. The papyrus is damaged by cracks and rubbing. Traces of a document in another hand on the *verso*.

– μή ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶσ[±30 ὁ]φ(ε)ῖλημα ἕδιον [±?]
 μηδ’ ἐνκαλεῖν αὐτῶι παρ. . . .[±23]. κατ’ αὐτοῦ [±?]
 τῶν δικαίων τύχηι η. . . .σφα[. . . .]σθαι [±12] ἢ ὅτι ζη[μι]ωθήσεται[ι ±?]

- μηδένα δὲ δασύνειν τὴν οἰνοποσίαν, μηδὲ ἀκοσ[μ]ίαν παρέχειν ἢ ὅτι
 ζημιωθήσεται ±?]
- 5 τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας οἰνοποσίαν, ἢ ὁ ἄν .[. . .] . . . γον κρίνηι· — —
 ἐάν δέ τις τῶν ἐτέρων κα.[. ζ]ημ[ιω]θήσεται[ι ±13]. λοιδορήματος ἢ
 ραπίσματο[ς] ἢ[. . .]ατος [. . . .] ῥάβδου πληγῆς β αντ[.][. .]ης φ[±?]
 τραυμ[α ±17]ματο[ς] (τάλαντον) α [— —]
 ἐὰν δέ τις ±16]ποιησ[άν]των τὸ τρίτον [. .]ντων π[±?]
- 10 [±?].ν τῶν αὐτῶν·

Apparatus: 1 Pap. δ]φύλημα

... it is not lawful for anyone to ... a private debt ..., nor to prosecute him
 ... against him ... he might meet just terms... or he will be fined for that —
 — — no one to cloud (blemish?) the wine-drinking, nor to create disorder or
 he will be fined for that ... (5) the day's wine-drinking, or he who might ...
 judge. — — And if any of the others ... he will be fined ... of verbal abuse,
 or a slap in the face, or ... two blows of a rod ... a wound ... one talent of
 silver [— —] And if anyone ... of those who did it, the third ... (10) of
 them ...

Notes

Association? Probable: although no associative terms appear, there is a striking
 resemblance to the bylaws of P.Lond. VII 2193 [199], including the imposition of
 fines for various forms of misconduct, and the use of the rare word δασύνειν in
 connection with banqueting or drinking. See the *Comments*.

Location: Herakleopolis (20th Upper Egyptian nome); TM geo ref 2713; Barrington Atlas
 75 D3-E2.

1. 4: The meaning of δασύνειν is obscure, literally, “make rough or hairy,” or of the
 weather, “make thick and cloudy, overcast” (*LSJ*, s.v. “δασύνω”). It is unclear here if
 this means to adulterate the wine in some way or to cause unrest during the banquet.
 Mees (2002, 399) following Brashear’s suggestion in BGU XIV 2371.4, translates
 the line, “daß niemand das Trinkgelage ‘bewölkt.’” On the basis of this document,
 Brashear (1993, 34) offers an emendation in P.Lond. VII 2193.18 [199]: μη{ι}
 δα[σύ]ν{ι}εῖν τὰς συμποσίας. The word does not otherwise appear in Egyptian
 papyri, and is rare in literature.

Comments

This is a fragment of what looks like a fairly typical bylaws document (*nomos*)
 of an association. What is preserved shows concern for regulating behavior at
 banquets and prohibiting fighting among members (→ P.Lond. VII 2193.13–19
 [199]), with fines and other punishments for transgressions. We see also what
 appears to be a prohibition against members taking each other to court (l. 2), a
 commonplace in such ordinances (→ P.Mich. V 243.8–9 [206]; and in a
 Demotic *nomos*, P.Cair. 30606.18–19 [191]). This sort of prohibition is

paralleled in 1 Cor 6:1–11, suggesting possible correspondence between Christ groups and Greco-Roman associations (→ Ascough 2015, 208–225, for a discussion of Pauline Christ groups and associations, and for similarities in codes of conduct → Harrison 1999, 40–45). Less common is an apparent stipulation for corporeal punishment (l. 7). If so, it is not unique; blows (*plēgai*) are stipulated for transgressions in the *nomos* of an Attic association (IG II² 1369.43 [49]), although in that case, only slave members are subject to corporeal punishment (IG II² 1369.43–44 [49]). We also have the rule of an Andanian mystery cult which grants the supervisor of women (*gynaikonomos*) the authority to “inflict punishment” (*lymainesthai*) upon women of the cult who do not adorn themselves in the correct ritual dress (SIG³ II 736.26, I BCE). Punishment by whip or flogging does occur in Egyptian law, in both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods, although the *lex Iulia de vi publicare*, which forbade the whipping of Roman citizens appears to have been applied in Egypt (Taubenschlag 1955, 555; but see Bagnall 1989, 213: “official violence even against free persons did exist and was to be feared, but ... it contradicted government policy”; for evidence that corporeal punishment could be imposed upon freedmen → P.Oxy. IV 706.12–13; P.Oxy. LXXIII 4960.6; P.Flor I 61.17–18). The presence of imperatives to contain retribution for injury within the bounds of the association reflect a social norm wherein disputes were expected to be resolved internally, with official complaint to the authorities seen as a last resort (→ Bagnall 1989). All of these rules of conduct, and many others besides, are also present in Demotic *nomoi* of Egypt (Boak 1937, 217).

Literature: Ascough, Richard A. 2015. “What Are They Now Saying about Christ Groups and Associations?” *Currents in Biblical Research* 13(2):207–244; Bagnall, Roger S. 1989. “Official and Private Violence in Roman Egypt.” In *BASP* 26(3/4):201–216; Boak, Arthur E.R. 1937. “The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *TAPA* 68:212–220; Brashear, William 1993. *Vereine Im Griechisch-Römischen Ägypten*. Konstanz: UVK; Harrison, Jim 1999. “Paul’s House Churches and the Cultic Associations.” In *The Reformed Theological Review* 58(1):31–47; Mees, Allard W. 2002. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen*. Monographien, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: R. Habelt; Taubenschlag, Raphael 1955. *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. – 640 A.D.*, Second Edition. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

MM

[254] P.Oslo III 143

Account of Expenditures of a Club of *Pastophori*

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

I CE

Published: S. Eitrem and Leiv Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1936) Fasc. III 218–222 (no. 143) [TM 25911; CAPIInv 1279]Image: <http://ub-prod01-imgs.uio.no/OPES/jpg/781r.jpg>

Similar or related documents: → *Club Accounts*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, after 231/206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPIInv 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, 99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias?, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (unknown, II/III CE).

Medium brown papyrus, 8.3 × 9.5 cm. Cut off at the right; the top margin is missing; the left margin is 1 1/2 cm., as is the bottom one, which is a little torn. Verso is blank. (Description from Papyrus.info).

λόγο[ς π]αστοφό(ρων) συνόδο(υ)

	Θῶνις Τεῶτος	⊢ πδ
	Θομπαχράτη	⊢ ξς
	γραμματεῖ	⊢ ε
5	ἰστιατορίας κοινῶ()	⊢ ιβ
	χειρογραφίας	⊢ δ
	λεπτῆς δαπάνη(ς)	ὀβο(λοι) κδ ℥
	συνόδοι ἐν τῷ Θωγείῳ	⊢ ι
	Σενθεῖ Θω() συνόδ(ου) Δαμαρίῳ(νος)	⊢ η
10	Οὐερεθώνει	⊢ μ
	γ(ίνονται) ⊢ σλβ (ὀβολοι) γ ℥	

Account for the association (*synodos*) of *pastophoroi*:

Thonis son of Teos: 84 drachmae; (paid) to Thompakhrates: 66 drachmae; (paid) to the secretary: 5 drachmae; (5) (expenses for the) banquet (from the common funds?): 12 drachmae; (expenses for) preparation of a report: 4 drachmae; small expenses: 24½ obols; for the *synodos* in the temple of Thonis: 10 drachmae; (paid) to Sentheus son of Tho ð-, of Damarion's association (*synodos*): 8 drachmae; (10) (paid) to Ouerethonis, 40 drachmae.

Total: 232 drachmae, 3½ obols.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: γραμματεῖς; banquets; possible reference to a common fund (κοινόν?).

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

1. 1: π[α]στοφό(ρων): Pastophores are minor priests whose main roles were to carry sacred objects in procession and to guard the temple (Evans 1961, 194; Aubert 1991, 115–116). The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (BGU XII 1210.195–196) stipulates that pastophores are not to be considered as priests: παστο[φόρ]οις οὐκ ἔξδὸν ὥς ἱερεῦσι χρηματίζειν. | παστοφόρο[ις] ἔξδὸν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐφίεσθαι τάξεων, “it is not permitted that pastophores to have dealings as priests; *pastophoroi* belong to private orders.”
1. 2: Θῶνις Τεῳτος: The name Thonis (Θῶνις, Θεώνιος, Θῶνι, Θεωνίς, etc.) is common, especially at Oxyrhynchus (Preisigke *Namenbuch*, 144) and is related to Θῶν, the deity who guards the mouth of the Nile (Herodotus 2.113), also attested as an oracular god (P.Köln IV 202) → Frankfurter 1998, 161 n. 73.
1. 5: ἰστιατορίας κοινῶ(): While ἰστιατορία here must mean “dining room,” it is unclear what κοινῶ() signifies. It might mean “from the common funds,” but presumably most or all of the items listed were paid from the common funds. O.Mich. I 3 (II/III CE) is perhaps also an account of a club meal, but there κοινά cannot mean “common fund”: κοινῶν [±?] | Κτήσωνι φ | τάριχοι ρν | κοινῶν γ | ἄλδος νς | λιβανωτοῦ σπ | ἐλαίου κθ | κοινῶν β[] | ἄρτων [±?] || οἶνου [±?] | κοινῶ[ν ±?], “. . . common expenses: [?]; to Kteson: 500; salt fish: 150; common expenses: 3; salt: 56; frankincense: 280; oil: 29; common expenses: 2[?]; bread: [?]; wine: [?]; common expenses: [?].”
1. 8: συνόδωι ἐν τῷ Θωγιείου: A priest of Thonis is mentioned in P.Wisc. I 19.14 = P.Theon I (Oxyrhynchus, 156 CE).
1. 9: συνόδο(ου) Δαμαρίω(νος): Damarion is a proper name, commonly attested in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, 83). No other mention is made of Damarion’s association.

Comments

Although pastophores were associated with Egyptian temples, this association appears to have been mainly a dining club rather than a cultic association (so also Bagnall 2007, 183 n. 8). The editors (220) suggest that the first two persons named, Thonis son of Teos and Thompakhates, were the προστάται (presidents). Associations of priests and pastophores are widely attested in Ptolemaic Egypt (Poland 1909, 40–41; San Nicolò 1972, 1:11–13). The priests and prophets named in the Canopus decree function like an association, passing a decree: OGIS I 56A.3–7 (Tanis; 238 BCE):

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς | καὶ προφῆται καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον εἰσπορευόμενοι πρὸς τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν θεῶν καὶ περοφόροι καὶ ἱερογραμματεῖς καὶ || οἱ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς οἱ συναντήσαντες ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερῶν. . . . εἶπαν...

The chief priests and the prophets and those who enter the inner sanctuary to dress the gods and the wing-bearers (*pterophorai*) and the sacred scribes (*hierogrammateis*), and the other priests who have gathered from the temples throughout

the land. . . made the motion. . .” (similarly, OGIS I 90A.6–7; Bolbitine, 196 BCE; the “Rosetta Stone”).

Groups of priests and elders (ιερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι) are found in Thebes (OGIS I 194; 42 BCE) and in Philae (OGIS I 137–139; 124–116 BCE: οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀβά|τῳ καὶ ἐν Φύλαις Ἱσιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης) passing honorific decrees and acting collectively. Likewise on Samos a collective of priests (οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος || τῆς Ταυροπόλου) is named in connection with the honouring of a civic patron (IG XII/6 1:351.4–5 (Heraion [Samos], 120 BCE).

There is other evidence that some pastophores formed associations. Evans (1961, 192–195) refers to Apuleius, *Met.* 11.17 (*coetu[s] pastophorum (quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est)*; P.Lond. II 345 = W.Chr. 102 (a letter from two “elders of the pastophores,” πρεσβ(υτέρων) παστοφόρων); and our papyrus. A chief pastophore is mentioned in P.Oxy. II 241.10–16 (Oxyrhynchus, 98 CE): ἀρχεипαστω|φώρου Θοήριδος | καὶ Ἱσιδος καὶ Σ[α]|ράπιδος καὶ Ὠσί[ριος] | καὶ τῶν συννά|ων θεῶν μεγίστων, “chief pastophore of (the temple) of Thoëris, Isis, Sarapis and Osiris and the great associated gods” (→ Aubert 1991, 116).

Ordinarily, names listed in the nominative (l. 2 Θῶνις Τεῶτος) would be taken as donors not as recipients of payments. However, the total in l. 11 includes the 84 drachmae registered beside Thonis’ name. Eitrem and Amundsen suggest (222) that these sums are reimbursements for expenses incurred by the presidents, citing as possible parallels P.Oxy. X 1275 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE), a contract between οἱ πέντε π[ρο]σάται κώμης Σούεως, “five presidents of [an association] of the village of Souis,” who paid earnest money to the one in charge of a company of flute players to perform at a village festival.

The ten drachmae paid to “the *synodos* in the temple of Thonis” and the eight dr. paid to “Sentheus son of Thoō-, of Damarion’s association” present a greater problem. Eitrem and Amundsen think that these are monies paid to other associations, perhaps for the loan of certain equipment (222). Alternately, the payment in l. 8 may refer to a *meeting* of the association that occurred in the *hestiatoria* of the Thonieion. The payment in l. 9, however, to Sentheus son of Thoō- appears to be to the member of a different association, perhaps for some services rendered.

The total of 232 dr. 3 ½ obols is correct assuming that the drachma represents 7 obols (Schuman 1952).

Literature: Aubert, Jean-Jacques 1991. “The Appointment of Temple Personnel in the Second Century A.D.: P.Col. inv. 438.” In *BASP* 28(3–4):101–120, esp. p. 116; Bagnall, Roger S. 2007. “Family and Society in Roman Oxyrhynchus.” In *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, et al., 182–193. London: Egypt Exploration Society; Frankfurter, David 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Poland, Franz 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner; Preisigke, Friedrich 1922. *Namenbuch*. Heidelberg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der*

Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: Beck; **Schuman**, Verne B. 1952. "The Seven-Obol Drachma of Roman Egypt." In *CP* 47(4):214–218.

[255] I.Philae II 157 Proskynēma Inscription

Philae (1st Upper Egyptian nome)

28 Sep – 27 Oct 8 CE

Published: CIG 4922; Cagnat, IGRR I 1308; SB I 4094; André Bernand, and Étienne Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969) 2:124–127 (no. 157) [**TM** 80892; CAPInv 1353]

Current location: Egypt, Philai, temple of Isis, *in situ*

Similar or related documents: → I.Philae II 139 [**252**] (Philae, 13 BCE).

Inscription, 26 × 50 cm. in the south pylon, south face. The last three lines are significantly longer than the first 6.

Ἡγεῖλλ[ι]ος · Κατού[λου],
 Παρμένων · Ποσιδηίου,
 Διονυσιάδης · Διονυσιάδ[ου],
 Διοσκουρίδης · Εὐτύχο[υ?],
 5 Κ[ο]υίντος · Ὀρτήσιος Φ[λα]-
 β[ια]γός · Ζηνοθέμιδος, [θι]-
 α[σῶ]ται · ἐλθόντες · προσε[κύν]ησα[ν]
 τ[ὴν] σεμνήν · Ἱσιν, μνησ[θέντ]ες [τῶν]
 οἰκ[εῖ]ων · Λ λη Καίσαρος, Φαω[φί] –].

Hegeillios son of Katoulos; Parmenon son of Poseideios; Dionysiades son of Dionysiades; Dioskourides son of Eutyches; (5) Quintus Hortesios Flavianus; Zenothemidos: (the) members (*thiasotai*) coming, worshipped the holy one Isis, and remembering their households. Year 38, Paophi x.

Notes

Association? Certain: membership term: [θι]α[σῶ]ται; membership list; collective devoted to Isis.

Location: Philae (1st Upper Egyptian nome). **TM** geo ref 1767. Barrington Atlas 80, inset (2).

1. 7: The formula ἐρχομαι προσκυνη- is common in *proskynēma* inscriptions at Philae: I.Philae I 135 (20 BCE): ἤλθον καὶ προσεκύνησα τὴν θεᾶν Ἱσιν τὴν μεγίστην;

similarly, I.Philae I 136, 138, 152, 162, 281; Bernard, *Paneion d'el-Kanaïs* 80 and at several other locations in Egypt.

- l. 8: $\phi\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\nu$: The more common epithets for Isis at Philae are $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ or $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$.
- l. 9: $\mu\eta\eta\sigma[\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau]\epsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \omicron\iota\kappa[\epsilon\acute{\iota}]\omicron\nu$ is unusual. Although other inscriptions mention memory or remembrance of a certain individual (generally a benefactor), the specific remembrance of an entire household is not attested elsewhere. The fact that only male names are included here – which is typical for occupational associations – suggest that this association was not based on household networks. If it had been, we would expect to see more diversity in terms of legal status and gender among the members. In fact, *proskynēma* inscriptions often include mentions of the *proskynēma* writers' relations or friends, which could account for the unusual combination of $\mu\eta\eta\sigma[\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ here.

Comments

The names of the members indicates an association of four Greek members (with patronyms) and a Roman with a *tria nomina*. Rather unusually, the Roman *tria nomina* is followed by a patronym. Names like these appear in the Eastern parts of the empire around this time, primarily as the Greek East never fully saw the nomen as expressing patrilineal ancestry, despite the fact that they handed it down father to son. Therefore, Roman names in the Greek East could at times appear in the form above, with a patronym added to the *tria nomina*.

Adam Lajtar (1991) has found evidence that *proskynēma* inscriptions from Egypt can in some cases be connected to occupational associations (→ SEG 41:1612–1615 [280]). This observation might apply to this inscription as well, particularly in light of the all-male membership discussed above, which is typical for occupational groups. There is too little evidence in this inscription about the members to say anything definitive, but the remembrance of the household does suggest that we might be looking for a group outside a household context.

Literature: Lajtar, Adam 1991. “The *Proskynema* Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir El-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th Century.” In *JJP* 21:53–71.
 Salway, Benet 1994. “What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700.” In *JRS* 84:124–145; Verboven, Koenraad 2007. “The Associative Order: Status and Ethos Among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire.” In *Athenaeum* 97:1–33. RR

[256] SB I 996

Building Renovations by a Guild of Carpenters

Ptolemaïs Hermiou (8th Upper Egyptian nome) 25 Feb 45 CE

Published: Erich G.L. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1896) 213 (no. 3); Breccia, I.Alex.Mus. 54; Giuseppe Botti, *Notice des monuments exposés au musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandrie: L. Carriere, 1893) 145; Cagnat, IGRR I 1155 (SB I 996) [TM 102698; CAPInv 1361]

Similar or related documents: → *Building inscriptions*: I.Fayum I 73 [202] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); I.Fayum II 106 (Theadelphia, 140 CE); I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); SEG 54:1758 (Fayûm, mid I BCE–mid I CE).

Papyrus, dimensions unavailable.

τῶν ἀπὸ
Πτο[λε]μαίδος
τεκ[τόν]ων πρεσ-
[βυτέρ]ων ἐπικεκ-
5 οσμηκότων τὸν
ἑαυτῶν τόπον
ὧν ἱερεὺς Διογ-
ένης Ἀπολλ-
ωνίου ἔτους ε Τιβε-
10 ρίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος
Φαμενώθ α.

After the elders of the carpenters of Ptolemaïs had beautified their own place (*topos*), whose priest is Diogenes son of Apollōnios, (they dedicated this). Year 5 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar, Phamenoth 1.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: πρεσβύτεροι, ἱερεὺς; collective ownership of property (τόπος).

Location: Ptolemaïs Hermiou (8th Upper Egyptian nome): Trismegistos geo ref. 2023. Barrington Atlas 77 F4.

ll. 3–4: πρεσ[βυτέρ]ων, elders: → OGIS II 729.4 [155] *note*.

Comments

In this inscription, a carpenters association in Ptolemaïs Hermiou set up an inscription in 45 CE commemorating some maintenance to land or a building.

The description indicates that the *topos* is their own property (Bernand 1993, 106 n. 37), not leased and perhaps not even a gift from a patron. From slightly later, in Theadelphia (Arsinoites) Petronius Secundus, most likely a slave or freedman, refurbished one or more association buildings under the patronage of Abdon, perhaps his (former) owner (I.Fayum II 121, 93 CE):

ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [[Δομιτιανοῦ]] | Σεβαστοῦ || Γερμανικοῦ | τόπος
πολιτεύματος Ἀρθώτου | μεγάλου μακαρίτου θεᾶς μεγίστης Σαχύψεως |
ἀνοικοδομήθη | ἐπὶ Πετρωνίου | Σεκούνδου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου || διὰ Ἀβδωνος
προστάτου· Πρώταρχος | ἔγραψεν· ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι, | [L] ιβ, Φαρμουθι ιβ.

On behalf of Emperor Caesar [[Domitian]] Augustus Germanicus. Petronius Secundus of the province of Egypt reconstructed the place (*topos*) of the community (*politeuma*) of the great Harthotes, Blessed, and the great goddess Sachypsis through the patronage of Abdon. He inscribed (this). For good [fortune]. (Year) 12, Pharmouthi 12.

What is striking in such Egyptian examples is the similarity in language in texts that span the first century BCE through the first century CE.

Literature: Bernand, Étienne 1993. “Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d’Égypte.” In *ZPE* 98:103–110, esp. 106 n. 37. RSA

[257] P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097

Praefectorial decree about a Weavers’ Guild

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

27 Feb 62 CE

Published: Alan K. Bowman, “5097. Praefectorial Decree,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXVI*, edited by D. Colomo and J. Chapa (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2011) 197–200 (no. 5097) [TM 140169; CAPInv 1251].

Current location: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Room P.Oxy. 5097.

Papyrus, two fragments. Frag. i, 7.0 × 8.3 cm; frag. ii, 6.8 × 15.5 cm. The fragments do not connect directly with each other and the middle portion cannot be recovered, although no more than two lines may be lost.

⟨frag. i⟩

Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος

Οὐηστ{ε}ῖνος λέγει·

Σαραπίωνα Διογένους

ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως

5 τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ{ε}ῖτου λε-

γόμενον προστάτ . . .

- τοῦ τῶν γερδίων πλῆ-
 θους καὶ λογείας πεποι-
 ῆσθαι κηρυχθέντα
 10 . [. . . .] . εμ[.]ν [±?]
 [±?] . [.] . [±?]

⟨frag. ii⟩

- [±?]
 [±?]
 . υν . . α . ει τοῦς κοι-
 νωνοὺς ἀσύμβατογ
 5 ὕψ' ἡμῶν α
 . . [. .] . φρις καὶ Ὀννωφρ {ε}ι[ς]
 τα . ου ὀνομασθέν-
 τας στασιώδεις
 καὶ συνεργοὺς τοῦ
 10 Σαραπίων[ο]ς τι . . .
 . . λεγω[.] [. .] . [±?]
 ἐὼ {ι} γενέσθαι ἐ[.] ἂν δέ
 τι παρακούσωσι τῇ
 προσηκούσῃ κολά-
 15 σει κατ' αὐτῶν χρή-
 σομαι. L η Νέρωνος
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος
 20 Φαμενώθ γ

Apparatus: ii.8 Pap. στασιώθεις (?) || ii.15–16 Pap. χρήσωμαι

⟨frag. i⟩

Lucius Iulius Vestinus says: Sarapiōn son of Diogenes from the metropolis (5) of the Oxyrhynchite (nome), who is said to be the president (*prostatēs*) of the guild (*plēthos*) of weavers and to have made exactions (*logeia*), having been summoned (10) ...

⟨frag. ii⟩

... with whom he is bringing (?) his associates contrary to (?) ... (6) – phris and Onnophrei[s] (?) ... having been named as dissidents (*stasiōdeis*) and the accomplices of (10) Sarapiōn ... I proclaim a fine and I allow it to stand (?), and if they disregard it I will impose the appropriate punishment (15) against them. Year 8 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phamenoth 3.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: *πλήθος τῶν γερδίων*; leadership term: *προστάτης*. Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

frag. 2 ll. 4, 8: Bowman draws attention to *ἀσύμβατον* (l. 4: “contrary”) and *στασιώδεις* (l. 8: “dissidents”), suggesting unrest among the weavers guild (2011, 197–198). The language of sedition in this edict may show a link between corruption and social disorder, but these documents often used inflated language.

Comments

Sarapiōn, the president of the weavers guild of Oxyrhynchus has been summoned by the praefect, L. Julius Vestinus, to appear in court on a charge of some kind of illegal financial dealing. Sarapiōn may have failed to appear to an earlier summons, leading to the pronouncement of a penalty in the second fragment (for *kērussō* in its legal sense → P.Mich. IX 534; BGU I 288; P.Fouad 24; and for a declaration of penalty after a failure to appear → P.Achm. 2).

The term *logeia* may refer more generally to any sort of collection of money or goods, but is often used in the context of tax collection. Likewise, it may refer to illegal extractions, as it appears to here (→ P.Oxy. II 239; from grain collection, P.Amh. II 79). According to Brunt (1975, 125), “Extortion and fraud were endemic in the administration of Egypt among soldiers and officials.” He cites repeated edicts of praefects against such abuses (→ P.Lond. 1171 *verso* col. iii; IGR I 1262 = OGIS II 665 = SB 8248 = CIG 4956; P.Oxy. VIII 1101). The presence of endemic corruption may also be detected in frequent exhortations to officials for good behavior (Crawford 1978, 195–196 and → UPZ 110; P.Tebt. 703 for examples from Ptolemaic Egypt). Crawford argues that the traditional structure of Egyptian society, with its emphasis on family and village loyalties was partially to blame for rampant corruption in Ptolemaic times, as was the necessity that officials compensate themselves through “unofficial profits which might accompany their position” (Crawford 1978, 200–201). These patterns likely persisted into the Roman period, although the Romans made some effort to check nepotism.

Trade guilds may have had corporate liability for tax collection. If these were managed through the guild presidents, they may well have had ample opportunity for the sort of financial abuse that would attract the attention of the praefect. Corporate liability for tax collection is attested in a number of documents. Johnson (1936, 394–397) points to two. Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222], an extract from a census roll from Arsinoë (73 CE), suggests that members of a potters guild were liable for the tax burden of colleagues who had decamped. P.Tebt. II 287 [236], a petition from a guild of fullers and dyers (161/9 CE), has the guild appeal as a corporate body against a tax increase. Our praefectorial edict presents as early testimony for the president as a contact point for financial dealings, but a number of documents show a president or another

appointed figure as the contact point for payments on behalf of an association or its members. P.Ryl. II 94 [205] (15–36 CE) indicates that the president of the weavers of Euhemeria along with the *grammateus* provided surety to release five guild-members from jail. In P.Mich. V 244 [212], an ordinance document for an association of *apolyssimoi* from 43 CE, a superintendent (*epimelētēs*) is elected for the period of a year, whose duties include the collection of the poll tax from the guild. In P.Lond. III 1177, a receipt for payments of water bills from Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis after Oct 113 CE (→ [186] *comment*), shows the *archons* of Judaeans as the point of payment for water delivery to a *proseuchē*.

The same Sarapiōn son of Diogenes may be mentioned in P.Oxy. XLI 2957 (91 CE), a register of the death of a slave weaver. In that document, a Sarapiōn son of Diogenes is named by his widow as the deceased former owner of the slave. This slave had been pledged to Antonius Pallas, a prominent Greek freedman closely associated with the emperors Claudius and Nero, and especially Agrippina (Oost 1958). Bowman suggests the possibility of Sarapiōn's connection to Antonius Pallas, through his possession of estates in Egypt, may explain the "severe action" against Sarapiōn by the praefect, Vestinus, after Antonius Pallas had been removed from office in the wake of Agrippina's fall (Bowman 2011, 197).

Literature: Bowman, Alan K. 2011. "5097. Prefectorial Decree." In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by D. Colomo and J. Chapa, 76:197–200. London: Egypt Exploration Society; Brunt, P.A. 1975. "The Administrators of Roman Egypt." In *JRS* 65:124–147; Crawford, Dorothy 1978. "The Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt." In *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten*, 195–122. Mainz on the Rhine: Philipp von Zabern; Gibbs, Matthew forthcoming. "Collective Action, Trade Associations and the State in Roman Egypt." In *Documents and the Mechanics of Roman Rule*, ed. Dominic Rathbone and Andrew Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Johnson, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Oost, Stewart Irvin 1958. "The Career of M. Antonius Pallas." In *AJP* 79(2):113–139. MM

[258] O. Bodl. II 1858

List of members in arrears (?)

Thebes (4th Upper Egyptian nome)

66/67 CE

Published: John Gavin Tait and Claire Préaux, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections, II: Ostraca of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Graeco-Roman memoirs 33 (London: n.p., 1955) 311 (no. 1858) [TM 72541; CAPIInv 1386].

Current location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 1654

Similar or related documents: → O.Kellis 108 (Kellis, 181? 213? 305?); O.Mich. III 1110 (Karanis, III/IV CE).

Ostrakon, no description available.

ἔχθεσις συνόδ(ου) τοῦ ιγ L Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρίου
ὧν τὸ κατ' ἄνδ(ρα)

Ἀπολλόδ(ωρος) Σωτῆ(ρος) κ . θ() ιε.

Φαμίτν(ις) Ψενοσορο(ήριος) κ . θ() ιζ.

5 Φθουμ(ίνις) Παναμέω(ς) κ . θ() ζ.

Payment of the *synodos* for the 13th year of Nero the Lord, by individual members: Apollodōros son of Soter, 20 ? 15; Phaminis son of Pseno-soeris; 20, . . . 17; Phthouminis son of Panameus, 20, . . . 7.

Notes

Association? associative term: σύνοδος; membership dues; fragment of membership list.

Location: Thebes (4th Upper Egyptian nome) TM geo ref 2355. Barrington Atlas 80 B2.

I. 1: ἔχθεσις, i.e., ἔκθεσις; payment in arrears: → P.Mich. XII 656.11 (I CE), P.Oxy 583.136 (VI CE).

II. 3–5: κ . θ(). Préaux: “Le sens le l’abréviation κ.θ m’échappe.”

Comments

The meaning of the abbreviation θ is unknown and there is no accompanying monetary sign such as ₰ (drachma). Since ἔχθεσις often indicates payments owing or in arrears, it may be that the figure 20 (κ) indicates the amount payable, and the second figure, always less than 20, the amount already paid or still owing.

[259] P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 Petition concerning a *klinē* of Sarapis

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

4 Sept 73 CE

Published: A.K. Bowman, M.W. Haslam, J.C. Shelton and J.D. Thomas. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XLIV (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 74–75 (no. 3164) [TM 15927; CAPInv 1435].

Current location. Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 3164.

Papyrus, 13.0 × 15.5 cm., incomplete at the top.

〈hand 1〉

- ἀγα[γ]ῆν α. . . [±15]
 τὸν θίασον καὶ . [±12 τὴν]
 ἱερὰν κλ{ε}ίνην ἐγ[±15]
 θα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[±12 ἐπι-]
 5 τελεσθῆναι ὑπ[έρ τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου]
 θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτ[ο]κράτο[ρος Καίσα]ρ[ος]
 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σύνπαγ-
 τος αὐτοῦ οἴκου τύχης τὰς θυσίας καὶ
 σπονδάς. διὸ ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνεται
 10 ἐπιχωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡξιωμένοις
 πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν τῶν [εἰς] τὸ θεῖον
 ἀνηκόντων παρεωρ[α]θῆναι. εὐτύχ(ει).

〈hand 2〉 Σόις Τεῶτος ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ἀνα-

- φόριον. L ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ/
 15 Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ζ.

Apparatus: 14 Pap. Αὐτορος

. . . (that?) the association . . . hold a sacred *klinē* . . . in the temple . . . the sacrifices and libations be (5) completed for the good fortune (*tychē*) of our god and lord, Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus and all of his household. Wherefore I ask, if it seems (good), that you (10) consent to the things I have requested so that nothing that pertains to the divinity (*theion*) be overlooked. Farewell. 〈hand 2〉 I, Sois son of Teos, have submitted the petition. Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, (15) Sebastos 7.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: θίασος; collective devoted to a deity (Sarapis?); banquet called ἱερὰ κλίνη.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome); TM geo ref. 1524; Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

1. 2: θίασον: The editors comment that this is the only occurrence of θίασος in Egypt in the imperial period. I.Philae II 157.6–7 [255] uses [θι][σῶ]ται. There are only a few occurrences in the Ptolemaic period: O.Bodl. 1 312 (Thebes, III BCE): κη εἰς τὸν θίασον, “28 (dr?) for the thiasos”; P.Enteux. 21.4 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE); SB V 7578.4, 9 (Elephantine, I BCE): οἰκονομῶν | τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Σαῶνῃνι | Διοσκουριακοῦ θιάσου || Βυήγχιος Πάτης, “managers of those from the *thiasos* of the Dioskuroi in Syeni, Bienchis son of Pates”; P.Köln XI 455.18 (Aphroditopolis [Arsinoites], 134 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 583.8, 51 (Philadelphia [Arsinoites], 170 BCE): εἰς τὸν γεωργικὸν θίασον, “[payment] to the farmers’ *thiasos*.” Arnautoglou (2005, 206) points out that Philo uses the term for associations.
1. 3: ἱερὰν κλίνην, sacred *klinē*. The term κλίνη is typically found in connection with the cult of Sarapis. → P.Coll.Youtie I 51 (Oxyrhynchus, II–III CE); P.Coll.Youtie 52.4 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Köln I 57 = SB X 10496 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karani, early III CE); P.Oslo III 157 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. I

110 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. III 523 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. XII 1484 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1755 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262]; P.Oxy. LII 3693 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. LXII 4339 (Oxyrhynchus II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 (Oxyrhynchus, III? CE). PSI XI 1543 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); SB XVI 12511 [231] (Narmouthis, II CE); SB XVIII 13875 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Yale I 85 (unknown origin, late II CE). A κλίνη of Anubis is attested → SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid- to late-III CE). Philo (*Flacc.* 136–137) uses the term as a synonym to σύνδοξ.

II. 5–6: ὑπ[έρ τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου] | θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτ[ο]κράτορ[ος Καίς]αρ[ο]ς → JIGRE 22.1 [154] *note*.

Comments

Given the appearance of κλίνη in this papyrus, it is likely that this *thiasos* was devoted to Sarapis (→ l. 3 *note*). The editors suggest that Sois' request might be unrelated to the cult of Sarapis, but that Sois draws attention to the sacrifices and libations on behalf of the health of the Emperor "as an implicit threat of neglect" and as a strategy to gain compliance for his request (1976, 74).

Literature: Arnaoutoglou, Ilias 2005. "«Collegia» in the Province of Egypt in the First Century A.D." In *AnSoc* 35:197–216; **Koenen**, Ludwig 1967. "Eine Einladung zur Kline des Sarapis (P. Colon. inv. 2555)." In *ZPE* 1:121–26; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1948. "The Kline of Sarapis." In *HTR* 41(1):9–29.

[260] SB V 8805

Meeting Place of a Guild of Stonemasons

Ptolemaïs Hermiou (8th Upper Egyptian nome)

7 Jul 81 CE

Published: Seymour de Ricci, "Review: Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, by Ulrich Wilcken," *Revue archéologique* 38 (1901) 303–313, pp. 307–308 (no. 26); Seymour de Ricci, "Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine," *APF* 2 (1903) 427–452, 561–571, 436 (no. 32) (SB V 8805); Cagnat, *IGRR* I 1151 [TM 102695; CAPIInv 1360]

Current location: Egypt, El-Mansha, Gebel Tukh, *in situ*.

Similar or related documents: → Pierre Jouguet. "Les graffites du Djebel-Toukh," *BCH* 20 (1896) 245–248, 246: (θεοῖς σω)τηρσι | Ἡρακλῆς Λύσιδος | ἱερ(ο)ποιός και ἀρχιπρύτανις δια βίου. | Πτολεμαῖος[ς], | Σωτήρ, Ἄρης, Σαραπίων; p. 246: Ἰε[ρό]ς ὁ τόπος. | "Ὅς ἐάν ᾧδε οὐρήσῃ | ἢ (χ)έ(σ)η, ἔξει τὸν Σέρα[πιν] κεχολωμένον.

Inscription. Dimensions unavailable.

ἔτους γ [Τί]του Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, θεοῖς Σωτήρσι
Ἡρα[κλῆς] Λύσιδος, [ἱερο]ποιός [καὶ] ἀρχιπρύτανις,

- ὁ οἰκοδομήσας τὸ ἱερὸν θεῶν Σωτήρων
 ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ[ίου], Ἐπεὶφ ιγ, ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι. τόπος· λαξοῖ Πτολεμαῖς, Σωτήρ,
 Παλεμοῦς,
 5 Ἀμμώνιος[ος], Σαραπίων Σωτήρος, ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι.

Year 3 of the Lord Titus Caesar. Hēraklēs son of Lysis, manager (*hieropoios*) and chief magistrate (*archiprytanis*), who built the temple of the Savior gods out of his own resources (dedicated this) to the Saviour gods. Epiphi 13. For good (fortune). Place. Stonemasons: Ptolemai(o)s, Soter, Palemous, (5) Ammōnios, Serapion son of Soter, for good (fortune).

Notes

Association? Possible; artisans in the plural: λαξοῖ; control of space; membership list.

Location: Ptolemaïs Hermiou (8th Upper Egyptian nome): Trismegistos geo ref. 2023. Barrington Atlas 77 F4.

l. 4: τόπος: → I.Fayum III 204.4 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE) *note*.

Comments

In Ptolemaïs Hermiou, Hēraklēs son of Lysis set up two dedications in which the word *topos* appears without any specific referent, which has thus presented some difficulty with interpretation. The second is an undated graffito:

(θεοῖς σω)τηρσι | Ἡρακλῆς Λύσιδος | ἱερ(ο)ποιὸς καὶ ἀρχιπρύτανις δια βίου. |
 Πτολεμαῖος[ος], | Σωτήρ, Ἄρης, Σαραπίων

To the saviour gods. Hēraklēs son of Lysis, the manager and chief magistrate (*archiprytanis*) for life (wrote this). Ptolemaios, Sōter, Arēs, Sarapiōn.

Bernand (1993, 108) thinks that these are the members of an association. San Nicolò (1972, 2:143) suggests that the singular *topos* refers to land owned by the association, whereas Bernand leans towards interpreting the referent as a specific location within a sanctuary in which the stonemasons' association would meet (1993, 108). This latter interpretation would fit with other examples from Egypt. If this interpretation is correct then it might help explain SB V 8842 (98 CE, unknown provenance) in which *topos* stands alone and then five names are listed:

τόπος· Ἡρακλῆς, | Ἀλέξανδρος, | Κολλούθης, | Σωτήρ, Ὀρίων. || ἔτους α Τραιανοῦ
 | [Κ]αίσαρος το[ῦ κυ]ρίου

Place of Hēraklēs, Alexander, Kollouthe, Soter, Horion. 1st year of Trajan Caesar the Lord

There is no question that many associations had access to, or even owned, land and buildings (→ Index X. s.v. τόπος), but in some instances inscriptions attest to the use of *topos* as a designation for such space and in so doing publicly

declare their claim on the area, particularly in Egypt. For example, in 79 BCE in Euhemeria an inscription designates space for an association of farmers (I.Fayum II 134, 79 BCE):

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου, | τόπος συνόδου γεωργῶν || ιδίων, Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίων κωμο|γραμματέως καὶ Διδύμον | τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώρου ἀδελ|φοῦ, ὧν ἐπιμελητῆς Ἀφροδίσιος Κεφαλαῖος καὶ Παοῦς || διαδεχόμενος τὴν εὐχὴν· | L β, Φαρμουθι ιβ.

For the well-being of king Ptolemy the god Philopator and the Philadelphos god: The place of the association (*synodos*) of farmers themselves, when Apollōnios was the village clerk (*kōmogrammateus*) and Didymos his son and Isidōros his brother; (the association) whose supervisor (*epimelētēs*) was Aphrodisios son of Kephalas and Paous succeeding (him) (according to) an oath. Year 2, Pharmouthi 12.

Members of an association devoted to Isis Esenchebis in Soknopaïou Nesos (Arsinoites) delineated land that they had consecrated that abuts, on the north side, an enclosure that their president has constructed, and on the east-west axis, that lies between an assembly place and a temple, both of which are likely to have been used by the association (I.Fayum III 204 [200], Soknopaïou Nesos, 68 BCE):

[ὑ]πὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου Ἰσιδι Ἐσεγγήβει θεᾷ μεγάλῃ | οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐσεγγηβιακῆς συνόδου, ὧν συναγωγὸς | Ἑλενος, ὁ τό[π]ος νό[τι]ου ἐπὶ βο[ρ]ρᾷ, ἀφ' οὗ οἰκ[ο]δόμησεν Ἑλενος περιβόλου ἕως || τοῦ δρόμου, λι[μ]νὸς ἐπ' ἀ[π]η(λίωτην) ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμ[ο]στήριου ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ. | L ιγ, Μεχ(εῖρ) κβ.

For the well-being of king Ptolemaios, Philopatōr and Philadelphos god. (This statue was dedicated) to Isis Esenchebis the great goddess (by) the *synodos* of Esenchebis, whose assembly president (*synagogos*) is Helenos. They (have dedicated) the land to the north and south, from the enclosure (*peribolos*) that Helenos constructed, to the processional way; (and the land) west to east, from the assembly place to the temple. Year 13, Mecheir 22..

In 51 BCE, an association in Soknopaïou Nesos devoted to Snonaïs, a local form of Isis in the Fayum, erected a limestone stele in honour of the ascension of Kleopatra VII to the throne (I.Fayum 205 [201]):

ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπάτρας θεᾷς Φιλοπάτωρ τόπος Σνοναϊακῆς συνόδου | ὧν συναγωγὸς | Ὀννώφρις λεσώνης· | L α, Ἐπιφ ι.

For the well-being of Queen Kleopatra the Philopatōr god. This place (*topos*) of the *synodos* of Snonaïs (has been dedicated), whose *synagōgos* is Onnōphris, the chief administrator. Year 1, Epeiph 1.

In this text *topos* seems to refer to the land belonging to an association where it held its regular meetings, although its specific locale remains vague in the text (Bernand 1993, 107), unlike some other Egyptian inscriptions in which the *topos* is specified within a sanctuary of a particular deity.

Josephus records a letter ostensibly from Onias IV in the mid-second century BCE in which he records Onias' observation that the Judaeans at Leontopolis, among "other places (*topoi*) where our nation is settled" are at odds with one another, which he blames on the presence of temples (*hiera*) "contrary to what is proper, and for this reason they are ill-disposed toward one another, as is also the case with the Egyptians because of their temples and their varying opinions about the forms of worship." To rectify the local situation at Leontopolis, Onias appeals to Ptolemy VI (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.62–73):

I have found a most suitable place (*topos*) in the fortress.... Therefore, I beg you to give me permission to cleanse the temple which belongs to no one and is in ruins, and to build a temple (*naos*) to the Most High God in the likeness of that in Jerusalem and with the same dimensions, on behalf of you and your wife and your children, so that the Judaeans who live in Egypt may be able to come together in mutual harmony and serve your interests. (trans. ASSB no. 153)

In order to legitimate this further, Onias invokes Jewish prophecy: "for this is what the prophet Isaiah foretold: 'there shall be an altar [*thysiastērion*] in Egypt to the Lord God', and many other similar things did he prophecy regarding this place (*topos*)."¹ The same Jewish meeting place might be mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Leontopolis "...the prayer hall ...to God Most High..." ([- - -] | [- - τὴν] προσε[υχὴν - -] | [- - θε]ῶι ὑψίσ[τῳι - -]), where *proseuchē* is understood as a location rather than simply as "prayer" (so ASSB no. 154). In their reply, also recorded by Josephus in the same passage, king Ptolemy and Queen Kleopatra question the wisdom of building a temple in a place (*topos*) so wild and full of sacred animals but do acquiesce. In his concluding comments on the exchange, Josephus notes that "Onias took over the place (*topos*) and built a temple and an altar to God similar to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer." Both the appeal to Ptolemy VI and the king's response, along with Josephus' comment, use *topos* language very similar to dedicatory inscriptions set up by other groups in Egypt recording the establishment of sacred space.

Literature: Bernand, Étienne 1993. "Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte." In *ZPE* 98:103–110; Runesson, Anders, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, eds. 2007. *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.* AJEC 72. Leiden: Brill; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht.* 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck. RSA

[261] P.Köln X 414

A court record concerning funerary workers

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

I CE

Published: Fabian Reiter in M. Gronewald *et al.*, eds. *Kölner Papyri, IX*, Papyrologica Coloniensia VII/10 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003) 142–149 (no. 414). [TM 47275]

Current location: Köln, Papyrussammlung P. 1691

Similar or related documents: → P.Petaus 28 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE); P.Ryl. II 65 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE).

Papyrus, 11.6 × 12.0 cm. The verso contains a list of names in Demotic (II CE), evidently unrelated to the Greek text.

- νεκροτάφοι Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλεω(ς) τ{ε}μῆ(ν?)
στολ(ῆς) τριβακῆ(ς) φαιᾶς καὶ δικρόσ<σ>ο(ν)
πρότερο(ν) Ἡράτ(ος) Ξένο(ν) παιδαγωγ(ῶ)
τετελε(ευτηκότος) ἐφώ(νησαν(?))· ἀπαιτείσθωσ(αν)
- 5 οἱ νεκροτάφ(οι) Ἦ κ.
Θοωνᾶς Πάσφιτος καὶ Πετοσοράπ(ις)
Θοω(ν) καὶ Πετεσεῖρις Ἀρθοώ(νιος) καὶ Ὀννώφρ(ις)
Α του καὶ οἱ σὺν α(ὐτοῖς) νεκροτάφ(οι)
ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπ(όλεως) μὴ καταχω-
- 10 ρίσαντες λόγ[ον] ὧν εἰσεδόθησ(αν)
[.] νφ[.] . [.] . [.] . [.] .

verso

⟨Demotic⟩

The mortuary workers of the city of Oxyrhynchus testified as to the cost of the worn, gray garment and a pall (?) formerly belonging to Heras son of Xenon the paedagogos who had died. (5) Let the funerary workers be required to repay 20 dr. Thoḏnis son of Pasis and Petosorapis son of Thoḏnis and Petoseiris son of Harthonis and Onnōphris son of . . . and the mortuary workers from the metropolis associated with them, since a list of (10) those who have contributed has not been submitted . . .

Notes

Association? Probable: legal action against a collectivity of mortuary workers (νεκροτάφοι); mention of a (missing) membership list → P.Enteux. 20 [189] *comment*.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

l. 1: νεκροτάφοι: → Derda 1991, 26–31.

- l. 2: δικρόσσου: on this as a noun (and a garment) rather than an adjective → Reiter 2003, 146–147.
- l. 4: ἐφώ(νησαν(?)): ἀπαιτεῖσθω(αν): they testified (agreed?), let it be paid. . . → BGU III 925.1–3 (Herakleopolis III CE): μετὰ τῇ[ν ἀνά][γνως]ιν ἡ βουλή ἐφώνησεν · ἀπαι[τεῖσθω]σαν οἱ μὴ ἀποδεδωκότες. . ., a decision of the *boulē*

Comments

As Reiter (2003, 142) observes, this papyrus confirms that occupational guilds assumed legal jurisdiction in managing the affairs of their group (→ P.Lond. VII 2193 [199]; BGU XIV 2371 [253]; P.Mich. V 243 [206]; P.Mich. V 244 [212]; P.Mich. V 245 [219]).

This seems to be a protocol of a court for a case involving mortuary workers who, in the course of the preparation of the corpse for burial, appropriated the deceased's clothing. It is likely that members of the deceased's family brought a case against the funerary workers. Reiter suggests that a smaller group of mortuary workers – those named in ll. 6–8 were found responsible for the appropriation of the clothing, and that the entire guild has found them responsible.

Literature: Derda, Tomasz 1991. “Necropolis Workers in Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Greek Papyri.” In *JJP* 21:13–36; Reiter, F. 2003. “Auszug aus einer Verhandlung über νεκροτάφοι.” In *Kölner Papyri, IX*, ed. M. Gronewald et al. Papyrologica Coloniensia, VII/10, 142–149. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.

[262] P.Oxy. XXXI 2592

Invitation to a Cultic Banquet

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

75–199 CE

Published: P.J. Parsons in J.W.B. Barns, P.J. Parsons, J.R. Rea and E.G. Turner, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXI* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1966) 151 (no. 2592) [TM 25119]

Current location: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 2592

Similar or related documents: → *Invitations to the klinē of Sarapis*: P.Oslo III 157 (unknown, II CE); P.Brit.Col. inv. 1 (Oxyrhynchus?, II CE); P.Oxy. I 110 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. III 523 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. LII 3693 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); SB XVI 12511 [231] (Narmouthis, II CE); P.Yale I 85 (Oxyrhynchus?, late II CE); P.Oxy. XII 1484 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1755 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); PSI XI 1543 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXII 4339 (Oxyrhynchus II/III CE); SB XVIII 13875 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Coll.Youtie I 51 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Coll.Youtie I 52 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE);

P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 (Oxyrhynchus, III? CE). *Invitation to the klinē of an unnamed god, probably Sarapis*: P.Köln I 57 = SB X 10496 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE). *Invitation to the klinē of Anubis*: SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid-to late-III CE). *Invitations to the festival (ἱέρωμα) of Isis*: P.Fouad I 76 (unknown, II CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4539 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXXV 5056 (II/III CE). *Invitations to a coronation*: P.Oxy. XVII 2147 (Oxyrhynchus, early III CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3202 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE). *Invitations to an epicrisis*: P.Oxy. VI 926 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XXXVI 2792 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XLIX 3501 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4541 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE). *Invitation to a birthday of a child*: P.Oxy. XXXVI 2791 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. IX 1214 (Oxyrhynchus, V CE). *Invitations to a therapeuteria*: P.Oxy. LXVI 4542, 4543 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Lond. Inv. 3078 = SB XIV 11944 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE). *Invitations to weddings*: P.Oxy. III 524 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); SB V 7745 (unknown, II CE); P.Fouad.Univ.7 (unknown, II CE); P.Oxy. LXXV 5057 (II/III CE); SB XIV 11652 (Arsinoites, II/III CE); P.Köln VI 280 (unknown, II/III CE); P.Fay. 132 (Arsinoites, III CE); P.Oxy. I 111 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. VI 927 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1579 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1580 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XXXIII 2678 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); SB XXII 15358 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1486 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE); P.Oxy. XII 1487 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE); P.Apoll. 72 (unknown, VII CE). *Invitations to banquet with no stated occasion*: SB XVI 12596 (unknown, mid-II CE); P.Oxy. IV 747 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Oxy. XII 1485 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); O.Medin.Madi 31 (Narmothis/Arsinoites, II/III CE). *Epistolary invitations*: P.Cair.Zen II 59282 (Philadelphia, 250 BCE): invitation to a sacrifice in honour of the king; P.Cair.Zen IV 59707.15–16 (Philadelphia, mid III BCE): reference to ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τοῖς κεκλημένοις εἰς τὰ Βασιλεια; UPZ I 66 = P.Par. 43 = Sel.Pap. I 99 (Memphis, 153 BCE): announcement of a wedding and an invitation to come that day (5. παραγεν{ομεν}οῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν); PSI XII 1242 (unknown, I BCE – I CE): invitation to the first birthday of a child; BGU II 596 (Arsinoites, 84 CE); SB VII 7575 (Elephantine, I/II CE): invitation to come to the festival; P.Oxy. XLVI 3313 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE): apology for not attending a wedding; P.Oxy. LII 3694 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); BGU I 333 (Fayum, II/III CE); P.Oxy. I 112 (Oxyrhynchus, III/IV CE); T.Vindol. II 291 (Vindolanda, 97–105 CE): *ut venias | ad nos iucundiorum mihi*.

Papyrus, 5.6 x 4.2 cm. Written in a small cursive along the fibres.

ἔρωτᾷ σε Νεῖλος δεῖπνῆσαι
εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος
ἐν τῷ Σαραπείῳ τῇ ἰ ἀπὸ ὧρ(ας) θ

Apparatus: 2 Pap. κλείνην

Neilos invites you to dine at the table (*klinē*) of the Lord Sarapis in the Sarapeion on the 10th, from the 9th hour.

Comments

This is the earliest of a collection of small invitations that follow a simple formula. The first word, always either ἐρωτᾷν or καλεῖν, invites the unnamed guest to dine (δεῖπνεῖν). The invitation is in the third person singular, and the host is named. An occasion and a place are given, and the date and time of day. The presence and precise ordering of each of these elements is variable, but they follow a pattern similar to this text. (Kim [1975, 392–397] explores the variations of 25 such invitations in careful detail; Arzt-Grabner (2016) has published an updated list of 51 invitations.) The invitations are almost always for a banquet either on the same day or more commonly, the next day, usually commencing on the ninth hour of the day, although the eighth or seventh hour are not uncommon.

These written invitations must have supplemented invitations delivered verbally or by letter, both because crucial information is often missing – the location is missing from many – and because someone had to convey the guest’s response. Skeat (1975, 254) speculates that the small documents were a marker of social prestige and popularity, displayed in the homes of the recipients “in much the same way as the bowl of visiting-cards in the hall of a Victorian residence.” Kim (1975, 397) rejects this and suggests more reasonably that they were held by the servant who delivered the invitation and discarded them after use. The servant may have read aloud the content, or memorized it. The card, lacking any identification of the guest, may have served for however many households the servant was appointed to call upon, although we do have one invitation with a name inscribed on the *verso*, presumably of the recipient (P.Oxy. VI 926). This very dynamic is seen in the New Testament parable of the great banquet: “A certain man was preparing a great banquet and invited many guests. At the time of the banquet he sent his servant to tell those who had been invited, ‘Come, for everything is now ready.’” (Luke 14:16–17). The servant then reports back the responses (14:21). A similar arrangement can be found in Ovid’s *Amores* I 11. Here, a lover sends a maid with a letter, inscribed on a wax tablet, requesting that his paramour invite him over. The maid is instructed to return with the response, which may be brief (“*Veni!*”). Furthermore, we know that such banquets could require months of preparation, as we see in a letter discussing an upcoming festival of Sarapis (P.Mich. VIII 511 = P.Mich.inv. 4686 [240]). A certain Ptolemaios, appointed as *agoranomos* of the festival, writes to his father two months in advance to secure the wood necessary for the banquet. These notifications, therefore, almost surely served as reminders of earlier invitations sent well in advance.

Our invitation and at least 14 other known invitations summon the guest to the *klinē* of the Lord Sarapis. Two invitations to divine banquets of other gods

are known, one to the *klinē* of Anubis, and one to the *klinē* of an unnamed god (SB XX 14503 and SB X 10496, respectively). The exact meaning of a *klinē* is unclear. We may rule out the *klinē* as a location for the banquet, as locations are frequently provided by the invitations, and include not only the Sarapeion, but also personal homes (P.Oslo III 157) or the temples of other gods (→ P.Oxy. XII 1484, the Thoorion). The *klinē* may refer to an association devoted to feasting, under the nominal sanction of a deity. This is the implication of Philo, when he refers to bands (*thiasoi*) of revelers in Alexandria whose meetings are called *synodoi* and *klinai* (*Flacc.* 17.136). On the basis of Philo's derision, Milne (1925, 7–8) suggests that these are not religious gatherings at all, but rather, they are entirely social gatherings. According to Philo, popular associations in Alexandria met “under pretense of sacrifices, making a drunken mockery of public business” (*Flacc.* 1.4, trans. C.D. Yonge) and were “founded in no one good principle, but who are united by wine, and drunkenness, and revelry” (17.136).

Youtie calls Milne's opinion “extreme” (1948, 14 n. 24) and suggests that the religiosity of the events may have varied, but “we may assume the god was honoured with a sacrifice of some kind” (1948, 14). The letter of Ptolemaios comments that “a man cannot refuse our lord Sarapis” (P.Mich. VIII 511.15–16), suggesting some degree of religious obligation to attend. We also have an invitation wherein an unnamed god himself extends the invitation (SB X 10496). Milne certainly appears to elide over the apparent sincerity Aelius Aristides expresses when he writes of Sarapis' presence at banquets: “with this god alone, people take part in sacrifices – a true communion, both inviting him to the altar and preferring him as guest and host” (*Orations* 45.27). It seems clear that although devotion to the deity may not always have been the central characteristic of the banquets, Youtie's point that religiosity was pervasive in the culture of banqueting is sound. We must keep in mind that religious observance was not separated out from life's more mundane activities or social institutions; it was deeply embedded in daily activity in the ancient world. No special affiliation or action was needed in order to express devotion to the gods, as ritual observance was an expected and routine part of everyday activity. There was no notion “of an individual having a ‘religious identity’ that can be distinguished from his or her identity as a citizen or a family member” (Beard, North, and Price 1998, 42–43).

Alternatively, the term may refer to any banquet where the god is honoured or believed to be present. Terracotta statuettes of Sarapis, reclining on a couch (a *klinē*) are found in Egypt, and these may have represented the god at the feast. These statuettes typically housed a small collection box with coin slots and guests may have been expected to pay a due for attendance (Gilliam 1976, 317 and n. 9, and for evidence of fees see again P.Mich. VIII 511 [240], l. 3–5, and P.Mich. V 246 [211] comment). This does not preclude Kim's suggestion that the *klinē* is itself an occasion for a banquet (1975, 394–395). Two invitations to

the *klinē* of Sarapis name an occasion in addition (P.Oxy. XII 1484, a coming of age (*mellokouria*), and SB XVI 12511, a birthday), but the possibility that a festival coincided with the commemoration of such milestones cannot be discounted. While Koenen (1967, 125–126) proposes that the dates of the banquets (with no month given) coincided with festivals of Isis, Gilliam (1976, 319) notes that the dates of the Sarapis banquets cluster around the middle of the month (between the 10th and the 16th) and the end of the month (the 21st to the 23rd), suggesting regular festivals during those periods on one or more months. More recently published invitations extend the range of these clusters, without entirely eliminating them as possibilities (P.Oxy. LII 3693 falls on the 30th; P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 on the 8th).

Although invitations to the *klinē* of Sarapis are the most common, we also have an invitation to the *klinē* of Anubis (SB XX 14503), one to the *klinē* of an unnamed god (SB X 104960), and two to a festival (*hierōma*) of Isis (P.Fouad 76 and P.Oxy. LXVI 4539). Montserrat (1992, 304) suggests that the selection of deity to consecrate a banquet may have depended on the occasion for the gathering. The *klinē* of Anubis, therefore, might suggest a funeral banquet, whereas the popularity of Sarapis banquets owes to the diversity of his portfolio.

The presence of Sarapis at the banquet, imagined as both guest and host presents a parallel to the Eucharist meal of early Christ groups, such as those Paul refers to in 1 Corinthians. The meals of the community of the Corinthians may have followed the model of a Greek *eranos*, a banquet wherein each guest brought their own helping of food, to be received by the deity, and then served out to the guests (Lampe 1994, 38–39; Klauck 1986, 134–135, 293; McGowan 2015, 208).

Literature: Arzt-Grabner, Peter 2016. “Why Did Early Christ Groups Still Attend Idol Meals? Answers from Papyrus Invitations.” In *EC* 7(4): 508–529; Beard, Mary, John North, and Simon Price 1998. *Religions of Rome: A History*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press; Gilliam, J.F. 1976. “Invitations to the Kline of Sarapis.” In *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*, ed. Ann Ellis Hanson. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 19. Bonn: Habelt; Kim, Chan-Hie 1975. “The Papyrus Invitation.” In *JBL* 94(3):391–402; Klauck, Hans-Josef 1986. *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult: eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief*. 2. Aufl. mit einem Nachtrag. NTAbh NF 15. Münster: Aschendorff; Koenen, Ludwig 1967. “Eine Einladung zur Kline des Sarapis (P.Colon. inv. 2555).” In *ZPE* 1:121–126; Lampe, Peter 1994. “The Eucharist: Identifying with Christ on the Cross.” In *Int* 48(1): 36–49; McGowan, Andrew 2015. “The Myth of the ‘Lord’s Supper’: Paul’s Eucharistic Meal Terminology and its Ancient Reception.” In *CBQ* 77(3):503–521; Milne, J.G. 1925. “The Kline of Sarapis.” In *JEA* 11(1/2):6–9; Montserrat, Dominic 1992. “The ‘Kline’ of Anubis.” In *JEA* 78:301–377; Nelson, Max 2018. “P.Brit.Col.Inv. 1 and Invitations to Sarapis Dinners.” In *ZPE* 205:207–212; Skeat, T.C. 1975. “Another Dinner-Invitation from Oxyrhynchus (P.Lond. Inv. 3078).” In *JEA* 61:251–254; Youtie, Herbert C. 1948. “The Kline of Sarapis.” In *HTR* 41(1):9–29.

MM

[263] P.Oxy VII 1029

Declaration of a Guild of Hieroglyphic Carvers

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome)

27 Oct 107 CE

Published: Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri VII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1910) 163–165 (no. 1029); Sel.Pap. II 316 [TM 20325]

Translation: Johnson 1936, 397 (no. 250).

Current location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 47429.

Papyrus, 31.7 × 10.9 cm.

- Κλαυδίῳ Μενάνδρῳ βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ
 παρὰ Τεῳτος νεωτέρου Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Τεῳτος
 μητρὸς Τασεῦτος καὶ Ἀσκλᾶτος Ὀννώφρι[ο]ς
 τοῦ Ὀσμὸλχιος μητρὸς Τεσαύριος ἀμφοτέρων
 5 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως ἱερογλύφων τῶν κε-
 χειρισμένων ὑπὸ τῶν συνιερογλύφων· γρ[α-]
 φῇ ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συνιερογλύ-
 φων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο[ς] ἐνδεκάτου ἔτ[ο]υς
 Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.
 10 ὧν εἶναι·
 Δεκάτης·
 Τεῳς Ὀννώφριος ὁ προγεγραμμένος,
 Ὀννώφρις ἀδελφός,
 Ἀσκλᾶς Ὀννώφρις ὁ προγεγραμμένος,
 15 Ὀσμὸλχις ἀδελφός ὧν καὶ ἱερογλύφο[ς]
 Ὀσείρι'ος θεοῦ μεγίστου.

⟨margin, hand 2⟩ Ἄπι(δος)

⟨hand 1⟩ δρόμου Θεήριδος·

Πτολεμαῖς Πετοσοράπιος τοῦ Πετοσοράπιος.

Ἰ ἀνδ(ρες) ε.

- 20 καὶ ὁμνύομεν Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
 Νέρουαν Τραιανὸν [Σ]εβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν
 Δακικὸν ἐξ ὑγιούς καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπι-
 δεδωκέναι τὴν προκειμένην γραφὴν
 καὶ πλείω τούτων μὴ εἶναι μηδὲ ἔχει[ν]
 25 μαθητάς ἢ ἐπιζένοὺς χρῶ{ω}μένους
 τῇ τέχνῃ εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν,
 ἢ ἔνοχοι εἶημεν τῷ ὄρκῳ. L [ι]α Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶφι κθ.
 30 —

To Claudius Menander, royal scribe, from Teos the younger, son of Onn ōphris son of Teos, his mother being Taseus, and Asclas son of Onn ōphris son of Osmolchis, his mother being Tesauros, both (5) from the city of Oxyrhynchus, hieroglyphic carvers: the list of ourselves and the same fellow carvers (*synieroglyphoi*) for the current 11th year of Traianus Caesar the Lord, (10) as follows: In the quarter of the Tenth, Teos son of Onn ōphris, the aforementioned; Onn ōphris his brother; Asclas son of Onn ōphris, the aforementioned; the aforementioned (15) Osmolchis his brother who is also a hieroglyphic carver of Osiris the great god. *<hand 2>* Apis (?) *<hand 1>* In the quarter of the Processional way of Thoēris, Ptolemaios son of Peto-sorapis son of Petosorapis, total, 5 men.

(20) We swear by the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus that we have honestly and truthfully presented the above mentioned list and that there are no more than these, and that we have no (25) apprentices (*mathētai*) or visitors who are practicing the craft down to the present day; otherwise we will be subject (to the consequences of failing to keep) the oath. Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 29.

Notes

Association? Probable: collective oath/interaction with royal scribe for taxation purposes; membership list; artisans in the plural *ιερογλύφοι, συνιερογλύφοι*.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). **TM** geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

Comments

This papyrus illustrates the connection between occupational guilds – here hieroglyphic carvers – and the fiscal mechanisms of the state, which used guilds as the nodes for tax extraction. For this reason, it was necessary for guilds to submit the names of all their members who were subject to the craft tax (*cheirōnaxion* → Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222]). The fact that the declaration specifically mentions apprentices (*mathētai*) suggests that apprentices were also subject to the craft tax. Gibbs (2011, 294) also draws attention to P.Mich. II 121.r.IV Abstract 6 [210] where, in acknowledging a debt in a grapheion record, the president and secretary of a guild of weavers in Tebtynis specifically names the five members of that guild.

The carvers were evidently domiciled in two different neighbourhoods of Oxyrhynchus: the “Tenth quarter” and on the Processional way of Thoēris.

Literature: Gibbs, Matthew 2011. “Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their Raison d’Être.” In *AnSoc* 41:291–315; Gibbs, Matthew 2012. “Manufacture, Trade, and the Economy.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. Christina Riggs, 38–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[264] SB XVI 12695

Summary of Capitation Taxes

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) after 29 Aug 143 CE

Published: John R. Rea, "P.Lond. Inv. 1562 verso: Market Taxes in Oxyrhynchus," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 191–209, pp. 194–196 (SB XVI 12695); BL VIII 385; IX 289–290 [TM 17450; CAPInv 1438 (*koinon* of vegetable merchants), 1439 (*koinon* of butchers)]

Translations: Mees 2002, 397; J. Fik Meijer, and Onno van Nijf. *Trade, Transport and Society in the Ancient World* (London and New York: Routledge 1992) 78–79.

Current location: London, British Library Pap 1562.

Similar or related documents: → P.Köln gr. inv. 611 = P.Köln V 228 (also from the Sarapeum at Oxyrhynchus).

Papyrus, 12 × 23 cm. The main text is a summary of an annual account submitted to an unnamed authority by supervisors (ἐπιτηρηταί) of the taxes levied on a market held in or near the Sarapeum in Oxyrhynchus in 135/6 CE.

recto

⟨Traces 9 lines⟩

- 10 [Αὐτοκράτορος] Καίσαρος [Νέ]ρουα Τραιανοῦ
[Αρίστου(?) Σεβαστοῦ] Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ
±?

verso

⟨col. i⟩

κ L *vac.*?

π(αρὰ) Σαρα(πίωνος) νε(ωτέρου) Σαρα(πίωνος) καὶ Πασίω(νος)
Σαρα(πίωνος)

τῶ(ν) β ἄπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως) ἐπιτη(ρητῶν) ὦν(ῆς) Σαραπε(ίου)
το(ῦ) διελ(θόντος) κ L Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) Κ(αίσαρος) το(ῦ) κυρ(ίου). λόγ(ος)

- 5 α(ὐτενιαυτῶν(?)) τῶ(ν) ἐμπεπολημ(ένων) εἰς τή(ν) ὠνή(ν)

ἀπὸ Θῶ(θ) α ἔω(ς) ἐπαγ(ομένων) ε κ(αὶ) αὐτ(ῆς) ε.

ἔστι δέ. ὁ γνώ(μων) ἀγρ(ρ-) Σαραπε(ίου) ἐν ἱερατ(ικοῖς),

ἐφ' ἧ(ς) δηλ(οῦται) δι(ὰ) τῶ(ν) κατ' ἔτ(ος) γυμ(νασιάρχων) ἀνα-
λαμβ(άνεσθαι) κ(αὶ) ἀπαιτεῖσθ(αι) π(αρὰ) καθαρουργ(ῶν)

- 10 ἐκ(άστου(?)) ἐργ(αστηρίου) Ἑ κδ, κακιο(ποιῶν) Ἑ ιβ,

θρυοπωλ(ῶν(?)) καὶ ξυλοπωλ(ῶν) καὶ κηπ[(οιῶν)]

Ἑ ς, ἐλαιοπωλ(ῶν) Ἑ ς, στεφανηπλ[ό]κ(ων)

Ἑ ιβ, λαχανο(πωλῶν) κοιν(οῦ) Ἑ ρη, καρπω(νῶν) Ἑ λ,

ἐριεμ(πόρων) Ἑ μδ, σιτοκαπή(λων) Ἑ μ,

- 15 κασοποιῶ(ν(?)) Ἑ δ, σκυ(το)ποιῶν ὁμ(οίως) κοιν(οῦ) Ἑ δ,

κασσι(τεράτων) ὁμ(οίως) Ἑ κ, στήμονο() ἐκ(άστου)

ἀνδ(ρὸς) Ἑ ς, καὶ π(αρὰ) τῶ(ν) κατὰ πόλ(ιν)

- πωλο(ύντων(?)) ἰδιω() το(ῦ) στατῆρο(ς) (ὀβολοῦ 1/2),
μαγεῖρω(ν) κοιν(οῦ) Ἦ β, κοινείω(ν)
- 20 ἐκ(άστου) ἐργ(αστηρίου) κατὰ μῆ(να) . κ(αὶ) π(αρά)
τῶν εἰσαγό(ντων) κ(αὶ) πωλο(ύντων):— . ἐλ(αιῶν)
κ(αὶ) φοιν(ίκων) κ(αὶ) σικ(ύων) καὶ κολοκυνθ(ῶν)
κ(αὶ) λαχ(άνων) ἐκ(άστου) μανθακ() ζ,
ἀρτυμ(άτων) κ(αὶ) κυάμ(ων) ζ, νίτ(ρου) τῶ(ν)
- 25 ρ (ἀρταβῶν(?)) Ἦ ζ, ἄλμ{ι}υρίδ(ος) ἐκ(άστου)
πλ(οίου(?)) Ἦ β, κεράμου καὶ χλωρηγ(ίας)
Ἦ(?) α, ξυληγ(ίας) ὁμ(οίως) Ἦ β, κόπρου
καὶ βολβίτω(ν) κ(αὶ) . [. .] ὁμ(οίως) Ἦ β,
φοιν(ίκων) ἐκ(άστου) κόικ(ος) [. .] .
- 30 μέχρι μὲν τούτου [ό] γνώμ(ων).
Θῶ(θ) μῆ(νός) Ἦ ρμθ (διώβολον)
Φαῶ(φι) Ἦ ροθ (πεντάβολον)
Ἄθ(ῦρ) Ἦ ρλβ (ἡμιοβέλιον)
Χοι(άκ) Ἦ σῆ (ὀβολός)
- 35 Τῦβ(ι) Ἦ σθ
Μεχ(εῖρ) Ἦ ρε ὀβ(ολοὶ) [β (ἡμιοβέλιον)]
Φαμ(ενῶθ) Ἦ σλζ
Φαρμ(οῦθι) Ἦ τμα ὀβ(ολοὶ) δ
Παχ(ών) Ἦ σλη ὀβ(ολοὶ) ε
- 40 Πα(ῦνι) Ἦ ρπθ ὀβ(ολοὶ) ε
Ἐπειφ Ἦ τκε
Μεσ(ορή) καὶ ἐπαγ(ομένων)
Ἦ φνβ ὀβ(ολοὶ) ζ
/ ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὕτὸ) τοῦ L
- 45 σύν(παντι) Ἦ Βξη (ὀβολοὶ) γ.

«col. ii»

- ιζ L ἐπετηρήθ(ησαν) Ἦ Βω
ιη L ὁμ(οίως) Ἦ Γφλβ (ἡμιοβέλιον)
ιθ L ὁμ(οίως) Ἦ Γτλη (ὀβολός) α
κ L ὁμ(οίως) Ἦ Βοβ ὀβ(ολοὶ) γ
- 50 κα L ὁμ(οίως) Ἦ Βχοζ (ὀβολός) α χ(αλκοῖ β)
κβ L το(ῦ) και . . . [. .] vac. ?
— —
- [α] L ἐκυρώ[θ](ησαν) Ἦ [. . . .] vac. ?
β L ὁμ(οίως) ἐκ[υ]ρώθ(ησαν) Ἦ Γω
γ L ὁμ(οίως) ἐκ[υ]ρώθ(ησαν) Ἦ Γζ
- 55 δ L ὁμ(οίως) ἐκυρώθ(ησαν) Ἦ Γω
ε L ὁμ(οίως) ἐπιτ(ηρ) π[ρο]σεγρ(άφησαν) Ἦ Γω
— —

ς L ὁμ(οίως) ἐπιτη(ρ) προσ-
εγράφη(σαν)

ⲓ Γω.

20th year.

From Sarapiōn the younger son of Sarapiōn, and Pasion son of Sarapiōn, the two <from> the city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisors (*epitērētai*) of the tax concession of the Sarapeum for the past 20th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. Account (of receipts taken within the year?) (5) for dealings which relate to the tax concession from Thoth 1 to the 5th epagonal day, including the 5th. As follows: The tariff (*gnomōn*) of the market of the Sarapeum (is) in the hieratic category: in respect of which it is specified that through the gymnasiarchs for each year there are collected and exacted: From bakers of fine bread, (10) for each establishment, 24 dr. from bakers (or merchants?) of coarse bread, 12 dr. From rush merchants and wood sellers and fruit growers(?), 6 dr.; from the olive merchants, 6 dr.(?), from crown plaiters 12 dr.; from the guild (*koinon*) of vegetable merchants, 108 dr.; from crop buyers, 30 dr.(?) from wool merchants 44 dr., from grain dealers 40 dr. (15) from thick garment makers, 4 dr.; from a guild (*koinon*) of shoe-makers, 4 dr.(?) from tinsmiths, likewise, 20 dr.; from makers (or merchants?) of yarn, for each man 6 dr.; and from private persons (?) selling throughout the city for each stater, one-half obol(?) from the guild (*koinon*) of butchers, 12 dr.; from brothels, (20) for each establishment, monthly, *x* dr.; and from those who import and sell, *x* dr.; for olives and dates and cucumbers and marrows and vegetables, for each bundle(?) 7 dr.(?) for spices and beans, 7 dr.(?); for natron, for (25) 100 artabas, 6 dr.; for rock-salt(?), for each boat-load(?) 2 dr.; for pottery and green fodder 1 dr.; for wood import(?), likewise 2 dr. for dung and cowpats and . . ., likewise, 2 dr. for dates, for each basket.

(30) The tariff (*gnomōn*) thus far:

Month of Thoth	149 dr. 2 ob.
Phaophi	179 dr. 5 ob.
Hathyr	132 dr. ½ ob.
Choack	218 dr. 1 ob.
(35) Tybi	209 dr.
Mecheir	195 dr.[21] ob.
Phamenoth	237 dr.
Pharmouthi	341 dr. 4 ob.
Pachon	238 dr. 5 ob.
(40) Payni	189 dr. 5 ob.
Epeiph	325 dr.
Mesore and Epagomenal Days	552 dr. 6 ob.

Total for the year

(45) in all	2,968 dr. 3 ob.
«col. ii»	
In year 17: collected by the supervisors	2,800 dr.
In year 18: likewise	3,532 dr. ½ obol.
In year 19: likewise	3,338 dr. 11 ob.
In year 20: likewise	2,972 dr. 3 ob.
(50) In year 21: likewise	2,676 dr. 11 ob. 2 ch.
In year 22: In year 1 there were confirmed . . .	dr.
— —	
In year [1]: collected by the supervisors, [. . .] vac.? dr.	
In year 2: likewise, confirmed	3,800 dr.
In year 3 likewise, confirmed	3,200 dr.
(55) In year 4 likewise, confirmed	3,800 dr.
In year 5 likewise, supervised and submitted in an additional report(?)	3,800 dr.
In year 6 likewise, supervised and added an additional report(?)	3,800 dr.
Translation: J.R. Rea 1982, modified slightly	

Notes

Association? Certain: several guilds (κοινά) present including κοινὸν σκυτοποιῶν, κοινὸν μαγειρῶν; collective payment of capitation taxes.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

- l. 3: ἐπιτη(ρητῶν) ὄν(ῃς) Σαραπε(ίου): → Lewis 1968 s.v. ἐπιτήρησις, ἐπιτηρητής. The role of the *epitērētēs* was a compulsory liturgy, normally undertaken for one year although there are a few indications that it could last longer or be renewable. Although the title suggests some form of “supervision,” the role was that of a tax collector of a range of taxes, including capitation taxes on trades and taxes on fishing (→ P.Tebt. II 359 [127 CE]; P.Fay. 42a.v.1–5 (Theadelphia 229 or 168 or 200 CE); and Nelson 1977).
- l. 13: λαχανο(πωλῶν) κοιν(οῦ): CAPIInv 1438
- l. 15: Rea: σκυ(τέων) ποιμ(ένων(?)): Van Minnen (1987, 49 n. 60): “a *koinon* of *skyteis* (and) *poimenes* seems impossible to me. Instead of σκυ(τέων) ποιμ(ένων) I could read σκυ(το)ποιῶν on the basis of the plate. . . . The scribe first wrote σκυ() (for σκυτέων) and then added -ποιῶ () (for the complete word σκυτοποιῶν). In fact a *koinon* of cobblers and shepherds is a bit curious to say the least, especially in a city like Oxyrhynchus. Such combinations are never found. . . . A *koinon* of shepherds alone can, however, be found in the village of Tebtynis: P.Mich. II 123r xvi.12.”
- ll. 26–27: κεράμου καὶ χλωρηγ(ίας) | F(?) α, “for pottery and green fodder imports(?)”: Wallace (1938, 204) reads this as κεραμπο(οιοί), “pottery merchants,” but notes that the tax of 1 dr. cannot be the χειρωναξίον, since the trade tax for potters a century earlier is 17 dr., ½ obol, 2 chalkoi (→ Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222]). The figures in ll. 22–29 are more likely sales taxes (Wallace 1938, 224). Thus also Rea 1982, 206.

Comments

According to Wallace (1938, 221) this is an account of capitation taxes levied on various merchants and trades. Although this account does not use the term χειρωνάξιον (→ Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222]) it is likely that at least the figures in ll. 10–21 refer to per capita taxes imposed on trades and crafts rather than sales taxes.

Some of the taxes seem to have been collected from individuals: ll. 9–10: καθαρουργ(ῶν) | ἐκ(άστου(?)) ἐργ(αστηρίου), from the several bakeries; ll. 16–17: στήμονο() ἐκ(άστου) | ἀνδ(ρός), from yarn-makers (taxed) by each man. Yet at least three of the groups are expressly labelled a guild (*koinon*). The 108 dr. collected from the guild of vegetable sellers suggests that the guild had 9 members, assuming that the figure of 12 dr. for a λαχανοπωλῶν in BGU I 337 = P.Louvre I 4.22 (Soknopaiou Nesos, before 166 CE) applies here too. This of course also assumes that the figures in ll. 10–19 are *yearly* tax charges rather than monthly charges for the month of Thoth. Similarly, the wool merchants (ἐριέμποροι) paid 44 dr. If this represents a yearly charge, and if trade tax on wool merchants of 12 dr. that is recorded in the large tax roll from Karanis (P.Mich. IV 1.224.1439–1440 (177–173 CE) from a slightly later period held for Oxyrhynchus, that would imply a guild of four members (at 11 dr. yearly).

To understand the figures in ll. 10–19 as yearly tax sums rather than taxes collected for one month also helps to alleviate the tension between the figure for the revenue collected in the month of Thoth, and the total of the figures in ll. 10–29, which even without speculating on the several missing figures, at 355 dr. is already well over the 149 dr. 2 obols reported in l. 31. This also suggest that the figures in ll. 10–29 are the rates of the *gnomon* rather than actual tax revenues collected.

For the agora of the Sarapeum, Rea also refers to P.Köln gr. inv. 611 = P.Köln V 228 (Oxyrhynchus, 176 CE)

- [π]αρὰ Ἀμμωνᾶ Πανσειριώ-
 γος καὶ Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν σὺν
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) ὧν ἡς ἀγορα()
 Σαραπίου τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) ἰς Ἰ Αὐρηλίου
 5 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.
 μηνι(αῖος) λόγος τῶν ἐμποληθ(έντων)
 εἰς τὴν προκ(ειμένην) ὥν ἡν ἀπὸ α ἕως
 λ καὶ α(ὕτης) λ τοῦ διελ(θόντος) μηνός
 Ἐπεὶ φ. ἔστι δέ·
 10 σικκο(πωλῶν) Τοῦρβ(ων) ἡ(μέρας) δ α γ ς η [±?]
 Ἐρμαῖος ὁ(μοίως) ἡ(μέρας) . [±?]
 Πετελ. [±?]
 Ἐπαφρ() ὁμ[οίως ±?]
 Κάστωρ ὁ(μοίως) ἡ(μέρας) [±?]
 15 Ἀπίων ὁ(μοίως) [ἡ(μέρας) ±?]
 / εἰδ(ους) [±?]

κολοκυνθ() .[±?]
 Σαρα(π) ὁμοί(ως) ἡ(μέρας) [±?]

From Ammonas son of Pauseirion and from Hērodēs and from their partners, supervisors (*epitērētai*) of the tax concession of the market of the Sarapeum for the current 16th (?) year of Aurelius (5) Antoninus Caesar the lord. Monthly account of dealings that relate to the aforesaid tax concession from the 1st to the 30th, including the 30th, of the past month of Epeiph. As follows: (10) Gourd sellers. Turbo: 4 days - 1st, 3rd, 6th, 8th . . .
 Hermaios, likewise *x* days . . .
 Petel. . . (days)
 Epaphr() likewise . . . (days)
 Kastor, likewise, . . . [days]
 (15) Apion, likewise . . . [days]
 making . . .
 Cucumber (sellers?) . . .
 Sarap(), likewise . . . [days].

These figures seem not to be the *cheirōnaxion* but a different tax charged against merchants on the basis of how many days they were selling produce.

Literature: Gibbs, Matthew 2011. "Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their *raison d'être*." In *AnSoc* 41:291–315; Lewis, Naphtali 1968. *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. American studies in papyrology 3. New Haven: American Society of Papyrologists; Mees, Allard W. 2002. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen*. Monographien, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: R. Habelt (397); Nelson, C.A. 1977. "Official Documents from the Berlin Museum: Report from Supervisors of Fishing." In *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 2:233–243; Rea, John R. 1982. "P. Lond. Inv. 1562 Verso: Market Taxes in Oxyrhynchus." In *ZPE* 46:191–209; Van Minnen, Peter 1987. "Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt." In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1): 31–88; Wallace, Sherman LeRoy 1938. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton university studies in papyrology 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press (191–213 on capitation taxes on trades).

[265] PSI VII 822

Letter concerning a Work Stoppage

Antinoopolis?

130–199 CE

Published: Medea Norsa in Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa, eds., *Papiri greci e latini*, VIII. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto (Florence: Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, 1925) no. 822 [TM 27242]

Translation: Johnson 1936, 243–244 (no. 138).

Current location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana inv. 18745 = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana PSI 822

Digital image: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi:7:822>

Similar or related documents: → P.Ryl. II 92 (unknown provenance; II-III CE) [TM 27882]: list of persons assigned to liturgical work in an alabaster quarry (εἰς ἀλαβάστρινα), to salt mines; SB I 4639 (Alexandria, 209 CE) [TM 23140]: release of a slave who had been condemned to the alabaster quarries for a five year sentence.

Papyrus, frag. i: 11.5 × 15 cm.; frag. ii: 7.6 × 5.6 cm.

⟨frag. i⟩

Δίδυμος Τοθητίωνι τῷ
τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν.
ὥς ἐξῆλθες ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν Πεστα εἰς-
ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀλαβαστρῶνα εὔρον
5 τρ[ὺ]ς ἀλαβαστρων{ε}ίτας, οὓς, ἀμ-
φισ[β]ητήσας μετ' αὐτῶν, μεθέσ-
τακαν τὸν κλῆρον ἐπὶ ἐτέρων
ἀνθ[ρ]ώπων ἀπὸ Ἀντινόου πόλ(εως)
[. .] . [. . . .] . [. . .] νων ἐμισθωσου
10 [.] π' α[ὐ]τῶν. ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι ἦλθάν μοι
λέγοντες· ἐξερχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸν
κλῆρον καθῆσθαι μέχρι οὗ τὴν
φάσιν ἡμ{ε}ῖν ἐνέγκῃς ^{σήμερον} εὐθέως·
ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐξέστηκα τοὺς
15 ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐξῆλθον διαν[.]
ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. διὸ
[ἐγ]ραψ[ά σ]οι ὅν ἴν' εἰδῆς, ὅπως
[. .] . . . γασθῆς εἰς Ἀντινόου πρ[. .]
[±? τὸ(?)] ν νομάρχῃ[ν]

⟨frag. ii⟩

20 [±?] τὸ πρᾶγμα μὴ πως
[. . . .] φσιν αὐριον εἰς τὸν κλῆρον
[. . . .] ν [.] . [.] των ἡμῶ[ν]

- [. . . .] . . . κω . [.] . . . ν ἡμῶν
 [±? π]ἐμψεις ε[±?]
 25 [±?] ἐξελο[±?]
 [±?] . . τῷ κ . [±?]
 [±? σήμ(?)]ερον ἡμῖν

Didymos to the most honoured Tothetion, greetings.

When you left me at Pesta, going to the alabaster quarry I found the (5) alabaster miners, who, after I disputed with them, shifted their allotment (*klēros*) to other men from Antinoopolis. . . . (10) But others came to me saying, “We are going out to the allotment to sit down until you bring word to us – today immediately.” When I heard these things I expelled these men and (they?) went out . . . to work on the allotment. Wherefore, I am writing to you so that you might know so that . . . to Antinoopolis . . . the nomarch.

frag. ii>

. . . the matter lest in some way . . . tomorrow to the allotment . . .

Notes

Association? Possible: artisans in the plural: ἀλαβαστρωνῖται.

Location: Antinoopolis? (15th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 2774. Barrington Atlas 77 D1.

- I. 3: Πεστα. Pesta: (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 6529. → P.Oxy. XIX 2243a.20 (Oxyrhynchus, 590 CE): ἐποικ(ίου) Πεστᾶ.
 II. 6–7: μεθέσ[τα]καν τὸν κλήρον ἐπὶ ἐτέρων | ἀνθ[ρ]ώπων: Lewis suggests that this means that the workers “served in turns determined by lot” (1964, 27). But ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ in l. 16 cannot mean “lot,” but must refer to a division of the quarry.

Comments

Despite the fragmentary nature of the letter, this appears to report a work stoppage by alabaster miners. The use of *klēros* suggested to Johnson (1936, 244) that the mine was divided into divisions, some being more difficult to work than others and that this was the cause of the stoppage.

As P.Ryl. II 92 suggests, work in the alabaster quarries (εἰς ἀλαβάστρινα) might have been a liturgical service and SB I 4639 indicates that it was sometimes a punishment (Millar 1984). There is no indication that the workers in PSI VII 822 were either prisoners or doing liturgical service, although neither is impossible. Although there are no clear indications that the *alabastrōnitai* comprised a guild, collective action in the pursuit of benefits is attested in other guilds → P.Mich. V 245 [219]; Gibbs 2011, 297.

SB VIII 9904 = P.Corn. inv. ii 33 with BL VI 161; VIII 356 (Antinoopolis, 153–154 CE) [TM 22927], also from Antinoopolis, is a letter of four alabaster

workers (ἀλαβαστρωνῖται) engaged in work on the Caesareion in the town, collectively requesting payment for their work:

- [Νι]κιπποι νομάρχῃ τῆς Ἀντινόου
παρὰ Διδύμου Ἑρμαίου καὶ Τοθῆς Ὀννώ-
φρεως καὶ Παπεντῶς Κυλικᾶτος καὶ
Ψενοσίριος Σαραπίωνος, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ
5 ἀλαβαστ(ρωνιτῶν) ἀτρήσιο(ς) Καισαρείου τοῦ κατα-
σκευασθέντος ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου πόλει
ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου Δείου. ἀξιοῦμεν ἐπισ-
[ταλῆ]γαῖ ὀψώνιον ὑπὲρ μηνὸς Φα-
[μεν]ῶθ ἀνά λόγ(ον) ἐκάστ(ου) μηνὸς ἀργ(υρίου) Ε
10 [δ]κτὼ {ι} ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς γραφεῖσι
[ὑ]πὸ Μαρριανοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντος
[το]ῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος, τὰς συναγομέ-
[ν]ας ἀργ(υρίου) Ε τριάκοντα δύο (γίνονται) ἀργ(υρίου) Ε λβ, ἐὰν
[δ]όξῃ σοι ἐπιστ[ε]ῖ[λ]α[ι] ἡμῖν. L ιζ
15 [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος]ς Τίτου Αἰλίου
[Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβασ]τοῦ
[Εὐσεβοῦς Ψεν]οσίρις
[±?]. [±?]

[To Ni]koppo, nomarch of Antinoopolis, from Didymos son of Hermaios, Tothes son of Onnophris, Papentos son of Kilikas, and Psenosiris son of Sarapi ōn, all four of the number of (5) alabaster workers for the ornamentation (?) of the Caesareion constructed in Antinoopolis by Antonios Dios. We ask to be sent (our) salary for the month of Phamenoth at the rate of (10) eight silver drachmae for each month in accordance with the orders of Marianus, formerly procurator of our lord Caesar, total thirty-two silver drachmae, making 32 silver drachmae. Send it to us if it pleases you. Year 17 of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus [Pius. Psenosiris]. . . . (trans. N. Lewis 1964, adjusted slightly).

Literature: Gibbs, Matthew 2011. “Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their Raison d’être.” In *AnSoc* 41:291–315 (esp. 297); Lewis, Naphtali 1964. “Four Cornell Papyri.” In *Recherches de papyrologie* 3:25–35 (25–27); Millar, Fergus 1984. “Condemnation to Hard Labour in the Roman Empire, from the Julio-Claudians to Constantine.” In *Papers of the British School at Rome* 52:124–147; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Westermann, William L. 1938. “The Ptolemies and the Welfare of Their Subjects.” In *AHR* 43(2): 270–287 (278 n. 25).

[266] P.Oxy. XXII 2340
Exemption from a Liturgy

Alexandria (but found at Oxyrhynchus)

13 Mar 192 CE

Published: E. Lobel and C.H. Roberts, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1954) 121–123 (no. 234) [TM 22212]

Translations: Livia Migliardi Zingale, *Vita privata e vita pubblica nei papiri d'Egitto: silloge di documenti greci e latini dal I al IV secolo d.C.* (Torino: G. Giappichelli, 1992) 76.

Current location: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 2340.

Similar or related documents: → BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE).

Papyrus, 39 × 17.7 cm. Written over a previous text that had been sponged off (l. 25 is the remnant of the earlier text). The case originated in Alexandria, where the record of the case was created, but somehow this papyrus arrived in Oxyrhynchus.

⟨col. i⟩

- ἔτους λβ Λουκίου Αἰλίου Αὐρηλίου
Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμενώθ ιζ
ἐντυχόντος· Ἰσιδώρου Εὐδαίμων ῥή-
τωρ εἶπεν· Ἐπίμαχος Γαίου ὑποστράτη-
5 γος δέλτα γράμματος ἀνέδωκεν τὸν
ἡμέτερον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ ἐργαστηριάρχην
ὄντα λινούφων πολλοὺς ἐργαζομέ-
νους ἐν τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἔχοντα. οἱ δὲ
τοιοῦτοι ἀφείθησαν διὰ τὸ χρήσι-
10 μο[ν] εἶναι τῷ ταμ[ε]ϊ[σ]τι καὶ παρακαλῶ
[δὲ] κελεῦσαί σε τῷ Ἐπιμ[α]χῷ ἔτερον
[ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ] ἡ ἀναδ[οῦναι κ]αὶ ἀναγν[ώ-]
[σομαι][ὑπό]μνημ[α Μακρίν]ου κε[χρο]-

⟨col. ii⟩

- νισμένον εἰς τὸ κβ Φαρμοῦ-
15 θι. Ἰππίας ῥήτωρ εἶπεν· ὁ Ἐπί-
μαχος φησιν μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν
λινούφον ἀλλὰ μυροπώλην
εὐσχήμονα ἄνθρωπον. Ἰου-
λιανὸς εἶπεν· κατὰ τὰ ἐφ' ὁμο[ι]-
20 ων κριθέντα εἰ ἐστὶν ἐργα-
στηριάρχης λινούφος τῷ αὐ-
τῷ παραδείγ[μ]ατι χρήσασθαι
δύναται κα[ὶ] αὐτὸς [ἀ]νθ' αὐτοῦ
ἔτερον ἀν[αδοῦναι].

25 ⟨hand 2⟩ περὶ τάξεως ἐμβολ(ης)

⟨frag.⟩

-
- 1 [±?] . [. .]
 [±? μ] ἐν οὖν ἀπαλ-
 [±? ὁ στρ]ατηγὸς εἶπεν·
 [±? ἐκά]λεσεν τοὺς ο-
 5 [±?]ιανὸς εἶπ[ε]ν·
 [±?] γάρ τῶν ο-
 [±?] αἰτίαν ἀφε-
- —

⟨hand 2⟩ [±?]

[±? Καί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου

Apparatus: 10 Pap. ταμε[ί]φ || ii.23 Pap. ἄ]ντ

Year 32 of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord, Phame-nouth 17. On the petition of Isidōros Eudaemon his advocate said, “Epimachos son of Gaius, (5) assistant stratēgos of the fourth district, has nominated my client in place of himself. My client is a foreman linen weaver who has many workers in his factory and men in his position have in the past been exempted because they are (10) useful (*chrēsimos*) to the Treasury. I now urge you to order Epimachos to nominate someone else in place of himself.” When . . . was read ⟨*col. ii*⟩ until 22 Pharmouthi. (15) Hippias the advocate said, “Epimachos asserts that Isidōros is not a linen weaver but a perfumer and a well-to-do man.” Julianus said, “According to (20) decisions given in similar cases, if he is a foreman weaver he can use the same precedent and in turn nominate someone else instead of himself.”

⟨*Traces of a second document*⟩

Trans. Roberts (and Youtie)

Notes

Association? Probable (see *Comments*).

Location: Alexandria. TM geo ref. 100; Barrington Atlas, map 74 B2.

l. 18: εὐσχήμονα ἄνθρωπον: i.e., he has sufficient wealth to be eligible for a liturgy.

Comments

Although the papyrus does not indicate that Isidōros was a guild member, Venticinque (2016, 136) points out that this is likely: he was the manager of a workshop with several employees, and he had sufficient capital to be eligible for nomination to a liturgy. The argument that is made to exempt him from the liturgy is also the one used by guild members wishing to be exempt from compulsory service on the grounds that they are διὰ τὸ χρήσιμο[ν] εἶναι τῷ ταμε[ί]φ (ll. 9–10).

For similar texts, see BGU VII 1572 [233], a petition from a group of weavers requesting that no more of their members be taken away for liturgical

service, so that the guild will be able to complete an order of garments for the army with the remaining eight members.

Literature: Coles, Revel A. 1978. "Notes on Papyri." In *ZPE* 32:233–234; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1964. "Notes on Papyri." In *TAPA* 95:300–332.

[267] P.Lond. III 1178

Diploma of Membership in an Athletic Association

Hermopolis (Hermopolites), Naples, Sardis

194 CE

Published: Frederic G. Kenyon, H. Idris Bell, eds. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, III* (London: British Museum, 1907) 214–219 (no. 1178, Plates 40–43); W.Chr. 156; Mariangela Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 8 (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino, 1964) no. 112, repr. As ; Peter Frisch, *Zehn Agnostische Papyri* [Pap.Agon.], Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia 13 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986) 98–128 (no. 6); James H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 178 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989) 27–28 (ll. 1–49 only) [TM 22834; CAPIV 1952].

Translations: Johnson 1936, 398 no. 252 (partial translation); David C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 BC–AD 68* (London and Sydney: Croon Helm, 1985) no. 581; AGRW 303.

Current location: London, British Library Pap. 1178

Similar or related documents: → Mentions of the synod: CIG III 5906–5914; *census of boxer's family*: P.Lond. III 935–936 (pp. 29–30); *cooperation with other international guilds*: IK Prusias ad Hypium 49 (IGRR III 61; TAM II/2 496); *Founding of headquarters in Rome by Antoninus Pius*: IGUR 236.

Dimensions unavailable. Kenyon and Bell describe the papyrus as a roll, with the text written parallel to the height of the roll. Another piece of papyrus was attached to the top of the roll, about 25 cm. long, which contains ll. 1–7, written in a rough hand, and dating after 22 Sept 194 CE. The diploma itself (ll. 8–102) is written in a formal hand, and contains (1) a letter from Claudius (46 CE) acknowledging a golden crown sent by the club (ll. 8–15), (2) a second letter from Claudius (47 CE) thanking the club for the games it held in honour of two of Claudius' "friends" (ll. 16–31), and (3) a letter from Vespasian (69–79 CE) confirming the status of the

club (ll. 32–36). Then follows the diploma itself, divided into (4) a formal notification of the admission of Herminos as a member (ll. 37–44) (22 Sept 194 CE), (5) an indication of the date in the consulship of Septimius Severus and Claudius Alibinus Caesar (ll. 44–49) (194 CE), (6) a list of the club's officials (ll. 50–65) including three chief priests who serve as presidents for life and supervisors of the baths (ll. 50–57), the current president of the games (ll. 58–59), and the archons, treasurer, and chief secretary (ll. 60–65), (7) the signatures of those named (ll. 66–83), and (8) an additional certificate indicating Hermeinos' payment of an additional 50 denarii at the great games of Asia in Sardis (ll. 84–102).

⟨hand 11⟩ Ἑρμεῖνος ὁ καὶ [Μῶρος] Ἑρμοπολείτης, πύκτης.

⟨3 lines of blank space⟩

⟨hand 12⟩ ἡ [ἰ]ε[ρὰ] ξυστική περιπολιστική [Σεβαστῇ] Ἀδριανῇ Ἀντωνιανῇ
Σεπτιμιανῇ [σ]ύνοδος τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου χαίρειν·
γεινώσκετε ὄν[τ]α ἡμῶν συνοδείτην Ἑρμεῖον τὸν καὶ Μῶρον
5 Ἑ[ρ]μοπολείτη[ν πύκτ]ηγ ὡς ἐτῶν <vac.> καὶ ἀποδεδωκότα τὸ κα-
τὰ τὸν νόμον [ἐντά]γιον πᾶν ἐκ πλήρους [δ]ηνάρια ἑκατόν .
ἐγράψαμ[εν οὖν] ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἰδῇτε· ἔρ[ρ]ωσθε.

⟨multiple blank lines⟩

⟨hand 1⟩ Τιβέριος [Κλ.]αύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς
ἀρχιερεὺς

μέγ[ισ]τος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ, ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος
10 τὸ [δ αὐ]τοκράτωρ τὸ ιβ, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδ[ω] ξυστικῇ
[περιπολιστικῇ] χ α ί ρ ε ι ν·
τὸν πεμ[φ]θέντ[α μο]ι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Βρεταννῶν ν{ε}ίκη χρυ-
σοῦν σ[τέ]φ[α]νον ἡδέως ἔλαβον σύμβολον περιέχοντα τῆς ὑμετέ-
ρας πρὸς με εὐσεβείας. οἱ πρεσβεύοντες ἦσαν Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἑρμᾶς,
15 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κῦρος, Δίων Μικκάλου Ἀντιοχεύς. ἔ ρ ρ ω σ θ ε.
[Τιβ. Κ]λαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς[ς]
[μέγιστος], δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ, ὕπατος τὸ ζ, αὐτοκρά-
τωρ τὸ ιη, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδω ξυστικῇ περιπολιστικῇ
τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χ α ί ρ ε ι ν·
20 ἐν [ψηφίσμα]σι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀποδοθεῖσ[ι]ν μοι δυσὶν
[±18] ἐμ[α]ρ[τυ]ρεῖτε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Γαίω Ἰουλίῳ Ἀντιόχῳ
τ[ῷ] Κομμαγενῆς βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Πολέμωνι τῷ Πόντου, ἀνδρασι
τ{ε}ιμίσις μοι[καὶ] φίλοις, ὡς πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ φιланθρωπία χρήσαιν-
το πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡνίκα τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι τιθέμενος ὑπ' αὐ-
25 [τ]ῶν ἐπιτέλουν ἀγῶνας· ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐχαριστίας
ἀπεδεξάμην, ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν μὲν εὐνοίαν, πε-
ρὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς φιλανθρωπίαν ἐγνώρισα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθαύμασα. οἱ τοῖς
ψηφίσμασιν ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν Διογένης Μικκάλου Ἀντιοχεύς,
ὁ ἐνγίστα τῆς συνόδου ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος, ὃν ἐγὼ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
30 π[ο]λιτείας μετ[ᾶ] δεῖν θυγατέρων ἄξιον ἡγησάμην εἶναι, Σανδογένης
[±10 Μ]ικκ[άλου] Ἀντιοχεύς. ἔ ρ ρ ω σ θ ε.

- Αὐ[τοκράτωρ Καίσαρ] Οὐέσπασιανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἱερᾷ ξυστικῇ περιπο-
 λιστικῇ συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χ α ί ρ ε ι ν·
 [εἰ]δὼς ὑμῶν τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸ ἐνδοξον καὶ φιλότ[ε]μον πάντα ὅσα
 35 [θεο]ς Κλαύδιος αἰτησαμένοις ὑμ[ε]ῖν συνεχώρησε καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττειν
 [π]ροαιροῦμαι. ἔ ρ ρ ω σ θ ε.
 ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστικὴ περιπολιστικὴ Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωνιανὴ Σεπτιμιανὴ
 σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν ἀγώνιον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα
 Καίσαρα Λ(ύκιον) Σεπτίμιον Σεῦηρον Περτίνακα Σεβαστὸν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς
 40 [αὐτῆς συνό]δου χ α ί ρ ε ι ν·
 [γινώσχετε] ὄντα [ἡμῶν] συνοδ[ε]ίτην Ἑρμεῖνον τὸν καὶ Μῶρον
 [Ἑρμοπολείτην πύ]κτην ὡς ἐτῶν <vac.> καὶ ἀποδεδωκότα τὸ κατὰ
 τὸν νόμ[ον ἐν]τάγιον πᾶν ἐκ πλήρους δηνάρια ἑκατὸν · ἐγράψα-
 μεν οὖν ὑμ[ε]ῖν ἵνα εἰδῇτε. ἔ ρ ρ ω σ θ ε.
 45 [ἐγένε]το ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τῆς μθ πενταετηρίδος
 [ἀγῶ]νος ἀγομένου τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Ἰταλικῶν Ῥωμα[ί]ων, ἐπὶ
 ὑπάτων Λ(ύκιον) Σεπ[τ]ιμίου Σεῦηρου Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ τὸ β καὶ
 Κλωδίου Σεπτιμίου Ἀλβ[ε]ῖνου Καίσαρος τὸ β, πρὸ ι Καλαδῶν Ὀκτω-
 βρίων,
 50 ἐπ[ὶ ἀρ]χιε[ρέ]ων τοῦ σύμπαντος ξυστοῦ καὶ ξυσταρχῶν διὰ βίου καὶ
 [ἐπὶ βαλανε]ίων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Δημοστράτου Δαμαῖ
 [Σαρδιανοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρεως Ἀν]τινοῦ Ἀθηναίου Ἐφεσίου Συμρναίου
 Περ[γαμηνοῦ Νε]ικομηδέως Μειλησίου Λακεδαιμονίου Τραλλιανοῦ,
 παγκρα[τίας]τοῦ, δις περιοδον[ε]ῖκου, πύκτου ἀλείπτου, παραδόξου,
 55 καὶ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Δημητρίου Ἀλεξάνδρεως Ἑρμοπολείτου, παγ-
 κρατι-
 [αστ]οῦ περιοδον[ε]ῖκου παλαιστοῦ παραδόξου, καὶ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)
 Χρυσίππου
 [. . .]ου Σμυ[ν]ναίου Ἀλεξάνδρεως, παλαιστοῦ περιοδον[ε]ῖκου
 παραδόξου,
 ξυσταρχοῦν[το]ς διὰ βίου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ. Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ
 ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβαστοῦ,
 60 ἀρχόντων τῆς συνόδου Ἀλεξάνδρου β τοῦ <καὶ> Ἀθηνοδώρου Μυρέως καὶ
 Ἐφεσίου, παλαιστοῦ παγ[κ]ρατιαστοῦ παραδόξου, καὶ Προσδέκτου
 [τοῦ· · · · ·]ου Μυτιληναίου, δρομέως παραδόξου, ἀγυροταμίου δὲ
 [Κ. . κτα(?)]βηνου Π[ρ]όκλου Ἐφεσίου, γυμναστοῦ παραδόξου,
 [γραμματε]όντος τῆ[ς] συνόδου Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Εὐκτῆμονος
 65 [ἀρχιγραμματέ]ως ξ[υ]στοῦ.
 <hand 2> [Ἀλ]έξανδρος [β] ὁ καὶ Ἀ[θην]όδωρος Μυρεὺς καὶ Ἐφέσιος,
 παλαιστῆς παν-
 [κρατ]ιστῆς πυθιον[ε]ῖκης σεβαστον[ε]ῖκης ἁλιον[ε]ῖκης παράδοξος,
 [ἀρχω]ν τῆς ἱερᾶς ξυστικῆς συνόδου, ὑπέγραψα καταταγέντι
 [ἐπ' ἐμ]οῦ ἐν Νέᾳ πόλ[ει] τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ τῆς μθ πενταετηρίδος
 70 [Ἑρμείν]ω τῷ καὶ Μώρῳ Ἑρμοπο[λ]εῖτη πύκτη ᾤ ρ.

- <hand 3> [Πρόσδεκτος.] ου Μυτιληναῖος, ἄρχων, ὑπέγραψα
 δ[ι]ὰ τοῦ ἀλείπτο[υ. . .] λητου.
- <hand 4> Κ. . . καταβηνος Πρόκλ[ου. . .] ανος Ἐφέσιος, ἀλ(ε)ίπτης περιοδονί-
 κης δις ἄριστος Ἑλλή[νω]ν, ἀργυροταμία[ς] τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου,
 75 ὑ[πέγ]ρα[ψα] κατατ[αγέν]τι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν Νέα πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ τῆς
 [μθ πενταε]τηρίδο[ς] Ἑ[ρμείν]ω τῷ καὶ Μ[ώρ]ω Ἑρμοπολίτῃ
 [πύκτῃ].
- <hand 5> [Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Δημήτρ]ιος ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ σύμπαντος ξυστοῦ,
 διὰ βίου ξυστάρ-
 [χη]ς, ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβαστοῦ, πανκρατιαστῆς περιοδονίκης παλαιστῆς
 80 [παρ]άδοξος, ὑπέγραψα ἐν Νέα πόλει καταταγέντι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑρμείνω
 [τῷ] καὶ Μώρῳ Ἑρμοπολείτῃ πύκτῃ.
- <hand 1> Πό(πλιος) Αὔλιος Εὐκτῆμων, ἀρχιγραμματεὺς
 ξυστοῦ, γραμματεὺσας τῆς συνόδου, ἐτέλεσα.
- <hand 6> Φωτίων Καρπίωνος Λαδικεὺς καὶ Ἐφέσιος, πύκτης Ὀλυμπιονίκης
 85 [.]ης πα[ράδοξ]ος, ἄρχων τῆς ἱερᾶς ξυστικῆς περι-
 [πολις]τικῆς συνό]δου, ὑπέγραψα ἱερασαμένῳ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἀγῶνι ἱερῷ
 [εἰσελασ]τικῷ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην κοινῶν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Σάρδεσιν
 [Ἑρμῖ]νον τὸν καὶ Μῶρον Ἑρμοπολείτην * ν.
- <hand 7> [· · · · · Ζ(?)]ωσίμου Φιλαδελεφεὺς καὶ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Τραλιανὸς
 δρομεὺς Ὀλυμπι-
 90 νίκης παράδοξος, ἄρχων τῆς ἱερᾶς ξυστικῆς περιπολιςτικῆς συνόδ-
 ου ὑπέγ]ραψα ἱερασαμένου ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ ἀγῶνος ἱεροῦ ἐ[ἰσε]λαστικοῦ ἐ[ἰς] τὴν
 [οἰκου]μένην κοινῶν Ἀσίας ἐν Σάρδισι Ἑρμῖνον τὸν καὶ Μῶρον
 Ἑρμοπολίτῃ[ν] * ν.
- <hand 8> Γλύκων δις [Θ]υατειρηνός, ἀλείπτης, παράδοξος, ἀργυ-
 95 ρ[ο]ταμίας {ε} ἱερᾶς ξυσ{σ}τικῆς περιπολις{σ}τικῆς συνόδ[ου],
 ὑπέγραψα.
- <hand 9> [Μάρκος Α]ὐρ(ηλίου) Δημό[στρατος Δ]αμᾶς ὁ ἀρχιε[ρ]εὺς τοῦ
 σύνπαντος
 [ξυστοῦ καὶ ξυσ]τάρχης, ἐπὶ βαλ[α]νείων Σεβα[στοῦ],
 [ὑπέγραψα] [· · · · ·] Ἑρμείνῳ τῷ καὶ Μώρῳ
 100 [Ἑρμοπολ]εῖτῃ πύκτῃ ἱερ[α]σαμένῳ * ν.
- <hand 10> [Κυ]ντ[ύλιος] Καρποφόρος Ἐφ[έ]σιος [καὶ Ἡλεῖος]
 [ἀρχιγραμμα]τ[εὺς] ξύστο]ῦ ὑπ[έ]γραψα].
- Apparatus:* 89 Pap. δρομευ || Pap. Φιλαδευφεὺς || 90-91 Pap. σωδ[ου] || 99 Pap.
 Μύ[ρ]ω || 101 BL VIII 186: [καὶ Ἡλεῖος] || 102 BL III 96 [ἀρχιγραμμα]τ[εὺς]
 ξύστο]ῦ; prev. ed. α[. . . .] γραμματεῶν τῆς [συ]νόδου ὑπ[έ]γραψα]

<hand 11> Hermeinos, also called Moros, from Hermopolis, a boxer.

<3 lines of blank space>

<hand 12> The sacred travelling athletic *synodos* of [Augustus] Hadrian Antoninus Septimius, greets those from the same *synodos*.

Know that Hermeionos, also called Moros, a boxer from (5) Hermopolis about . . . years old is a member of our association (*synodeitēs*) and has fully paid the entrance fee of one hundred denarii in accordance with the bylaws (*nomos*).

We have written to you so that you might know. Farewell.

«multiple blank lines»

«hand 1» Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Sarmatikos, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power for the sixth time, consul designate for the fourth time, proclaimed (10) emperor for the twelfth time, *pater patriae*, to the travelling athletic *synodos*. Greetings.

I accepted the golden crown that you sent to me at the victory over Britain, a symbol of your reverence towards me. Your envoys were Tiberius Claudius Hermas, (15) Tiberius Claudius Kyros, Dion son of Mikkalos of Antioch. Farewell.

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Sarmatikos, *pontifex maximus*, with tribunician power for the seventh time, consul for the sixth time, proclaimed emperor for the eighteenth time, *pater patriae*, to the travelling athletic *synodos* associated with Hēraklēs. Greetings

(20) In the two decrees that were handed down at the same time to me you commended to me Gaius Julius Antiochos, the king of Commagene, and Julius Polemo (the king) of Pontus, valued men and friends of mine, who offered every zeal and goodwill toward you when they celebrated (25) the games which were established by them in my name; I am content with your expression of thanks towards them and their good will towards me but I learned about your generosity, or rather I marvelled. Those who are mentioned in the decree were Diogenes son of Mikkalos of Antioch, who recently became the high priest of the *synodos*, whom I have deemed, along with his two daughters, worthy of (30) Roman citizenship along with his two daughters, (and) Sandogenes and [Dion son(s?)] of Mikkalos of Antioch. Farewell.

[Emperor Caesar] Vespasianus Augustus greets the sacred travelling athletic *synodos* associated with Herakles.

Having recognized your athletic prowess and every honour such as the (35) divine Claudius extended to you, when you requested them, I myself propose to maintain. Farewell.

The sacred travelling athletic *synodos* associated with Hēraklēs of Hadrianus Antoninus Septimius and the presiders at the games and Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus greets those (40) from the same *synodos*:

Know that Hermeinos, also called Moros, a boxer from Hermopolis, about . . . years old, has fully paid the entrance fee of one hundred denarii in accordance with the law. Therefore we have written to you that you might know. Farewell.

(45) It occurred in Neapolis in Italy, at the 49th quinquennial games of the Great Augusti, Italians, and Romans that were held in the year that L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus was consul for the second time, and Clodius Septimius Albinus Caesar (was consul) for the second time, ten days before the first calends of October, (50) when the priesthood of the entire gymnasium of the athletes and the lifetime president of the athletic association and director of the baths of Augustus was Marcus Aurelius Demonstratos Dama, of Sardis, Alexandrias, Antinoopolis, Athens, Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Nikomedia, Miletos, Sparta, Tralles, the *pankratiastēs*, twice “all victorious,” the “unconquered” boxer, “incredible,” (55) and M(arcus) Aur(elius) Dēmētrios, of Alexandria Hermopolis, *pankratiastēs*, “all victorious,” “incredible” wrestler, and M(arcus) Aur(elius) Chrysippos . . . , of Smyrna, Alexandria, “all victorious,” “incredible” wrestler, when the lifetime president of the athletic association was M(arcus) Aur(elius) Dēmētrios the chief priest and director of the baths of Augustus, (60) when the magistrates of the *synodos* were Alexander the younger, also known as Athenodōros of Myra and Ephesos, “incredible” wrestler in the all-in games, and Prosdektes son of . . . of Mytilene the “incredible” charioteer, and the treasurer was [. . .]benos son of Proclos of Ephesos, “incredible” gymnast, when the [secretary] of the *synodos* was Publius Aelius Euktemon (65) and the chief secretary of the Games.

⟨hand 2⟩ I, Alexander the younger, also called Athenodōros of Myra and Ephesos, all-in games wrestler, Pythian victor, Augustan victor, Victor of the Haleia games (at Rhodes), “incredible” *archon* of the sacred atheletic *synodos*, undersigned, (attest) that in my presence in Neapolis Italy, (70) at the 49th quinquennial games, Hermeinos, also called Moros, of Hermopolis, a boxer paid 100 denarii.

⟨hand 3⟩ I, Prosdektes . . . of Mytilene, *archon*, attest (by a signature) . . . through the “unconquered” . . .

⟨hand 4⟩ K. . . (son of) Proklos. . . of Ephesos, “unconquered” twice “all victorious,” noblest of the Greeks, treasurer of the sacred *synodos*, (75) attest (by a signature) (that the entrance fee was) paid to me in Neapolis in Italy, at the 49th quinquennial games, by Hermeinos, also called Moros, of Hermopolis, a boxer.

⟨hand 5⟩ [I, M(arcus) Aur(elius) Demetr]ios, chief priest of the “all-in” games, lifetime president of the athletic association, director of the baths of Augustus, participant in the “all in” boxing and wrestling games, “all victorious,” (80) “incredible” wrestler, attest (by a signature) in Neapolis (the entrance fee) paid to me for Hermeinos, also called Moros, of Hermopolis, a boxer.

⟨hand 1⟩ Publius Aelius Euktemon, chief secretary of the games, who is former secretary of the *synodos*, has paid.

⟨hand 6⟩ I, Photion son of Karpion of Laodicea and Ephesos, boxer, Olympian victor, . . . (85) “incredible,” *archon* of the sacred *synodos* of travelling

athletes, attest (by a signature) that Hermeinos, also called Moros of Hermopolis paid 50 denarii to serve as priest (ιερασάμενος) at the sacred games of the *koinon* of Asia at Sardis, which were celebrated by a triumphal entry into the *oikoumenē*.

hand 7>I, . . . of Zosimos of Philadelphia, Ephesos, and Tralles, a runner, Olympic (90) victor, “incredible,” *archon* of the sacred travelling *synodos* of athletes, attest (by a signature that) Hermeios also called Moros, of Hermopolis, has paid to me 50 denarii to serve as priest at the sacred games of the *koinon* of Asia at Sardis, which were celebrated by a triumphal entry into the *oikoumenē*.

hand 8>I, Glykon, twice “Thyatirian,” “unconquered,” “incredible,” treasurer (95) of the sacred *synodos* of travelling athletes, attest (by a signature).

hand 9>I, M(arcus) Aur(elius) Demonstratos Damas, the chief priest of the “all-in” wrestling and boxing games, director of the baths of Augustus, attest (by a signature that) [. . .] Hermeios also called Moros, (100) of Hermopolis, a boxer, paid 50 denarii to serve as priest (at the games).

hand 10>I, Quintilios Karpophoros of Ephesos [the Ēlean], the chief secretary of the Games, attest (this) (by a signature)

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνδοδος, συνοδεῖται; bylaws; leadership terms: ἀρχιγραμματεὺς, γραμματεὺς, ξυστάρχης, ἄρχοντες, ἀργυροτάμιας, ἀρχιερεὺς; collective interaction with Emperor Claudius (to whom they, as a collective, had bestowed gifts); collective reverence to Herakles; evidence of association attested elsewhere (see *Comments*).

Location: Hermopolis: TM geo ref. 816, 15th Upper Egyptian nome; Barrington Atlas, 2000, pl. 77 D1.

I. 1: This line is separated by about 20 cm. from the next segment of text. This portion was attached to the rescript on which the name of the grantee is written.

I. 1: On Moros → Sijpesteijn 1989.

II. 2–7: Written on the same portion of papyrus as the grantee’s name, this serves as a kind of abstract, supported by the following list of imperial patrons. This explain why these two portions are written in the latest hands of the document.

I. 2: ἡ [i]ε[ρ]ὰ ξυστική περιπολιστική [Σεβαστή] Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωνιανὴ | Σεπτιμιανὴ [σύνδοδος. This association is known from many other inscriptions, with the names of various emperors: IvO 436 (Elis, 85 CE); IEph 11A 2–6 (Aphrodisias, 117–138): [–]το[·c.5·] | [·c.9·]ι, ἔδοξεν τῇ ιερᾷ ξ[υστικῇ πε]ριπολιστικῇ εὐσεβεῖ σεβαστῇ [συνόδῳ καὶ] | τῷ σύνπαντι ξυστῶ τῶν περὶ τ[ὸν Ἡρακλέα] || καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊαν[ὸν Ἀδρι]ανὸν Σεβαστόν; IEph 11B (a copy of the preceding inscription); Roueché, PPAphr 91 (Aphrodisias, 161–169 CE): τῇ ιερᾷ ξυστικῇ περιπολιστικῇ συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν [Ἡρα]κλέα καὶ τὸν ἀγ[ω]νιον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Μ[άρκου] Αὐρ[ελίου] Ἀντ[ωνίου] εὐεργέτην; IEph 1084 (Ephesos, Imperial period): [ἡ ιερ]ὰ ξυστική | [περιπολιστικ]ή εὐσεβής | [σύνδοδος τῶν περὶ τ]ὸν Ἡρακλέα | [καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρ]α [Σεβ]αστόν; IGUR I 237 (Rome; II CE); IGUR I 243 (Rome, 170–180 CE): ἡ · ιερὰ · ξυστική · σύνδοδος · τῶν | [περ]ι · τὸν · Ἡρακλέα · ἀπό

καταλύσεως | ἐν · τῇ · βασιλίδι · Ῥώμηι · κατοικούντων | Μ(άρκον) · Αὐρήλιον · Δημόστρατον · Δαμᾶν || Σαρδιανόν · Ἀλεξανδρέα · Ἀντινοέα · Ἀθηναῖον, | Ἐφέσιον · Συμρναῖον · Περγαμηνόν, | Νεικομηδέα · Μιλήσιον · Λακεδαμώνιον, | ἀρχιερέα · τοῦ · σύνπαντος · ξυστοῦ · διὰ · βίου, | ξυστάρχην · καὶ · ἐπὶ · βαλανείων · Σεβαστῶν, || πανκρατιαστὴν · περιοδονείκην · δις, | πύκτην · ἄλειπτον · παράδοξον; IGUR I 244 (Rome, 200–250 CE).

- I. 5 ὥς ἐτῶν. Blank space intentionally left to fill in Hermeinos' age. His age would have been 27, as attested in the family's census return (→ P.Lond. III 935).
- I. 6: ἐντάγιον, entrance fee: → BGU IV 1074.15 (273–74 CE).
- II. 8–10: A standard Latin dating by year of tribunician power and consulship rather than regnal year. Σαρματικός is an epithet never attributed to Claudius and is likely a scribal error.
- I. 9: Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ιβ: The first imperial rescript can be dated to the latter half of 46 CE when Claudius held the sixth *tribunicia potestas* and was named imperator for the 11th and 12th time.
- II. 14–15: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἑρμᾶς | Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κῦρος, Δίων Μικκάλου Ἀντιοχεύς. Hermas and Kyros were Roman citizens, noted by their *tria nomina*. Dion's ethnic name suggests he was not. It is unclear from which of several Antiochs he had come.
- I. 17: τὸ ζ. Claudius was in fact only consul five times and was consul for the fourth time in 47 CE.
- I. 18. τὸ ιη. Claudius was actually imperator for the eighteenth time during the ninth year of his *tribunicia potestas*. These dating errors indicate that the rescript copied was not a contemporary document.
- I. 22: Ἰουλίῳ Πολέμωνι τῷ Πόντου: Μάρκος Αντόνιος Πολέμων Πυθόδωρος (12 BCE–74 CE) King of Pontus, Colchis and Cilicia.
- I. 25: ἀγῶνας. Claudius celebrated the *ludi saeculares* in 47 CE and is likely noting that Antiochus and Polemon also held games in his honour.
- I. 42: ὥς ἐτῶν. About 2.5 cm. of space is left to fill in Herminos' age, like I.5.
- I. 46: τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Ἰταλικῶν Ῥωμαίων. CIG III 5913.23 simply refers to these games as Σεβαστὰ ἐν Νεαπόλει.
- I. 51, 96: Marcus Aurelius Demonstratus Damas is honoured in IGUR I 243 (→ above I. 2 note). On his career, → Strasser 2003.
- I. 54: παγκρατιαστής, i.e., one who practices at the παγκράτιον, “all-in” contest in boxing and wrestling, Pindar, *Nem.* 2.15; 3.17; 5.5, 52; 11.21; *Ol.* 8.59; Thucydides 5.49; Herodotus 9.105; Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1191; Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.2; 2.5; 8.37; *Anab.* 4.8.27; IG V/1 658.14 (Sparta); VII 1765 (Thespiae).
- I. 54: ἄλειπτος, i.e., *not left behind, unconquered*.
- I. 54: δις περιοδονείκου. The title awarded to those who won the games in Olympia, Delphi, Isthmian and Nemea. → I. 55.
- I.55 Marcus Aurelius Demetrius. This athlete is honoured in CIG 5913.
- II. 66–102: List of signatures of synod members verifying the Hermeinos' entry payment.
- I. 67: ἄλιονείκης. Victor of the Halcian games in Rhodes. → IStratonikeia 685.2; IStratonikeia 268.3.

- I. 70: ✕ ρ: i.e., δηνάρια ἑκατόν, the entrance fee specified in ll. 6 and 43.
- II. 84–92: The remaining subscriptions seem to have been added after the celebration of the Asian games at Sardis where Hermeinos served as priest of the guild (ιερασάμενος) and paid 50 denarii.

Comments

This diploma certifying the payment of the Egyptian boxer Herminos is best set in the context of world wide, or ecumenical, athletic and performing associations founded during the imperial period. The travelling athletic synod mentioned here was an imperially sponsored athletic association that was the festive counterpart to the much older association of Dionysiac artists, often bearing much of the same imperial titulature by the Roman period. The athletic synod did not exist until the Roman period when before this, individual athletes trained in local gymnasia and competed independently or with the help of trainers. The world wide athletic guild originated somewhere in Asia Minor and like many other state sponsored guilds, moved its headquarters to Rome, coming into prominence after the Romans reordered the festive structure starting in I BCE. The artists (*technitai*) began to form in the early Hellenistic period around 280–270 BCE with centers located in Athens, Egypt and western Asia Minor. There was also another group operating under the same name in southern Italy and Sicily. For a full account of the Hellenistic origins of the association see the thorough studies of Aneziri (2003) and Le Guen (2001).

From their founding, the Dionysiac Artists were closely tied to government patronage and secured for themselves a kind of international privilege in the various Hellenistic kingdoms (→ I.Prose I 3 [243] *comment*). Owing to the increased prestige of festivals in the Hellenistic and Roman period, these performer associations were granted tax exemption and freedom of travel (*asylia*, *asphaleia*, *ateleia*). Since no festival could operate without them, this put these groups in a strong position to negotiate economic incentives. One can see how much sway these athletes had in an exchange between Pliny and Trajan (*Ep.* 10.118–119), where Pliny is bombarded by athletes' requests to receive their pension from the *eiselastic* games from the day of their victory instead of the day of their crowning. Trajan of course makes no allowances for additional financial petitions outside his ruling. These groups also structured themselves with cultic hierarchies, with titles like *archiereus*, high priest, and were associated with a god, Dionysos for artists and Hēraklēs for athletes. Given their religious focus, it is no surprise these groups would enjoy imperial patronage when assisting putting on games in honour of the emperor, such as the Sebastia in Naples or for the politicized deity, Roma (See note on ll.22, 46).

By the early Roman period, these individual athletic groups coalesced into a larger synod under imperial patronage. As early as the I BCE, Mark Antony wrote to a group of athletes to assert their privileges (RDGE 57; cf. Forbes 1955). However there is significant discrepancy in the structure of the early athletic and

artistic guilds. Marc Antony's letter is written to the ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερωνικῶν καὶ στεφανειτῶν, or the, "world wide synod of victors in the sacred games and crown games." Since there were two types of crowned victors, athletes and artists, it is unclear to whom the letter is addressed. Forbes, cited above, has argued that this is a letter to Dionysiac victors, however Pleket (1973, 201) convincingly argues that the suppliant, named as an *aleiptes*, indicates this is an athletic guild. This back and forth between scholars highlights the ambiguity of the sources to accurately identify and track the political status, location and financial incentives of both these guilds. They appear to operate independently and at times jointly, especially in their sharing of the headquarters in Rome. This ambiguity is demonstrated in an honorary decree from Nysa (IEph 22) for a T. Aelius Alciabades who gave benefactions to the synod in Rome. He bestowed "wonderful books," alluding to the notion that the headquarters was dedicated as an archive to the guild.

The name of the synod appears in two inscriptions in Rome from both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius establishing an archival centre in Rome near the Imperial Baths, fulfilling Hadrian's promise to the guild (IGUR I 235; IGUR I 236). While it is not entirely clear when the guild moved to Rome, these inscriptions provide a secure terminus post quem for their establishment in Rome. Hadrian similarly wrote three letters to the Dionysiac guild around 134–135 to secure their rights and privileges (cf Jones 2007). The difficulty with the document above is that the earliest imperial rescript is from the time of Claudius, showing a nearly one hundred year gap between documented imperial patronage and a state sponsored guild centre. By the end of the second century, the athletic guild would take on the full imperial name, as seen in this document. Pleket conjectures that the lack of the term *peripolistikē* is due to simply a shorthand for the full name of the guild. The problem with many of these Roman inscription is they lack certain adjectival designations with which we track the development of the guild. Pleket is correct in assuming that we should not infer some kind of separate guild from the omission of these longer words in the Roman dedications. The corresponding guild of Artists also carried imperial epithets (see BGU IV 1073).

Literature: Aneziri, Sophia 2003. *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine*. Historia Einzelschriften 163. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner; Aneziri, S. 2014. "Greek Strategies of Adaptation to the Roman World: The Case of the Contests." In *Mnemosyne* 64(3):1–21; Boak, Arthur E.R. 1923. "The Anagraphai of the Grapheion of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon." In *JEA* 9:164–167; Bowman, Alan 2013. "Agricultural Production in Egypt." In *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production*, ed. Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson. Oxford studies on the Roman economy, 219–253. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; Forbes, Clarence A. 1955. "Ancient Athletic Guilds." In *CP* 50:238–252; Gerstinger, H. 1954. "Zum Faustkämpferdiplom des Boxers

Hermynos alias Moros aus dem Jahre 194 n. Chr. (Pap. Graec. Londiniensis 1178).” In *AÖAW Philosophische-historische Klasse* 91:57–61 = “Das Faustkämpferdiplom des Boxers Hermynos alias Moros aus Hermopolis Magna (Pap.Graec.Lond. 1178).” In *Leibeserziehung in der Kultur*. ed. Günter Bernhard, 46–68. Graz: Institut für Leibeserziehung der Universität Graz, 1954; **Jones**, Christopher P. 2007. “Three New Letters of the Emperor Hadrian.” In *ZPE* 161:145–156; **Le Guen**, Brigitte 2001. *Les Associations de technites dionysiaques à l’époque hellénistique*. Études d’archéologie classique XI–XII. Nancy and Paris: Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l’Antiquité; **Miller**, S. 2004. *Ancient Greek Athletics*. New Haven: Yale University Press (208–226); **Oliver**, James H. 1989. *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 178. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society; **Pleket**, H.W. 1973. “Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds.” In *ZPE* 10:197–227; **Poland**, Franz 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner (esp. 147–151); **Sijpesteijn**, Pieter J. 1989. “Theognostos alias Moros and his Family.” In *ZPE* 76:213–218; **Strasser** Jean-Yves 2003. “La carrière du pancratiaste Markos Aurélios Dêmostratos Damas.” In: *BCH* 127(1):251–299; **Van Nijf**, Onno 2007. “Global players: Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World.” In *Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft: Kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraumes als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften*. Akten eines Symposiums des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Hamburg, 12–14 Oktober 2005. Hephaisotos 24, 225–235. Augsburg: Camelion; **Viereck**, Paul 1908. “Aktenstücke zum griechisch-römischen Vereinswesen.” In *Klio* 8:413–426. PS

[268] P.Oxy. XLIV 3185 Supplies for Lead Workers

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) III CE
Published: A.K. Bowman, M.W. Haslam, J.C. Shelton and J.D. Thomas, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLIV* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) 145–146 (no. 3185) + BL XI 168 [TM 30213].

Current location: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 3185.

Similar or related documents: → P.Laur. IV 155 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): order to pay copper smiths for work on the baths.

One papyrus, 21.2 × 8.0 cm., written on the back of a papyrus containing the report of proceedings before an Emperor.

⟨hand 1⟩

π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως Σαραπάμμωνι γραμματ(ε)ῖ πολιτικῶν χ[αίρειν.
παράδος]
ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ σοὶ μολύβου ὑπὲρ τιμῆς κασ<σ>ιτερίνου ὀλκῆς . . . τάλαν[των]

ζ χωρησάν(των) εἰς κόλλησιν τῶν σωλήνων τοῦ Καίσαρος βαλανεί[ου . . .
 .]

ω καὶ Ἀμόιτι καὶ Νεφερωτί καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς μολυβουργοῖς ὀλκῆ[ς
 τάλαντα μ]

⟨hand 2 in the margin⟩ ἐπὶ λόγ(ου)

5 ⟨hand 1⟩ ἐνλογουμένων μοι ὑπὲρ ἧς πεποιη {κα} ^{μαι} προχρείας ὀλκῆ[ς τάλαντων
 (?).]

^{vac} ⟨hand 2⟩ ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι, φίλτατε.

Λ α Ἐπεὶ ς καὶ παράδος τοῦ μολύβου ὀλκῆς τάλαντ(α) τέσσ[αράκοντα]

Apparatus: 2 Pap. μολοίβου || BL XI 168: τέσσ[αράκοντα]; prev. ed. τέσσ[αρα and
 δ in l. 4.

From the *prytanis* to Sarapammon, scribe of the city accounts, greetings.
 Supply from the lead you have for the price of 7 talents weight of tin . . .
 which have gone into the soldering of the pipes of the baths of Caesar to
 . . . and Amois and Nepheros and their fellow lead workers, forty talents by
 weight. ⟨*In the margin, hand 2*⟩ on account. ⟨*hand 1*⟩ (5) Being credited to
 me for the advance I have made: x talents. ⟨*hand 2*⟩ I pray that you are well,
 friend. Year 1, Epeiph 6. Supply forty talents by weight of lead.

Notes

Association? Possible: artisans in the plural (μολυβουργοί).

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas
 75 D3.

Comments

This papyrus concerns the building of the Baths of Caesar, which is one of the
 several baths in Oxyrhynchus, the others being the Baths of Hadrian (P.Oxy. I
 54), the Baths of Trajan and Hadrian (P.Oxy. VI 896 = Sel.Pap. II 360), and the
 Baths of Antoninus and Trajan (P.Giss. I 50). P.Oxy. XVII 2128 (Sel.Pap. II
 407) mentions the baths of Antonianus and there may be a fourth century bath
 (P.Oxy. I 43v) (Alston 2002, 244–245).

There are many similar documents attesting the work done by occupational
 guilds engaged in work on behalf of the city. P.Oxy. I 84 + BL XI 142
 (Oxyrhynchus, 1 Nov 316 CE) concerns a guild of ironsmiths who were engaged
 in public works:

Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῷ καὶ
 Γ[ε]ροντίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξ(υρυγγίτου)
 πα[ρ]ὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σιδηρο-
 χαλκέων τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγγιτῶν) πόλεως
 5 δι(ὰ) Αὐρηλίου Σευήρου Σαρμάτου ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐ[τ]ῆς πόλεως μηνιάρχου ἀπέσχον
 [καὶ] ἡρίθμηται παρ' Αὐρηλίου
 Νεικοβούλου Ἀλεξάνδρου δημοσίων

- χρημάτων τραπέζιτου) Ὁξ(υρυνχίτου) πολιτικῆς
 10 τραπεζῆς ἐξ ἐπιστάλατος τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ ἀξιολογώτατος λογιστοῦ
 ἃ τετάγμεθα ἐπισταλῆνα(ν) ἐξο-
 διασθ(ῆ)ναι ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς
 σιδῆ[ρο]υ ἐνεργοῦ ὀλκῆς κεν-
 15 [τ]ηναρ[ί]ου ἐνὸς χωροῦντος εἰς
 δημόσια πολιτικά ἔργα
 ἀργυρί[ου] (τάλαντα) ς πλήρη. κυρία ἡ ἀποχή,
 καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθεὶς ὡμ[ολ]όγησα.
 ὑπατε[ία]ς Καικινίου Σαβίνου
 20 καὶ Οὐετ[τ]ίου Ῥουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων,
 Ἀθὺρ ε.
 <hand 2> Αὐρήλι[ο]ς Σεουήρος ἡρί(θ)μη[μ]α[ι]
 τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλ[αν]τα ἕξ
 πλήρη ὡς πρόκ(ε)νται, καὶ <ε>πε-
 25 ρωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα

To Valerius Ammonianus, alias Gerontius, the *logistēs* of the Oxyrhynchite (nome), from the guild (*koinon*) of ironsmiths of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites (5) through Aurelius Severus son of Sarmates of the same city, a monthly officer (*mēniarchēs*) from the same [guild of ironsmiths]. I have received and had counted out to me from Aurelius Nikoboulos son of Alexander, a banker in charge of public moneys of the civic (10) bank of Oxyrhynchus, the amount that we had asked to be paid to us for the cost of 101 weight of usable iron, to be used for public works (δημόσια πολιτικά ἔργα), namely 6 talents (in full). This receipt is valid and when the question was put I acknowledged (that it was true). During the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, the most illustrious (consuls), Hathyr 5.

<hand 2> I, Aurelius Serenus, have had counted out to me the sum of six talents, in full, as aforesaid, and when the question was put I acknowledged (that it was true).

See also P.Oxy. I 55 (Oxyrhynchus, 283 CE) [TM 20717], a letter of two kasiotic joiners to the former gymnasiarch and prytanis, requesting payment for work done on the city streets. They ask that the payment be κατὰ τὸ ἔθος (l. 16). P.Oxy XLIII 3121 (Oxyrhynchus, 316–318 CE) [TM 16000] records a payment to a *koinon* of goldsmiths who manufactured a golden crown to the Emperor Licinius. In 272 CE an association of *technitai* – probably goldsmiths – was commissioned to make a crown to mark Aurelian’s accession (P.Oxy. XII 1413, Oxyrhynchus) [TM 21823]. An association of glass workers (κοινοῦ τῶν ὑελοργῶν) made a declaration acknowledging payment in exchange for their *technē* on the baths (P.Oxy. XLV 3265 [TM 20896]).

Literature: Alston, Richard 2002. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge (esp. 244–245); Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. 144–145 on P.Oxy. I 55).

[269] SB I 4549

Fines for Non-contributors to an Association

Talmis (Kalabchah)

226 CE

Published: Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, Nicolai, 1849) Abt. VI.12, (no. 456, pl. 97); CIG III 5068; Henri Gauthier, *Le Temple de Kalabchah* (Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1911–1914, p. 194 (uncials); SB I 4549 [TM 103620].

Inscription 100 × 23 cm., painted in red.

- 1 *Λ* ε Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Φαμενῶθ [–]
κατ' Ἑγυπτίων, ἱς Τσενπανεμ, Ἀππίων Φαφίτων ἐγέ(ν)ετο {εγετο}
ἀρχι(ν)ερεὺς
τ[] ἰστούρις προσφωνήσας οἰνοετασ[] καὶ ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἀρχι(ν)ερεὺς
αὐουατ ξέστας διτνσπασα καὶ ατστατης
- 5 ἀλέκτορας ε καὶ Διόσκορος τιπεντα ἀρχι(ν)ερεὺς τοῦ σ. . . στασα
ηττουως τουστουενοι καὶ οὐδεῖς τῶν προγραμμέν[ων]
δέδωκεν εἰς τὴν <σύν>οδον ὅπτε πρεμενκομσπασισινουν καὶ
Σανσινῶς χα ἡμῶν ὅσοι ὀφεί(ου)σι τὰ προκείμε(να) τοῦ οἴνου ξέστου
καὶ τοὺς ἀλέκτορας, οὐκ ἔσσονται συνοδεῖται, εἰ μὴ διπλᾶ ἀποδώσουσιν.
- 10 τὸ προσκύνημα [τῆς] συνόδου καὶ τῶν συνοδεϊτῶν καὶ τοῦ γράφαντος.

Year 5 of Alexander Caesar the Lord, Phamenoth ? according to the Egyptian calendar, which is 17th of Tsenpanem; Appion Phaphiton became the high priest of . . . Having addressed . . . and the other high priest . . . sextarius <unintelligible> (5) five roosters and Dioskoros . . . the high priest of <unintelligible> and none of those whose named are subjoined has contributed to the association (*synodos*) . . . <unintelligible> and Sasnos . . . as many as owe the aforementioned (cost) of a sextarius of wine and the roosters shall not be (considered as) fellow members (*synodeitai*) unless they contribute a double portion (of what they owe). (10) The *proskynēma* of the association (*synodos*), and the members (*synodeitai*) and the secretary (*ho grapsas*). . .

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: σύνοδος, συνοδεῖται; leadership terms: ἀρχιερεὺς; probable reference to bylaws (fines); possible cultic association.

Location: Talmis - Kalabsha (Aethiopia): TM geo ref. no. 2787; Barrington Atlas 81 C2.

l. 10: τὸ προσκύνημα: → I.Philae II 157 [255]; SEG 41:1612–1615 [280].

Comments

This largely unintelligible inscription seems to concern the imposition of fines on members of an otherwise unknown (cultic?) association who have failed to contribute dues for a meal, principally the cost of wine.

[270] SB XVI 12702

List of members at three meetings

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) second half of III CE

Published: R. Pintaudi, "Spigolature," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 249–257, Pl. XIV c–XV a.

[TM 30655]

Current Location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana PSI 1088.

Papyrus, dimensions unavailable.

	κε Εθω[α] προστά(της)	15	Κολλις
	Ανεις		Κουτειμου
	Λιλαις		[[Πριροις]]
	Ακ[ι]ων		Σιβυγχις
5	Παραθ		/ ζ
	Κολλεις	20	κς Εθωα προστά(της)
	Κουτεις		Ανεις
	Πριροις		Λιλαις
	/ ζ		Ακιων
10	κς Εθωα προστά(της)		Παραθ δεύτερος
	Αγεις	25	Κολλις
	Λιλαις		Κουτειμου
	Ακιων		Σιβυγχις
	Παραθ		/ ζ

25th: Ethoa, president; Aneis, Lilais, Akion, Parath, Kolleis, Kouteis, Prirois, making 7.

26th: Ethoa, president; Aneis, Lilais, Akion, Parath, Kollis, Kouteimou, [[Prirois]], Sibygechis, making 7.

27th: Ethoa, president: Aneis Lilais, Akion, Parath junior, Kollis Kouteimou, Sibugchis, making 7.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: προστάτης.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

- l. 1: Εθω[α]. Not otherwise attested and not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.
 ll. 2, 11, 21: Ανεις. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 32, 33: "Αννεις, "Αννις, "Ανεις.
 ll. 3, 12, 22: Λιλαις. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 196–197: Λιλοῦς, Λιλῶς?
 ll. 4, 13, 23: Ακιων. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 15: 'Ακῆς, "Ακκιος, 'Ακοῦς, but Ακιων is unattested.
 ll. 5, 14: Παραθ. Otherwise unattested.
 ll. 6, 15, 25: Κολλεις. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 178–179: Κολλεῦς, Κόλλις.
 ll. 8, 17: Πριροις. Otherwise unattested.
 l. 18: Σιβυγχις. Otherwise unattested.

Comments

This appears to be a record of attendees at a series of meeting or meals (?) on three successive days. The group evidently has only eight members including the president, Ethoa. The membership is almost consistent, with only Prirois dropping from the list for the second and third meeting, and being replaced by Sibugchis. All of the names are uncommon.

[271] SB IV 7290

Meeting Place of an Association of Weavers

Abydos

25 Jun 257 CE

Published: Seymour de Ricci, *Revue épigraphique* 1 (1913), p. 146 (no. 6) (SB IV 7290); Adam Lajtar and Alfred Twardecki, *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie*, JJPSupp 2 (Warsaw: Warsaw University Institute of Archaeology, 2003) (no. 66) [TM 99067; CAPInv 1253]

Current location: Warsaw, National Museum 198804.

Similar or related documents: → I.Fayum I 96 (Karanis, III CE): τόπος ΑΔΗΛουργ(ῶν) (? σκληλουργ(ῶν) = σκληρουργῶν SEG 29:1653, quarrymen?); I.Fayum I 95 (Karanis, III CE): τόπος Μ(άρκου) Αὐ[ρ](ηλίου) Τ[— — —] (Place of Markus Aurelius T— — —).

Limestone plaque. Dimensions unavailable.

τόπος γερδίων
 ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου ὁ ποι-
 ηθεῖς ἐπὶ Ἰέρακος
 Πλεσώνου· L δ

5 Οὐαλεριανῶν
 Γάλλιηνῶν Σεβα-

στῶν, Ἐπεῖφ α·
ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι.

Place of the weavers of Abydos, which was made (in the year that?) Hierax son of Plesonos (or Plesonēs) (was president?). Year 4 of Emperors Valerian and Gallienus, Epeiph 1. For good (fortune).

Notes

Association? Probable: artisans in the plural (γέρδιοι); control of space.

Location: Abydos (8th Upper Egyptian nome) TM geo ref. 34; Barrington Atlas 77 F4.

1. 4: Πλεσώνου: Plesonos (or Plesones). The name is unattested in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

Comments

In this instance, τόπος seems to indicate a structure that is beyond the claim of space in which to sell goods. That is, it may be that Hierax has provided a stall; it is not likely that the reference is to an actual building as one would expect a more elaborate endorsement of their patron's largess.

Engraved on blocks on the parapet of the terrace of the temple of Chnoum in Elephantine an inscription reads Δημητρίου καὶ [Ε]ρμίου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶ[ν] ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν ("The place of Dēmētrios and Hermias and the brothers"; SEG 29:1636), demarcating a place for merchants. The use of "brothers" here is likely the fictive kinship language of association members rather than blood relatives. An inscribed block reused in the southeast wall of the northeast gate of the Roman fort at Thebes reads τόπο(ς) Λονγάτος ὧδε[ε] ("place of Longas, here"; SEG 36:1454, undated), the addition of ὧδε being an unusual (and redundant) feature. In its original setting, it likely designated the place of a merchant (Bernard 1993, 109).

Egypt is a particular interesting place for τόπος inscriptions as there is quite a range of texts beyond the genre of reserved seating in entertainment venues found elsewhere in the circum-Mediterranean. In particular, there are a number of τόπος inscriptions designating meeting spaces within temples and sanctuaries. For example, an association of geese herders seemingly had their own place in the temple of Pnephros at Theadelphia (*I.Fayum* II 109, 102? BCE):

ὕπερ βασιλίσσης | Κλεοπά[τρα]ς κ[αὶ] βασι|λέως [Πτολεμαί]ου, θεῶν [Φιλομητό]||
ρων καὶ [Φ]ίλοπατ[όρων], | τόπος συνόδου | χηνοβοσκῶν· | Λ ιε, Με[χείρ] κα.

For the well-being of Queen Kleopatra and King Ptolemy, Philomētor and Philopatōr gods. [Set up in] the place (*topos*) of the association (*synodos*) of geese breeders. (Year) 15, Mechir 21.

An inscription located in the north temple dedicated to Soxis at Karanis is difficult to read (*I.Fayum* I 96, III CE): τόπος ΣΑΛΗΛουργ(ῶν). The inscription

seems to reserve a place within the temple precinct for workmen – SEG 29:1653 suggests σκληρουργῶν, quarry men. Roberts, Skeat, and Nock (1936, 79 n. 142) note that large Egyptian temples had their own workforce comprised of artisans (masons, carpenters, metalworkers) along with other types of workers (e.g., bakers, brewers, herdsman). It is thus conceivable that one or more such occupational associations had a set place for meeting within the temple precinct. Roberts, Skeat, and Nock go so far as to suggest that the inscription might indicate a “place of meeting for worship,” citing OGIS I 176 and 178 as analogies. This differs from the initial suggestion of Yeivin, who suggests the graffiti reserved places where regular traders would hawk their wares to pilgrims visiting the temple (Yeivin 1934, 79), itself a plausible interpretation of the text given the evidence cited earlier for such τόπος inscriptions. A more legible example is found at Narmouthis, where large letters engraved at the entrance to the temple of Medinet Madi south has been interpreted as the sign of a merchant: Ἡρώνοϲ τόποϲ (I.Fayum III 192, undated → Bernand 1993, 109). And on the back of the outer gallery of the temple of Ombos in (Upper Egypt) Nemesas son of Serapion invokes fortune in claiming space: ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ | τόποϲ Νεμεσᾶϲ (for Νεμασῶτοϲ) | Σεραπίωνοϲ. This space would be used by merchants or perhaps as a location for worship (→ Bernand 1993, 109).

Literature: Bernand, Étienne 1993. “Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d’Égypte.” In *ZPE* 98:103–110; Roberts, Colin, Theodore C. Skeat, and Arthur Darby Nock 1936. “The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos.” In *HTR* 29:39–88; Yeivin, S. 1934. “Notes on the Northern Temple at Karanis.” In *Aeg* 14(1):71–79; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (esp. 106). RSA

[272] P.Oxy. XII 1414

Minutes of a Senate Meeting

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 271–272 CE
 Published: Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1916) 42–51 (no. 1414) + BL VIII 245 [TM 21824; CAPInv 1928 (*linemporoi*), 1929 (*linouphoi*)]
 Translation: Johnson 1936, 701–703 (no. 437); Mees 2002, 403–404.
 Similar or related documents: → P.Oxy. XII 1413; P.Oxy. XII 1415.

Papyrus, 22.3 × 18 cm. Report of a council meeting discussing a request from the linen workers for an increase in payment.

[±10 [ὁ]φ<ε>ίλε[τα]ι [κ]αὶ τάλ[α]ντα δεκατέσσαρα. ἡ τιμὴ τῶν ρ σ[τι]χ[α]ρίων τάλαντα ἑκατὸν τεσσαρ[άκοντα ±?]

- [± 11] ἀπέχω τὰ διαφέροντα τῷ νομῷ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἡμῖς.
μηνιαῖοι ἀποδοῦναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαιτεῖσθωσαν ἐ[πτά] ἡμῖς (?) ±?]
- [± 10] χίζεται.
- [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· τῇ]γ τοῦ ἱεροῦ <ἀναβολικοῦ> γραφ[ῆ]ν κ[ατ]ε-
σκέψασθε καὶ ὅρον δεδώκατε καὶ ἐπεστάλη{ν} τὰ δόξαντα ὑμ{ε}ῖν τῷ
στρατηγῷ, ἀλλὰ [οἱ λινέμποροι(?) μὴ ±?]
- 5 [. τοὺς τὸ ἔρ]γον τοῦτο μεταχειρισσάμενους μὴδὲ τὰ[ς] γυναικας
αὐτῶν δύνασθαι κλώθειν τὸ λ{ε}ῖνον προεβάλλοντο . [±?]
- [.]α. [. . .] ὅπως καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ὅρον δῶτε. ὀλίγαι γὰρ κῶ[μα]ί εἰσιν
αἱ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὑμῶν τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἔχουσιν. οἱ βου[λ]ε[υ]ταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ±?]
- [.]γαι. Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων γενόμενος
ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζει) σύν[δικος] εἶπ(εν)· οἱ λινέμποροι
(?) ±?]
- [.]σαι καὶ ἐ[κ] τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα δηναρίων εἶναι τὸ λ{ε}ῖνον
τὸ στημονικόν, ἑνδεκα δὲ δηνάρια αὐτοῖς ἐξωδιάσθη ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ ταμιακοῦ
λόγου ±?]
- [. γ]ενέσθαι. [οἱ βο]υλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· [δε]κα ἐννέα δηναρίοις
ἀρκεῖσθωσαν οἱ λ{ε}ῖνέμποροι{ς} μετὰ τὸ ἐξωδιαζ[ό]μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ
τα[μ]ι[α]κοῦ λόγου. Σεπτίμιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων γενόμενος]
- 10 [ὑπομνηματογρά]φος καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζει) σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· εἰ τοῦτο ὑμ[ῖ]ν
[ἔ]δοξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στημονικοῦ, πείραν προσενεγ[έ]κοῦμ[ε]ν καὶ τοῖς <hand
2> μέλλουσι[ν] [ὕ]φαίνειν ±?]
- [± 13] ταξάτωσάν τινα οἱ λινούφοι οἱ μέλλοντες ὕφαίνειν τὴν ὀθόνην τοῦ
ἱεροῦ ἀναβ[ολικοῦ] ±?]
- [ἀναγνωσθείσης ἀξ]ιώσεως τῶ[ν] τῆς πόλεως λινούφων περὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὰς
πέρυσιν ἐξοδιασθεῖσας αὐτοῖς [ὕπερ ±? δραχμὰς ±? δοθῆναι ἄλλας
δραχμὰς]
- [. δι]ὰ [τῇ]ν πλεοτιμίαν [τῶ]ν εἰδῶν καὶ τὴν πλεομισθίαν τῶν
ὑπουργ[ῶ]ν, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὁ π[ρ]ύτανις εἶπ(εν)· δοθήτωσαν τοῖς
λινούφοις ἄλλαι δραχμαὶ]
- [. κο]ντα εἰς [σ]υνπλήρωσιν δραχμῶν διακοσίων διὰ τὴν πλεοτιμίαν
τῶν εἰδῶν. τοῦτο ψηφ[ί]σασθε (?) ±?]
- 15 [. συντε]τιμημένου τοῦ κρίκου καὶ αὐταὶ προσγενέσθωσαν. οἱ τελούντες
τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ [λίνου] (?) ±?]
- [± 11] π[α]ρατεθήσεται ὑμῖν τῇ ἐξῆς βουλῇ· οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· {ο}ἴτω.
- [± 15 ἀναγ]νωσθέντος ἐπιστάλματος Τερεντίου Ἀρίου στρα(τηγοῦ) περὶ
τοῦ αἰρεθῆναι εκα[] ±?]
- [ἔδοξεν ὑπερτεθῆναι]ι [ε]ἰς τὴν ἐξῆς βουλήν.
- [ἀναγνωσθέντος ἐπιστά]λματος τ[οῦ] στρατηγοῦ περὶ αἰρέσεως ἄλλω[ν]
κατα[πομπῶν] ζῶων, με[τὰ] τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)·]
- 20 [± 13] μάλιστα [δὲ] τῶν κ[ατ]απομπῶν τῶν καταφε[ρομέν]ων ζῶων τῶς
ἅμα τ[ο]ῖς κατ[αφ]ερομένοις ±?]
- [± 15] ὑπὸν συνάξας τινὰς τοὺς παρ[ό]ντας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὥ[ν]ομάσαμεν
ἓνα Σαραπ[ίωνα] ±? ἵνα μὴ]

- [± 15] γ[έ]νηται. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ἀτίμητε πρύτανι, σφῶρον ἡμῖν, πρύτανι καλῶς ἄρχεις, κα[λῶς ±? ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ±?]
- [± 16]. ἐν τῷ λογιστηρίῳ ἐστίν. οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ἐπιεικῶς ὁ πρύτανις. [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ὁ νόμος κ[ε]λεύει πρὸ ἑξαμήνου τὸν μελλοπρύτανιν ὀνομάζεσθαι. ὑπομνησκ[ω ὑ]μῶς τ[±?]
- 25 [± 20 οἱ] β[ουλευ]ταὶ εἶπ(ον)· μετὰ σκέψεως ἡ ὀνομασία γαίν[ε]ται τ[±? ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ±?]
- [± 17] ὃ γὰρ ἐν νόσφει εἰμι καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς [ρ]έγχομαι, ὥς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ [.]. . . . [±?]
- [οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπον· .] δὲ πρὸ πρύτανι, εὐγεν[ές] πρύ[τ]ανι, ἔτι κάμε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, κάμε ἄξια τοῦ ἐπάγ[ω χρόνου. ±?]
- [ὁ πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ± 12]. ἐστίν, καὶ οἱ ἡμι[σ]υ τοῦτ[ου] τοῦ μέρους [ὁ]φ[ε]λ[λ]ον[τες] [. . .]. φο[ν]τιν[. . .] δ[ε]φ[±? οἱ βουλευταὶ εἶπ(ον)· ±?]
- [± 21 ὁ] πρύτανις εἶπ(εν)· ἐπειδὴ σ[ή]μερον πρόσκλητον β[ο]υ[λ]ήν ±?]
- 30 [± 24]. [± 11] αἱ π[ρόνο]ιαν προήσεται ἅπαν τῶ . [±?]
-

Apparatus: 2 Pap. ἡμισοι || BL VIII 245; prev. ed. ἐκ τῆς ιδίᾳς || 4 Pap. κ[ατ]εσκέψασθαι || BL VII 138: λινέμποροι(?); prev. ed. ἱερεῖς || 6 Pap. ὀλίγε || 9 Pap. λεινενποροις || 11 BL III 137: ἀναβ[ολικοῦ]; prev. ed.: ἀνα[±?] || 12 Pap. ἐξοδιασθεισαν || 16 BL III 137; prev. ed. οὕτω || 26 Pap. ἐπίστασθαι

(The *prytanis* said), “... is also owed 14 talents. The value of 100 garments is 14[.] talents.... I have received the 6½ belonging to the nome in the account of the city. May they be compelled to pay monthly from the *chora* 7½ ...

The *prytanis* said, “You examined the list of the imperial *anabolikon* and ascribed a limit, and your judgment was submitted to the *stratēgos*, but [the linen merchants?] (5) made the excuse that neither those administering the work nor their wives were able to weave the linen. [See] that you set a limit regarding this. There are only a few villages in your nome that have this material.” The senators said.... Septimius Diogenes alias Agathos Daimon, former *hypomnematagrophos* and also styled *syndikos* said, “The linen merchants (report that) . . . and the price of weaving yarn is forty-nine denarii, and that eleven denarii were paid to them from the public account [The senators said]: “Let the linen merchants (*linemporoi*) be satisfied with the 19 denarii that was paid from the public account.” Septimius Diogenes alias Agathos Deamon, (10) former *hypomnematagrophos* and also styled *syndikos* said, “If this is your decision in regards to the weaving of yarn, we will supply a sample and <hand 2> those who will weave it.... Let the linen weavers (*linouphoi*) intending to weave the cloth for the imperial *anabolikon* appoint (?) someone (to test it?) With the petition of the linen weavers of the city being read out regarding last year’s arrangements. . . “more drachmae should be given to them . . . on account of the increase in value of the materials and the increase of wages for the work-

men. After the reading, the *prytanis* said, “May more drachmae be given to the linen weavers for the production, making 200 drachmae in all, on account of the rise in value of the materials. You have proposed (the motion) that . . . (15) when the bolt is valued, let these drachmae accrue. Those paying the price of cloth... it shall be supplied to you at the next council.” The senators said, “So be it.” With an order of Terentius Arius, *stratēgos*, having been read out concerning the election of.... It was decided to delay until the next meeting. An order of the *stratēgos* was read out regarding the election of providers of animals, after it was read, the *prytanis* said (20), “above all the deliveries of those animals to those providing... Having collected some present in the meeting, we nominated on Sarapiōn so that there may not be...” The senators said, “Invaluable *prytanis*, save yourself for us *prytanis*; your rule is beautiful... is beautiful...” The *prytanis* said, “... is in the counting house.” The senators said, “The *prytanis* has done right.” The *prytanis* said, “The law orders that the incoming *prytanis* be nominated six months beforehand. I remind you...” (25) the senators said, “...The nomination is made with a resolution...” The *prytanis* said, “For I am ill and have a cough in my rib, as you know, and...” The senators said, “... (illustrious) *prytanis*, noble *prytanis*, labor still on our behalf, labour for what is worthy of the past...” The *prytanis* said, “... it is, those owing half of this share...” The senators said, “...” The *prytanis* said, “when the council is summoned today...” Every precaution will be made...

Notes

Association? Probable: artisans in the plural (λινέμποροι, λινούφοι); the city deals with the weavers and merchants as a collectivity for arranging the payment of the *anabolikon*.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

I. 4: τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ, “imperial *anabolikon*”: → Sheridan 1999. Attested in papyri from I CE to V CE, this was a linen tax that could be paid either in kind or in coin. It was similar to the *vestis militaris* in assessment and collection, whereby both taxes could provide cloth for the military. SB VI 9305 refers to both the *anabolikon* and the *vestis militaris*, the former collected as linen, the latter as wool. The tax was officially regulated by Aurelian in 270 CE; however there are at least four mentions in the papyrus before this date. For assessment of tax amount see P.Hib. II 209, PSI VII 779; for receipt of tax see P.Köln IV190; P.Oxy. VIII 1135 + 1136; PSI XV 1566 (Oxyrhynchus, 391 CE); SB V 7756, SB VI 9306, SB XXVI 16798; for payment in raw material see P.Oxy. XVII 2154, P.Oxy. XLVIII 3408. For nomination of *anabolikon* collector see P.Oxy. LXII 4345. P.Oxy. XVII 2154 is a private letter in which the author requests tow to pay the *anabolikon* (ἀπόστιλον δὲ σίππα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβολικόν. . . .)

II. 4, 9: οἱ λινέμποροι, “flax merchants.” The production of flax was a considerable part of the economy in Roman Egypt. In antiquity, spinning yarn was considered women’s

work however, due to linen's status as a luxury good, Pliny the Elder claimed that "spinning flax is suitable even for men," (*HN* 19.3.19). The mention of "their wives" (τάς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν) suggests men and women worked in tandem on flax production. Based on a III CE papyrus (P.Oxy.Hels. 40), Carrié (2004a) estimates the Oxyrhynchite region may have exported between 80,000 and 100,000 pieces of cloth per year. For dedications and documents pertaining to the flax industry, → P.Mich.Zen. 57 [184] and P.Ryl. IV 654 [277]. See also Mayerson 2000 for the flax trade in Egypt.

1. 7: Σεπτίμιος Διογένης, Septimius Diogenes served as a *syndikos* in Oxyrhynchus, a public litigator on behalf of the town. He is also known from P.Oxy. XII 1413 where he disqualifies a gymnasiarch candidate for defaulting on loans. Both documents highlight the role of the *syndikos* as an arbiter of financial disputes between the senate and other parties, either between individuals or with the imperial administration. A *syndikos* could be a member of the *boulē* and the prominent role Septimius Diogenes plays in both XII 1414 and XII 1413 suggests he was (Bowman 1971, 43).
1. 7: ὑπομνηματγράφος → high ranking civic position originating from Alexandria. By the Roman period, the office holder's role was non-specific and flexible. This office is rarely listed alone but in a string of titles, obscuring the office-holder's actual duties. See note 1.2 [273] and Whitehorne (1987).
1. 7: ὡς χρηματίζει → "also styled." This phrase is a common abbreviation in papyri to indicate a string of titles, often used to denote former titles. See note 1.3 [274] and Broux, Coussement and Depauw (2010).
1. 7: σύνδικος → a "co-litigant." The position entailed acting as a public defender on behalf of cities or individuals. Legal historian Arcadius Charisius notes that what the Romans call *defensores* the Greeks refer to as *syndikoi* (Dig. 50.4). *Syndikoi* often handled cases involving small amounts of money or property or the extraction of taxes. The *syndikoi* were supposed to be advocates of the "innocent and country-people," as stated by the Theodosian Code (*innocens et quieta rusticitas*, 1.29.5). A *syndikos* settles a similar financial dispute regarding flax merchants and the anabolikon in P.Ryl. IV 654 [277]. See Fournier (2007) for the history and function of the office.
1. 14: δραχμῶν διακοσίων, 200 drachmae. The document originally quotes 30 denarii to be given out of the public fund, then states that the total subsidy amounts to 200 drachmae. These numbers reflect currency inflation in the III CE when the denarius::drachma ratio reached 1::7. This is quite close to the figure Cassius Dio (55.12) reports in the early III CE when 1 aureus equalled 20 silver drachmae. We may assume the silver or Attic drachma was interchangeable with the denarius. *CIG* 5008, 5010 from 244 CE show Pentouaxis, a priest in Nubia, dedicating a *proskynēma* inscription mentioning an offer of 20 aurei (χρύσα). The inscription also mentions the number of drachmae as ΓΦ, or 3500. If 1 aureus was then the equivalent of 25 denarii, 20 aurei was the equivalent of 500 denarii; and 500 dn. was the equivalent of 3500 drachmae. This equation illustrates inflation even after Dio's death in 235 CE. As we see from these examples, the exchange rate fluctuated throughout the III CE. The present document presents a rate of about 1 denarius to 6.66 drachmae.

Comments

The *boulē* had two main functions in the administration of Roman Egypt. Its primary role was financial oversight, with a focus on the collection of taxes from

both individuals and trade guilds. The second was the general administration of the metropolis through the settlement of legal disputes and the assignment of liturgies. This proceeding from a *boulē* meeting illustrates the council's role in the collection of taxes, in this case, the collection of the so-called *anabolikon*, a payment of linen. Specifics of this tax has long been debated, often conflated with the *vestis militaris*, a tax collected for military clothing. But it appears from the documentary evidence that the tax consisted of either completed cloth, raw materials like tow, or an actual payment of money. The discrepancy in the actual payment has contributed to the difficulty in accurately defining this tax.

The emperor Aurelian established a permanent tax on goods from Egypt in 270 CE (SHA, Vita Aureliani 45.1). The decree mentions an import tax on glass (*vitri*), paper (*chartae*), linen (*lini*), tow (*stuppae*) and *anabolicae* species. It is unclear why the author includes the phrase *anabolicae* species since linen and tow were collected as payment of the *anabolikon* (→ MacMullen 1958). It was likely a trope as these items were some of the most famous exports from Egypt. The papyrological record shows the *anabolikon* was solely a linen or tow tax. It is important to note that the linen itself was the *anabolikon*, rather than a monetary tax on linen production. Aurelian regulated the tax in 270 CE, shortly before this document was written, and potentially introduced different extraction procedures after retaking Egypt from the Palmyrenes. This would explain extensive debate over the details of the tax and who was responsible for its collection. It is unclear what the actual changes were, but the tax appears to be collected with more regularity after 270 CE, whereas it was collected only sporadically before its regularization.

This document was originally identified as a clothing requisition by its editors; however, it has now been shown to discuss the collection of the *anabolikon* (Bowman 1971; Sheridan 1999). The intricacies of the production of linen and its taxation caused its initial misidentification. The document is now the primary source that explicates the collecting of the *anabolikon*. Bowman (1971, 73) succinctly breaks down the proceedings. The prefect declares the amount of material for the *anabolikon* required for a given nome. The *boulē* fixes a limit on the portion it can provide and this is submitted to the *stratēgos* to assure the amount can be fulfilled (ll. 1–7). The financial burden is shared between the town and the rest of the nome; as in this case, finances could be supplied from the *fiscus*.

This proceeding shows the linen merchants claiming they are unable to fill the order due to an increase in production and wage costs. They are supplemented with city funds (*ἀπὸ τοῦ ταμίᾱκοῦ λόγου*) and ordered to produce the materials. What is striking about this proceeding is the amount of protective bureaucracy both for the *boulē* and the parties who produced the *anabolikon*. The *stratēgos* assures a reasonable limit of the tax and the *syndikos* acts as a mediator to assure a fair deal between the *boulē* and the flax merchants. The

materials were to be collected both from the city and the nome, with this division likely prescribed by the central government for the sake of fairness.

Literature: Bowman, Alan K. 1971. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*. American Studies in Papyrology 11. Toronto: A.M. Hakkert (70–74); Broux, Y, Coussement, S., and Depauw, M. 2010. “ὡς χρηματίζει and the Importance of Naming in Roman Egypt.” In *ZPE* 174:159–166; Carrié, J.-M. 2004. “Vitalité de l’industrie textile à la fin de l’antiquité.” In *Antiquité Tardive* 12:12–43; Dmitriev, S. 2005. *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (189–216); Droß-Krüpe, D. 2012. “Purchase Orders of Military Garments from Papyri of Roman Egypt.” In *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times*, ed. Marie-Louise Nosch, 13–18. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books; Fournier, J. 2007. “Les ‘Syndikoi,’ Représentants juridiques des cités grecques sous le Haut-empire Romain.” In *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 18:7–36; MacMullen, R. 1958. “The Anabolicae Species.” In *Aeg* 38(3):184–198; Mayerson, Phillip 2000. “The Role of Flax in Roman and Fatimid Egypt.” In *JNES* 56(3):201–207; Sheridan, Jennifer A. 1999. “The ‘Anabolikon’.” In *ZPE* 124:211–217; Venticinque, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (72–73); Wallace, Sherman LeRoy 1938. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton university studies in papyrology 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press (214–219 on the *anabolikon*); Wegener, E.P. 1985. “The βουλή and the Nomination to the ἀρχαί in the μητροπόλεις of Roman Egypt.” In *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte*. ed. P.W. Pestman, 62–116. Leiden: Brill; Whitehorne, J.E.G. 1987. “The Hypomnetagraphe in the Roman Period.” In *Aeg* 67(1/2):101–125; Wilcken, U. 1887. “Zum Curs der aegyptischen Drachme.” *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 15:325–329. PS

[273] P.Oslo. III 144

Contributions to an Association of Sacred Victors

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 272–275 CE

Published: S. Eitrem, and L. Amundsen, eds., *Papyri Osloenses Vol. 3* (Oslo: J.

Dybwad, 1936) 222–226 (no. 144); BL XI 141 [TM 21558; CAPIV 1381].

Digital image: <http://ub-prod01-imgs.uio.no/OPES/jpg/591v.jpg>

Current location: Oslo, University Library P. number unknown

Similar or related documents: → P.Oslo III 85 (273 CE): letter of a *prytanis* concerning the *agon capitolinus*; P.Oslo III 183: the *recto* of P.Oslo III 144; P.Oxy. III 519 = *Sel.Pap.* II 402 (II CE): receipts and expenditures from public games; P.Oxy. VII 1050 (II–III CE): account of payments made for games; P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 [274] (288 CE): privileges of athletes and Dionysiac artists; P.Oxy. VI 908 (199 CE): a sacred *synodos* of sacred-

victors (τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου ἱερoneυκῶν) from the Dionyseum; P.Oxy. XLIII 3135 (Oxyrhynchus, 273/4 CE): contract to employ a charioteer to perform in the Capitoline games; BGU IV 1074 = Pap.Agon. no. 1 (Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, 273–74 CE): privileges of an association of victors in musical contests; BGU IV 1073 (Oxyrhynchus, Egypt; 274): rights of a sacred association (ἱερὰ σύνοδος); P.Lond. III 1178 [267] (Hermopolis, 194 CE): attestation of international athletes guilds.

Papyrus, 27.2 × 7.7 cm. written on the *verso* of the papyrus. The large K in the first line is perhaps the start of an address. The large Λ in line 2 is perhaps the beginning of a section. Fragments on the *recto* are extant and have been published as P.Oslo III 183. The editors made no comments on similarities between the handwriting of the two publications. There is a possible reference to the games in line 7 (ἀγω.[v -]).

- K. [.] ος τῇ αγτ.]
 λόγος τῶν δεδωκότῳ[v.]
 ἱερoneυκῶν τοῦ ἐνεσ[τῶτος ±? L]
 Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ[ῶ.]
 5 εἰσὶ δέ· Αὐρήλιοι
 Νεῖλ[ο]ς ταπητάριος. [±?]
 Παμμένης μυροπώλη[ς ±?]
 Ἀμμώνιος βαφεὺς [±?]
 Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς [Σ]αργα-
 10 πα τοῦ βαφέως [±?]
 Φιλοσάραπης χρυ[σο]χ[όος ±?]
 Σαραπάμμων χαλ[κ]οῦργ[ός ±?]
 Ἡρᾶς ἐλαιοπώλης [±?]
 υἱοὶ Σύρου ἀρτοκόπ(ου) [±?]
 15 Θεόδωρος Σακαῶν[ος] ἐλα[ιουργός ±?]
 Ἔρωσ Σερυφεΐτης [μένων ἐν]
 Ὑψηλῇ [±?]
 Παποντῶς τέκτω[v ±?]
 υἱὸς Δημέου Αρσι[±?]
 20 οἶνεμπόρου [±?]
 Πλωτεῖνος μέν[ω]ν [ἐν τῇ]
 οἰκίᾳ Ἰππέο[ς ±?]
 Σουχάμμ[ω]ν ἐκδοχ[εὺς ±?]
 Λασκάριο[ς Σου]χάμμ(ωνος) ἀ[ρτοκόπος(?)]
 25 [± 12]αφεὺς [±?]
 [.]. [. ο]υ ποικ[ιλτῆς ±?]
 [.]α[.]. λου [±?]
 [.] υἱ[ὸ]ς Φαινόλη[ς τῆς]
 [Αρ]ενδόπτου [±?]
 30 [Ἱέρ]αξ υἱὸς Ἐπιμάχου

- ἐξηγη(τεύσαντος) [±?]
 [Πα]ποντῶς ἐν Κερκ[±?]
 [. . .]ἰδιος Διογένους πα[ντοπώλης (?) ±?]
 [υἱός(?)] Κεφάλωνος πραγμ[ατευτοῦ(?)]
 35 τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως υ[±?]
 [. . .]ῥρος ἐ[ξη]γητ(εύσας) [±?]
 [. . .]φανος πορφυρα[±?]
 [. . .]ρις υἱός Μονο() ἐκδ[οχέως ±?]
 [υἱός] Πανσανίου ἀπὸ Πα[±?]
 40 [. . .]μης υἱός Σαραπίφ[νος(?)]
 [.] . χις [Νεμε(?)]σίωνος [±?]
 [± 11]ς [±?]
 [± 10]πώλ[ης ±?]
 [± 10] . α[±?]
 45 [± 10]λ[±?]

Apparatus: 13 Pap. ἐλεοπώλης

. . . An account of those who have made contributions [to the association] of sacred victors during the . . . current year of Aurelianos Augustus. (The contributors) are as follows: (5) Aurelii: Neilos, a carpet weaver [(gave) artabae of wheat?], Pammenēs, a perfume merchant (gave) . . . Ammōnios, a dyer (gave) . . . Ammōnios son of Sarapas (10) the dyer (gave) . . . Philo-sarapis, a goldsmith (gave) . . . Sarapammōn, a copper worker (gave) . . . Hōras, an oil merchant (gave) . . . both sons of Syros, a baker (gave) . . . (15) Theodōros son of Sakaōn, a manufacturer of oil (gave) . . . Erōs from Seryphis (of the Oxyrhynchite nome) [who is currently residing in] Hyps ēlē (in the Thebaid gave) . . . Papontōs, a craftsman (gave) . . . son of Dēmē from the Arsinoite nome (gave) . . . (20) wine merchant . . . Plōteinos residing in the house of Hippeos (gave) . . . Souchammōn, a forwarding-agent (gave) . . . Laskarios son of Souchammōn, a baker (gave) . . . (25) a broiderer (gave) . . . son of Phainolēs the daughter of Harendōtes (gave) . . . (30) Hierax son of Epimachos, an former *exegetēs* (gave) . . . Papontōs in Kerk . . . (gave) . . . son of Diogenis, a huckster (gave) . . . son of Kephālōn, a collector (gave) . . . the (35) son of Achilles (gave) . . . a former exegetēs (gave) . . . a purple-dyer (gave) . . . son of Mono . . . , a forwarding agent (gave) . . . son of Pausanios from Pa . . . (gave) . . . (40) son of Sarapiōn . . . (gave) . . . son of Nemesiōn . . . (gave) . . . seller . . . (45) . . .

Notes

Association? Certain/possible: The sacred victors (ἡ ἱερὰ σύνοδος ἱερωνεικῶν) who are the recipients of the funds collected was certainly an association. Those collecting the funds might have also been an association or simply contributors to an *epidosis* arranged by the sacred victors.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

- ll. 9–10: Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς [Σ]αραπᾶ τοῦ βαφέως: Eitrem and Amundsen observe that the normal way to connote father-son relationships is found in ll. 15, 24, 33, 41: the son's name in the nominative followed directly by the father's name in the genitive. When writers added υἱὸς to the phrase, as in ll. 9, 19, 34, 39, it was typically to avoid confusion in kinship relationships that might otherwise be caused by accrual of genitives. Both formulae appear in this papyrus. In ll. 9–10 we can see that the profession of the donor, Ammōnios, is not mentioned. His father, Sarapas, though, is called a dyer. It is often the profession of the donor that is mentioned (see, e.g., ll. 6, 18). Eitrem and Amundsen make an editorial decision to place the profession in the genitive (and thus give it to the father) when the son is called υἱὸς. They do this presumably on the basis of ll. 9–10, our only non-fragmentary entry of a donor named υἱὸς. This is also the only entry where the name of the father is followed by a genitive article and noun. Perhaps, therefore, it is the article following the father's name that signals whose job it is. If so, then ll. 9–10 is the only case where the father's, rather than the son's, profession is named. If one wishes to know the profession of a "son" it is best to look at the line of work his father was in. Philip Venticinque observes that "families tend to ply the same trade" (2010, 278). Venticinque and Jinyu Liu have shown that professional associations often consisted of kinship ties. For example, an association of weavers in first-century Philadelphia had six father-son relationships (BGU VII 1615; 84 CE), and a guild of textile workers included twenty-seven members sharing kinship relations (Wedenig 1997, 224–226; Liu 2009, 200–203).
- ll. 14, 19, 34, 39: In these four lines, the donors' names are not included. They are, rather, identified as "sons" of their fathers. With respect to l. 14, Eitrem and Amundsen propose "the sons are minors or, perhaps, the father being dead, the joint heirs are still minors" (225).
- l. 17: Ὑψηλῇ: "in the Thebaid"

Comments

This papyrus records financial or material contributions to an association of sacred victors. The original undoubtedly took the form of an *epidosis*, with the amounts flushed to the right. Unfortunately, the papyrus is broken on the right and hence the amounts of the donations have not survived. Line 6 is perhaps especially illuminating; Eitrem and Amundsen suggest that the damaged sign at the end of this line indicates "artabas of wheat."

The fragmentary nature of the papyrus prevents us from knowing if these victors were artists or athletes, since *hieronikai* could refer to either. Crowns were awarded to victors in both athletic and artistic games (Forbes 1955, 240). Eitrem and Amundsen understand this association to have been involved with the Capitoline games, which came to Oxyrhynchus in 274 or 275 CE for the first time (→ BGU IV 1074.16). This would also explain the fragmentary contents on the *recto* of the text, which appears to be an account of expenditures in preparation for the games (→ P.Oslo III 183, especially l. 17: ἀγῶ[v-. . .]). However, this

does not clarify which type of victors they were. The Capitoline games featured both athletic and artistic contests.

The quadriennial celebration of the Capitoline games at Oxyrhynchus seems to have been established about 273/4 CE. BGU IV 1074.16–17 = Pap.Agon. 1 (Oxyrhynchus, Dec 273 – Jan 274 CE) refers to first staging of the Capitoline games: ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ λαμπ[ρ]ᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁ[ξυρυγγειτῶ]ν [πό]λει, ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου πρώτου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πενταετηρικοῦ σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἰσοκαπιτωλίου τῶν | [μεγάλων Καπιτωλίων. About the same time P.Oslo III 85 = Pap.Agon. 8 (Oxyrhynchus, 273 CE) records a letter of the ἐϋθηνιάρχης of Alexandria and ἐξηγητής of Oxyrhynchus to the priest of the ξύστος about the preparations for the Capitoline games (πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καπι[τωλίου] ἀγῶνος εὐκοσμίαν, ll. 10–11), and P.Oxy. XLIII 3135 (Oxyrhynchus, 273/4 CE) is a letter detailing the agreement of a citizen from Hermopolis to act as the charioteer of a gymnasiarch from Oxyrhynchus ἐν τῇ | αὐτῇ Ὁξυρυ[γ]χιδῶν πόλει ἱερῷ Καπτε[ω]λίου ἀγῶ[ν]ι (ll. 6–8). → Whitehorne 1995, 3087; Vandoni 1964.

External evidence of artists and athletes in Oxyrhynchus around this time is also unhelpful for identifying the profession of these guild members. On the one hand, there is some support for the presence of Oxyrhynchite Dionysiac artists at the time of this papyrus. One member of the worldwide artists and *hieronikai* lived in Oxyrhynchus a few years after this papyrus was written, Aurelius Hatres (P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.12–17 [274], Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE). P.Oxy. LXXIX 5208 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE) is a diploma for a priestess of the Dionysiac artists. We also encounter “Tiberius Claudius Didymos ... from the Dionyseion and the sacred *synodos* of victors (τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου ἱερονεικῶν)” (P.Oxy. VI 908.4–10; 199 CE). Given its connection to the Dionyseion, it is perhaps appropriate to imagine this *synodos* as having consisted exclusively of artistic *hieronikai*.

If the beneficiaries were athletes, perhaps we should understand these donations directed towards assisting members from a guild of athletic victors to compete in the games. Another question concerns the identity of the contributors. In general terms, they were supporters of this Oxyrhynchite guild who perhaps wanted to help the guild carry out any responsibilities it may have had during the Oxyrhynchus Capitoline games of 274/275 CE. They may have had no prior affiliation with the association of sacred victors, or they may have been honorary affiliates such as the φιλοτεχνῖται or πρόξενοι mentioned in the Ptolemaïs Hermou chapter of Dionysiac artists (I.Prose I 6.67, 75 [244] = AGRW 298; 269–246 BCE). No prior connection is assumed in the papyrus since contributors are often identified by their profession rather than the honorary titles used for honorary members, φιλοτεχνίτης or πρόξενος, as in I.Prose I 6.

As suggested above, P.Oslo III 144 is the record of an *epidosis*. *Epidoseis* (subscriptions) were used to fund extraordinary projects, including the repairs to temples, walls, festivals, and games (Migneotte 1992; Kloppenborg 2017).

Epidoseis were employed in Egypt to fund games: in 317 CE an official from Oxyrhynchus reported that the city treasurer had decamped from the city and perhaps Egypt altogether, and that now only a portion of the *epidosis* that was collected in support of the sacred Capitoline games was available (P.Oxy LVIII 4357.12–13). Since *epidoseis* typically aimed at as broad a set of contributors as possible, it is not unusual to see both residents of Oxyrhynchus and non-residents contributing to the games. Eros (ll.16–17) was originally from the Oxyrhynchite nome but was living in the Thebaid when he made his contribution, another contributor was from the Arsinoite nome (l.19), and Ploteinos was living as a visitor in Hippeos' house (l.22).

The typical process for collecting an *epidosis* involved, first, the announcement of the project and the soliciting of “promises” (ἐπαγγείλασθαι), and then at some later point recording the fulfilment of the promise with συντέλεσεν or (ἐπέ)δωκεν and listing each of the contributions against a name (Kloppenborg 2017). Thus, P.Oslo III 144 appears to be the completed contribution list. Eitrem and Amundsen correctly suggest that the function of this list was for the *hieronikai* guild to keep track of the donors so that they might be honoured appropriately (224).

Epidoseis are attested both in civic contexts (such as here), and for private associations (Migeotte 2013). An instance of the latter is the collection taken up by Paul (Gal 2:10; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8, 9; Rom 15:25–28), raised from members of Christ groups in Macedonia and Achaia.

Since at least some of the donors to the *hieronikai* guild were members of occupational guilds, it is instructive that their donations are listed individually rather than according to their association. By the early fourth century almost every profession was organized into a guild – from tavern-keepers to “potters of earthenware pottery” (see P.Oxy. LIV 3731–3740, 3742–2745, 3747–3753, 3755, 3760–3763, 3765–3766, 3768, 3772, 3776). The donor, Pammenēs the perfume-dealer (μυροπώλης, l.7), was in a profession organized as an Oxyrhynchite guild (P.Oxy. LIV 3744, 318 CE); while Souchammōn and a contributor whose name is lost were both forwarding-agents (ἐκδοχεύς, ll.23, 38), another profession organized into a guild (P.Oxy. LIV 3772, 338 CE).

The ordering of donors is worthy of note. Ammōnios (8) and a second Ammōnios (9) are both dyers (βαθεῖς) and are listed together, but two ἐκδοχεῖς are listed in different locations on the list, Souchammōn (23) and an unnamed person (38). The list also has two former *exegetai* (ll. 30, 36). The fact that some are not listed together suggests that the list was not organized by guild membership or by profession but by some other scheme. Other *epidoseis* were arranged alphabetically, or by the order in which contributions were given, or by the size of the contribution (normally beginning with the largest) (Kloppenborg 2017). Since the values of the contributions are not extant, it is impossible to surmise which method of arrangement was used here.

Finally, this papyrus leads to a new question about Paul's concern about the quality of the donations. P.Oslo III 144 suggests as many as 31 contributors (many of whose names are lost). The goal of an *epidosis* was to achieve maximum participation rather than large individual contributions. Indeed some *epidoseis* set a maximum contribution and others limited the contribution to a rather small amount (e.g., 5 dr.). Unlike the institution of patronage and large-scale euergetism, which allows large donors to outshine others, and provided the opportunities for theatricality, *epidoseis* aimed maximal participation by the citizenship (and others) or members (in the case of associations), thus making contributions a performance of citizenship (membership) (Chaniotis 2013; Ellis-Evans 2013; Kloppenborg 2017). This was likely the function and goal of Paul's collection, hence the anxiety expressed in 2 Cor 8–9, and Romans 15. Fee's surmise that Paul's objective was that "by their weekly setting aside from their 'success' of that week, there will be a sum worth the effort of sending people all the way to Jerusalem" (Fee 1987, 814), hence misses the point. Paul's concern was not with how much individuals gave as 1 Cor 16:2, 3 indicates, but the number of contributors, since this would make the critical point of the resolve of Gentile Christ groups to support the Jerusalem Christ groups. Numbers mattered more than the total value of the collection.

Literature: Chaniotis, Angelos 2013. "Public Subscriptions and Loans as Social Capital in the Hellenistic City: Reciprocity, Performance, Commemoration." In *Epigraphical Approaches to the Postclassical Polis: Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD*, ed. Paraskevi Martzavou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas. Oxford studies in ancient documents, 89–106. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Ellis-Evans, Aneurin 2013. "The Ideology of Public Subscriptions." In *Epigraphical Approaches to the Postclassical Polis: Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD*, ed. Paraskevi Martzavou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas. Oxford studies in ancient documents, 107–125. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Fee, Gordon D. 1987. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans; Forbes, Clarence A. 1955. "Ancient Athletic Guilds." In *CP* 50(4):238–252; Kloppenborg, John S. 2017. "Fiscal Aspects of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem." In *EC* 8(2):153–198; Kreucher, Gerald 1998. "Die Regierungszeit Aurelians und die griechischen Papyri aus Ägypten." In *APF* 44:255–274, p. 274 (on the date); Liu, Jinyu 2009. *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 34. Leiden: Brill; Le Guen, Brigitte 2001. *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*. Études d'archéologie classique XI-XII. Nancy and Paris: Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l'Antiquité; Migeotte, Léopold 1992. *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain. Genève: Librairie Droz; Québec: Éditions du Sphinx; Migeotte, Léopold 2013. "Les souscriptions dans les associations privées." In *Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIe siècle ap. J.-C). Actes de la table ronde de Paris, INHA, 19–20 juin 2009*, ed. Pierre Fröhlich and Patrice Hamon. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 49, 113–127. Genève: Librairie Droz; Pickard-Cambridge, Arthur W. 1968. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. 2nd ed. Rev. John Gould and D.M. Lewis. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Pleket, H.W. 1973. "Some Aspects of the

History of the Athletic Guilds.” In *ZPE* 10:197–227; **Poland**, Franz 1909. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, esp. 147–152; **Remijsen**, Sofie 2011. “The So-Called ‘Crown-Games’: Terminology and Historical Context of the Ancient Categories for Agones.” In *ZPE* 177:97–109; **San Nicolò**, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*, 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 2, 1:47–65. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck; **Van Nijf**, Onno 2006. “Global players: Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World.” In *Hephaistos* 24:225–235; **Vandoni**, Mariangela 1964. *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’antichità 8. Milano: Istituto editoriale cisalpino; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2010. “Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt.” In *GRBS* 50:273–294; **Wedenig**, Reinhold 1997. *Epigraphische Quellen zur städtischen Administration in Noricum*. Aus Forschung und Kunst 31. Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten (esp. 224–226); **Whitehorne**, J. 1995. “The Pagan Cults of Roman Oxyrhynchus.” In *ANRW* II.18(5):3050–3091; **Ziebarth**, Erich 1896. *Das griechische Vereinswesen*. Stuttgart: Hirzel. RL/JSK

[274] P.Oxy. XXVII 2476

A New Member of the Dionysiac Artists

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 26 Jul 288 CE

Published: E.G. Turner, J.R. Rea, L. Koenen, and J.M.F. Pomar. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXVII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1962) 162–175 (no. 2476); Peter Frisch, *Zehn agnostische Papyri* [Pap.Agon.], Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia 13(Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986) 50–73 (no. 3); E.A. Judge, “The Ecumenical Synodos of Dionysiac Artists, *NewDocs* 9 (2002) 67–68 (no. 23) (ll. 13–17 only); BL VIII 258/259; IX 195 [TM 17010; CAPInv 1912].

Current location: British Library, Pap. 3059.

Similar or related documents: → IEph 22 [144]; IMiletos 156; BGU IV 1074 = Pap.Agon. no. 1 (Oxyrhynchus, 273–274 CE) [TM 16348]; P.Oxy XXVII 2475; P.Oxy. XXVII 2477; P.Oxy. XXXI 2610 = Pap.Agon. 5 (Oxyrhynchus, late III CE); P.Oxy. LXXIX 5208 [CAPInv 1939] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy.Hels. 25 = Pap.Agon. 4 (Oxyrhynchus, 264 CE); P.Lond. III 1178 = Pap.Agon. 6 [267] (Hermoupolis Magna, 194 CE); I.Prose I 3, 5 [243–244]; P.Lips. I 144 = CPL 241.

Papyrus, 94 × 23 cm. Papyrus roll containing P.Oxy XII 2475–2477, written on the *recto*. Three documents formed part of a τόμος συγκολλησίμος, or glued roll, in the archive of the Oxyrhynchite *boulē* (TM ARCH id. 45). Each document guarantees

privileges for individual members elected to office the guild of the Dionysiac Artists.

Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ [Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ] β, ὑπατο[ς] τὸ δ, πατήρ πατρίδος, [±?]τ[±?] . . [±?]τ[οἷς [ἀπὸ τῆς] οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχν[ε]ίταις,

ἱερὸν[ε]ίκαις. σ[τεφανίταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς χα]ίρειν. τὰς μὲν <εἰκόνας ὃν τρόπ[ον εὖσε]βούμεθα [μετὰ] τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς ἀνιστάνειν ἐπιτρέ-

πω, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τ[οῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δεδομένα ὑμῖν νό]μιμα καὶ φιλ[ά]γ-θρωπα συντηρῶ. οἱ πρέσβεις ἦσαν Κλαύδιος Θ[α]μῦρις, Κλαύδιος Κάστωρ, Ἀντώνιος Νατάλειος

υἱὸς, Λόγιος [. . . . ἔρρωσθε. ἐγένετο ἐν Ῥώμῃ Τιβερίῳ Κλ]αυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Οὔιτελλίῳ τὸ β ὑπάτοις. κεφάλαιον ἐκ διατάγ-ματο[ς] θεοῦ Ἀδρια-

- 5 νοῦ περὶ τῶ[ν δοθεισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδῳ, ὧν δὲ οὐσ]ῶν ἀσυλ[ε]ίας, προεδρίας, ἀστρατί[ας], λ<ε>ιτουργιῶν δημοσίων ᾗ[τ]ελεί[ας], ἀτελεῖ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγονται,

χρ<ε>ίας ἰδ[ί]ας ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων ἔνεκα, μὴ κρίνειν μὴ καθι[σ]τάγειν [ἐ]γγυη-τάς, ἀνεισφο[ρ]ίας αὐτῶν, συνθυσία[ς, μὴ δέχεσθα]ι πρὸς ἀναγκὴν ξένους, μὴ

εἵργεσθα[ι μηδὲ ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρουρᾷ (±11) . . ωθεῖς ἢ θανάτῳ ὑπευθύν . η. ἐπιστολ[ῇ] θεοῦ Σεουήρου· ἦν εἰλικὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν σύνο[δον] νέμοντας ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ περιεληλυθέν[ε]ναι τὴν τῶν ὅλων κηδεμονίαν καὶ βασ[ι]λείαν <καὶ> διὰ ψηφίσματος φα]νερὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώ-

μην [ἣν ἔχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς· εὐχαριστεῖν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις βουλό]μενος [ό]π[ό]σα εἶχετε ἐξ ἀρ[χ]ῆς ὑπὸ τῶν [πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων] δεδομένα ὑμ[ε]ῖν δίκαι-

- 10 α καὶ [φιλάνθρωπα ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω προσαύξειν ἐθέλω]ν καὶ διὰ τ[ι]μῆς ἄγειν ἄνδρας μουσικ[οὺς καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσ]ον θρησκείαις ἀνα-

κιμέ[νους. εὐτυχεῖτε. θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὅσα θεῷ Ἀντωνείνω]ι πατρὶ ἐμῷ καὶ [θ]εῷ Σε<ο>υήρῳ πάππῳ μ[ου καὶ τοῖς ἄνωθεν προγόν]οις ἐκρίθη περὶ ὑ[μῶν](ν)

κ[αὶ τῶν δεδομένων ὑμῖν δικαίων (?) ±? ἀ]π[ε]φηνάμην κύρια εἶναι. οἱ καθ' ἐκ[ά]στην [πανήγυριν ἀγωνοθέτα]ι π<ε>ιθαρχ[ή]σουσιν. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκο[υ]μένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται κ]αὶ ἡ ἱερὰ μο[υ]σι[κ]ῇ περιπολιστικῇ οἰκουμέν[ι]κῇ [Διοκλητιανῇ Μαξ]ιμιανῇ εὐσ[ε]βή<ς> εὐτυχῆ<ς>

σεβαστῇ με[γάλῃ] σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχ[νι]τῶν ἱερογ[ι]κ[ῶν] στεφαν[ι]τῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς συνόδου τεχνί[τ]αις ἱερογίκα[ις] σ[τεφανίταις]

- 15 χαίρειν. γινώσκετε(?) καταταγέ]ν[τα εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν] μουσικὴν [. .
 [π]εριπολ{ε}ιστικὴν οἰκουμενικὴν Δ[ιοκλητιανὴν Μ]αξιμ[ι]ανήν
 μ[ε]γάλην σύνοδον
 Αὐρήλιον Ἀ[τ]ρ[ῆ]ν Πετ[ε]τησίου Νεχ[θ]ενίβιος ἀρχιερέα Ὁξ[υ]ρυ[γ]-
 χεῖ[τ]ην καὶ ἀποδεδοκῶ[τ]ι τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον βασιλικ]ὸν ἐν[τ]άγιον
 πᾶν ἐκ πλήρους (δηνάρια) ὧν
 καὶ τὰ εἰς τὰ ἰ[ε]ρᾶ σ[ε]βαστὰ τελέσματα. ἐ[γ]ράψαμ[ε]ν ὑμ{ε}ῖν ἵν'
 <εἰδῇτε. ἐρρῶσθε. ἐτελέσθῃ ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λογιμ[ω]τ[ή]τι καὶ
 σεμνοτάτῃ Π[α]γοπολειτῶν πό-
 λει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ Πυθιάδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομέν[ου] ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ
 οἰκουμενικοῦ σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ πυθικοῦ Περσέω[ς] Οὐ[ρ]ανίου τῶν
 μεγάλων Παν[ε]ίων ἐπὶ
 ἀρχόντων τῆς συνόδου, ἄρχοντος πρ[ώ]του Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἡρακλείου
 Κομόδου Ἀντινοέως κα[ὶ] Πανοπολείτου Ὀλυμπιονίκου πυθι[ο]νίκου κα-
 20 π[ι]τωλιονίκου πλειστονίκου παραδόξ[ου], ἀντ[ι]άρχοντος γραμματέως
 Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ καὶ Ἀστερίου κιθαρωδοῦ Ἀ[λε]ξ[α]νδρέως καὶ Ἀντι-
 νοέως καὶ Λυκοπο-
 λεῖτου πυθιονίκου πλει[σ]τονίκου παρ[α]δόξου, ἄρχοντος νομοδ[ε]ϊκτοῦ
 Αὐρηλίου Κασυλλᾶ Παγοπολείτου καὶ Ἀντινο[ε]ως σαλπ[ι]γκτοῦ
 Ὀλυμπιονίκου πυθι-
 ονίκου πλειστονίκου παραδόξου. Αὐρήλ[ι]ος Ἡ[ρ]άκλειος ὁ καὶ
 Νικαντίνοος Ἀντινοεὺς καὶ Π[α]νοπολείτης καὶ Ἑρμοπολείτης καὶ
 Λυκοπολείτης καὶ Ὁξυ-
 ρυ[γ]χίτης Ὀλυμπιονίκης καπιτωλιον[ί]κης πυθιονίκης πλειστονίκης
 παρ[ά]δοξος ἄρχων πρῶτος τῆς ἱερᾶς μ[ο]υσικῆς Διοκλητιανῆς
 Μαξιμιανῆς
 μεγάλης συνόδου ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐσφράγισα κ]αταταγέντ[ι] .] ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν
 τῇ Παγοπολειτῶν λαμπροτάτῃ {πόλει} καὶ εὐσεβαστάτῃ πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ
 Πυθι-
 25 ἀδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ [οἰκ]ομυμνικοῦ θυμελ{ε}ικοῦ
 σκηνικοῦ Περσέως Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων Αὐρήλιον Ἀτρήν
 Πετ[ε]τησίου Νεχθενίβιος Ὁξυρυγχεῖ[την] ἀρχιερεῖ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Ἀστέριος κιθαρωδὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἀντινοεὺς καὶ
 Λυκοπο-
 λεῖτης καπιτωλιονίκης πυθιονίκης π[λ]ειστονείκης παράδοξος ἀντάρχων
 γραμματεὺς τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσ[ι]κῆς Διοκλητιανῆς Μαξιμιανῆς
 μεγάλης[ς] συνόδου ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐσφράγισα καταταγέ]ν[τι] ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ
 Πανοπολειτῶν λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῃ πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ Πυθιάδος
 ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκουμυμνικοῦ θυμ[ε]λικοῦ σκηνικοῦ
 Περσέως Οὐρανείου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων Αὐρήλιον Ἀτρήν Πετ[ε]τησίου
 Νεχθενίβιος Ὁξυρυγχίτην
 30 ἀρχιερέα. Αὐρήλιος Κασυλλᾶς Πανοπολείτης καὶ Ἀντινοε[ὺς] Ὀλυμ-
 πιονίκης καὶ πυθιονίκης ἄρχων νομοδ[ε]ϊκτῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς
 περιπολ{ε}ιστικῆς Δι[ο]κλητιανῆς Μαξιμιανῆς μεγάλης συνόδου

ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐσφράγισα καταταγένητα ἐπ' ἑμοῦ ἐν τῇ Πανοπολειτῶν
λαμπροτάτῃ {πολεις} «καὶ εὐ»σεβαστάτῃ πόλει{ς} «ἐπὶ τῆς ζ Πυθιάδος
ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ» οἴκου«μενικοῦ» θυμελικοῦ
σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ Περσέως Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων
Αὐρήλιον Ἀτρήν Πετρησίου Νεχθενίβιος Ὁξυρυγχε[ι]την ἀρχιερέα.
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ωρίων Ἑρμοπολείτης καὶ κόλων Ἀντιοχεῦ[ς]
μητροπολ{ε}ίτης καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων πολ{ε}ίτης
σαλπικ[τ]ή[ς] ὄλυμ[π]ιονίκης πολλακίς πυθι[ο]ν[ι]κής καπιτωλιονίκης
[ἀκτ]ιον[ι]κής πλειστον{ε}ίκής παράδοξος διοικήσας τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐτέλεσα
τὴν διπλῆν.

- ψήφ[ι]σμα τ[ῆς] ἱερᾶς μουσικ[ῆς] Διοκλητιανῆς καὶ Μαξιμιανῆς
οἴκουμενικ[ῆς] περιπο[λ]ιστικῆς μεγάλης συνόδου τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἐ[ν]
ταύτῃ τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λογιμωτάτῃ καὶ σεμνοτάτῃ Πανοπολει-
35 τῶν πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς ζ Πυθιάδος ἀγῶνος ἀγομέ[ν]ου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ
οἴκουμενικ[οῦ] σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ πυθικοῦ Περσέως Οὐραν[ίου] τῶν
μεγάλων Πανειῶν, ἔδοξεν παραβληθῆναι [δι(?)]πλῆ
θειῶν π[ροσταγμάτων(?)] ση[μα]νθέντα τῇ ἱερᾷ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμ[ῶν]
Διονύσου» σφραγίδι ἀναδοθῆναι τῇ κ[ρ]ατίστῃ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ [λογιμ]φ
δήμῳ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχεῖων λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπρο-
τάτης πό[λεως]. εἰσηγησα[μέν]ου Αὐρήλι[ο]υ Κασυλλᾶ Πανοπολείτου καὶ
[Ἀντινοέως ὁ]λυμπιονίκου πυθιονίκου πλειστονίκου παραδ[όξ]ου,
ἐπ[ι]ψηφισαμένου Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀγρικολάου Πανο-
πολείτου [σαλπικτοῦ ὁ]λυμπιονίκου πυθιονίκου πλειστονίκου π[αρα]-
δόξου. ἐ[στεφανώ]σθαι καὶ προσεληλυθέναι πορφυροφ[ο] . . . τ[ῷ] χρυσῷ
στεφάνῳ τοῦ<ς> καθοσιωμένους τῇ θ[ε]ῖᾳ τύχῃ
τῶν κυ[ρίων] ἡμῶν ἀηττήτων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ [ιβ] κεκοσ-
μ(?)ημένους τε διὰ τιμῆς [ἐ]λθεῖν εἰ[ς] .]τη[ι] ± 10]ων, ἀνταμειβεσθαι δὲ
ταῖς ἴσαις καὶ [ὁ]μοίαις [τιμα]ί[ς]
40 τους[ι] ±20] φανερόν ὑμ{ε}ῖν ποιούμενοι τῆς ἱερᾶς μο[υσικῆς] συνόδου
ἀνακηρύχθαι καὶ ἐστεφανωμεν[ον] (?) ±13]. «ἐκόνι περιχρύσῳ ἐπὶ τῷ
καὶ α[ι] ±?]υτος
ενωελ[ι] ±15]ως ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ἱερ[ᾶς] συνόδου ἐκ τοῦ εὐτυχ[ῶς] τελεσθ[έν]τος
μεγάλου ἀγῶνος τῶν Πανοπολειτ[ῶν] τῇ[ς] λαμπ[ρᾶς] καὶ λογιμωτάτης
καὶ σεμνοτάτ[ης] π[όλεως]
ως Αὐρήλι[ον] Ἀτρήν Παταησίου Νεχθενίβ[ι]ς ἀρχιερέα ἀπὸ τῆς
λαμπ[ρᾶς] καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχεῖων πόλεως εἰσε[β]οῦ[ν]τα τὸν
θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιαν[οῦ] ἀηττήτων Σεβαστῶν δ[ι]κα[ι]ον ἡγησάμεθα <μ>ὴ ἔλαττον
τῶν ἄλλων ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου {ιεράς}. διὸ
κατεστήσαμεν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα οὗ κα-
τεστήσαμ[εν] ἀγῶνος τῆς ζ Πυθιάδος πεγταετηρίδος ἀγῶνος ἱεροῦ εἰσ-
ελαστικοῦ οἴκουμενικοῦ σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ πυθί<κ>ου Περσέως
Οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανίων. καὶ

- 45 παρεπέμ[ψ]αμεν ὑμῖν τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἵν' ἐνῖδητε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς συνόδου εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμὴν περὶ τοῦ ἀτελῆ καὶ ἀλ(ε)ιτούργη-
τον εἶναι κατὰ τὰ περὶ τούτων θεῖως διηγορευμένα. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κασυλλᾶς Πανοπολείτης καὶ Ἀντινοεὺς σαλπικτῆς Ὀλυμπιονίκης πυθιονίκης πλειστονίκης παρά-
δοξος εἰσηγησάμην. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀγρικόλαος Πανοπολείτης σαλπικτῆς Ὀλυμπιονίκης πυθιονίκης πλειστονίκης παράδοξος ἐψήφισα.
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ὀρίων Ἑρμοπολείτης καὶ κόλων Ἀντιο(χ)εὺς μητροπολ(ε)ῖτης καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων πολ(ε)ῖτης σαλπικτῆς Ὀλυμπιονίκης πολλάκις πυθιονίκης καπιτωλονίκης πλειστο-
ν(ε)ῖτης παράδοξος ἐξέδωκα τὸ ψήφισμα.
- 50 **L** δ καὶ **L** γ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν. Μεσορὴ β.

Apparatus: 4 Pap. κεφάλειον || 5 Pap. ἐπάγωντε || 9 Pap. εἵχεται[ι] || 11 Pap. πάντῳ || 20 Pap. κιθαδφορῶ || 26 Pap. Παταησιν || Pap. κιθαδφορὸς || 36 Pap. θιδῶ || Pap. ση[μα]θεντι || 45 Pap. ἰδηται || Pap. ἡμεῖς || 46 Pap. θιδῶν || 48 Pap. Ἀντινοεὺς

Tiberius <Claudius> Caesar Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power for the second time, consul for the fourth time, father of the fatherland, <(acclaimed) emperor for the fourth time> to the Dionysiac artists of the empire, victors in the sacred games, wearers of the [garland, and to their associates], greetings. I permit the erection of statues in the way we worship with fitting reverence, and I confirm the rights and benefactions that were given to you by the god Augustus. (Your) ambassadors were Claudius Thamyras, Claudius Kastor, Antonius Nataleios (and) his son Logios (?) [... Be well!]

[This occurred in Rome during the consulship of Tiberius] Claudius Caesar and the second consulship of Julius Vitellius. <43 CE> Summary of the edict of the divine Hadrian [(5) concerning the gifts bestowed on the synod, which include] *asylia*, (having the) “first seats,” exemption from compulsory service, exemption from public liturgies, and (right) to keep earned money, untaxed, from private business or [from games, exemption from judging], exemption from appointment as sureties, exemption from personal taxes, communal sacrifice, exemption from having to billet public guests against their will, not to be held by a guard (imprisoned) [± 11] nor be liable for the death penalty.

<193–211 CE>

The letter of the divine Severus... it is right that you, who participate in (formed?) the holy synod, rejoiced having received by my dispensation the care of all and the kingdom (?) and you have made your decision known

through a resolution which you have before us. I bestow willingly to them, the rights which were held from the beginning, given rightly (10) and kindly to you by rulers before me. I too guard these rights, wishing to support and honour these artists and devotees of Dionysos due to their honour. Farewell!

⟨222–235 CE⟩

(Letter) of the divine Alexander. All that my father, the divine Antoninus and the divine Severus, my grandfather, and my ancestors before them, have judged regarding you and the rights given to you, I declare to be valid. The judges of each game will comply (with these rules). The world-wide artists associated with Dionysos, and the sacred musical, world-wide travelling grand *synodos*, grand society of Dionysiac artists, patronized by Diocletian and Maximian – pious, fortunate and august –, victors in the sacred games and crowned; to the artists and crowned victors of the same society, (15) greetings!

⟨288 CE⟩

Know that Aurelius Hatres, son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite, has been appointed as high priest to the holy artistic, travelling, world-wide, grand society, patronized by Diocletian and Maximian and he has paid, in accordance with imperial law, the entire entrance fee in full of 850 denarii and the payment to the temple of the emperors. We have written to you so that you might know; farewell! Completed in the noble most renowned and most remarkable city of the Panopolites on the seventh Pythiad, during the sacred, eiselastic international scenic and athletic Pythian games of Perseus of the Sky in the festival of Pan, in the presence of the following *archons* of the synod: First office being Marcus Aurelius Herakleius Comodus, citizen of Antinoopolis and Panopolis, victor of the Pythian, (20) Capitoline and many other games; next officer and secretary, Agathocles, called Asterius, a citharode, citizen of Alexandria, Antinoopolis and Lycopolis, victor in the Pythian and many other games; legal official, Aurelius Casyllas, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis, a trumpeter, victor in the Olympic, Pythian and many other games.

I, Aurelius Herakleios, also called Nicantinoos, citizen of Antinoopolis and Panopolis and Hermopolis and Lycopolis and Oxyrhynchus, victor in the Olympic, Capitoline, Pythian and many other games, first *archon* of the sacred, artistic, grand guild, patronized by Diocletian and Maximian, have signed and sealed for Aurelius Hatres son of Peteesius, son of Nechthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite for enrollment to the high priesthood, in my presence, in the most noble and reverent city in the Pantapolite on the 7th (25) Pythiad, during the sacred, eiselastic international dramatic and scenic [games] of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan.

I, Marcus Aurelius Agathocles, called Asterius, a citharode, citizen of Alexandria and Antinoopolis and Lycopolis, victor at the Capitoline, Pythian and many other games, second officer and secretary of the sacred, artistic, grand guild under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, signed and sealed for Aurelius Hatres son of Peteesius son of Necthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite for enrollment to the high priesthood, in my presence on the 7th Pythiad, during the sacred, eiselastic international dramatic and scenic [games] of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan.

(30) I, Aurelius Casyllas, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis, victor in the Olympian and Pythian games, legal officer of the sacred, artistic, travelling, grand guild under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian, signed and sealed for Aurelius Hatres son of Peteesius son of Necthenibis, an Oxyrhynchite for enrollment to the high priesthood, in my presence on the 7th Pythiad, during the sacred, eiselastic, international, dramatic and scenic and athletic [games] of Perseus of the Sky at the great festival of Pan.

I, Marcus Aurelius Horion, citizen of Hermopolis and *colonus* of the metropolis Antioch and citizen of many other cities, trumpeter, Many times victor in the Olympian, Pythian, Capitoline, and... many other games, president of the games, completed this document.

The decree of those arrived from the sacred, artistic, world wide, grand guild under the patronage of Diocletian and Maximian in this noble and renowned and (35) remarkable city in the Panopolite on the 7th Pythiad during the sacred, eiselastic, world wide, scenic, athletic, Pythian games of Perseus of the sky in the festival of the great Pan: It has been decided that the imperial edicts be added to the *diplē* and delivered, imprinted with the sacred seal of our leader, Dionysos, to the most powerful *boulē* and renowned people of the noble and renowned city of Oxyrhynchus.

Supported by Aurelius Casyllus, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis, trumpeter, victor in the Olympian, Pythian and many other games; Marcus Aurelius Agricolaos, citizen of Panopolis, trumpeter, victor of the Olympia Pythian, and many other games moved that he be crowned and presented . . . with a gold crown ? those devoted to the divine fortune of our unconquered Lords Diocletian and Maximian

¶ll. 40–42 are badly damaged and heavily restored

... Aurelius Hatres son of Peteesius son of Necthenibis, high priest, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, who revered the imperial oath of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, invincible Augusti, we thought it right that he should not gain less than others from the sacred,

artistic guild. So we named him high priest, that of the games of the 7th quinquennial Pythiad of the sacred, eiselastic, international, scenic, athletic and Pythian games of Perseus of the Sky during the festival of great Pan.

(45) And we have sent to you the following decree so that you may know the good character of the man towards us and the honour towards this man from the sacred, artistic society regarding his exemption from taxes and liturgies, per the imperial decrees on these matters.

I, Marcus Aurelius Casyllas, citizen of Panopolis and Antinoopolis, trumpeter, victor in the Olympic, Pythian and many other games, moved the resolution

I, Marcus Aurelius Agricolaos, citizen of Panopolis, trumpeter, victor of the Olympian, Pythian and many other games, second the resolution.

I, Marcus Aurelius Horion, citizen of Hermopolis, *colonus* of the metropolis Antioch and citizen of many other cities, trumpeter, victor many times in the Olympian, Pythian, Capitoline and many other games put forward the resolution.

(50) In the fourth year and third year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, pious, happy, august. Mesore 2.

Notes

Association? Certain: Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; leadership terms: ἀρχιερεὺς, ἄρχοντος τῆς συνόδου, ἄρχων πρῶτος, ἀντάρχων, γραμματεὺς, νομοδείκτης τῆς ἱερᾶς μουσικῆς περιπολι[σ]τικῆς Δι[ο]κλητιανῆς Μαξιμιανῆς μεγάλης συνόδου; collective devoted to Dionysos: collective interaction with Emperors and imperial patronage; group granted special exemptions and privileges; dedication/honours of a patron by the group; evidence of group in Pap.Agon.1 = SB XVI 13034 = BGU IV 1074 = SB I 5225, PSI V 450 verso, P.Oxy. XIV 1691, Pap.Agon. 2 = BGU IV 1073 = M.Ch. 198, Pap.Agon. 4 = P.Oxy. Hels. 25, Pap.Agon. 5 = P.Oxy. XXXI 2610, SB XXVIII 16959.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). **TM** geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

- I. 1: Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ: → Some confusion with titles. Tiberius here refers to Claudius.
- I. 1: δεμαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β, ὕπατος τὸ δ: Claudius' second term of *tribunicia potestas* was from 25 Jan 42 to 24 Jan 43 CE, but Claudius' fourth consulship was in 47 CE. BGU IV 1076 reads ὕπατος τὸ γ corresponding to the correct year 43 CE of Claudius' third consulship. The imperial decree was therefore likely composed in 43 CE. P.Lond. III 1178 [267] also contains significant errors in attributing Roman tribunician and consul years also referring to Claudius second term of *tribunicia potestas* alongside his fourth consulship. Viereck (1908, 418) explains that Claudius' third consulship lasted only two months in the year 43 CE, often adding confusion to his consular dates.
- II. 1–2: τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσσον τεχνιταῖς, ἱερωνεῖκαις, στεφανείταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς → This formal title shows the full titlature the guild employed in the imperial period as well as showing collaboration between the Dionysiac artists and the guild of sacred victors, along with their associates (συναγωνισταί). CIG 3068 B (the Ionian-Hellespontine branch) also refers

to the συναγωνισταί as collaborators who have their own guild and are likely a local counterpart to the worldwide guild. See Forbes 1955, 240; Pleket 1973, 200. Though Pleket pushes for a strict separation between guilds of artists and victors in the first century, we can see in this address that the guilds worked jointly by the late imperial period, especially during festivals. The ecumenical guild in Egypt is discussed in I.Prose I 3, 6 [243]. P.Oxy III 1178 [267] references a travelling athletic (περίπολιστική ξυλιστική) guild

- II. 1–2: ιερονείκαις σ[τεφανείταις]→ Sacred victors enjoyed high prestige such as the exemption from public liturgies, billeting of soldiers and personal taxes. By the imperial period, the inclusion of ιερονίκης στεφανίτης was an integral part of the full title of the association however it became difficult to distinguish whether these terms signified actors or athletes due to the various titles used in papyri and inscriptions. However, the inclusion of *sacred victor* was crucial in the assurance of privileges. Their titles appear with diverse nomenclature: ITralleis 105; ISmyrna 217; RDGE 57; IEph 14 → Aneziri 2009, 221–222.
- I. 3: Κλαυδῖος Θ[α]μῦρις→ also appears in BGU IV 1076 as a presbyter.
- I. 3: Ιουλίῳ Οὔτελλίῳ→ read Λουκίῳ, Lucius Vitellius the Elder was consul in 43 CE alongside Claudius.
- I. 5 ἀσυλίας, προεδρίας, ἀστρατίας, λειτουργιῶν δημοσίων, ἀτελῇ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγοντε...μη καθιστάνειν ἐγγυητάς ἀνείσφο[ρ]ίας αὐτῶν → The document lists a variety of privileges afforded to members of the guild such as inviolability, the first seats in the theater, exemption from military service, the ability to keep ones earnings untaxed and exemption from billeting of foreigners. IG II² 1132 (Attica, 278 BCE) illustrates agreement on these privileges by the Delphic Amphictiony and Roman officials, citing the need for the artists to be undisturbed in their work. By the imperial period, the guild took care to include these privileges in the form of imperial decrees in their documents, especially the induction of new members, like this document (Aneziri 2009, 230). Le Guen (2001) discusses privileges mentioned in various documents (Le Guen 2001, no. 2, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 26, 34, 38, 56).
- II. 7–8: τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν | σύνο[δον] νέμοντας → I.Alex.imp. 93.2 [172] *note*.
- I. 18: ἐπὶ τῆς ζ Πυθιάδος → 289 CE was the first year of the 7th Pythiad, meaning the games must have been founded in 265 CE.
- I. 18: Περσέως Ὀυρανίου → the “Perseus of the Sky” festival is mentioned by Herodotus (2.91), describing how the Egyptians generally shunned Greek customs except for the city of Chemmis (Χέμμις) where they celebrate games dedicated to Perseus, “comprising every form of contest.” They claimed that Perseus appeared to them alone and that his lineage is from Chemmis (Panopolis). This festival was reestablished in 265 CE. For commentary on the reestablishment of the festival, see W. van Rengen, “Les jeux de Panopolis, in *CdÉ* 46 (1971), 136–141.
- I. 18: ἀγῶνος ἀγομέν[ου]...μεγάλων Πανίων → The Egyptian god Min is associated with Pan, providing this city known in Egyptian as *Khent-min*, “City of Min,” with its Greek name Panopolis.
- I. 19: ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ πυθικοῦ→ The specific categories of the games certify specific privileges. Victors of sacred games were given complete exemptions from taxes and liturgies. P.Oxy XLIII 3116 shows one M. Aurelius Sarapiōn writing to his local magistrate to remind them of his sacred victor status. Victors of *eiselastic* games were awarded triumphal processions into the

city and were given a yearly stipend (ὀψονίον). One can see in Pliny *Ep.* 10.118 how the *eiselastic* victors could petition local officials to receive both money and triumphs. Though it is considered quite unlikely that it occurred, Vitruvius *Archit.* 9 claimed that victors of the four international games (Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, and Isthmia) were entitled to enter their cities through the walls (*triumphantes quadrigis in moenia*).

Comments

P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 is a document that certifies that Aurelius Hatres is a member of the Worldwide Guild of Dionysiac Artists (ιερά μουσική οἰκουμένη ἡ περιπολιστικὴ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν) and as such, he is exempted from taxes and liturgies and is able to keep his privately earned money from the games as well. The privileges awarded to the entire guild are outlined in the letters from Claudius, Hadrian and Septimius Severus and conferred to Aurelius Hatres, having verified he has paid his fees. The attached letter from Aurelius Ammon requests some favour from the Oxyrhynchite *boulē*, however the main verbs and other identifying words are lost from damage to the right edge of the document. The diploma is substantially paralleled by BGU IV 1074 (= Pap.Agon. 1 (Oxyrhynchus, 273–274 CE) [TM 16348]).

It is notable that the various signers all list their citizenship of particular cities, which would have been a relatively recent privilege after Septimius Severus provided the cities of Egypt with *boulai*, thus extending citizenship to their inhabitants. Prior to this, athletes and performers would have been limited as residents of the *chora* since they could not travel to participate in *agones* outside of their region. In the early imperial period, residents of the nomes would compete as Alexandrians, which explains how residents of the *chora* became sacred victors (cf BGU I 119, 328; P.Berl.Leihg. II 35). A number of sources illustrate residents of the *chora* either being cast as Alexandrians or using that title to secure citizenship in a *polis*. Pausanias complained that two Egyptians, Didas and Sarapammon, cheated in the Olympics of 125 CE (Pausanias 5.16).

As noted previously, the maintenance of privileges for members of the guild was a major priority, leading to them being consistently enumerated on documents inducting new members. This explains why this document, among others (Pap.Agon. 1, 3, 5) were filed in a city archive; the guild needed to register the new member with the city in order to verify the numerous privileges accorded to that individual. If they were not registered with the city or the document was misplaced a person with exempt status could petition the local magistrate, as seen in P.Oxy XLIII 3116, where Marcus Aurelius Sarapiōn describes his status as a sacred victor, exempt from taxes and liturgies, and urges the magistrate to issue documents verifying these privileges. Since victors could only appeal for privileges after their victories, we can see why P.Lond. III 1178, the diploma for the unsuccessful boxer Herminos was put into his family archive, rather than in the local *boule* – he was not qualified for civic privileges.

Literature: **Aneziri**, S. 2003. *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organization und Wirkung der hellenistischen Techniten Vereine*. Historia Einzelschriften 163. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner; **Aneziri**, S. 2014. "Greek Strategies of Adaptation to the Roman World: the Case of Contests." In *Mnemosyne* 64(3):1–21; **Aneziri**, S. 2009. "World Travellers: The Association of Artists of Dionysus." In *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture*. ed. R. Hunter and I. Rutherford. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 217–236; **Frisch**, P. 1983. "Zu den Kaiserbriefen an die ökumenische Synode der dionysischen Künstler, *ZPE* 52:215–218; **Rea**, J. 1963. "Additions and Corrections to Documentary Papyri in Ox Pap. Vol. XXVII." In *JEA* 49:180–181; **Remijsen**, A. 2014. "Games, Competitors and Performance in Roman Egypt." In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Vol. LXXIX, 191–206. London: Egypt Exploration Society; **Remijsen**, A. 1977. "The So-called, 'Crown-Games': Terminology and Historical Context of the Ancient Categories for Agones." In *ZPE* 177:97–109; **Petzl**, G. and E. **Schwertheim** 2006. *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler: drei in Alexandria Troas neugefundene Briefe des Kaisers an die Künstler-Vereinigung*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt; **Slater**, W. 2012. "The Victor's Return, and the Categories of Games." In *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post Classical Polis: Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD*. ed. P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas, 140–164. Oxford: Oxford University Press; **Viereck**, Paul 1908. "Aktenstücke zum griechisch-römischen Vereinswesen." In *Klio* 8:413–425; **Whitehorne**, J. 1995. "The Pagan Cults of Roman Oxyrhynchus." In *ANRW* II.18(5):3050–3091. PS

[275] P.Laur. IV 155 A Guild of Coppersmiths

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) probably 283–292 CE
Published: Rosario Pintaud, *Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*
Vol. IV; Papyrologica Florentina 12 (Firenze: Edizione Gonnelli, 1983) no.
155; BL VIII 167 [TM 21257; CAPIInv 1861]

Current location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana PL III 500

Similar or related documents: → P.Oxy I 54 (Oxyrhynchus, 201 CE): letter concerning the repair to the baths of Hadrian; P.Oxy I 84 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE): request from the guild of σιδηροχαλκεῖς for payment for work.

Papyrus, 9.4 × 18.8 cm. Written on the *recto* in a documentary hand with tachygraphic recordings in the upper margin. The right side of the document is significantly damaged.

recto

⟨tachygraphic-marks⟩

Ἀορηλίω Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ [γενομένῳ]
ὑπομνη(ματογράφῳ) τῆς λαμπρο(τάτης) πό[λε]ω[ς] τῶν Ἀ[λεξανδρέων]

- γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντι) βουλευτῇ καὶ ῥ[ς] χρημ(ατίζει) [τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ]
 λαμπ[ρ]ο(τάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγκιτῶν) π[όλ]εως ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει.
 5 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν χαλκῶν τῇ[ς] λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ-]
 προτάτης Ὀξ(υρυγκιτῶν) πόλεως δι' Αὐρηλίων Ἑρμογ. [±? καὶ ±?]
 ρου καὶ Σαραπιάδους Διδύμου αἰ[τού]μεθα [ἐπι-]
 σταλῆναι ἐξοδιασθῆναι ἡμ{ε}ῖν λεω. [±?]
 αμ[. . .]ξ. σ καὶ ! . . . [. . .] [±?]
 10 / Εὐ', χωροῦντων εἰς ἐπισκε[υ]ὴν τοῦ ἐπισκευα-]
 ζομένου βαλανείου τῇ[ς] αὐτῆς πόλεως]
 λεγομ(ένου) ὀρκῆς μ(νῶν) ἰδ ὥς [±? - γίνονται ἐπὶ]
 τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς τιμῆς (τάλαντον) α Εὐ κ[αὶ] ἄξιούμεν ἐπιστεῖ-]
 λαί σε τῷ ταμινεῖα τῶν πο[λιτικῶν] χρημάτων]
 15 [τὸν ἐξοδ]ισμὸν ἡμ{ε}ῖν πο[λ]ίσασθαι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος]
 [±?] . . [±?]

To Aurelius Apollōnios, also called Dionysios, who is the recorder of illustrious city of the Alexandrians, gymnasiarch, city councillor, or however he is styled, the current president (*prytanis*) of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, (5) from the guild (*koinon*) of copper-smiths of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites through Aurelius Hermog[...], ros and Sarapiades and Didymos, we asked to write to be paid in full, making (10) 5400 drachmae, having supplied the repairs of the refurbished baths of the same city having agreed upon a weight of 14 minas...making the price 1 talent, 5400 drachmae and we request that you ask the treasurer of civic transactions make a payment to us, as is customary.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: κοινόν; collective interaction with nome officials.
 Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

- 1.1 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ: Aurelius Apolonius alias Dionysius is known from nine other documents, as a holder of various administrative offices in late III CE Oxyrhynchus: P.Oxy X 1274; P.Ups.Frid. 6; PSI VI 705; P.Flor. I 63; SB X 10555; P.Oxy. I 55; P.Oxy. I 59; P.Oxy.Hels. 26.
- 1.2: ὑπομνηματογράφος. The hypomnematographus oversaw the royal chancery in the Ptolemaic period but as the Ptolemies took control of previously autonomous poleis, the office was used in local civic matters. There is considerable debate about whether this was a strictly Alexandrian office or it also had a local valence; the difficulty stems from the papyrus documents rarely showing a *hypomnematographos* acting individually but mentioned in a list of offices. Furthermore, the role of *hypomnematographos* often demonstrates more the prestige of office in handling issues connected to Alexandria. Whitehorne (1987) points to examples in the papyri that indicate an Alexandrian office such as the judgement (*anakrasis*) of slaves and

presiding over ceremonies of admission into the Alexandrian ephebate. Per his analysis, the office had primarily Alexandrian connotations and dealt with local matters on an *ad hoc* basis as a by-product of the high status of the office, rather than any established role in the civic administration.

- l. 3: ὡς χρημάτιζει: A common Roman onomastic expression, generally translated as, “he/she may be styled.” The expression indicates that there are additional titles which are not named. Broux, Coussement and Depauw (2010, 162) cite this text as an example of a list of titles which still includes the expression, prompting one to wonder how many more titles are omitted. Aurelius Apollonius’ title usually includes this expression where he occurs in other documents. The expression is often used to denote former titles after the granting of citizenship, such as in SB XVIII 13858, where one Marcus Aurelius Sarapiōn uses his Roman *tria nomina* indicating citizenship but later refers to his former Egyptian patronymic name including his alias: Μάρκου [Α]ὑρηλίου Σαραπίονο(ς) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἡερακλείδου καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζων) Σαραπίων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἡρακλείδ(ης) Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Γαλάτ(ου) Σωσκ(όσιμιος) ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεὺς. See Broux, Coussement and Depauw (2010) for a full treatment of the expression.
- l. 10: ἐπισκευαζόμενου βαλανείου. The repair of baths was no small expenditure, as seen in the numbers indicated above. The bath expenditure here amounts to 1 talent, however, we see an invoice in P.Oxy I 54 for 3 silver talents to cover material costs from the city’s account (ἐκ τοῦ πόλεως λόγου). P.Tebt. V 1151 (112 BCE) shows a list of receipts and expenditures with bath upkeep costs taking up a considerable amount of the budget.
- l. 14 τῷ ταμείᾳ τῶν πο[λιτικῶν χρημάτων]. This is a standard formulation to petition a civic treasurer for outstanding payments. P.Oxy. L 3566 follows the same pattern by laying out the expected sum, followed by a request to forward the invoice to the ταμεία τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων.

Comments

This document illustrates a request for an outstanding payment from a copper guild in Oxyrhynchus addressed to the gymnasiarch of the city. They request the gymnasiarch forward a petition to receive payment from the city treasurer. Aurelius Apollonius alius Dionysius is attested from nine papyri seen to hold a number of different civic positions. His roles as *gymnasiarch* and *hypomnata-graphos* put him in a prominent position to oversee the distribution of funds for a variety of civic works, most notably the repair of the baths here and a 4 talent expenditure for a street repair (P.Oxy I 55). P.Oxy I 54 shows another request for funds to repair the Baths of Hadrian but indicates that the request is for materials used and asks that the city furnish the funds for these materials. The document above shows the guild of copper workers requesting payment for repair work that has already been completed

Among various other duties like distributing oil and managing money for games, the gymnasiarch was also responsible for the administration of the baths, making the office holder a regular target for petitions of unpaid debts. The *gymnasiarch* also was responsible for ephebic education, which included the

management and payment of teachers. The position was a compulsory liturgy, often held by the wealthy, however, opinions were mixed regarding its prestige. Describing Kleopatra's spell over Anthony, Cassius Dio describes Anthony as so, "enslaved," to Kleopatra that he was willing to act as *gymnasiarch* to the Alexandrians (50.5). Dio goes on to describe Anthony in foreign dress and carrying an, "oriental," dagger, implying the tenure of the office by a Roman suggests assimilation to a perceived oriental lifestyle. Appian (*Bellum civiles* 5.76) also describes the event, noting that Anthony left his Roman military garb at home and dressed as an Athenian while taking on the position of *gymnasiarch*. These authors seem to be most offended by the fact that Anthony, a Roman military general, lived in Alexandria as a private citizen and assimilated into eastern culture by taking up a public liturgy, even one with prestige such as *gymnasiarch*.

The office of *gymnasiarch* came with considerable prestige in Roman Egypt and was considered the highest distinction one could obtain. Upon completion of tenure, *gymnasiarchs* could be afforded considerable civic honours generally reserved for benefactors, as seen in the decree (P.Oxy III 473) to honour one particularly effective *gymnasiarch* who acted willingly (ἐκούσιος). With theatre and sport becoming more intertwined in the third and fourth century, we also see a lyrical panygyric to an outstanding *gymnasiarch* (P.Oxy VII 1015) thus showing the overlap of skills in literature and athletics that were required to run an institution like a local *gymnasion*. As the head of such a versatile institution, the *gymnasiarch* was an integral pivot point between civic officials, local professional guilds, and the populace at large. Aurelius Apollonius is the mediator between the city's treasurer and the copper guild and is requested to facilitate payments. The majority of civic expenses, such as bath or road repair, in the third and fourth centuries were requested through this office. Additionally, the *gymnasiarch* had a juristic role in that he was often the mediator between local and imperial power structures. The main functions of the office were to oversee gymnasial administration (baths and education), make imperial decrees known and keep public order, administer games and festivals, and serve as a mediator for private legal matters and public administration.

The office was typically for one year and could be inherited or sold. Naphtali Lewis (1983) published a fascinating papyrus (ca. 155 CE) that clearly illustrates the legal standing of the office and sets a legal precedent for its distribution. The proceedings of a court case in CPR VII 4 discuss one Kallinikos who had been designated for the office but died before filling the position. Though his son is the rightful heir, regardless of age, another man, Achonareus, offers to buy the privilege, however the board of *gymnasiarchs* appear to object to the sale and petition the prefect for a decision. Lewis notes that is difficult to say whether high ranking magistracies (ἀρχαί) constitute liturgies by the third and fourth century in Egypt. It is quite common to see local citizens pressed into liturgical service, but bouletic proceedings of the third and fourth centuries actually

worked to limit the tenure of ἀρχαί. We, therefore, observe an interesting shift at the turn of the third century regarding liturgies: prior to the third century, liturgies were voluntarily accepted, even sought after, but the proceeding centuries see a considerable increase of people seeking any means possible to escape required liturgical service (→ [240]). That is, we see a marked transition from voluntary to compulsory service in high ranking civic offices. This transition is observable in the presentation of *gymnasiarchs* – they were especially honoured for discharging their duties, “willingly,” as noted above.

Literature: Broux, Y., S. Coussement and M. Depauw 2010. “ὡς χρηματίζει and the Importance of Naming in Roman Egypt.” In *ZPE* 174:159–166; Coles, Revel A. 1980. “P.Oxy 1 85 Revised.” In *ZPE* 39:115–125; Drecoll, C. 1997. *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.: Untersuchung über Zugang, Inhalt und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der öffentlichen Zwangsdienste in Ägypten und anderen Provinzen*. Stuttgart: Steiner; Kleijwegt, M. 1994. “Voluntarily, but under Pressure: Voluntary and Constraint in Greek Municipal Politics.” In *Mnemosyne* 47(1):64–78; Habermann, W. 2015. “Aspekte der römischerzeitlichen Gymnasiums in Ägypten.” In *APF* 61(2):384–423; Lewis, Naphtali 1979. “Notationes Legentis.” In *BASP* 16(3):205–212; Lewis, Naphtali 1983. “The Metropolitan Gymnasiarchy, Heritable and Salable.” In *ZPE* 51:85–91; Vitale, M. 2014. “Gymnasiarch über wie viele ‘Gymnasien’, über welches Einzugsgebiet? Zum Kompetenzbereich von Gymnasiarchen in späthellenistischer und römischer Zeit.” In *ZPE* 188:171–180; Whitehorne, J.E.G. 1987. “The Hypomnetagrapus in the Roman Period.” In *Aeg* 67 (1/2):101–125. PS

[276] P.Oxy. IX 1205 Manumission by an Association

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 14 Apr 291 CE
Published: Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IX* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1912) 239–242 (no. 1205); C.Pap.Jud. III 33–36 (no. 473); BL V 78; VIII 242; XII 138 [TM 21591].

Translations: Jane Rowlandson, *Women and Society* (1998) 143; Ross S. Kraemer, *Women's religions in the Greco-Roman world: A Sourcebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) no. 56

Current Location: London, British Library Pap. 2072

Similar or related documents: → Manumissions: M.Chr. 362 (Hermopolis, 25 Jul 221 CE); P.Oxy. IV 722 (Oxyrhynchus, 91–107 CE); P.Oxy. IV 723 Oxyrhynchus, 138–161 CE), P.Turner 26 (Arsinoites, 195–198 CE); Manumission and tax-receipt: P.Turner 19 (Oxyrhynchus, 2 Feb 101 CE); Partial manumission: M.Chr. 361 (Elephantine, 12 Jan 355 CE); references to manumission: PSI V 452 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE).

Papyrus 14 × 16.9 cm.

- [±? ἐρμηνεία ἐ]λευθ[ερώσε]ως.
 [Αὐρήλιος ±27 τῆς λα]μπρ[ᾶς καὶ] λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχεῖτων πόλεως καὶ
 ἡ ὁμομη-
 [τρία ἀδελφῇ Αὐρηλία ±23]ος γεν[ο]μένου ἐξηγητ[οῦ] βουλευτοῦ τῆς
 αὐτῆς π[όλ]εως μετὰ κου-
 [ράτορος ±33] παραδόξου Παραμόνην οἰκογενῇ δούλην ἐα[υ]τῶν ὡς
 (ἐτῶν) μ [κ]αὶ
- 5 [τὰ ταύτης τέκνα ±22 οὐλῇ τ]ραχήλω <ὡς> (ἐτῶν) ι καὶ Ἰακ[ώ]β ὡς (ἐτῶν) δ
 μεταξὺ φίλων ἡλευθε-
 [ρώσαμεν καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν ±17 ἀπὸ] παντὸς τοῦ πατρωνικοῦ δικαίου καὶ
 ἐξουσίας πάσης, ἀριθμη-
 [θέντων ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως καὶ ἀπολύσ]εως παρὰ τῆς
 συνα[γ]ωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ Αὐρηλίων
 [Διοσκόρου ±24 καὶ Ἰούσ]του βουλευτ[ο]ῦ Ὁνειτῶν τῆς Συρίας
 Παλαιστίνης πατρὸς τῆς
 [συναγωγῆς ±32 ἀργυρίου] ταλάντων δεκατεσσάρων, ἐπερωτήσεώς τε
 γενομένης
- 10 [ὡμολογήσαμεν ἡλευθερωκέναι καὶ ἀπολελυκέ]ναι, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἐλευθερώσεως καὶ ἀπολύσεως αὐ-
 [τῶν ἡριθμηκέναι τὸ προκείμενον ἀργύριον καὶ μ]ηδὲ ἐν δίκ[α]ιον
 μηδεμίαν τε ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ
 [τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας, διὰ τὸ ἀπαξαπλῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτ]ῶν διὰ Αὐρηλίων
 Διοσκόρου καὶ Ἰούστου ἡριθμηκέναι καὶ
 [ἀπεσχηκέναι ±16 τὸ προκείμενον] ἀργύριον. ἐπράχθη ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων
 πόλει τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ
 [λαμπροτάτῃ ±14 ἐπὶ Τιβεριανοῦ τὸ β] [καὶ Δί]ωνος ὑπάτων, ἔτει ζ
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
- 15 [Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ ἔτει ς Αὐτ[ο]κρά[το]ρος
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου
 [Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστ]ῶν
 Φαρμ[οῦ]θι [. . . ἡ]μέρα ἐννεακαιδε-
 [κάτη. ±?]
 <Traces of 2 lines>
- 19 -----
- 18 [±?]. . [±?]
 <hand 2> [±?] Π[α]ραμόνην καὶ τὰ ταύτ[ης] τέκνα. καὶ Ἰακὼβ ±?]
- 20 [±?]. [.]. [.] κατη. [±?]
 [±? μαρτ(υρῶ)] τὰ ὁμ[ο]λογη[μένα καθὼς] πρ[όκει]ται. Αὐρή[λιος ±?]
 [±? ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ)] ἀγραμμά[του ὄντο]ς. <hand 3> Αὐρή[λιος]
 Θεὼν ὁ [καὶ ±?]
 [±?]. . [ο]υ Ἡρ[.] αμ. [. . .] υτον ἀρ[γυρι] ±?]
 [±?] Εὐσεβίας [.]. εκ[. . .] κ[α]ιου μ[±?]
- 25 [±?] Διοσκόρου [±15] Ἰουστ[±?]

[±?] τὰ τοῦ ἀρ[γυρίου ±9]ντα ἀ[±?]
 [±?]ανικειτ[±14]ς ἐλευθ[ερ ±?]
 [±? ἀγραμμά]του.

Apparatus: 9 [συναγωγῆς: BL V 78 || 14 Pap. ὑπάτοις || 21 BL V 78: μαρτ(υρῶ)] || Pap. ὁμ[ο]λογη[μένα || 22 BL V 78: ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ) ἀγραμμά[του; prev. ed.: ±?]

Translation of a manumission (agreement). We, [Aurelius . . .] of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus and his sister by the same mother (*homomatria*) [Aurelia . . .] daughter of . . .] who had been the *exegetēs* and councillor of the same city, with her guardian [. . .] the the admirable [. . .] have manumitted and discharged *inter amicos* our house-born slave Paramonē, aged forty years, (5) and her children [. . .] with a scar on her neck, about ten years, and Jacob, about four years [. . .] from every right and power of the owner: fourteen talents of silver having been paid to us for the manumission and discharge by the congregation (*synagōgē*) of the Judaeans through Aurelius [Dioskoros . . . and Aurelius] Justus, councillor of Ono in Syrian Palestine, father [of the *synagōgē*. . .] And since the question was put, (10) we have acknowledged that we have manumitted and discharged (them), and that for their manumission and discharge we have been paid the above-mentioned sum, and that we have no rights at all and no power over them from the present day, because we have been paid and have received from them the above-mentioned money, once and for all, through Aurelius Dioskoros and Aurelius Justus. Transacted in the illustrious and [most illustrious city] of Oxyrhynchus . . . [in the second consulship of Tiberianus] and the first of Dion, year 7 of Emperor Caesar (15) Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and year 6 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Germanici, Maximi, Pii, Felices, Augusti: Pharmouthi . . . 19.

«*Second hand*» Paramonē and her children . . . and Jacob . . . (20) [I witness] the agreement as stated above. I, Aurelius . . . [wrote for him] because he is illiterate.

«*Third hand*» Aurelius Theon also called . . . of the money . . . of Eusebia? . . . (25) of Dioskoros . . . Justus . . . the [talents] of silver . . . manumit . . . and discharge. . . (because he is) illiterate.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων; collective devoted to a deity (Judean association); leadership terms: πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς; collective manumission of a slave and her children.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

l. 4: οἰκογενῆ δούλην See also: M.Chr. 362 (Hermopolis, 25 Jul 221 CE), P.Fam. Tebt. 27 (Tebtynis, 18 Oct 132 CE), P.Mich. V 343 (Arsinoites, 54–55 CE), P.Oxy. IX 1209

(Oxyrhynchus, 253 CE), P.Oxy. XXXI 2582 (Euergetis/Kynopolites, 31 Jan 51 CE), P.Ryl. IV 709 (294–296 CE), P.Worp 21 (Arsinoites, 198–199 CE).

- l. 7 τῆς συνα[γ]ωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Another reference to Judaean group in Oxyrhynchus is attested in P.Oxy. II 335 (Oxyrhynchus, ca 85 CE).
- ll. 8–9: πατὴρ τῆς συναγωγῆς: → Harland 2007.
- l. 8: Ὠνειτῶν τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστεινῆς. The town of Ono is on the coastal plain of Palestine near Lod. It is approximately 45 km west of Jerusalem and 10 km from the coast of the Mediterranean. → Tsafir, Di Signi and Green 1994, s.v. Ono [Kafir ‘Ana] geo ref. 137159.

Comments

This is a rather formulaic document of manumission, which includes the standard legal phrases ἡλευθερώσαμεν καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν (“We have manumitted and discharged”) and its cognates in ll. 5–6, 7, and 10, as well as μεταξὺ φίλων (*inter amicos*) in l. 5. A “house born” slave (οἰκογενῆ δούλην) named Parmone is manumitted along with her two children for the fee of fourteen talents of silver. The editors suspect that the original language of the document was Latin (p. 241), although what remains is the Greek version. Evidently several parties involved in this contract needed someone else to write for them (ll. 22, 29). *Inter amicos* manumission was a distinct, but relatively informal, form of manumission (Buckland 1970 [1908], 446). It was called *inter amicos*, because it occurred among friends who served as witnesses. Both Gaius and Ulpian refer to this practice (Gaius, *Inst.* I.44; Ulpian, *Frag.* 10, 18). As it initially fell outside of the *Ius Civile*, this form of manumission originally had no legal consequence (Smith et al 1901). By the time of Justinian, this is an accepted form of manumission (*Cod.*, I.5.1). Compare this papyrus with M.Chr. 362 (Hermopolis, 25 Jul 221 CE), which is also a bilingual *inter amicos* manumission document concerning a houseborn slave:

- Marcus Aurel[iu]s [A]mmonion Lu-
pergu Sarapiōnis ex m[at]r[e] Terheutae
ab Hermupoli m[aio]r(e) antiqua et splend(ida)
Helenen ancillam suam vernam
5 annorum circiter x[x]xiii inter ami-
[c]os manumisit liberamque esse ius-
[si]t et accepit pr[o] liber[t]ate eius ab
Aurelio Aletis Inaroutis a vico Tisicheos
nomi Hermupolitu dr(achmas) Aug(ustas) dua millia
10 ducentas quas et ipse Ales Inaroutis do-
navit Helene liberta(e) supra scripta(e).
actum Hermupoli maior(e) antiqua
et splend(ida) vii Kal(endas) Augustas Grato
et Seleuco cos anno iiii Imp(eratoris) Caesaris
15 Marci Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti)
mense Mesore die i.
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος

- Ἀμμωνίων Λουπέργου Σαραπίωνος Ἑλένην δού-
 λην μου οἰκογενῇ ὡς L λδ μεταξὺ φίλων ἡλευ-
 20 θέρωσα καὶ ἔσχον ὑπὲρ λύτρ[ω]ν αὐτῆς δραχμὰς
 σεβαστὰς δις-
 κελίας διακοσί[α]ς παρὰ Αἰὺρηλίου Ἀλητοῦ
 Ἰναροοῦτος ὡς πρόκειται. Αἰ[ὺρ]ήλιος Ἀλητῆς Ἰναρω-
 οῦτος ἐξωδίασα τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δις-
 25 κελίας διακοσίας καὶ οὐ μετελεύσομαι Ἑλένην
 τὴν προκίμενην ἀπελευθέραν. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμ-
 μώνιος Ἐρμείνου ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ) μὴ εἰδό(τος) γρά(μματα).

Ἰουδαίων in P.Oxy. IX 1205.7 probably refers to the local Judaeon community at Oxyrhynchus, attested also in P.Oxy. II 335 = C.Pap.Jud. II 423 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 85 CE). The present papyrus, however, is the earliest papyrus reference to the Judaeon *synagōgē* in Egypt, the more common term being *proseuchē*. The fee for manumission is paid to the owners by the *synagōgē*, with Aurelius Dioskoros and Aurelius Justus (“the father of the synagogue,” πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς) acting as facilitating agents or brokers. Aurelius Justus’ title of “councilor of Ono of Syria Palestine” is of interest, because it indicates that there are translocal connections between this Oxyrhynchite Judaeon association and Palestine. His title implies that he is currently the councilor of Ono (otherwise one would expect a reference to how long he had held the position in the past) and is also considered the “father of the *synagōgē*” located in Ono as well. Given the role that “fathers of synagogues” often had (Harland 2007, 78), it is reasonable to conclude that Aurelius Justus had some local leadership position in the *synagōgē* of Ono. He and Aurelius Dioskoros appear to have arranged this manumission, and since he is affiliated with the Ono *synagōgē*, it is likely that it is supplying the funds for the manumission. The brokerage network for this contract could rely on the status of Aurelius Justus as councilor and Aurelia’s father who was also regarded as councilor (l. 3), but that proposal is extremely tentative.

At least two owners are mentioned at the outset, a brother and a half-sister (ll. 2–3); perhaps another sister is in view as well (Eusebia l. 24), although Eusebia could simply be part of the first half-sister’s name. Aurelia acts under the guardianship of her father. Aurelius Theon (l. 22) is perhaps the owner mentioned in l. 2. Their nationalities are unclear (p. 239).

The original publication does not reconstruct συναγωγῆς at the beginning of l. 9, and so the editors speculate that Aurelius Justus could be the father of a female discussed in the document. If he were the father of Aurelia in l. 3, it would make him the same ἐξηγητοῦ βουλευτοῦ mentioned in that same line. This identification is problematic, however, because it would imply that at least one of the previous owners (Aurelia) was a Judaeon or even that the entire family was Judaeon. If this were the case, it would be unclear why the synagogue would be responsible for producing the money to manumit the slave and her children. On the contrary, the editors of the papyrus note that there are precedents for Jewish

communities ransoming Jewish slaves from Gentile owners. Moreover, “father of the synagogue” is a compelling reconstruction for l. 9, because this title is well attested in antiquity (Harland 2007). Using analogous reasoning from other associations, Harland concludes that “fathers” or “mothers” of associations often belonged to the association who bestowed them with this title and frequently had positions of leadership (Harland 2007, 78).

The talent, as Bagnall notes, was a unit of measurement and not an actual coin. Taking into account inflation, by the fourth century one talent was equivalent to 6,000 drachmae (or 1,500 denarii) (Bagnall 1985, 16–17). Thus, a manumission of fourteen talents is 84,000 drachmae (or 21,000 denarii). By comparison, in the above bilingual document M.Chr. 362 (Hermopolis, 221 CE), the manumission of one 34 year old female house born slave is only 2,200 drachmae. Wassink (1991) has compiled a useful chart which explains prices level and inflation of the denarius in the Roman Empire. He shows that between 215 CE and 293 CE, there was roughly a fivefold decrease in the value of a denarius: in 293 CE, having 1400 denarii was equivalent to having 267 denarii in 215 CE. Using these benchmarks, a manumission of 21,000 denarii in 291 CE equates to about 4,000 denarii in the previous period. Keeping in mind that this price is for at least three people (Parmonē and at least two of her children), these prices become somewhat more intelligible with reference to one another.

For further comparison, one manumission from 86 CE, two centuries prior to said inflation, cost “ten drachmae of coined silver” plus a determined “ransom money” amounting to “800 drachmae of imperial silver coin, in bronze: ten talents, 3,000 drachmae” (P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2843, Oxyrhynchus). Cf. a later manumission (P.Kell. I.48, Kellis, 355 CE), when one Aurelius Valerius son of Sarapiōn manumits his slave Hilaria, with no sum mentioned, for reason of his own “exceptional Christianity” (δι’ ὑπερβολὴν χ[ρ]ιστιανότητος).

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 1985. *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists: Supplements 5. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press; Harland, Philip A. 2007. “Familial Dimensions of Group Identity (II): ‘Mothers’ and ‘Fathers’ in Associations and Synagogues of the Greek World.” In *JSJ* 38(1):57–79; Perry, Matthew J. 2014. *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (esp. p. 60); Rotman, Y., R. Scholl, and Jean A. Straus 2014. “Slavery in Greco-Roman Egypt.” In *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest. A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary*, ed. James G. Keenan, J.G. Manning, and Uri Yiftach-Firanko, 442–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Tsafir, Yoram, Leah Di Segni, and Judith Green 1994. *Tabula Imperii Romani Iudaea Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Maps and Gazetteer*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Wassink, Alfred 1991. “Inflation and Financial Policy Under the Roman Empire to the Price Edict of 301 A.D.” In *Historia* 40(4):465–69. SER

[277] P.Ryl. IV 654
Minutes concerning a Dispute of Guilds

Oxyrhynchus

302–309? CE

Published: Colin H. Roberts, and E.G. Turner, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, IV: *Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952) 161–162 (no. 654); Herbert C. Youtie, “Notes on Papyri and Ostraca.” *TAPA* 89 (1958) 374–407, 397–401; Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal, *Chartae Latinae antiquiores (ChLA)* 4 (1967) 255; Robert Cavenaile, *Corpus papyrorum Latinarum (CPL)* Annexe 9 (1958; extracts) + BL XI 191 [TM 17320; CAPIInv 1934 (*oikodomoï*)]

Translation: Youtie 1958, 401; Mees 2002, 406–407.

Current location: Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 654.

Similar or related documents: → P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE); P.Rain.Cent. 51 [156]; P.Oxy. XXII 2340 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE): Court proceedings containing both Latin and Greek: Thomas 1998, 132–133 lists 47 bilingual documents.

Papyrus, 31 × 25 cm., damaged on top and left side.

- 1 [±?] ruσσ[.]ϕ[.]ς. up .[.] . . . [.] I]an[ua]r(ius) [Tῷ βι .
(.) Oxurunch[itarum]
[. .] Paulo [e]x civitat[is Oxur]unch[i]tarum [A]polinar[i]us dix(it):
[λινούφο]ς τὴν τέχνην ἐστίν, σύνδ[ικον] δὲ εἶναι δεῖ τοῦ τὴν ἐργασίαν
πληροῦν-
[τος· ἔσ]τιν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνεργὸς Παῦλο[ς] οὗτος μαθητὴς μὲν τυγχάνων, εἰς
5 [ἄσκησι]ν δὲ τῆς τέχνης ἀφ[ε]κόμενος. οὗτοι δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὥς οὐκ
ὀλίγα
[ταῖς δημ]οσίαις τυγχάνουσ[ε]ι χρεΐαις χρήσιμοι [ο] καὶ σὺ ὁ ἐμὸς
δεσπότης συν-
[οῖδας. τ]ῷ γὰρ ἀναβολικῷ πλ[ε]ῖστα συντελοῦσι, καὶ ὅσα περ ἀπὸ τούτων
ἀπερ-
[γά]ζεσθα[ι] δεῖ. ἀλλ' οἱ οἰκόδομοι δικαιοῦσ[ε]ι τῆς τοσαύτης ἐπειγούσης
χρεΐας
[αἰ] τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς μόνον συνορᾶν. τὸν γὰρ δὴ βοηθούμενον οἰκ[ό]δομον
10 [ποιῆσ]αι σπουδάζουσιν λινούφον τυγχάνοντ' ἀπράγμονα τολμοῦντες
παρα[ν]ομώτατον. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τέχνης ἦν μεμάθηκεν ἀποσπῶς[ε]ι,
ἐτέρα[v] δὲ τὴν τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἐκδ[ε]ιδάξαι βούλονται. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τῇ
οἰκ[ε]ία
φυλαχθῆναι δεῖ αὐτὸν {προσέκει} {ε}ῖνα μηδεμίαν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκοδόμων
πάσ-
χοι βίαν. προνοεῖσθαι τούτου τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν λογιστὴν ἀξ[ε]ιοῖ.
15 Maximian[us] v(ir) p(erfectissimus) iuridicus Aeg(ypti) dix(it):

ὁ λογιστὴς καὶ σ[τ]ρατηγὸς προνοήσονται εἰς τὰ ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ]τ[ων κατη-
γορημένα εἰ τὴν]
τέχνην ἐκμεμάθηκεν καὶ ἤδη ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἔστιν εἰς ἑτέραν μὴ
μεταφέρεσθαι τέχνην.

Apparatus: 1 BL XI 191: I]an[ua]r(ius) [Tῦβι || 2 BL XI 191: Paulo [e]x || 4 Pap
τυγχάνον || 6 Pap. οὐμὸς || 7 Pap. συντελούσειν || 9 BL XI 191: [ἀεὶ τὰ κα]τ αὐτοῦς;
prev. ed.: [ὡς ἀργοῦς] τούτους || 10 Pap. σπουδάζουσιν || Pap. τολμοῦστες || 11
Pap. παρα[v]ομότατον || BL XI 191: ἐπ[ε]ὶ τοίνυν; prev. ed. ἐπὶ γυναικὶ || 17 Pap.
ἐκμεμάθηκεν

⟨*Latin*⟩ Ianuarius (which is Tybi . . .) in Oxyrhynchus . . . to Paulus of the city of Oxyrhynchus, Apolinarios said: ⟨*Greek*⟩ “He is a linen weaver (*linouphos*) by craft and he ought to lend assistance to a fellow worker in court. For his coworker Paulus, who has become an apprentice (*mathētēs*), is here to learn the practice (5) of his trade. You too, my lord, are aware that these men, by their own trade, are of no small usefulness to the public needs. They contribute much to the *anabolikon*, whoever much they have to produce. But the builders (*oikodomoi*) think it right, in spite of the great and pressing need, always to consult only their own interest. For they are eager to make (10) this linen weaver, who is my client, into a builder and are daring to a great injustice. They are tearing him away from the craft that he has learned; they want to teach him a different craft, that of the builders. He must be preserved in his own craft so that he does not suffer any violence by the builders. It is important that the *stratēgos* and *logistēs* know about this.” (15) ⟨*Latin*⟩ Maximianus *vir perfectissimus, iuridicus Aegypti* said, ⟨*Greek*⟩ “The *logistēs* and *stratēgos* will consider in regard to these charges; if he has been apprenticed (*ekmemathēken*) to this craft and is already actively engaging in this trade, he is not to be transferred to another.”
(trans. Youtie, adapted)

Notes

Association? Probable: artisans in the plural: οἰκόδομοι; the plaintiff, a linen weaver, is likely the member of a guild of λινούφοι, whose collective contributions are implied in ll. 5–6, οὔτοι δὲ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ὡς οὐκ ὀλίγα | [ταῖς δημο]σίαις τυγχάνουσι χρεῖαις χρήσιμοι; the guild of builders is collectively engaged in legal dispute.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

ll. 3, 10: λινούφος, “linen weaver” → O.Leid. 179 (Elephantine, 79 CE) P.Oxy. XII 1414.11, 12, 13, 15 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE); P.Rain.cent. 51.2 [159] (λινεψός); I.Alex.imp. 99.4 [184] (ταρσικάριος).

The linen trade was a large part of the economy of Roman Egypt. Even outside the trade itself, linen weaver guilds were extremely important to produce large amounts of linen for the *anabolikon*, an imperial tax on linen production. For the specifics on production and collection of the *anabolikon* see P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272].

1. 3: σύνδ[ικον], a “co-litigant.” A *syndikos* was a kind of public defender who represented the interests of a city. The *syndikos* was generally called upon to settle disputes between associations or individuals that involved modest sums of money, property disputes, or the extraction of taxes. This is a peculiar case involving the abduction and intimidation of a linen worker by an association of guilds; such a dispute would surely fall under the purview of a *syndikos*. See Fournier 2007 for a full description of duties.
1. 6: δημοσίαις χρείαις, “public service.” This phrase is reference to the *anabolikon* tax which was coordinated through various governmental structures. Rather than a tax on the products of a guild or a fee for operating in market spaces (SB XVI 12695), the local *boulē* usually contracted and subsidized both flax (tow) guilds as well as linen weavers to produce materials for this linen tax. As such, linen weavers contributed to public service in the eyes of the *boulē*.
1. 15: *vir perfectissimus*, Greek: διασημότατος): an honorific title used from the time of Marcus Aurelius for someone of equestrian rank. *Perfectissimus* is above the rank of a *vir egregius* and below that of a *vir eminentissimus*. After 250 CE, the title began to be conferred more liberally and was generally associated with an office (*praefectus vigilum*, *praefectus annonae*, *praefectus Aegypti*). Since it became fixed to offices, the title began to be depreciated. Various tax exemptions were included with the title resulting in the sale of offices that carried the title in the late III CE.
1. 15: *iuridicus Aegypti*, a magistrate of equestrian rank who was in charge with the dispensation of justice. The full title is usually written as *iuridicus Alexandriae et Aegypti*. This is the only known attestation of this formula omitting *Alexandriae*. However, the equivalent Greek phrase, δικαιοδότης Αιγύπτου, is found in at least two inscriptions (ICorinth.Kent 3.136.3 and IK Side I 55.4). The office must be considered quite close to the *praefectus Aegypti*. It is noteworthy that not a single epigraphic source mentions the *iuridicus Aegypti* but nearly 60 inscriptions mention a *praefectus Aegypti*. Strabo (17.1.12) notes that the *iuridici* have complete power to adjudicate legal disputes (ὁ δικαιοδότης ὁ τῶν πολλῶν κρίσεων κύριος).

Comments

This document shows the legal proceedings of a dispute between guilds and is best understood in the context of high taxation and labour shortages in the beginning of the IV CE. The *syndikos*, Apollinarios, comes to the defense of a fellow linen worker, whom a group of builders have attempted to kidnap into their ranks. This episode is likely the final deliberation of a series of hearings on this topic, ending with a ruling in favor of Paulus from the *iuridicus* Maximianus. Youtie (1958, 397) makes the observation that Maximianus does not criticize this obviously malicious practice of the builders, perhaps indicating that such instances occurred regularly in the context of the IV CE labour shortage. The chaos from plagues, inflation, domestic and foreign wars in the III CE contributed to an exceptional shortage in the work force with agricultural areas hit especially hard. Furthermore, currency instability which resulted in Diocletian’s edict on price control spurred a thriving black market, where these types of shady business practices might flourish.

Writing a century later, Socrates (*Historia ecclesiastica* 5.18) says of Theodosius that he suppressed the practices of kidnapping strangers to force them to work in bakeries and that those who came looking for them were told that they were dead. Socrates reports that this practice was discovered only when a soldier of Theodosius' legions was himself kidnapped, but used this dagger to escape.

The fact that the builders would resort to violence to fill their ranks, as noted by Youtie, showcases how desperate the labor situation had become. A labour shortage coupled with the ambitious reforms by Diocletian dramatically exacerbated this situation. It is noteworthy that Maximianus grants the linen workers custody over Paulus only if he can show that he has, "actively learned his craft and is engaging in it" (II.16–17). That is, Paulus and the weavers must demonstrate that Paulus has clearly learned his trade and is valuable as a skilled worker. The implication is that the ruling could have gone the other way should Paulus be an unskilled laborer and of use for menial tasks in any profession. According to Youtie, this arrangement implicates the state as a third party to the arbitration. Should the authorities deem Paulus more useful to another guild, he could have been transferred through the *iuridicus*' judgment.

The linen workers make their case to retain Paulus by pointing out how much they contribute to the imperial *anabolikon*, a state-imposed linen tax (see details of this tax in P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272]). Their invocation of their contribution to "public service" speaks to the incredible pressure agricultural communities felt under Diocletian's tax laws. Before Aurelian's monetary reforms in 270 CE, the *anabolikon* was collected sporadically and could be paid in either money, raw flax, or finished linen. However, due to the devaluation of currency and an increase in taxes mainly to fund the army under Diocletian, the collection of taxes in kind became standard practice. Though the army was not likely quadrupled, as described by Lactantius (*De mortibus persecutorum* 7.2), a renewed conscription surely swelled its ranks. The elimination of cash tax collection protected the government from unforeseen fluctuations in currency value or prices and provided stable wages to the military. While taxation was once proportionate to agricultural output, Diocletian's attempt to secure steady revenue with no regard for adjustment according to agricultural production placed the onus of tax production on agricultural communities in the Egyptian *chora*.

Literature: Boak, Arthur E.R. 1955. *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of Roman Empire in the West*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Lo Cascio, Elio 2005. "The New State of Diocletian and Constantine: From the Tetrarchy to the Reunification of the Empire." In *The Cambridge Ancient History: Second Edition Vol. XII The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193–337*, edited by A.K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, A. Cameron, 170–183. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Fournier, J. 2007. "Les 'Syndikoi,' Représentants juridiques des cités grecques sous le Haut-empire Romain." In *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 18:7–36; Mees, Allard W. 2002. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und*

Rechtsquellen. Monographien, Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Kommission bei R. Habelt (406–407); **Haensch**, Rudolf 2016. “Im Schatten Alexandrias: Der iuridicus Egypti.” In *Recht Haben und Recht Bekommen im Imperium Romanum: Das Gerichtswesen der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine dokumentarische Evidenz*. ed. Rudolf Haensch. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement XXIV, 165–182. Warsaw; **Kupiszewski**, H. 1953/1954. “The iuridicus Alexandriae.” In *JJP* 7/8:187–204; **Scheidel**, Walter 2002. “A Model of Demographic and Economic Change in Roman Egypt after the Antonine Plague.” In *Journal of Roman Archeology* 15:97–114; **Thomas**, David 1998. “P.Ryl. IV 654: the Latin Heading.” In *CdÉ* 145:125–134 (BL XI 191); **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (156–157, 210–211); **Youtie**, Herbert C. 1958. “Notes on Papyri and Ostraca.” In *TAPA* 89:374–407; **Zucker**, Friedrich 1957. “Versuch unzulässiger Überführung eines Handwerkers in ein anderes Handwerk.” In *Studi in onori di aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, 2:339–343. Milano: Ceschina. PS

[278] P.Oxy. LIV 3734

Price declaration of a guild of Salt Merchants

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 25 May 312 CE

Published: Revel A. Coles, H. Maehler, P.J. Parsons, ed. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* volume LXIV, Graeco-Roman memoirs 74 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1987) 97–98 (no. 3734) [TM 15238; CAPInv 1393].

Similar or related documents: → The guilds of Oxyrhynchus: P.Harris I 73 = SB XVI 12628 (Oxyrhynchus, 329–331 CE): dyers (βαθεῖς); P.Oxy. LI 3624 (Oxyrhynchus, 359 CE): silversmiths (ἀργυροκόποι); P.Oxy. LI 3625 (Oxyrhynchus, 359 CE): bakers (ἀρτοκόποι); P.Oxy. LI 3626 (Oxyrhynchus, 359 CE): linen weavers (ταρσικάριοι); P.Oxy. LIV 3731 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 310–311 CE): perfumers (μυροπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3732 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): unknown guild; P.Oxy. LIV 3733 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): perfumers (μυροπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3734 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): salt merchants (ἀλοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3735 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): unknown guild; P.Oxy. LIV 3737 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): seed vegetable merchants (κεμιοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3738 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): oil workers (ἐλαιουργοί); P.Oxy. LIV 3739 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): condiment merchants (ἀρτυματοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3740 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): tavern keepers (κάπηλοι); P.Oxy. LIV 3742 (Oxyrhynchus, 317 CE): glass workers (ύεουργοί); P.Oxy. LIV 3743 (Oxyrhynchus, 318 CE): bleachers (λευκάνται); P.Oxy. LIV 3744 (Oxyrhynchus, 318): seed-vegetable

merchants (κεμιοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3745 (Oxyrhynchus, 318): vetch sellers (ὀρβιοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3747 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): bee keepers (μελισσοῦργοί); P.Oxy. LIV 3748 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): aromatic oil merchants (σταγματοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3749 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): garum merchants (γαροπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3750 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): salt merchants (ἀλοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3751 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): wool merchants (ἐριοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3752 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): bleachers (λευκανταί); P.Oxy. LIV 3753 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): tow-handlers (στιπποχειρισταί); P.Oxy. LIV 3755 (Oxyrhynchus, 320 CE): seed vegetable merchants (κεμιοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3760 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): oil workers (ἐλαιοῦργοί); P.Oxy. LIV 3761 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): condiment merchants (ἀρτυματοπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3762 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): tavern keepers (κάπηλοι); P.Oxy. LIV 3765 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): goldsmiths (χρυσοχόοι); P.Oxy. LIV 3766 = P.Oxy. XXXI 2570 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE): fish mongers (ἰχθυοπῶλαι), fullers (κναφεῖς), potters (κεραμεῖς), perfumers (μυροπῶλαι); P.Oxy. LIV 3768 (Oxyrhynchus, 332–36 CE): goldsmiths (χρυσοχόοι); P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE): coppersmith (χαλκοκολληταί), bakers (ἀρτοκό[π]οι), beer merchants (ζυθοπῶλαι), oil merchants (ἐλαιοπῶλαι), bee keepers (μελισσοῦργοί); P.Oxy. LIV 3776 (Oxyrhynchus, 342 CE): linen merchants (ὀθονιοπῶλαι); PSI III 202 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE): pork merchants (χοιρομάγειροι), fish mongers (ἰχθυοπῶλαι).

Papyrus, 31.5 × 25.5 cm.

- ὑπατείας τῶ[ν δεσ]π[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν
 Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου
 καὶ Λικιγίανου Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ β.
 Οὐαλερίῳ Ἡρῶνι τῷ καὶ Σαραπίωνι
 5 λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυγχίτου
 παρὰ τοῦ κοι(νοῦ) τῶν ἀλοπωλῶν τῆς
 αὐτῆς π[ό]λ(εως) διὰ Πτολεμαίου Λουκίου
 μηνιάρχου. ἀκ[ο]λ(ούθως) [το]ῖς κελευσθ(εῖσιν) ἰδίῳ
 τιμήματι προσφωνῶ τὴν ἐξῆς τιμὴν
 10 ὧν χει[ρ]ίζω ὠνίων, καὶ ὁμνύω
 τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον μὴ δι-
 εψεῦσ[θ]αι.
 [ἔσ]τι δέ ·
 ἀλὸς [(ἀρτάβης)] α ᾗ σν.
 15 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῆς,
 Παχὼν λ.

— —

⟨hand 2⟩ Ἀφρήλι[ος] Πτολεμαῖος προσφωνῶ
 ὧς πρ[όκει]ται.

During the consulship of our lords, Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius, Augusti for the second time: To Valerius Heron, also called Sarapiōn, (5) *logistēs* of Oxyrhynchus, from the guild (*koinon*) of salt merchants of the same city, through (the agency of) Ptolemaios son of Lucius, the monthly officer. Pursuant to orders, at my own risk I am declaring below the price (10) of the goods that I handle and I swear a divine oath not to deceive. As follows:

salt 1 [artaba] 250 dn.

(15) During the same consulship Pachons 30

⟨hand 2⟩ I, Aurelius Ptolemaios, make the declaration, as indicated above.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: κοινόν; leadership term: μηνιάρχης; collective interaction with nome official and declaration of prices (the officer does this on behalf of the association).

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

l. 2: Φλαυίου Ουαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου: Emperor, 306–337 CE.

l. 3: καὶ Λικτινιαγοῦ Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ β: co-emperor, 308–324 CE.

l. 5: λογιστῇ → SB XXII 15787.1 [242] *note*. The *logistēs* was a financial officer or a *curator civitatis*. The earliest evidence of this civic office is from 303 CE. According to Bowman (2008), the office of *logistēs* was one of the most important innovations of the Diocletianic period, and it involved handling the receipt and custody of public documents, the supervision of institutions in the city – including religious institutions –, control of municipal accounts, supervision of guilds, liturgies, markets, and public works, as well as the Investigation of complaints and the execution of the prefect's rulings. Bowman points out that the *logistēs* was also related to tax collections and military requisitions. Clearly, whoever occupied the office of *logistēs*, in this case Valerius Heron also called Serapion, occupied a powerful civic position. The fact that the *logistēs* monitored guilds and markets explains Valerius Heron's involvement in the context of thus papyrus.

l. 6: Guilds of salt merchants were common in the ancient world. From P.Mich V 245 [219] = AGRW 302, we learn about another guild of salt merchants, this one located in Tebtynis. Like the group in question here, the guild members in P.Mich V 245 also monitor economic aspects of their collective trade (e.g. the guild fines members who sell salt at lower prices than those set by the group). The salt merchants here also monitor economic aspects of their collective trade, but in this case the declaration of the price of goods the guild handles is required by Diocletian's economic reforms (→ *Comments*).

l. 8: μηνιάρχῳ[υ]– The μηνιάρχης, monthly officer, is attested in the third century and especially in the fourth: O.Bodl. 2.1986 (Thebes, II–III CE): receipt issued to the μηνιάρχα ἀρτοκόπων; P.Petaus 37 (Ptolemaïs Hormou, Arsinoites, 182–187 CE): list of payments; P.Prag III 236.113 (Theadelphia, 259 CE) (Heroninus archive): list of expenses, including those of two μηνιάρχα; PSI V 456.4 (Oxyrhynchus, 279–282 CE): report of two μηνιάρχα οικοδόμων; SB VI 9409.126, 145 (Theadelphia, 260 CE) (Heroninus archive); expenses.

It appears with particular density in the fourth century at Oxyrhynchus: P.Harr. II 216R.10 (343 CE): nominations for liturgies by the *μηνιάρχει* τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν *στιπποχει*[ρι]στῶν; P.Leid.Inst.62.3 [283] (370, 385, 400? CE): declaration of the death of a guild member; P.Oxy. I 53 (316 CE): declaration by a *μηνιάρχης* of τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν τεκτόνων; P.Oxy. I 84 (316 CE): price declaration by the *μηνιάρχης* of πα[ρ]ὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σιδηροχαλκέων; P.Oxy. VIII 1139 (322 CE): order of a *logistēs* to *μηνιάρχεις* λαχανευτῶν; P.Oxy. XXXI 2579 (309 CE?): tax receipt issued to a *μηνιάρχης*; P.Oxy. XLIII 3126.19 (328 CE) τοὺς τῶν οἰκοδόμων *μηνιάρχας*; P.Oxy. XLV 3261 [281] (324 CE): Leonides archive [TM ARCH id. 132]: letter to *μηνιάρχει* regarding new recruits; P.Oxy. XLV 3262.1 (328 CE): Leonides archive: μ[η]νιάρχης *σιππ*[. . .]; P.Oxy. LIV 3730.5 (308–312 CE): application from the monthly officer of τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σ[. . .]; P.Oxy. LIV 3734.8 (312 CE): Price declaration by a *μηνιάρχης* of a κοινὸν τῶν ἀλοπωλῶν; P.Oxy. LIV 3740.10 [279] (312 CE): Price declaration by a *μηνιάρχης* of a κοινὸν τῶν καπήλων; P.Oxy. LIV 3743.11–12 (318 CE): Price declaration by a *μηνιάρχης* of a κοινὸν τῶν λευκαν[τῶν]; P.Oxy. LIV 3752.9–10 (319 CE): Price declaration by a *μηνιάρχης* of a κοινὸν τῶν λευκαν[τῶν]; P.Oxy. LIV 3753.9–10 (319 CE): Price declaration by a *μηνιάρχης* of a κοινὸν τῶν *στιπποχ*[ειρ]ιστῶν; P.Oxy. LIV 3765.54–55 (319 CE): Price declaration by the *μηνιάρχει* of a κοινὸν τῶν χρυσοχόων; P.Oxy. LIV 3766.32 (329 CE): Price declaration by the *μηνιάρχει* of a κοινὸν τῶν κναφέ[ω]ν → PSI III 202 [282] *comment*; SB XIV 11593 (Hermopolites, 338–341 CE): list of expenses; SB XIV 12629.5 (Oxyrhynchus, 329–331 CE): trial transcript.

The *μηνιάρχης* was likely responsible for the collection of capitation taxes (P.Oxy. XXXI 2579) and for keeping track of the deaths of guild members and informing the *logistēs* of such deaths (P.Leid.Inst.62.3 [283]). → Van Minnen and Hoogendijk (1991, 226–227) for a list of all known papyrological mentions of a *μηνιάρχης* to date.

ll. 8–9: ἰδίῳ τιμῆματι, “at my own risk.”

Comments

The declaration in this papyrus is related to Diocletian’s economic reforms from 301 CE. The reforms were intended to regulate trade prices in the entire empire. Ceiling prices were established for various goods and materials, and there also seems to have been an attempt to regulate wages. Merchants and guilds were required to swear an oath as to price of the goods they handled, in an attempt to ensure that the ceiling prices were abided by. Many scholars have previously assumed that these reforms were not successful in the long run. Indeed, Lactantius writes that despite the steep punishment meted out to the disobedient, many businessmen refused to regulate the prices of their goods according to Diocletian’s edict (→ P.Ryl. IV 654 [277] *comment*). However, as McMullen 1961 aptly points out, papyri such as this one suggests that Diocletian’s edict did in fact have a significant impact on Roman trade. He notes that these types of declarations continue well into the 340’s CE, indicating a degree of longevity for the edict’s ceiling prices. Note also that part of the *logistēs*’ duties was to make sure that the edict was applied in local marketplaces.

On whether the prices concern the price *paid by the guild* for raw materials or goods to be resold, or the retail price, → PSI III 202 [282] *comment*.

Literature: Bowman, Alan K. 2008. "Oxyrhynchus in the Early Fourth Century: 'Municipalization' and Prosperity." *BASP* 45:31–40; Coles, Revel A. 1987a. "Appendix II: The Guilds of Oxyrhynchus." In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume LXIV*, ed. Revel A. Coles, H. Maehler, and P.J. Parsons. *Graeco-Roman memoirs* 74. London: Egypt Exploration Society; Coles, Revel A. 1987b. "Appendix III: Comparative Commodity Prices." In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume LXIV*, ed. Revel A. Coles, H. Maehler, and P.J. Parsons. *Graeco-Roman memoirs* 74. London: Egypt Exploration Society; Fikhman, Itzhak F. 1965. Египет на рубеже двух эпох. Ремесленники и ремесленный труд в IV – середине VII в. Moscow: Nauka; Hoogendijk, F.A.J. and P. van Minnen. 1991. *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute*, 225–229. Leiden: Brill; McMullen, Ramsay 1961. "Diocletian's Edict and the 'Castrens Modius.'" *Aeg* 41(1):3–5; Montgomery, Henry C. 1944. "Diocletian's Ceiling Prices." In *The Classical Outlook* 21(5):45–46. RL/RR/JSK

[279] P.Oxy. LIV 3740

Price Declaration by a Guild of Tavern-Keepers

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 27 Sept 312 CE

Published: Published: Revel A. Coles, H. Maehler, P.J. Parsons, ed. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LIV (Graeco-Roman memoirs 74; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1987) (no. 3740) [TM 15244; CAPInv 1397]

Current Location: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms 13 1B 212–213/A(g)

Similar or related documents: P.Oxy. LIV 3762 (ca. 326 CE): price declaration from the same guild. For other price declarations see *Similar or related documents section* of P.Oxy. LIV 3734 [278].

Papyrus, 25 cm. high. The final entry in a sequence of four declarations (LIV 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, all dated 27 Sept 312 CE). The first hand is the same in all four.

ὑπατείας [τῶ]ν δεσποτῶν
 ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου
 Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιν[ο]ῦ
 Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ β.
 5 Οὐαλερίῳ Ἡ[ρ]οῦ καὶ Σαρα-
 πίῳ λογιστῇ Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 παρὰ [τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν καπλήων
 τῆς [αὐτῆς] πόλεως δι(ὰ) <hand 2> ἡμῶν
 Θεοδ[ώ]ρου Σαραπίωνος καὶ

- 10 Διο[δώρου] Διονυσίου μην(ιαρχῶν). <hand 1> ἀκολου-
 θῶ[ς τοῖς κελευ]σθεῖσιν ιδ[ί]ῳ τι-
 μήμα[τι προσφωνο]ῦμεν τῇν ἐ-
 ξῆ[ς τιμήν ὧν] χ<ε>ριζόμεν ὠνίων
 κ[αὶ ὀμνύομεν τὸ]ν θεῖον ὄρκον μὴ
 15 ἐψε[ῖσθαι]. ἔστι δέ·
 οἷν[ου Ὁα]σιτικοῦ ξ(έστου) α ✕ <hand 2> οε
 <hand 1> κνι[δίου Θ]ηβαϊκοῦ ξ(έστου) α ✕ <hand 2> οε
 <hand 1> ὑπα[τε]ρίας αὐτῆς, Θῶθ λ.
 — —
 ((unintelligible))
 <hand 2> Αὐρῆ[λι]οι Θεόδωρος καὶ Διόδωρος
 20 (unintelligible) προ[σ]φωνοῦμεν ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὁρί-
 [ων ἔ]γρ(αψα) ὑ(πέρ) αὐτῶν γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδόντων.

<hand 1> During the consulships of our lords, Flavius Valerius Constantinus and Licinianus Licinius, Augusti for the second time. (5) To Valerius Heron, also called Sarapiōn, the *logistēs* of the Oxyrhynchite nome from the guild of tavern-keepers of the same city through <hand 2> Theodōros son of Sarapiōn and (10) Diodōros son of Dionysios, our monthly presidents. <hand 1> In accordance with what has been ordered, at personal cost (or at our own valuation), we declare the price of possessed products (ἐξῆς) for sale (ὠνίων) which we manage and we swear the divine oath not (15) to have lied.

[The price] is as follows:

Oasite wine, 1 sextarius <hand 2> 75 (dn.)

<hand 1> Theban wine, the Cnidian type, 1 sextarius <hand 2> 75 (dn.)

<hand 1> During the same consulships, Thoth 30.

<hand 2> We, Aurelioi Theodōros and Diodōros, (20) declare (it to be) as set forth above. I, Aurelios Horion, wrote on behalf of them (because) they are illiterate.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: κοινόν; leadership term: μηνιάρχης; collective interaction with nome official; collective declaration of prices.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

ll. 2–3: Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου: Regnal dates: 309–310 CE; 312–313 CE

ll. 3–4: Λικιννιαν[ο]ῦ Λικινίου: Regnal dates: 309–310 CE; 312–313 CE.

l. 10: μην(ιαρχῶν), monthly officers → P.Oxy. LIV 3734.8 [278] note.

l. 17: κνι[δίου Θ]ηβαϊκοῦ: “Cnidian” often refers to a jar’s size and style. Here, the quantity of this product is already indicated (a *sextarius*) and so Cnidian must mean something other than the jar’s size. What further complicates the entry is that the

wine came from the Thebaid and therefore “Cnidian” likely does not refer to wine imported from Cnidia. The editors propose that this is “Cnidian (wine), made in the Thebaid” (107).

- ll. 20–21: Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ὁρτίων. Aurelius Horion. See Coles 1987, 241. Aurelius Horion is also responsible for the subscriptions of P.Oxy. LIV 3739 (312 CE), 3743 (probably) (318 CE), 3748, 3749, 3750 (all 319 CE), 3762 (possibly, 326 CE?) and 3766 (319 CE). Cole (1980, 239) suggests that P.Harr. inv. 190c may also be from Horion’s hand.

Comments

A second hand is discernible in all the expected places: Aurelius Horion, the proxy for the monthly officers, filled in the names of Theodōros and Diodōros and added the price of two types of wine that the tavern-keepers stock, both priced at 75 *den.* per sextarius.

Who were the Oxyrhynchite *κάπηλοι*? Without further information, this designation is difficult to narrow more than “dealer” or “merchant” or “shopkeeper.” San Nicolò observes that we gain greater clarity sometimes with compounds. Some examples of these include: *έλαιοκάπηλος* [“oil seller”; P.Petr. III 86, 4], *οἰνοκάπηλος* [“wine seller”; P.Lond. III S. 70ff], *σιτοκάπηλος* [“wheat seller”; P.Tebt. 120], *ἄρτοκάπηλος* [“bread-seller”; Stud.Pal. X, 233, col 3, 6], and *ὀροβοκάπηλος* [“vetch seller”; P.Klein. Form. 733, 3] (I 134). He continues: “later *καπήλος* often had the sense of *οἰνοκάπηλος* – [i.e.,] host [of an inn or tavern]” (134). As early as the Ptolemaic period *καπηλεῖον* meant “inn” or “tavern” (see P.Tebt. I 43.18, 118 BCE; and P.Tebt. I 230, late II BCE; cf. San Nicolò 1972, 1:134, n.6). Since our papyrus specifies that the association of *κάπηλοι* purchased and sold two varieties of wine, the editors correctly identify them as wine-merchants or tavern-keepers, English designations which they deem as synonymous. Some scholars have distinguished between wine-handlers (*οἰνοπρᾶται*) and hosts [of taverns] (*κάπηλοι*) (see San Nicolò 1972, 1:134 n.6) but our papyrus attests to wine-*κάπηλοι*, who should likely be differentiated from wine-*πρᾶται* such as those in P.Tebt. II 612 (II CE) and therefore the editors’ description of “tavern-keepers” seems plausible.

Unfortunately, we have little evidence of Oxyrhynchite taverns outside of this papyrus and P.Oxy. LIV 3762 (ca. 326 CE). Ancient inns and taverns varied in services and size. Hospitality establishments varied in nature, including: *stabula*, *hospitia*, *popinae*, and *tabernae*. The former two offered hospitality as well as food while the latter two offered simple food and drink but no hospitality services. At Pompeii, inns were located at the entrance of the city and on busy roads, near the baths, amphitheater, and forum. There were more than fifty *popinae* and *tabernae* in Pompeii, which gives some indications of how many tavern-owners there might be in a major Roman city (DeFelice 2007). Pompeii’s population was perhaps 20,000, while Oxyrhynchus’ was the same between I BCE–I CE.

The Oxyrhynchite tavern-keepers appear again in a price declaration from approximately fourteen years later (P.Oxy. LIV 3762 ca. 326 CE). This fragmentary papyrus reads as follows:

- 5 [παρὰ τοῦ κ]οινοῦ [τ]ῶν καπ[ήλων]
 [. . .] [±?]
 [. . .] [±?]
 [. . .] . μὲν καὶ . . . [±?]
 προσφώνῳ τῇ[ν ἐξῆς]
 10 ἐγγεγραμμένην τιμὴν
 ὧν [χεῖρι]ζῶ ὧνίφ[ν καὶ] ὁ-
 μνύω τὸν θεῖ[ον ὅ]ρκον
 μηδὲν διεψεύσθαι.
 ἔστι δέ·
 15 οἶν[ο]ν Ὀασιτικοῦ (ξέστου) α × υ
 κν[ι]δίον Θηβαϊκοῦ (ξέστου) α × γ[ζ]ε
 — —
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀμμων προσφ(ωνῶ) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὀρίων ἐγρ(αψα) ὑ(πέρ) αὐτοῦ
 γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότος).

... from the guild of tavern-keepers ... and ... I declare the prices written herein of the products for sale of which I manage and I swear the divine oath not to deceive.

[The price] is as follows: Oasite wine, 1 sextarius, 400 den.; Theban (wine), the Cnidian type, 1 sextarius 375(?) denarii.

⟨hand 2⟩ I, Aurelius Ammōn, declare (it to be) as set forth (here). Aurelius Horiōn wrote on his behalf (because he is illiterate).

The type of wine remained the same but the price quadrupled in the fourteen year interval. A year later (327 CE), Oxyrhynchite wine was purchased for 300 (cheap) and 375 denarii per sextarius. Bagnall provides a list of wine prices in other texts (Bagnall 1985, 66) but it is necessary to distinguish these texts, some of which reflect retail prices, with the wholesale purchases represented in the declarations.

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 1985. *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*. BASP Supplements 5. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press; Coles, Revel A. 1980. "P. Harr. 73 and 160 Revised." In *ZPE* 37:229–239; Coles, Revel A. 1987. "Scribes and Subscribers." In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LIV. ed. Revel A. Coles, H. Maehler, P.J. Parsons. Graeco-Roman memoirs 74, 241. London: Egypt Exploration Society; DeFelice, John 2007. "Inns and taverns." In *The World of Pompeii*, ed. J.J. Dobbins, 474–486. New York: Routledge; Frank, Tenney 1918. "The Economic Life of an Ancient City." In *CP* 13:225–240; Mayerson, P. 2000. "The Knidian Jar in Egypt: Popular, Made in Egypt, and of Unknown Capacity." In *ZPE* 131:165–167; San Nicolò, Mariano 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer. I: Die Vereinsarten; II: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht*. 2. Aufl. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 2. Heft. Munich: C.H. Beck.

RL

[280] SEG 41:1612–1615

Proskynēmata of a Guild of Ironsmiths

Memnoneia (Deir el Bahri) [Upper Egypt]

27–28 Dec 324 CE

Published: Adam Łajtar. “Proskynema Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th Cent. A.D.” In *JJP* 21 (1991) 53–70, 55–63 (nos. 1–4) (SEG 41:1612–1615) [TM 23751, 23752, 23754, 34049, 96893; CAPInv 1365]

Similar or related documents: → SEG 41:1613; SEG 41:1614; SEG 41:1615, records of *proskynēmata* over a period of 30 years.

Inscription on the south wall of a the niche at the base of Thutmosis III’s throne. 31 × 10 cm. Red ochre, faded and smudged in the middle of l. 9.

41:1612:

{Τυ} Τῦβι α καὶ β, ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κ<vacat>ων-
<vacat> σ[ταν]τίνου τῶν ἐ[ὕγεν]εστάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανεστάτω]ν Καισάρ[ων]
τὸ γ

γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα μ·τοτων θυσίαν ὄνον, πλῆθος σιδηρουργ[ῶ]ν
Ἑρμώνθεος,

ὦν τὸ κατ’ ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται)· Ποῦμσι Ἀσκοῦ μμᾶλος ἀρχι(–), β ἀρχι(–)
Πενᾶς Ἀσκοῦ [·]μᾶλος,

5 [γ] ἀρχι(–) Λούσις·σανκ·μ·μ(–)ε(–) Π(–)πκ[ο]ῖ(σις) ζυτοπ(οιὸς)
φ·ατεως, Χολλῶς Πασῆμις καὶ Τύρα[ννος]

Βησᾶ καὶ Πεσοῦρις Φθόϊ καὶ Π(–)πκοῖ(σις) Χολλῶς καὶ Κουελ(–) καὶ
Π(–)πεκοῖσις Πκοῖ(σιος) [καὶ]

καὶ Πεσοῦρις Λολο[ῦ]τος καὶ Ἀτρῆς Ὠρίονος Θεοφάνους γραμματεὺς<ς>
τῶν πλήθου

καὶ Δίδυμος Π[αβ]ώτου καὶ Πλῆ(νις) ὀνηλάτου· αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον
ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ

κ[α]ὶ πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμ[·····] ἐνταῦθ’ ε····τα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ
ἐποί[ησα]ν.

Tybi 1 and 2, in the consulship of our Lords, the most noble and most distinguished Caesars, Crispus and C[on]stantius, for the third time. We arrived here <unreadable> donkey sacrifice, the association (*plēthos*) of ironsmiths of Hermonthis, who are listed individually: Poumsi son of Askos . . ., the archi. . .; second archi. . ., Penas son of Askos . . .; (5) third archi. . .: Lucius son of <unreadable> P... pkoisis a brewer. . .; Chollos son of Pasemis, Tyrannos son of Besas, Pesouris son of Phthoi, P(...)pkois(sis) son of Chollos, and Kouel... and P()pekoisis son of Pkois(sis), Pesouris son of Lolous, Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes, the secretary (*grammateus*) of the association, and Didymos son of Pabotes, Ple(nis) the

donkey rearer. He (i.e., Didymos) slaughtered the donkey before the god and all have made the *proskynēma* here to the great god. (Łajtar's translation, modified slightly)

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: *πληθος*; leadership terms: *γραμματεὺς* and other unrestored terms; artisans in the plural; collective sacrifices.

Location: Memnoneia - Djeme (Thebes west) (4th Upper Egyptian nome) TM geo ref. 1341; Barrington Atlas 80 B2.

1. 3: *θυσίαν ὄνον*, “donkey sacrifice.” We rarely come across mentions of donkey sacrifice in ancient sources, and therefore its appearance here deserves further explanation. In the ancient Mediterranean world, donkeys were ubiquitous, and employed in almost all types of economic production. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, we rarely come across donkeys as sacrificial victims. Unlike horses, whose relationship with its owner was often glorified and who were often connected with deities, donkeys were rarely given individual names or seen as having any special relationship with its owner. There is some fragmentary evidence of a donkey-cult celebrated by the Mycenaean Greeks, but little evidence of any cultic significance during the Archaic and Classical periods. Dionysos came to be associated with donkeys in later periods, but the temple in this inscription is not related to Dionysos. This scarcity of evidence regarding the cultic significance of donkeys reinforces the fact that in antiquity, donkeys were work animals rather than connected with cultic practices. This suggests that the donkey sacrifice here was probably not related to the Temple of Hatshepsut. Instead, the fact that a donkey was sacrificed was probably related to the occupation of the association members. Working with iron in antiquity involved a great deal of transport. Generally, the place for smelting the iron was not the same place where the iron was mined (many smelting stations have been found far away from raw materials, e.g. the smelting business in Akko, which most likely relied on material transported from the Galilee). This means that the material had to be transported to smelting stations, a transport process which in all likelihood relied heavily on donkeys. Since the raw material that ironsmiths dealt with is heavy and usually transported in large quantities, both prior to and following smelting, donkeys were likely a key economic asset in this business. We might thus hypothesize that the reason why a donkey was sacrificed by this association of iron-workers was because donkeys represented a key role in the economic production of iron, and as such the sacrifice of a donkey would have been a real loss for an ironsmiths, which increases its value as a sacrificial victim.
1. 5: *ζυτοπ(οιός)*, brewer: → BGU VI 1244.5 (Herakleopolites, 225 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. II 59202.4 (Krokidilopolis, 254 BCE); SB III 7202 (Arsinoites, 227 BCE); SB XVI 12414.6 (Ghoran, 225 BCE); SB XVI 12415.3 (Ghoran, 225 BCE), etc.

Comments

This association of ironsmiths left a collection of 6 inscriptions dating from 324 CE to 357 CE, at least 33 years. According to Łajtar the association numbered 13 in 324 – 12 ironsmiths and a secretary – and 13 in the fourth text (SEG 41:1615). The association was based in Hermonthis but the donkey sacrifice occurred in the temple in Deir el-Bahri, some 20 km. from Hermonthis.

The following inscriptions are too fragmentary to translate, but since they are all *proskynēmata*, we might hypothesize that they include the same elements of the epigraphic genre: a statement of arrival (“we/I came here”) to the temple/holy place; a list of names of the pilgrims; and perhaps a brief inscription of the ritual activities carried out, as in the better-preserved inscription presented above.

ς νέας [ιvδ]υκτί[ο]v[ο]ς, Τυβ[ι]· γ[ενόμε]-
θα ἐνταῦθα [-----] ον
[.....]·[... πλ.]ῆθος [σιδηρο]υρ[γών] Ἑρμ[ών]θεως
[ῶ]v τὸ κατ' ὄνομα [δ]ι[α(γέγραπται)]· Χολκῶς Πα[σ]ήμιος ἀρχι(-),
β ἀρχι(-) [-----]
[-----] π.
[καὶ Π]εσοῦρις [Λ]ολοῦτος [.....]σ[.....]νεθα[.....]υπ[.....]
κρ[---] καὶ Π(-)ποκί(ς) δ[.....]αιου [.....]
καὶ Ἀρῆ[ς] Ὠρίο[vο]ς Θ[εο]φάνους γραμματε[ύς· α]ὕτ[ος καὶ]
ο[ἱ] πάντες τὸ προσκύνημ[α] υ[.]ατων ε[.... ἐποίησαν(?)]
ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ].

ις? ἰνδικτιόνος, Τῷβι α? καὶ β?, [ύ]πατει[ας]
 τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶν ἡ[μ]ῶν [Κωνσταν]τ[ίου Αὐγ(ούστου) τὸ θ? καὶ Ἰουλιανού
 τοῦ]
 ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτου Καί[σαρος τὸ β?. γε]νόμεθα ἐ[v]-
 ταῦθα λυτήτης θυσία[· ὄν]ογ, πληθός
 5 σιδηρουργῶν· Ἐρ[μώ]γθε[ως ὄν] τὸ [κατ' ὄνομα]
 δι(αγέγραπται)· Ληελ[ο]ς ···]αν [· ·· ἀρ]χι(-) Π(-)τρος
 γ ἀρχι(-) τ····α[—————] φ[·]ου
 καὶ Ὠρίων [—————]
 Π(-)τεπ[ο]ηρ[ι —————]
 10 καὶ π·υθα[·····] καὶ [· ···· 13 ····· καὶ] Ἀτρῆς Ὡ[ρίονος]
 Θεοφάν[ου]ς γρα[μμ]ατεὺς· αὐτὸς [·····]·[·]η[····· καὶ]
 οἱ πάντες τὸ προσκύ[νη]μ[ια] υμ[·]θ[— —]
 τῶν κυρίωγ [θεῶν(?)] θ[····] ἐποίη[σαν].

υ[·……14·……]ϛ[·]ν[·]μ[·]σιποιμις
γενόμεθα ἐνθ[αῦθα ·……11·……] θυσίας ὄ[νο·]
πληθος [σ]ιδηρουργῶ[ν] Ἐ[ρμ]ώνθεω[ς ὦν] τὸ κα[τ']

- [ὄνομα δια(γέγραπται)· ····]ισιε[·]πρ· ἀρχι(–), β' ἀρχι(–) Ἀτρῆς Ψ[····]
 5 [···]αῖς καὶ συρημ-ληται Ὠρί(ων) Ὠρί(ονος) πρ·π(–)ν(–)π[··]τ[··]σ
 Τύραννος Κουελ(–), Παμώνθης υ[··]μην[··]υ καὶ Π[ε]ταῖς
 {ς} Παβώτ[ο]υ «καὶ»·αἰα·ν·[····]αι[·]ασιμου καὶ Μωνκο[ρ]ῆς
 καὶ τ··πε[····] καὶ Ἀτρῆς Ὠ[ρ]ίογος τ[οῦ] Θεοφάνους
 γραμματεοῦς ··α··ε ω τυ

Literature: **Gibbs**, Matthew 2011. “Trade Associations in Roman Egypt: Their raison d’être.” In *AnSoc* 41:291–315 (302); **Griffith**, Mark 2006. “Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the ancient Greek Imagination.” In *CP* 101:185–246; **Poehler**, Eric E., Juliana **van Roggen**, and Benjamin M. **Crowther**. 2019. “The Iron Streets of Pompeii.” In *AJA* 123:237–262; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (13). RR

[281] P.Oxy. XLV 3261

Recruits from a Guild of Tow Handlers

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 324 CE
 Published: A.K. Bowman, M.W. Haslam, S.A. Stephens, and M.L. West, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume XLV*, Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 63 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1977) 140–142 (no. 3261); BL XLV 3261 [TM 15924; CAPInv 1737]

Current location: Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms P.Oxy. 3261

Similar or related documents: → P.Oxy. I 103 (316 CE): lease of land 1 aroura near Ision Panga for flax from Aurelius Themistokles also called Dioskourides, gymnasiarch and prytanis, by Aurelius Leonides and Dioskourous son of Ammōnios; P.Oxy. II 209 (ca. 312 CE): copy of Romans (a writing exercise?); P.Oxy. II 210 (ca. 312 CE): a non-canonical gospel (→ Smith and Landau 2019); P.Oxy. XXXI 2585 (315 CE): lease of 2 ½ arourae near Ision Panga; P.Oxy. XXXIII 2673 (304 CE) [TM 16878= Blumell and Wayment 2015, no. 114]: a declaration of confiscated church property by Ammōnios, Leonides’s partner; P.Oxy. XLV 3254 (312? 313? 314? CE): sale of flax crop by Aurelius Euaggelos to Aurelius Leonides; P.Oxy. XLV 3255 = P.Coll. Youtie II 80 (7 Nov 315 CE): lease of land near Ision Panga from Aurelia Eutropia daughter of Theodōros, also called Chairemon, former gymnasiarch and prytanis of Oxyrhynchus; P.Oxy. XLV 3256 (317 CE): application to Aurelius Heron (aka Serapion), former gymnasiarch and prytanis of Oxyrhynchus by Aurelius Dioskoros and Leonides son of Theon to lease 13 arourae near Antipera Pela; P.Oxy. XLV 3257 (318 CE): application from Aurelius Leonides son of Theon and

Ammōnios son of Kopres to lease 5 arourae; P.Oxy. XLV 3258 (319 CE): lease of land from Aurelius Dios son of Zoilos by Aurelius Leonides son of Theon; P.Oxy. XLV 3259 (319 CE): lease of land from Aurelius Apollōnios also called Serenos to Aurelius Leonides son of Theon; P.Oxy. XLV 3260 (323 CE): sublease of 6 arourae belonging to Giasnos son of Ammōnios to Leonides son of Theon; P.Oxy. XLV 3262 (Oxyrhynchus, 328 CE): receipt that designates Leonides as a μ[η]νιάρχης σιμπ[....?], monthly officer of the tow...?; PSI V 469 (334 CE): lease of 14 arourae near Ision Panga.

Papyrus, 25.8 × 22.8 cm., blank on the back. From the Leonides archive [TM ARCH id. 132]

⟨right margin⟩ Διόσκορος [.] . ἰωνος εὐδοκῶ.

- τοῖς ἐσομ[έ]νοις ὑπά[τοις] τὸ δ
οἱ ἐξῆς ὑπογράφειν [μ]έλλον[τε]ς
Λεωνίδη καὶ Θε[ών]ι καὶ Μ. [. . .] καὶ
Σαρμάτῃ μηνιάρχαις [τῶν σιπιποχειριστῶν?]
5 τῶν χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ ἐπ[ε-]
βλήθημεν παρασχεῖν τίρω[νας]
νεολέκτους κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δια-
σημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγε[μ]όνος
Σαβινιανοῦ κατὰ πρόσταξιν [τ]οῦ διασημοτά[του]
10 δουκὸς Βάρβα καὶ [πα]ρασχόντες
ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐνεγυήσασθε διὰ
χ<ε>ριρογραφειῶν κατὰ ταῦτα [ὁμολο-]
γοῦμεν τὰ πάντα ἀπαξαπλ[ῶς]
ἀναλῶματα ὑποστῆναι, [ἔκα-]
15 στον κατὰ τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις
συνευδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς πᾶσι τοῖς
διαφέρουσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τίρω[σι]
διὰ τὸ συμπεπεῖσθαι κ[α]ὶ συν-
ευδοκεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις. κύρια τὰ
20 γράμματα ἀπλᾶ γραφέντα ἐπὶ ὑπο-
γραφῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπερωτη-
θέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν.
ὑπατείας τῆς προκει[μ]έν[ης,] ἰβ.

— —

Apparatus: 11 Pap. ἐνεγυήσασθαι || 18 Pap. συνπεπῖσθαι

⟨right margin⟩

I, Dioskoros son of [. . .] approve

During the year of the consuls to be designated, for the fourth time. Those just about to sign their names, to Leonidēs and Theōn and M(atrinos) and Sarmatēs, monthly officers of the [tow makers?], (5) greetings.

Whereas we have been enjoined to furnish newly enlisted recruits, in accordance with the order of our most perfect *praeses* Sabinanus (and) pursuant to the order of the most perfect praefect (10) *dux* Barba, and (whereas) you furnished them and guaranteed them by deeds of surety, accordingly we agree to undertake all expenses whatsoever, (15) each proportionately, and on these conditions we consent to everything pertaining to these same recruits, because we have agreed and consent to this conditions. The document, (20) written in one copy over our signature, is valid and when the formal question was put, we gave our acknowledgement.

In the aforesaid consulship of . . . 12th.

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership terms: μηνίαρχαι; artisans in the plural: [σιππ...; certain attestation of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν σιπποχειρι[[ρι]στῶν at Oxyrhynchus in 343 CE → 1. 4 note).

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

1. 4: The *meniarchēs* (monthly officer) → P.Oxy. LIV 3734.8 [278] note.

1. 4: μηνίαρχαις [τῶν σιπποχειριστῶν]. The first part of the lacuna is plausibly restored from designates P.Oxy. XLV 3262 (Oxyrhynchus, 328 CE), which designates Leonidēs as μ[η]νίαρχης σιππ The lacuna in 3261 might be completed as [τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σ(τ)ιπποχειριστῶν, “the guild of tow managers” → P.Harr. II 216R.10 (Oxyrhynchus, 343 CE); P.Iand. VIII 153 (Hermopolites, IV CE); P.Oxy. XVI 1889 (Oxyrhynchus, 496 CE), or τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σ(τ)ιππουργῶν, the guild of tow workers → P.Laur. III 94.1 (unknown provenance, IV CE); P.Strasb. IV 287.1 (Hermopolites, VI CE), or τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σ(τ)ιπποποιῶν, the guild of tow makers → P.Oxy. XXXVI 2799 (Oxyrhynchus, 500–525 CE). Each of the options with κοινόν is too long, however, for the size of the lacuna, about 15 letters. But τῶν σ(τ)ιπποχειριστῶν, τῶν σ(τ)ιππουργῶν, and τῶν σ(τ)ιπποποιῶν are all about the right length. At Oxyrhynchus in the fourth century, a guild of tow handlers (σ(τ)ιπποχειρισταί) is attested by P.Oxy. LIV 3753.6–7 (Oxyrhynchus, 319 CE): παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σιπποχειρι[[ρι]στῶν and P.Harr. II 216 (Oxyrhynchus, 343 CE): παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν σιπποχειρι[[ρι]στῶν. Of the several options (above), the σιπποχειρισταί seems the best, since the guild is securely attested at Oxyrhynchus in the early fourth century.

11. 7–9: το[ῦ δια]σημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγε[μ]όνος | Σαβινιανοῦ. See also named in P.Oxy. I 60.4–6 (Oxyrhynchus, 323 CE): ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς || τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος | Σαβινιανοῦ; P.Sakaon 41.1 = P.Ryl. IV 659 (Oxyrhynchus, 323 CE): Σαβ[ιν]μ[ε]αν[ω] τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόν[ω] Μερκουριανῆς Αἰγύπτου; P.Sakaon 42.1 (Oxyrhynchus, 323 CE): [Σαβινια]γῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόν[ω] Μερκουριανῆς Αἰγύπτου. → Thomas 1984.

Comments

This papyrus seems to concern new recruits to the army that the guild of tow merchants or tow makers supplied. The recruitment was at the behest of Sabinianus, the *praeses* or provincial governor → note on 11. 7–9.

Diocletian apparently instituted regular conscription (Jones 1964, 2:615; Johnson and West 1949, 217). The identity of the recruiters is unclear, but it appears that the guild, here represented by four of its monthly officers, supplied the recruits ([πα]ρασχόντες | ὕμεῖς, ll. 10–11) and offered sureties (against escape?), while the recruiters undertook to pay the expenses (τὰ πάντα ἀπαξἀπλ[ῶς] | ἀναλωμάτα (ll. 13–14). The nature of those expenses is unclear, but it might include payments of a *viaticum* (travelling expenses) to the recruits (→ W.Chr. 480 = BGU II 423, II CE).

The surety (ἐνεγυήσασθε, l. 11) offered by the guild might be seen in the context of concern over the possible escape of the recruits. A slightly later circular letter of a governor to local police chiefs (W.Chr. 469, Thebes, 369 CE) illustrates this concern:

- Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Εὐσέβι[ο]ς
 ῥηπαρίοις κατὰ πόλιν ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδος ἕως Ἀντιοχίας.
 τοὺς νεολέκτους τοὺς ἀποστελλομένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγ[υ]πτιακῆς
 διοικήσεως παρὰ τῶν τὴν εἴσπραξιν π[ο]ιο[υ]μέ[ν]ων
 5 ὑποδεξάμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ
 παραπέμψατε ἐκεῖνο γινώσκοντες ὡς εἴ τις διαφύγοι
 τούτων, οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἀπελεύσεται ἐκεῖνος, οὗ παρὰ
 τὴν ἀμέλειαν φαίνεται ἀποδράς. ἀναγκ[α]σθή[σ]εται δὲ
 αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἀντ' ἐκεῖνον ἕτερον παραστήσαι
 10 μετὰ τοῦ καὶ δίκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμελ[ε]ίας ὑποσχεῖν.

Gaius Valerius Eusebius, to the police chiefs (*riparii*) of the towns from the Thebaid to Antioch: since you have received the new recruits (*neolektoi*) that were sent from those responsible for recruitment from the diocese of Egypt, you shall pass them along, (5) from one station to the next, to Antioch at your own peril, knowing that if any of these should desert, the person through whose negligence he is proved to have gotten free will not go unpunished, but shall be compelled to produce either the deserter or another deserter in his place, (10) and brought to court for his negligence.

The editors of P.Oxy. XLV 3261 adduce P.Oxy. XXXI 2579 + BL VIII 260 (Oxyrhynchus, 4 Aug 309 CE), a declaration of a *meniarchēs* of a guild of tow workers that he has paid the capitation tax on their behalf:

- διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπ{ε}ικεφα-
 λαίου πόλεως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 [ιζ] L καὶ ε L ἀκολούθως τῇ κε-
 λεύσει τοῦ διασημοτάτου
 5 ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς χιλίας
 ἑξακοσίας L Αχ ὑπὲρ ὀνο-
 μάτων δύο Διοσκόρου
 κ[α]ὶ Παγένους νιοῦ τοῦ προ-
 κε[ι]μένου σιμπάτων.
 10 Μεσορὴ ια
 Ἡρακλείδης μηνιάρχης
 σεσημείωμαι

Apparatus: 1–2 Pap. ἐπεικεφαλᾶιου || 2 Pap. ἐνοστῶτος || 7 Pap. Διοσκόρος || 8 Pap. Παγένης υἱὸς || 9 Pap. σιπασδεις || 12 Pap. σεσημειώμε

Payment for the capitation tax (*epikephalaion*) for the present [17th] and 5th year, pursuant to the order of the most illustrious ... (5) one thousand six hundred silver drachmae, making 1600, under two names, Dioskoros and Pagenes both sons of the aforementioned, both tow workers. Mesore 12. I, Herakleidēs the monthly officer, have signed (this).

It is not clear that this is relevant to the current text since it is not the guild or its officers that are undertaking the expenses. Ll. 11–14 is a declaration not of the *meniarchai* but the recruiters: [ὁμολο]γοῦμεν τὰ πάντα ἀπαξ ἀπλ[ῶς] ἀναλῶματα ὑποστῆναι.

The names of the recruits were likely recorded by the recruiters and passed along to the army. P.Oxy. VII 1022 (Oxyrhynchus, 103 CE) is an example of such documentation:

ex(emplum)
 [[C]] Miniciu[s] Italu[s] Celsiano suo [±?] | sal[u]tem | tirones sex{s} probatos a me
 in || coh(orte) cui praeis in numero referri iube ex xi | Kalendas Martias nona
 eorum et icon[i]smos | huic epistulae subieci || vale frater karissim[e] | C Veturium
 Gemellum | annor(um) XXI sine i(conismo) | C Longium Priscum | annor(um)
 XXII i(conismo) supercil(io) sinistr(o) || C Iulium Maximum ann(orum) XXV |
 sine i(conismo) | [. . .] Iulium Secundum | annor(um) XX sine i(conismo) | C
 Iulium Saturninum || annor(um) XXIII i(conismo) manu sinistr(a) | M(arcum)
 Antonium Valentem | ann(orum) XXII i(conismo) frontis | parte dextr(a) | accepta
 vi | k(alendas) Martias ann(o) vi || Imp(eratoris) Traiani n(ostri) per | Priscum
 singul(arem) | <hand 2> Avidius Arrian cornicular(ius) | coh(ortis) II[I] It[ura]eorum
 | scripsi · authenticam || epistulam · in tabulario | cohortis esse

Copy

G. Minicius Italus to his own Celsianus, greetings. Order that the six recruits that I approved be included in the roster of the cohort that you command, to take effect from February 19. I have appended their names and distinguishing marks to this letter. Goodbye dearest brother.

G. Veturius Gemellus, age 21, with no distinguishing mark

G. Longinus Priscus, age 22, with a scar on left eyebrow

G. Julius Maximus, age 25, no distinguishing mark

[. . .] Julius? Secundus, age 20, with no distinguishing mark

Gaius Julius Saturninus, age 23, with a scar on left hand

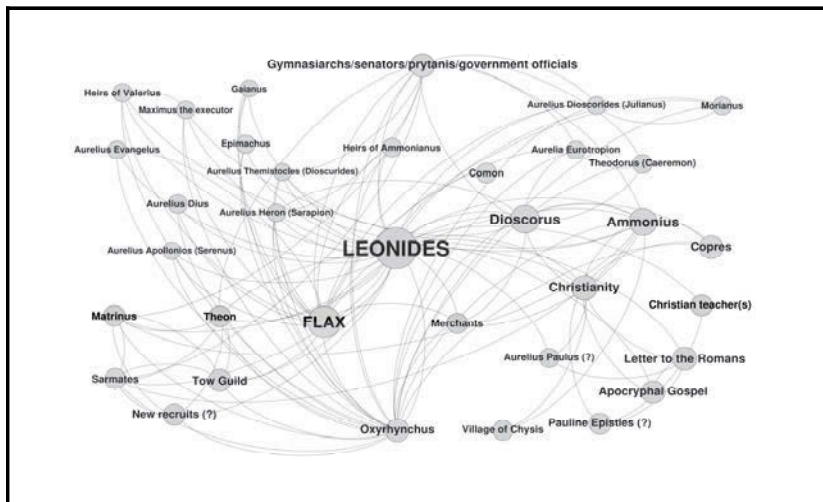
Marcus Antonius Valens, age 22, with a scar on right side of forehead.

Received February 24, year six of our Emperor Trajan through Priscus, aide. I, <hand 2> I, Avidius Arrianus senior clerk (*cornicularius*) of the third cohort of Ituraeans, declare that the original letter is in the archives of the cohort.

On of the noteworthy aspects of P.Oxy. XLV 3261 is that Leonidēs, one of the monthly officers, was a Christian. His archive contains a poorly copied excerpt from Romans, which may have been a writing exercise (P.Oxy II 209 = P¹⁰), and (probably) a non-canonical gospel (P.Oxy. II 210, ca. 312 CE → Smith

Ammōnios, a flax farmer, was also part of the flax trade, which indicates that the occupational network shared by these flax producers and merchants may have been partial to some form of the Christ cult.

Visualization of Leonides' social network (by Christina Gousopoulos):



Literature: Blumell, Lincoln, and Thomas A. Wayment 2015. *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources (Second Through Fourth Centuries)*.

Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press; **Casson**, Lionel 1965. "Harbours and River Boats of Ancient Rome" *JRS* 55:31–39; **Choat**, Malcolm, and Rachel **Yuen-Collingridge**. 2009. "A Church with No Books and a Reader Who Cannot Write: The Strange Case of P.Oxy. 33.2673." In *BASP* 46:109–138; **Clarke**, G. W. 1984. "An Illiterate Lector?" *ZPE* 57:103–104; **Johnson**, Allan C., and Louis C. **West** 1949. *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*. Princeton University studies in papyrology, no. 6. Princeton: Princeton University Press; **Jones**, A.H.M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; **Kloppenborg**, John S. 2019. *Christ's Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; **Luijendijk**, Annemarie 2011. "A New Testament Papyrus and Its Documentary Context: An Early Christian Writing Exercise from the Archive of Leonides ('P.Oxy. II 209/ \mathfrak{P}^{10})." In *JBL* 129(3): 575–596; **Mayerson**, Philip 2000. "The Role of Flax in Roman and Fatimid Egypt." In *JNES* 56(3): 201–207; **Smith**, Geoffrey S., and Brent C. **Landau**. 2019. "Canonical and Apocryphal Writings Copied by the Same Scribe: P.Oxy. II 209 (= \mathfrak{P}^{10}) and P.Oxy. II 210, and the Archive of Aurelius Leonides." In *ETL* 95(1): 143–160; **Thomas**, David J. 1984. "Sabinianus, Praeses of Aegyptus Mercuriana?" *BASP* 21:225–234; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (85–90); **Wipszycka**, Ewa. 1983. "Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire ou un chrétien ou un qui ne veut pas se souiller? (P.Oxy. XXXIII 2673)." In *ZPE* 50:117–21.

RR/CG/JSK

[282] PSI III 202

Declarations of Prices by two Associations

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) ca. 338 CE
 Published: Teresa Lodi in Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa, eds., *Papiri greci e latini*, VIII. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto (Florence: Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, 1914) no. 202, with Revel A. Coles. "Some Corrections to PSI III 202." *ZPE* 39 (1980) 124–125 (ph.) + BL VIII 394 [TM 20030; CAPInv 1423]
 Current location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 13827; other inv.: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana PSI 202
 Digital image: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;3;202>
 Similar or related documents: → P.Oxy. I 85 = P.Oxy. LIV 3772 (same scribe → Coles 1980b); see also P.Oxy. LIV 3734 [278] for a list of price declarations of guilds.

Papyrus, 7 × 17 cm. The editors indicate that "the papyrus probably comes from the excavations at Bahnasa [Oxyrhynchus]" but the custody of the papyrus cannot be traced back to the period 1910–1914 when the excavations occurred.

⟨col. i⟩

- [Ὁξυρυγχείτου πα-]
 ρᾶ τ[οῦ κοινου]
 τῶν χοιρομαγί-
 ρων τῆς αὐτῆς
 5 πόλεως δι' Ἀρτεμιδώ-
 ρου καὶ Εὐλόγιου καὶ κοι(νωνῶν).
 προσφωνοῦμεν
 ἰδίῳ τιμήματι
 τὴν ἐξῆς ἐγγε-
 10 γραμμένην τι(μὴν)
 ὧν χ(ε)ιρίζομεν
 ὀνίων εἶναι ἐπὶ
 τοῦδε τοῦ μη(νός), καὶ ὁ-
 μνύομεν τὸν θεῖον
 15 [ὄ]ρκον μηδὲν διε-
 ψεῦσθαι. ἐστὶ δέ·
 [κ]ρέως χοιρίου λ(ίτραι) α
 (τάλαντον) ⟨hand 2⟩ α Χ Ϲ.

⟨hand 1⟩

- [ὕ]πατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης),
 20 Ἀθὺρ λ.
 —

⟨hand 2⟩ Αὐρήλιοι Εὐλόγιος

- [κ]αὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος
 πρ(οσ)φωνοῦμεν
 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Θεῶν
 ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῶν
 25 [γ]ρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότων).

⟨col. ii⟩

⟨hand 1⟩

- [τοῦ κοινου]
 τῶν ἰχθ[υοπωλῶν τῆς]
 αὐτῆς πόλεως [διὰ]
 Ἰέρακος.
 30 προσφωνοῦμε[ν]
 ἰδίῳ τιμήματι [τὴν]
 ἐξῆς ἐγ' γεγραμμ[ένην]
 τιμὴν ὧν χ(ε)ιρίζο-
 μεν ὀνίων εἶ[ναι]
 35 ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μη(νός), [καὶ]
 ὁμνύομεν τὸν θε[ῖον]
 ὄρκον μηδὲν διεψ[εῦσθαι].

- ἔστι δέ·
 ἰχθύων παντοίω[ν]
 40 <hand 2> τάλ(αντον) α [±?]
 <hand 1> λι(τρας) α ✕ <hand 2> Α [±?]
 ὑπατείας τῆς π[ροκ(ειμένης)],
 Ἀθὺρ λ
 — —
 <hand 2> Αὐρήλιος Ἰέρ[αξ]
 45 πρ(οσ)φωνῶ ὥς πρ[όκ(ειται). Θέων]
 ἐγρα{ψα}ψα ὑπ(έρ) αὐτ[οῦ γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδ(ότος)]

[Fr]om]the Oxyrhynchite association of pork butchers of the (5) same city, through Artemidōros and Eulogios and their partners. We make this declaration, subject to punishment, of the list of (10) registered prices that we have recorded of those goods that were purchased for this month, and swear an oath by the divinity (15) and that we have not falsified anything. The account is as follows: 1 libra of pork meat, worth 1 talent <hand 2> 1900 denarii <hand 1> During the above-mentioned consulship, (20) Hathyr 20. <hand 2> We, Aurelius Eulogios and Artemidōros, declare as stated above. I, Theon, have written this because (25) they are illiterate.
 <col. ii> <hand 1> . . . of the fish mongers of the same city, through Hierax. (30) We make this declaration, subject to punishment, of the list of registered prices that we have recorded of those goods that were purchased (35) for this month, and we swear an oath by the divinity that we have not falsified anything. The account is as follows:
 various fish: (40) <hand 2> 1 talent <hand 1> 1 libra, 1000 denarii . . . During the aforementioned consulship. Hathyr 30.
 <hand 2> I, Aurelius Hierax (45) make a declaration [as above. I, Theon], wrote this for him [because he is illiterate].

Notes

Association? Probable; associative term: κοινόν (restored); collective declaration of prices.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

ll. 17, 41: λ(ιτραί). 2.1888 litres.

l. 39: ἰχθύων παντοίω[ν], various fish → P.Oxy. LIV 3677.17 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE): ἰ[χ]θύων παντοίων. There the price is listed at λι(τρας) α [✕] <hand 2> φ, 1 litre, 500 dn.

Comments

Price declarations concern the price guilds had to pay, either for raw materials used in their trade, or the prices paid for goods that were to be resold (Coles

1980a). For example, P.Oxy. LIV 3766.44 (Oxyrhynchus, 327 CE), a declaration of fullers concerning the price of natron: νίτρου Ἀραβικοῦ κεῖν(τηναρίου) α [✕] <hand l> φ, 1 centenarion at 500 dn., potters declaring the price of pitch: πίσσης ξηρᾶς Σιρίτικῆς κεν(τηναρίου) α τάλ(αντα) γ (ll. 71–72), 1 centenarion at 3 talents, and perfume makers declaring the price of various aromatic substances. In P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE), coppersmiths declare the price of copper, bakers, the price of wheat, and beer-merchants the price of barley. Coles 1980a, 230 points out that if l. 27 were restored as τῶν [ἀλιέων τῆς], “of the fishermen,” the price would have to be the selling price of the fish. If, however, the line is restored as τῶν ἰχθ[υοπωλῶν τῆς], the price would still be the price paid by the fishmongers, not the price at which they sold the fish.

Literature: Coles, Revel A. 1980a. “P. Harr. 73 and 160 Revised.” *ZPE* 37:229–239; Coles, Revel A. 1980b. “Some Corrections to PSI III 202.” *ZPE* 39:124–125.

[283] P.Leid.Inst. 62

Declaration of the Death of a Guild Member

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 10 Dec 370 CE? 385? 400? CE

Published: F.A.J. Hoogendijk and P. van Minnen, *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute* (Leiden: Brill, 1991) 225–229 (P.Lug.Bat. 25, 62) + BL X 116 [TM 18485]

Current location: Leiden, Papyrological Institute inv. 65.

Similar or related documents: → P.Oxy. X 1328 (also written by Heraclius); P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE); PSI XV 1566; P.Oxy. XXII 2340 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE); PUG I 24 I 3 (same guild of Oxyrhynchite carpet-weavers).

Papyrus, 21 × 8.3 cm. Light brown papyrus of moderate quality. Well preserved but broken at l.6. Complete text with margins (upper 1.5 cm, lower 6 cm) on all sides. Probably written on a blank piece of papyrus cut from the bottom of a larger document as is suggested by the presence of traces of ink at the end of ll. 2, 5 and 12. The editors have dated it palaeographically to the end of the fourth century CE based on Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolenses*, Tab. 41.

χμγ

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἀλεξάν-

δρῳ μηνιάρχῃ καὶ κοινωνοῖς

ἐργασίας ταπηταίων

5 Ἡράκλειος συστάτης χαίρειν).

ἐκούφισα Ἀντίνου

Ἡρακλείδου περὶ τοῦ

- ἀναβολικοῦ τῆς τρεῖςκαι-
 δεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος·
 10 οὐδέν<α> γάρ {α}λόγον ἔχων
 πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς συντελε<ε>ίας αὐτοῦ.
 Ἡράκλειος συστάτης
 σεσημείωμ(αι)
 15 Χοιὰκ ἰδ

Apparatus: 2–3 Pap. Ἀλεξάνδρου || 3 Pap. μηνίρχης || 3 Pap. κυνονοῖς || 4 Pap. ταπιταρίον || 5. 1. χέρ(ειν) || 6 Pap. κουφίσας || 10 Pap. ἔχων || 14 Pap. σεσημίομ(αι)

To my lord and brother Alexander, the monthly officer (μηνίρχης) and fellow members of the guild of carpet workers, (5) registrar (*systatēs*), sends greetings. I have cancelled the (name) of Antinoüs son of Herakleidēs in relation to the *anabolikon* of the thirteenth indiction. (10) I have nothing unaccounted for him regarding the above-mentioned tax. I, Herakleios, the *systatēs*, have signed.

Dated: 14th Choiak.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: ἐργασία; leadership term: μηνίρχης; interaction with state officials on behalf of a [deceased] member)

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

1. 1: χμγ: a Christian acronym that occurs on the top of documents from the middle of the fourth century onwards. The exact meaning is a long-standing topic of debate but the two main interpretations are Χ(ριστός) (ὁ) (ἐκ) Μ(αρίας) γ(εννηθεὶς) “Christ, born from Mary” and Χ(ριστός), Μ(ιχαήλ), Γ(αβρήλ) “Christ, Michael and Gabriel.” See Tjäder (1970) and Robinson (1986).
1. 3: μηνίρχης, monthly officer → P.Oxy. LIV 3734.8 [278] *note*. The *meniarch* was likely responsible for the collection of capitation taxes (P.Oxy. XXXI 2579) and for keeping track of the deaths of guild members and informing the logistēs of such deaths (P.Leid.Inst.62.3 [283]). → Van Minnen and Hoogendijk (1991, 226–227) for a list of all known papyrological mentions of a *meniarch* to date.
1. 4: ἐργασίας ταπιταρίον: “guild of carpet weavers.” This guild, also known from PUG I 24 I 3, produced hearth rugs and likely cloth for the military (P.Oxy X 1253), in addition to the *anabolikon*. It is noteworthy that the *anabolikon* could be contracted from carpet weavers in the late fourth century as it previously had been the sole domain of linen and flax guilds. See P.Oxy XII 1414 [272] and P.Ryl. IV 654 [277] for a full treatment of the *anabolikon* taxation procedure.
1. 5: Ἡράκλειος συστάτης: Heraclius, also known from P.Oxy. X 1328, informs the guild of Antinoüs’ removal from the tax roll. Herakleios also begins P.Oxy. X 1328 with the χμγ symbol. The *systates* is known to have played a role in collecting the *anabolikon* from P.Merton I 34 and PUG I 24. See *Comments* for further discussion.
11. 8–9: ἀναβολικοῦ τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος: “*anabolikon* of the thirteenth indiction.” An indiction was a cycle of fifteen-year fiscal periods whereby the Roman

authorities could reassess agricultural or land taxes in Egypt. Originally, they were conducted in five year intervals starting in 287 CE but moved to a fifteen-year cycle after 318 CE. This document is dated on palaeographic grounds to the later half of the fourth century; however, it is unclear when exactly the thirteenth indiction took place. The date could be either 370, 385 or 399 CE. For late antique dating systems, see Bagnall and Worp 1978.

- l. 10: οὐδεν γὰρ αλογον ἔχον: The scribe has a second-rate knowledge of Greek. He mutilates the formulaic expression οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον (there is no record) into οὐδεν γὰρ ἄλογον. Generally, ἄλογον means “stupid” or “unmeasured” in the papyri. The scribe intended to use the standard phrasing to show there is no outstanding debt but his middling knowledge of Greek and the difficulties of *scripta continua* text caused him to transpose the alpha after γάρ.

Comments

This document shows one side of a correspondence between a guild of carpet-weavers and the local *systatēs*, Herakleios. It is likely that the guild has written to Herakleios, informing him of the death of one of their members, Antinoüs. Herakleios then writes back, informing the guild that Antinoüs has been stricken from the tax requirements of the guild, which was based on the number of members instead of a flat rate on guild operations. It is not entirely clear that Antinoüs has died but suggested by the complete removal of his tax portion and the verification that Herakleios has “no record of him on the mentioned tax,” (οὐδεν γὰρ αλόγον ἔχον πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συντελίας αὐτοῦ).

The number of guild members and the expectation of tax materials was a delicate balance that is often addressed in papyrological records. The linen weavers of P.Oxy. XII 1414 [272] for instance, make mention of their inability to produce the required amount of linen due to increases in material and labour costs. Similarly, the weavers of P.Ryl. IV 65 [277] are quite concerned about the abduction of a guild member, citing their contribution to the public good (ταῖς δημοσiais... χρείαις) in hopes of a favourable ruling from the prefect. In the context of labor shortage and the increased pressure of in kind taxation in the late Empire, occupational guilds were extremely concerned about top down pressure and their ability to produce required amounts for government taxation. The recognition of the death of a guild member and subsequent relief from his portion of tax would have been a welcome document to the carpet weavers in such a strained economy.

Herakleios fulfills his role in accordance with what is known about the *systates*. The office-holder had three main responsibilities: nominate low level liturgists, register new born citizens (and potentially deaths), and collect taxes, in particular the ἐπικεφάλαιον (capitation tax) and the ἀναβολικόν after 315/16 CE. The *anabolikon* is generally understood to have been a specific tax on linen and flax, however, it is noteworthy that carpet or canvas merchants are responsible for filling the order at this point in the Roman Empire. Van Minnen and Hoogendijk assumed that the *anabolikon* in this document refers to the *vestis*

militaris, a tax designed to procure cloth for the army. Sheridan (1999) has demonstrated how scholarship has long conflated these two cloth taxes and maintains that the *anabolikon* was a separate tax altogether. Her argument holds true for the early fourth century but it is possible to consider that the employment of canvas workers for the *anabolikon* may indicate the cloth was intended for the army. Such a suggestion is especially appropriate when the *anabolikon* is tied to an indiction, a tax structure designed by Diocletian to outfit the army.

Here, the *systates* oversees the collection of the imperial *anabolikon*. Other documents, like P.Oxy. XXII 1414 [272], show the *boulē* as the primary body responsible for setting the amount and receiving the tax materials, often in kind, from the guild. The *systates* appears here as the man on the ground who facilitated the actual transfer of material. P.Merton 1 34 shows a record of the transfer of the *anabolikon*, which was given directly to the *systates* (δέδωκα [ὑ(πέρ)...]ν δοθ(έντων) τῷ συστάτῃ ὑ(πέρ) ἀ[ναβ]ολικοῦ). With a limit likely set by the *boulē*, the carpet weavers would then deliver the material for the *anabolikon* directly to Herakleios.

Literature: Bagnall, R. and A. Worp. 1978. *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*. Zutphen: Terra; Carrié, J.-M. 2004. "Vitalité de l'industrie textile à la fin de l'antiquité." In *Antiquité Tardive* 12:12–43; Hoogendijk, F.A.J. and P. van Minnen. 1991. *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute*, 225–229. Leiden: Brill; Mertens, P. 1958. *Les services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au III^e siècle de notre ère*. Mémoire de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 53/2; Sheridan, J. 1999. "The 'Anabolikon.'" *ZPE* 124:211–217; Tjäder, J.-O. 1970. "Christ, Our Lord, Born of the Virgin Mary (XMF and VDN)." In *Eranos* 68:148–170; Robinson, G. 1986. "KMF and ΘMF for XMF." *Tyche* 1:175–177. PS

[284] PSI XII 1265

Bylaws of an Occupational Guild

Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome) 27 Dec 426 CE

Published: Medea Norsa. "Elezione del κεφαλαιώτης di una corporatione."

Annali della R. Scuola normale superiore di Pisa 6 (1937) 1–7; Norsa, PSI XII (1943) 1265; BL VIII 409; XI 250; XII 256 [TM 17421].

Translation: Mees 2002, 389–390.

Current location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, inv. 20959

Similar or related documents: → P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE).

Papyrus. 62 × 24 cm.

⟨Traces of l line⟩

- 2 [±40 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τῆς λαμ]πρ[ᾱς καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)] πόλεως
[τραπεζ]ιτῶν ἐξῆς [ὕ]πογραφόντων Α[ὕ]ρηλίφ Χαιρήμονι. [. . .] . ἀπὸ
τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
[χαίρειν. ±33]. [. . .] ς ἡμῶ[ν. . . .]. συστᾶσεως φροντίζοντες καὶ
πρόνοιον ποιούμενοι τῶν λυσιτελούντων τῷ κοινῷ ἡμῶν συστήματι καὶ
αὐτοῖς τοῖς δημοσίοις
[±38]. . χειροτονοῦμεν ε[ἰς ἐν]ιαυτὸν ἓνα τὸν ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ νῦν
ὄτος μηνὸς Τύβι τῆς παρούσης δεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἄξιον τῆς πίστεως
καὶ διοικήσεως
- 5 [±16]. [.]. οἱ. τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἐργασίᾳ καὶ καταβαλεῖν
πρὸς ὠφέλᾳς τῆς ἐργασίας ἐκάστην κεφ[αλ.]ήν κατὰ ὅκτωκ[αι]-
δεκάτην ἐκάστου μηνὸς εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ
[συστήματος ἀργ]υρίου μυριά[δ]ας διακοσίας ἀπαιτουμένας διὰ σου τοῦ
κεφαλαιωτοῦ καὶ φυλαττομένας παρὰ σεαυτῷ εἰς τὴν διαγραφὴν τοῦ
πραγμα[τ]ευτικοῦ χρυ[σαρ]γύρου. τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα ἐπιγνῶναι
[ἡμ]ᾶς κατὰ πῆγμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθε[ι]αν παρὲς τοῦ πραγ-
ματευτικοῦ χρυσαργύρου. δ[ι]ὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐπικ. . . . αἱ εἰς
ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ δύνανται. καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ ἐξ
ἡμῶν
ἀντιπαρατάττειν σοι τῷ κεφαλαιωτῇ εἰς μηδοτιοῦν· καὶ [προ]σκαρτερ[εῖ]ν
[ἡ]μᾶς ἐν τοῖς γιγνομένοις συνλόγοις πρὸς διατύπωσιν τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς
ζητουμένων. εἰς δὲ τις ἐξ ἡμῶν κληθεὶς εἰς σύλλογον μὴ ὑπακούσῃ
εἰς τὴν ὥρι[σ]μ[έν]η[ν] [ῶ]ραν ἄνευ κακώσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας, ἐξεῖται σοι
τῷ κεφαλαιωτῇ τοῦτον καταδικάσαι. εἰ δὲ τις πάλ[ι]ν ἐξ ἡμῶν βουλευθῇ
ἀντιστῆναι καὶ μὴ πισθῆναι σοι τῷ κεφαλαιωτῇ εἰς τὴν
- 10 [κατ]αβόλῃν κατὰ μῆνα τοῦ ἀρ[γ]υρίου ὡς προδεδήλωται, ἐξο[υ]σίᾳ σου
οὔσης προ[σηνα]γκάσθαι τοῦτον [καὶ] ἐ[πα]ξίως ὀρίσ[αι] κα[τ]ὰ το[ῦ]
σφάλλοντος ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος. εἰ δὲ συμβῇ τινὰ ἐξ ἡμῶν
[περι]πεσεῖν ὀφειλ[ή]μασι ἢ ἄλλοις ζη[τ]ήμασι, ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς συνελθεῖν
ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνεπισκυλῆναι καὶ μὴ ἀπολ[ε]ιφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἄχρις οὔ ἂν
λάβῃ [ἄ]ποθῇσιν τὰ κ[ατ'] αὐτὸν ἐπὶ. [. . .] τοὺς ὀφίλο[ι]. . . . ε[ὕ]ρε-
θῇ[ναι]
[±13] ἐν ταῖς γιγνομέναις εὐφη[μ]ίαις καὶ ἱερομηνίαις ταῖς γιγνομέναις
ὑπὲρ ν[ε]ίκης καὶ διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης. καὶ εἰ
ἀ[πο]λ[ε]ιφθῇ τις ἐξ [ἡ]μῶν ὑποκ[ε]ῖσθ[αι] αὐτὸν τῇ κατὰ συνη-
θ[ε]ια[ν]
[ζημ]ία. εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ ὁ κεφαλαιω[τῆς] καταγγωσθῇς ἐν τινι, ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ σὲ
διδόναι τῇ κοινότητι χρυσοῦ οὐγκίαν μίαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμνυμ[ε]ι
θε[ὸν] τὸν παντοκρά[τ]ορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβ[ε]ϊαν τῶν τὰ πάντα
ν[ε]κόντων

- [δεσποτ]ῶν ἡμῶ[ν] Θεοδοσίου <καὶ> Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων
 Αὐγούστων, καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην ἐξεθέμεθα τὴν χειροτο[ν]ίαν
 ἀπλῆν γραφ(εῖσαν)· καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὡμολ(ογήσαμεν).
- 15 <hand 2> [Αὐρήλι]ι[ο]ς Διο[γενι]ανὸς [Σ]αραπάτος συμφων(ε)ῖ μοι πάντα τὰ
 ἐνγεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Ἀφούς Γεσίου συμφων(ε)ῖ μοι
 πάντα τὰ ἐ[ν]γεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκι[τ]ται. ὡσαύτως Διογε[νι]ανὸς
 ἄξιωθ(ε)ῖς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.
- <hand 3> [Αὐρήλιος] Ἀρμα[ῖ]ς Διο[γυ]σίου συμφων(ε)ῖ π[άντ]α τὰ
 ἐγγιγραμμένα. <hand 4> Αὐρήλι[ο]ς Φοιβάμμων Σερήνου τραπεζίτης
 συμφων(ε)ῖ μοι ὡς προκ{α}ιται. <hand 5> Αὐρήλιος [Ἰ]ωάννης
 Δωρ[ο]θέου συμφων(ε)ῖ μοι ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται.
- <hand 6> [±17]. συ[μφωνεῖ] μοι ὡς πρόκειται. <hand 7> Αὐρήλιος
 Δωρᾶς Θεογνώστου συμφων(ε)ῖ μοι ὡς πρόκειται. <hand 8>
 Α[ὐρ]ήλιος. συμφων(ε)ῖ μοι ὡς] πρόκ(ε)ι[ται].
- <hand 9> [±18] φίλου συμφω[νεῖ] μοι πάντα ὡς] πρόκειται. <hand 10>
 Α[ὐρ]ήλιος. θ. [-±60 -]
- <hand 11> [±35 συμφ]ων(ε)ῖ μοι [±?]]

 [±? Αὐρηλίου Χαϊρήμ]ονος κεφαλαιω[τοῦ] χειροτονία. ±?]

Apparatus: 3 Pap. συστέματι || Pap. τῆς || 4 Pap. των || 11 Pap. λάβοι || 11 Pap.
 ἀποθέσιν || 13 Pap. σοὶ || 15. Pap συμφωνῖ || 15 Pap. συμφωνῖ || Pap. ὡσαύτος || Pap.
 εἰδότες || 16 Pap. συμφωνῖ με ὅς, συμφων[ῖ] || Pap. με || 19 Pap. [συμφ]ονῖ

. . . the association of the undersigned bankers of the illustrious and most
 illustrious city . . . to Aurelius Chairemon, from the same city, greetings!
 . . . of us, considering. . . of the alliance and making plans for things that
 would be to the advantage of our common membership and to the people at
 large. . . we elect for one year from the current new moon of the month of
 Tybi of the tenth indiction, one who is worthy of trust and management . . .
 (5) the work of the association (*ergasia*). (Each member is) to deposit for
 the benefit of the association (*ergasia*), on the eighteenth of each month, to
 the account of the association, the sum of 200 *myr* of silver, which will be
 demanded by you as the president, and you yourself will keep on deposit
 for the payment of the trade tax (χρυσαρ[γύρου]). We will discharge the
 charges in relation to obligations (*kata pēgma*?) and in relation to the
 ancient practices other than the trade tax. Because of these (bylaws) the
 portion . . . to each member according to his ability. It is not permitted for
 any of us to act against you as president (*kephaliotēs*) in any respect. We
 will faithfully attend the meetings that concern our tax matters. If anyone of
 us who is summoned to a meeting does not come at the appointed hour,
 unless because of illness or being out of town, the president (*kephaliotēs*)
 shall have the authority to indict that person. If anyone of us should oppose
 this and not obey you, the president, and does not (10) deposit monthly the
 aforementioned payment, you shall have the authority to force him and to

take appropriate measures against him, in accordance with the offence. If it happens that one of us falls into debt or has some other claims, we shall come to his aid and be very concerned that he not be abandoned before he is released from the matters that concern him . . . be found . . . [. . .] in the acclamations that happen, and at the sacred festivals that are convened for the victory and the continued well-being of the Lords of the Empire. And if anyone of us should abandon (the one in need), he shall have the usual fine. And if you, the president are caught in the some misdeed, you too should pay the association (*koinotēs*) one *uncia* of gold. And in respect to these provisions, I swear by God the Pantokrator and by the piety of our all-powerful rulers, Theodosios and Valentianus, eternal Augusti, and we issued this decision in simple written copy. And when the question was put to us, we acknowledged it.

⟨*hand 2*⟩ (15) I, Aurelios Diogenianos son of Sarapas concur with all that has been written, as stated above. I, Aurelios Aphous son of Gessius concur with all that is written as stated above. Likewise, I, Diogenianos, have written at his request, since he is illiterate.

⟨*hand 3*⟩ I, Aurelios Harmais son of Dionysios concur with all that is written, as stated above. ⟨*hand 4*⟩ I, Aurelios Phoibammon son of Serenos, a banker, concur, as stated above. ⟨*hand 5*⟩ I, Aurelios Ioannes son of Dorotheos, concur, as stated above. ⟨*hand 6*⟩ I [. . .] co[ncur] as indicated above ⟨*hand 7*⟩ Aurelius Doras son of Theognostos (concurs) as indicated above. ⟨*hand 8*⟩ I, Aurelius . . . (son of) . . . concur, as indicated above ⟨*hand 9*⟩ [I . . . (son of) . . .]philos concur with everything, as indicated above ⟨*hand 10*⟩ [I] Au[relius . . .]⟨*hand 11*⟩ I [. . . concur. . .]

[Election of Aurelius son of Chairemon] as president.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: κοινόν, κοινότης, ἐργασία; leadership terms: κεφαλαιωτής; collective interaction with new president; bylaws; reference to common account.

Location: Oxyrhynchus (19th Upper Egyptian nome). TM geo ref. 1524. Barrington Atlas 75 D3.

- II. 6, 7: πραγματευτικοῦ χρυσουργίου, trade tax. Delmaire (1985, 1989) supposed that it was paid in four- or five-year intervals; Bagnall (1992), however, has shown that the papyrological evidence, which extends from 341/2 to 429/30 CE cannot be reconciled with either a four or a five year cycles, and suggests that although the possibility that the assessment was periodic, the payment was probably annually. “None of that excludes assessment on a multi-year cycle, of course, although neither does it support it. The literary evidence is so explicit on this point that it would be foolish to reject the cycle on the basis of the collection practices in the papyri. Such a multi-year assessment remains remarkable all the same, and it is not obvious what its point was. Other taxes were assessed annually just as they were collected. A good explanation remains to be found” (1992, 17).

ll. 8, 9, 13: κεφαλαιωτής, president. → P.Mich. V 244.16 [212] *note*, and SB XVIII 13916 (Oxyrhynchus, 386 CE), cited below.

Comments

Although this document qualifies as a νόμος (set of bylaws) since it includes provisions about attendance at meetings, respect for the president, and other matters found in other *leges collegii*, the main interest of the document concerns the method of collecting a trade tax. This tax is attested in the fourth century and was probably abolished in 498 CE. The method of tax collection, as the agreement indicates, empowered the president to collect the taxes owing by guild members and to pay the taxes owing on behalf of the members.

SB XVIII 13916 = P.Mich. inv. 3708 (Oxyrhynchus, 386 CE) from forty years earlier attests the same method, but there by means of two presidents of a guild of fullers, who acknowledged payment of the trade tax (πραγματευτικὸν χρυσάργυρον) by one of their members. This suggests that at least by the fourth century guilds was the nodes of tax extraction and that individual members paid their tax to the guild, and the guild then passed it on to the tax collectors. As indicated above → Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222], it is not as clear in the first century whether guilds already served as the nodes for tax extraction, although the fact that the president (*hēgoumenos*) of a guild in the mid-first century, P.Mich. V 244 [212], was empowered to obtain sureties from members who failed to pay the *laographia* suggests that guilds could be held responsible for non-payment of taxes owing, and thus at least on the road to a system in which guilds became the nodes of tax extraction for the trades.

SB XVIII 13916 reads:

- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατ(ε)ίαν τοῦ δεσπότου [ἡμῶν]
 Ἀρκαδίου <τοῦ> αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Φλ(αουίου)
 Βαῦτ(ονος) τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) Ἐπειφ β.
 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρ[γα-]
 5 σίας τῶν γνα[φ]ῆ[ω]ν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) [καὶ]
 λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλε(ως) δι' ἡμῶν τ[ῶν]
 ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένω(ν) κεφαλαιωτῶ[ν]
 Αὐρηλίων Ἀχιλλωνος Ἡρώνας [καὶ]
 Θέωνος Ἀνισίου Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμω-
 10 νίφ Πινούτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλε(ως)
 ὁμοτεχνίτη χαίρειν· ἔσχαμεν
 παρὰ σοῦ τὴν αἰροῦσαν καὶ ἐπιβάλλου-
 σάν σοι συντέλεσ[α]ν τοῦ πραγματευτικοῦ
 χρυσαργύρου τῆς ἰδ ἰνδικ(τίονος) καὶ οὐδένα
 15 λόγον ἔχομεν πρὸς σὲ περὶ τοῦ[του]

Apparatus: 3 Pap. βαῦδ.

The year after our lord Arcadius the eternal Augustus and the most illustrious Flavius Bauto were consuls, Epeiph 2, the guild (*koinon*) of (5) the trade (*ergasia*) of fullers of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through

our president (*kephalaiotēs*) noted hereafter: Aurelius Achillon son of Heron and Aurelius Theon son of Anesios, to Aurelius Ammonius son of (10) Pinus of the same city, their fellow-artisan (*homotechnitēs*), greetings. We have received from you your contribution for the *chrysargon*-trade tax, which you owe and which that fell to you for the 14th indiction. We have no (further) claim upon you with respect to this. . . .

Closer to the time of PSI XII 1265 is SB XVIII 13882 = SB XVI 12260 = P.Med. 71.66 (Oxyrhynchus, 421 CE) [TM 18379], which is almost identical in wording with P.Yale inv.1648 = P.Rainer Cent. 122 (Oxyrhynchus, 429 CE) a few years later (Bagnall and Worp 1985). It lacks the elements of a *lex collegii* but embodies the core fiscal issues contained in PSI XII 1265:

- [ὑπατείας Φλαοῦιου Εὐ]σταθίου[υ] καὶ Ἀγρικόλα τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Χοιάκ κδ
vac.
[ἡ λαμπροτάτη ἐργασία] τῶν χρυσοχόων τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης
Ἰοξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως
[δι' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξῆς ὑπο]γραφόντων Αὐρηλίῳ Χαιρήμονι Σερήνου ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐργασίας
[χαίρειν· τῆς ὀνομασίας χά]ρ[ιν] τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐργασίας ζητουμένου
διοικητοῦ τοῦ χρυσαργύρου τῆς πέμπτης
5 [ἰνδικτίονος]σχεθε. . . ες σὲ τὸν Χαιρήμονα ἐπιτεξάμενοι μᾶλλον δὲ
προτρεψάμενοί
[σοι ἐνετείλαμεν] καὶ κα[τεπι]σ[τεῦ]σαμεν ποιῆ[σα]ι τὴν διοίκησιν, ἡμῶν
ἐπαγγελαμένον
[πάντα τὰ ±9] προφάσ[ει τα]ύτης τῆς διοικῆ[σ]ε[ω]ς γινόμενα ἀναλώμ[α]τα
εἴτε ἐπὶ τόπῳ
[εἴτε ἐν τῇ τάξει ἡμᾶς] ἐπιγγ[ῶν]αι καὶ καταβαλεῖν διὸ καὶ τὴν ἔγγραφον
ταύτην ἀσφάλειαν
[ἐθέμεθά σοι καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῖς] παντοίοις ἀναλώμασιν [ζητου]μένοις εἰς
τὴν ἡμῶν
10 [διοίκησιν] . . .

[During the consulship of the illustrious Flavius] Eustathius and Agricola, Choiak 24. . . [The illustrious guild] of goldsmiths of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, [through those] who signed below, to Aurelius Chairemon son of Serenus of the same city and the same guild, [greetings. Thanks to the nomination of you are the administrator (*dioiketēs*) that has been demanded of our guild (*ergasia*) for collecting the trade tax (*chrysargyron*) (5) for the fifth indiction, we empower you, Chairemon, and entrust you to carry out the management (*διοικησις*), while we promise that we will accept responsibility for and will pay all the expenses which occur from this management, whether in this locale (*epi topōn*) or [on some other account (*en tē taxei*)], we have also disclosed to you and make (*katabalein*) a secure written contract and we agree with the expenses that are demanded for the (10) administration of our matters.

Literature: Bagnall, Roger S. 1992. "Periodicity and the Collection of the Chrysargyron." In *Tyche* 7:15–17; Bagnall, Roger S., and Klaas A. Worp. 1985. "Two Nominations of Goldsmiths to Collect Taxes." In *ZPE* 59:67–70;

Chastagnol, André 1976. *La Fin du monde antique: de Stilicon à Justinien, Ve siècle et début VIe: recueil de textes*. Paris: Nouvelles Éditions latines; **Delmaire**, Roland 1985. "Remarques sur le chrysargyre et sa périodicité," *Revue numismatique* 6 sér. 27:120–129; **Delmaire**, Roland 1989. *Largesses sacrées et res privata: l'aerarium impérial et son administration, du IVe au VIe siècle*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 121. Paris: École française de Rome; **Venticinque**, Philip F. 2016. *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt*. New texts from ancient cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (216).

[285] SB III 6704 Bylaws of a Guild of Fishermen

Aphrodites Kome (Antaiopolites) (10th Upper Egyptian nome) 23 Jan 538 CE
Published: M. Hombert, "Un document nouveau d'Aphrodito," *Aeg* 4(1/2) (1923), 43–48 (SB III 6704) + BL III 178; VI 134; IX 245; X 186 [TM 18825].

Translation: Mees 2002, 390.

Current location: Ghent, University Pap. 44

Digital image: <https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/rug01:001484515>

Similar or related documents: → P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE).

Papyrus, dimensions unavailable. The papyrus appears to belong to the Archive of Flavius Dioskoros son of Apollos of Aphrodito (TM ARCH id. 72), a landlord and notary in Aphrodito. The archive contains 680 texts.

- [μ]ετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αίου) Βελισσαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου), Τῦβι κη
πρώτης ἰνδικ(τίονος).
Φ[λα]υίοις Ἑρμανῶτι Ἀβραμίου(υ) καὶ Καιανο(ῦ) Ὠρο(υ), κεφαλαιωταῖς
[κ]αὶ ὁμοτέχνῃ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου νομοῦ,
κοινότης τῶν ἀγρευτῶν τῶν καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ
5 τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Ἀφροδίτης πρὸς τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν εἰδόντων
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ εἰδόντων ὑπογραψάντων, χαίρ(ειν). ὁμολογοῦμεν κοινῇ
γνώμῃ
καὶ ἀδόλῳ προαιρέσει κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν ὁμολογίαν,
ἄνευ οἵας δήποτε βίας καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ συναρπαγῆς, ἐκόντες
καὶ πεπεισμένοι, ὥστε ὑμᾶς εἶναι ἐπάνω ἡμῶν κεφαλαιωτάς
10 πρὸς ὃν βο(ύ)λεται χρόνον ὁ λαμπρότατος γεοῦχος ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον καὶ
προγεγραμμένης ἡμέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶν Τῦβι εἰκάς ὀγδόῃ τῆς

- ἐνεστώσης πρώτης ἰνδικ(τίονος), καὶ ὑπακούειν ὑμῖν ἐν πᾶσι
καλοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀρέσκουσι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,
πρὸς τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ γονικὸν ἡμῶν ἔθος ἀόκνως οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
15 καὶ πάντα τὰ συνθέματα καὶ τὰς συνηθείας καὶ α . ρτικ .
ογτας ἐν τῇ γεγεννημένῃ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁμολογίᾳ τῷ αὐτῷ γεούχῳ,
ἡμῶν πάντων ἐπιγινωσκόντων ἐξ ἰσομερ(ε)ίας δικαίῳ
λόγῳ. εἰ δέ τις ἐξ ἡμῶν γαμήσῃ, δώσει οἶνο(υ) ἀγγ(ε)ῖα δύο, εἰ δ' ἐκ
20 τινος ἡμῶν γεννηθεῖσα, παρέξει οἶνο(υ) ἀγγ(ε)τον ἓν , εἰ δέ τις ἐξ ἡμῶν
[. .]δ[.]δ[±?]
βουλόμενος ἐν κρυπτῷ, παρέξει [±?]
πρ τη θεῖ . . παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρώτου δώσει ρου
καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ξύλα ε[±?]πρωτ[. .]· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τίμημα πάκτονος
καὶ εὐχόμενος^{ος} μετὰ τοῦ βουλομέν[ο(υ)] ἀγοράσαι τοῦτον τὸν πάκτονα καὶ [. . . .]
25 [.]σ πωλήσῃ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ ἄλλον πάκτονα παρὰ τὴν γνώμη[v]
τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου δώσει νόμισμα. ὁ δὲ κλεψάμενος
ἕνα ξ[ύ]λον ἐν ληστρ[ικῷ] τρ[ό]πῳ, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, παρέξει χρυσοῦ
[τ]ριμήσιον ἓν , εἰ δ' εὐρηθεῖ μὲν παρ' αὐτο(ῦ) ἐν τῇ ἔπα . . [. . .]
[±? ν]όμισμα ἐπὶ τ[.]δε ἡμᾶς πάντας
30 [±?] καὶ συνελθεῖν μιᾷ γνώμῃ μετὰ τινος ἡμῶν
[±?]το εἰσδιδομέν[ο]υ
[±?]διο τὰ δὲ δημόσια τὰ καὶ ἀνήκο[vτα]
[±?] . . . σφονγτᾶ παρ' ἡμῶν διδόν[α]ι καθ' ἔτος
[±?] ἐγκαταβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἔθος· ὁ δ[έ] συγ[χωρήσας]

Apparatus: 2 BL VI 134: 'Avo(υ)φίω; previous ed. Καιανο(ῦ) Δίω || 8 Pap. ἐκόντες
|| 25 Pap. πωλύση || 27 Pap. λυστρ[ικῷ]

After the consulship of the most distinguished Flavius Belisarius, Tybi 28, first indiction. To the Flavii Hermauos son of Abraamis and Anouphios son of Horos, presidents (*kephalaiotai*), and to our guild (*homotechnē*) from the village of Aphrodito in the Antaiopolitan nome, the association of fishermen (*koinotēs tōn agreutōn*) who belong to the distinguished house (5) of the same village of Aphrodito; (and) whose names are subscribed below – both those who can write and on behalf of those who cannot, greetings. We acknowledge by common consent and by means of this secured agreement, free from violence and coercion and robbery, voluntarily, and convinced that your presidency over us (10) should last as long as the most illustrious landowner desired it, from today and the aforementioned days, which is the twenty-eighth of Tybi of the current first indiction; and that we obey you in all good works that are pleasing to God and man, eagerly in the traditional and ancestral manner, with regard to (15) all obligations that come from the agreements and custom, and according to the agreement we have here with the same landowner, whereby we all take the responsibility in equal parts for fair settlement.

If one of us marries, he shall give two jars (*angia*) of wine, but if the wife is the daughter of one of us, let him give a jar (*angion*) of wine. But if any one of us (20) . . . wants in secret, he shall present . . .

Whoever receives the price of a light boat and we have someone who wants to buy this boat . . . (25) . . . (if he should) sell another boat to the same man in violation of the wishes of the first person, he will he will pay a fine. Whoever has stolen a boat like a bandit, if it was in the water he will pay a gold trimesion (= aureus), but if it is found in his possession in the . . . fine (30) whoever comes to come to an agreement with whoever of us . . . for the tax that has been assessed . . . all the public charges and the expenses . . . from us . . . give yearly . . . contribute in accordance with custom. Whoever agrees (?) come to a legal agreements (?)

Notes

Association? Certain: bylaws; associative term: ὁμότεχνον, κοινότης; leadership terms: κεφαλαιωτής; artisans in the plural: collective interaction with presidents.

Location: Aphrodito (Aphrodites Polis - Aphrodites Kome). 10th Upper Egyptian nome, Antaiopolites.

- l. 4: κοινότης τῶν ἀγρευτῶν, “guild of hunters,” but here ἀγρευτής evidently means “fisherman.” Oppian, *Halieutica* 5.150 uses the term of fishermen.
- l. 10: ὁ λαμπρότατος γεοῦχος. The identity of the landlord is not indicated. Ruffini (2018, 103) thinks that the landowner is Ammōnios, an aristocratic landowner. Dioskoros was also a substantial landowner, however, even if the extent of his holdings are unknown (Ruffini 2018, 81). The date of this papyrus (538) is before Dioskoros’ move to Antinoopolis in 565 CE (MacCoull 1988, 11–12).
- l. 23: πᾶκτων, a light boat of wickerwork, used on the Nile, Strabo.17.1.50; P.Oxy. IX 1220.12 (III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1650.2, etc.
- l. 27: ἐν ληστρ[ικῶ] τρ[ό]πῳ: a stereotypical phrase typical in complaints of theft.

Comments

Like PSI XII 1265 [284] and other documents cited there, this confirms the appointment of presidents (κεφαλαιωταί) but in this case, it appears that the presidents in question were selected and appointed by the owner of the estate, perhaps Flavius Dioskoros, rather than elected as in documents of a century earlier.

The presidents were presumably not responsible for the collection of the χρυσάργυρον, which had been abolished in 498 CE (→ PSI XII 1265 [284] *comment*), but were likely responsible to the collection of dues or rents to be delivered to Dioskoros (?).

Like other *lex collegii*, these bylaws require members to celebrate marriages with their fellows (→ P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]; IG II² 1368.130 [51]). These bylaws distinguish between wives who are unrelated to members, and wives who are the daughters of members, requiring a lower donation of wine for the latter.

The bylaws are also concerned with the regulation of the activities of the guild, especially the disposition of boats by members when other members might wish to purchase them. The end of the papyrus is fragmentary, but may concern the collection of taxes or contributions to the expenses of the guild or the presidents.

Literature: Fournet, Jean-Luc 2015. “At the Desk of a Man of Letters: Literate Practices in Byzantine Egypt According to the Dossier of Dioscorus of Aphrodite.” In *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity. Greek*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson. The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300–1500 6. London: Routledge, 221–248; **Hombert**, M. 1923. “Un document nouveau d'Aphrodite.” In *Aeg* 4 (1–2):43–48; **MacCoull**, Leslie S.B. 1988. *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World*. The Transformation of the classical heritage. Berkeley: University of California Press; **Mees**, Allard W. 2002. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen*. Monographien, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: R. Habelt; **Ruffini**, Giovanni R. 2018. *Life in an Egyptian Village in Late Antiquity” Aphrodito Before and After the Islamic Conquest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (101–103).

UNKNOWN LOCATION

[286] SB XXIV 16296

Record of Loan Receipts from a Guild

Unknown 6 Apr–5 May 182, or 31 Mar–29 Apr 158 BCE

Published: David Martinez, and Mary Williams. “Records of Loan Receipts from a Guild Association.” In *ZPE* 118 (1997):259–263 (SB XXIV 16296) [TM 79429; CAPIInv 1505]

Current location: Austin, University of Texas inv. 8

Similar or related documents: → P.Ryl. IV 586 [248] [TM 5736] (Oxyrhynchus, 99 BCE): a loan of money from the treasurer of a koinon; P.Ryl. IV 589 [TM 65627] (Philadelphia, Oct 180 BCE): a ledger of loans and interest due; P.Eras. I 10 [TM 41591] (II BCE): an order to pay a loan made by a guild.

Papyrus, 20 × 18 cm. Verso is blank.

-
- 1 [± 14 ἐάν] δὲ μὴ [.]. . . [± 27 -]
[± 10 αἱρεῖ] ἀνυπευθύν[ω]ι ὄντι. Ἐρρω[ω]σο. [Φαμε]νῶθ.
Μενεσθεὺς Χάρητος Ἡρακλεῖ δημοσιάρχῳ χαίρειν. [Ο]μολογῶ ἔχε[ιν ἀπο-
τῶν]
κοινῶν χρημάτων χαλκοῦ τάλαντα ε καὶ δραχμὰς πεντακισχίλιας. . . .]
5 ἃς ἀποδώσω σοι ἐν μηνὶ Μεσορῇ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ αἰκοστοῦ ἔτους· [ἐάν δὲ
μὴ ἀπο-]
δῶ, ἐξέσται σοι ἐνεχυράζειν με παντὶ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἐάν αἱρεῖ ἀν[υπευθύνω]ι
ὄντι
Ἐρρωσο Φαμενῶθ.
<hand 2> Ἀσκληπιάδης Κασῆτος Ἡρακλεῖ {κλή} δημοσ{ο}ιάρχῳ χαίρειν.
{Ὀμολογῶ ἔχειν]
10 ἀπὸ τῶν κ[ο]ινῶν χρημάτων χαλκοῦ δραχμὰς τρισχίλια[ς ± 15]
ἐνενήκ[ο]ντα τρεῖς τριώβολον, ἃς ἀποδώσω ἐν μηνὶ Μεσορ[ῇ] τοῦ τρίτου
καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους. Ἐάν δὲ μὴ [ἀπο]δῶ, ἐξέσται σοι ἐνεχ[υράζειν με]
παντὶ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἀν[υ] αἰρεῖ, ὄντι ἀνυπευθύν[ω]ι. Ἐρρωσο. [Φαμενῶθ.]
<hand 3> Ξενικὸς Ἡρακλεῖ δημοσιάρχῳ χ[αί]ρειν. ἔχω ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν
χρημάτων]
15 χαλκοῦ δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας πενήκοντα ἐννέα τριώβο[λον, ἃς ἀποδώσω]
ἐν μηνὶ Μεσ[ο]ρῇ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους· {ετος} καὶ ποι[ή]σω
καθότι προ-]
γέγραπται. Ἐρρωσ{ς}ο Φαμ[ενῶθ.]

Apparatus: 2 Pap. [Φαμε]νῶθ || 3 Pap. δειμοσιάρχῳ || 5 Pap. ἐμ || Pap. Μεσορεῖ || 6
Pap. αἰρεῖ || 11 Pap. ἐνεαήκ[ο]ντα || 14 Pap. ἤχω || 15 Pap. δραχμὰς || Pap.
πατήκοντα || 16 Pap. νηὶ νε[σ]ορῇ || Pap. εἰκοστοῦ

Menestheus son of Chares to Hēraklēs *dēmosiarch*, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from the common funds (*koinōn chrēmātōn*). . . 5

talents and five thousand . . . drachmae of copper (5), which I will repay to you in the month Mesore of the twenty-third year, and if I do not repay, you may seize a surety from me without accountability in any way you see fit. Farewell. Phamenoth. . . *<hand 2>* Asklēpiadēs son of Kasas (?) to Herakles *dēmosiarch* (symposiarch?), greetings. I agree that I have received (10) from the common funds three thousand. . . ninety-three copper drachmae and three obols, which I will repay in the month Mesore of the twenty-third year, and if I do not repay, you may seize me without accountability in any way you see fit. Farewell. Phamenoth. . . *<hand 3>* Xenikos to Hēraklēs *dēmosiarch* (symposiarch?), greetings. I have received from the common funds (15) eight-hundred fifty-nine copper drachmae and three obols, which I will repay in the month Mesore of the twenty-third year and I will do as above written. Farewell. Phamenoth. . .

trans. Martinez and Williams (modified slightly)

Notes

Association? Certain: leadership term: either δημοσίάρχος or συμποσίάρχος; reference to common funds (κοινὰ χρήματα).

Location: unknown

- II. 1–2: Martinez and Williams offer a possible completion of the first two lines as follows: [εικοστοῦ ἔτους· ἐὰν] δὲ μὴ [ἀποδῶ, ἐ]ξέσ[ται σοι ἐνεχυράζειν με παντὶ | τρόπῳ ᾧ ἐὰν ἀ]ίρη, ἀνυπευθ[ύ]νω]ι ὄντι. (*traces*) ἔρρ[ωσο Φαμε]νῳτ (1997, 261).
- II. 3, 9, 14: The title of δημοσίάρχος is otherwise unattested. Martinez and Williams offer possible alternate readings of these lines. In line 3: Ἡρακλείδει συμποσίάρχῳ (read σὺμποσίάρχῳ); in line 9, Ἡρακλήκλῃ (read: Ἡρακλήδῃ) συμποσίάρχῳ; and in line 14, Ἡρακλείδῃ ποσίάρχῳ (read: σὺμποσίάρχῳ). This solves the problem of the unattested title, but creates a new problem, with two separate writers making the same error on συμποσίάρχος, or using an otherwise unattested abbreviation (1997, 261).
- I. τάλαντα εἰ καὶ δραχμαὶ πεντακισχίλιας, 5 talents, 500 dr. is equivalent to about 145 dr. (AR)
- II. 4, 10–11, 15: The sums are in keeping with other loans of the period, see for example the ledger of loans from P.Ryl. IV 589 (Philadelphia, 180 BCE), with loans ranging from 100, 1000, 2000, 3000 dr. and 1 talent (= 6000 dr.), each returning 2% per month (or 24% per annum); P.Tebt. 3/1 818 (Tebtynis, 174 BCE) records a loan of 2 talents 500 dr. at an interest rate of 2% per month.
- II. 10–11: δραχμαὶ τρισχίλια[ς ± 15] ἐνενήκ[ο]ντα τρεῖς τριώβολον: 3,000 + ? hundred, 93 is equivalent to at least 12.9 dr. (AR)
- I. ἐν μηνὶ Μεσορ[ῇ]. In 158 BCE Mesore fell in August–September, which means that the loan might have been agricultural, due in harvest season (for grapes).
- I. 15: δραχμαὶ ὀκτακοσίας πεντήκοντα ἐννέα τριώβολ[ον] is equivalent to about 3.5 dr. (AR).
- II. 16–17: The third writer has replaced the formula, ἐὰν ... ἀνυπευθύνω (II. 5–6 and II. 12–13), with καὶ ποιήσω καθότι προέγραπται.

Comments

The document is a fragment of a ledger recording the receipt of loans from an association treasury, to be repaid after a period of six months, from Phamenoth to Mesore. Martinez and Williams suggest two reasons that associations may have granted loans to their members. The first is the benefit to the members of the association, rendering aid to the membership in times of need. Association *nomoi* typically included obligations for members to assist each other in hardship (1997, 260), and the failure to do so could incur fines (1997, 260 n. 8, see P.Mich. V 243.6 [206]. Martinez and Williams also draw attention to associations paying bail money for members who were arrested, citing P.Mich. V 243.8–9 [206]; 244.9–10 [212], and see also P.Ryl. II 94 [205]). The second reason is the benefit to the association itself, which might profit from collecting interest on the loan. This document not specify a rate of interest, however, and the association may have granted interest-free loans, as this has precedent in *eranos* societies (1997, 260).

Each entry in the ledger appears to be recorded by different writer, shown both by the hand, and by variation in vocabulary, suggesting each borrower wrote their own entry in the ledger. This is unusual and not otherwise attested in the Ptolemaic period, but a similar situation appears in CPR XVIIIB, a late II CE ledger from Panopolis (Martinez and Williams 1997, 260).

Literature: Martinez, David, and Mary Williams 1997. “Records of Loan Receipts From a Guild Association.” In *ZPE* 118:259–263; Reekmans, Tony 1948. “Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri.” In *Studia Hellenistica* 5:15–43; Reekmans, Tony 1951. “The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation.” In *Ptolemaica*, E. van ’T Dack and Tony Reekmans. *Studia Hellenistica* 7, 61–118. Leiden: Brill; Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts; Van Minnen, Peter 1987. “Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt.” In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1): 31–88, esp. 48–72: discussion of discusses early *eranos* loan P.Hib. II 259 (235 BCE) and for the Byzantine period P.Strass. IV 287; Vondeling, Johannes 1961. *Eranos*. Proefschrift University of Utrecht. Groningen: J.B. Wolters (29–31, 259–61) MM

[287] P.Ryl. IV 580

Assignment of a Burial Benefit

Unknown

9 Aug 27 BCE or 22 Aug 78 BCE or 14 Aug 49 BCE

Published: C.H. Roberts and E.G. Turner, ed., *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester IV: Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Manchester: John Rylands University Press, 1952) 31–32 (no. 580 + Plate 2); H.J. Wolff, “Neue

Quellen zum Zessionsrecht der Papyri,” *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli*, Pubblicazioni della Università degli studi di Firenze, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, ser. 4, vol. 1 (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1956) 725–740 (BL IV 7) [TM 5299; CAPIInv 671].

Current location: Manchester, John Rylands University Library Gr. 580

Similar or related documents: → P.Enteux. 20 [189]; P.Enteux. 21 [190]

A papyrus with a late Ptolemaic hand, 8.5 × 21.4 cm., folded ten times with a break down the centre. We follow the restoration of Roberts and Turner.

σύμβολ(ον) ταφικ(οῦ) L γ Μεσορή ιε Ἡρακλείδης ±9 δραχμὰς
ἐκατόν, / Ε ρ τῶι τὸ σύμβολον. [±?]
τυχίας κς σημεί(ου) δὲ κα
vac.

⟨hand 2⟩ ἔτους γ Μεσορή ιε Ἡρ[ακλείδης ±?]

5 καταλείπω τὸ γινόμενον[ν μοὶ ταφικὸν ±?]

συνόδου τῶν συστρατιωτ[ῶν ±?]

ἧς προστάτης Ἐπιφανῆς Η[±?]

ὃ ἐστὶν ἀργυρίου Ε ἐκατόν ±?]

σύμβολον ἐπιφεροντ[±? -]

10 ⟨hand 3⟩ Ἐπιφανῆς προστ[άτης ±?]

Ἀπίων γραμματεὺς ἐπηκολοῦθ[ησα ±?]

Authorization of a burial benefit, year 3, Mesore 15. Herakleidēs drachmae. One hundred (drachmae), making 100 drachmae for . . . the authorization. . . of the 26th division and . . .

⟨hand 2⟩ Year 3, Mesore 15: I, Herakleidēs . . . (5) have left the *taphikon* that belongs to me in the *synodos* of soldiers. . . whose president (*prostatēs*) is Epiphanes son of . . . which is valued at 100 silver drachmae, to whomever bears this authorization. . .

⟨hand 3⟩ Epiphanes, the president. I, Apion the secretary, have confirmed this.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύννοδος; leadership terms: προστάτης, γραμματεὺς; collective responsibility for burial and collection of a ταφικόν.

Location: unknown

I. 1: σύμβολ(ον) ταφικ(οῦ). On this → P.Enteux. 20 [189]; P.Enteux. 21 [190] and for the obligation for associations to provide burial benefits → P.Mich. V 243 [206] and P.Mich. V 244 [212].

II. 2–3: τυχίας κς σημεί(ου) δὲ κα. The editors considered ἐκατόν]ταρχίας but reject this as requiring too many re-readings of visible letters. The numerals and σημεί(ου) may refer to some designation of a military unit, but this is far from clear. On σημεί(ου) → P.Amh. II 39.2 (Pathyris, 103 BCE): οἱ [ἐκ] τοῦ σημείου νεανίσκοι. The function of δὲ is also unclear.

I. 4: ἔτους γ: The editors suggest that the “third year” of I. 1 is that of Ptolemy Auletes (i.e., 78 BCE). The third year of Kleopatra (i.e., 49 BCE) or the third year of Augustus

(i.e., 27 BCE) are also possible, but a club of soldiers (rather than veterans), all with Greek names, becomes increasingly unlikely at the later dates.

- l. 6: συστρατιωτ[ῶν ±?]: For other mentions of συστρατιῶται → O.Wilck. II 1535 (Thebes, 88 BCE), as re-edited in the introduction to P.Ross.Georg. II 10.4; P.Tebt. III. 793 iv.22 (Tebtynis, 183 BCE); BGU VIII 1824.12, 20 (Herakleopolites, 60–55 BCE) and BGU VIII 1830.1 (Herakleopolites, 51 BCE). However, these are all passing mentions of soldier groups. In BGU IV 1190.4 (Herakleopolites, after 80 BCE), we find reference to an association (σύνδοκος) of swordsmen (μαχαιοφόροι) officiated by a president (προστάτης) and a secretary (γραμματεὺς).

Ἀγτιόχῳ συγγενεῖ καὶ γραμματεῖ τῶν δυνάμεω[ν]
παρ[ᾷ] Δωρίωνος προστάτου καὶ Διονυσίου γραμμα[τέως]
συνόδου ρμγ τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ *unintelligible* καὶ περὶ

4 τοὺς βασιλεῖς μαχαιοφόρων.

To Antiochos the kinsman and secretary of the potentates, from Dorion the president (*prostatēs*) and Dionysios the secretary of the association (*synodos*) 143 of the first friends and ... and the swordsmen associated with the kings.

Comments

This is a writ authorizing the transfer of a burial benefit (*taphikon*) possessed by a member of a soldiers' association to whomever carries this document. (On the assignment of rights → Wolff 1956). While we have evidence of family members suing associations for burial benefits that have been withheld (→ P.Enteux. 20 [189]; P.Enteux. 21 [190]), these petitions were typically sought after the death of the beneficiary. We also have an example where the death benefit of an association and the plot associated with it appears to be an inheritable asset (AE 1929, 161.17–19). This, however, is the first we see that such a benefit might be transferable during the lifetime of the beneficiary, should he or she authorize it. Even more remarkable, the benefit could be transferred without designation of a new beneficiary; nor is there any time-limit on the transfer.

If such a benefit was provided by military associations, professional associations of crafters and other trades may well have done the same. Schulz-Falkenthal (1971, 65–67) argued that both soldierly occupations and tradespeople had good cause to want guarantees of security in the event of illness or injury, and further pointed out that out that the army necessarily conscripted crafts- and tradespeople to work in its ranks. We may see another case of an association granting this kind of transferability to a financial document in P.Mich. inv. 6051 = SB V 7532, in which a loan is documented, with terms of repayment and interest, but the name of the lender is left blank (as observed by Roberts and Turner 1952, 32). In both cases, this raises the possibility that the document may be a kind of fungible asset, with a value equal to the payment that could be demanded by its bearer. There is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate

that trade associations engaged in offering credit for profit, beyond providing benefits to their members, however (Van Minnen 1987, 65-66).

The format of the document implies that a document authorizing a burial benefit was kept in the possession of its beneficiary, who could then sign it over to another. We see in the first hand, the *taphikon* is granted to Herakleidēs. Although the name and title of the author are lost in the lacunae of the document, it was probably authorized by the president or secretary of the association, or both, as we see in l. 10, written by a third hand. The second hand has Herakleidēs himself transferring the benefit to an unnamed individual.

Compare O.Bodl. I 134 (Thebes, 147/6 or 136/5 BCE):

L λε. Ἑρμ[±9]
 χαίρειν. ἔχω παρ[ὰ σοῦ τοῦς]
 τόκους καὶ ταφικὰ κα[ῖ]
 καὶ στέφανον τοῦ Φαμενώ[υθ]
 5 λδ L ἔως Μεχρί τρια[.]
 το(ῦ) Φαμενώυθ Φαρμούθ[ι . . .]
 διὰ Τινάτος Παχών ρμ
 λο(ιται) ἔως Μεσορή υκ

Year 35. Herm[± 9] | greetings. I have from [you] | the interest and burial benefits an[d] | and a wreath, (paid?) Phameno[uth] || year 3, until Mecheir three (?) [.....]. from Phamenouth to Pharmout[hi..]. | through Tinas on Pachon: 140 (drachmae?) | the remainder until the end of Mesore: 420 (drachmae?)

Literature: Schulz-Falkenthal, Heinz 1971. "Gegenseitigkeitshilfe und Unterstützungstätigkeit in den römischen Handwerkkollegien." In *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 20:59–78 (61–67); Van Minnen, Peter 1987. "Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt." In *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6(1):31–88 (66); Wolff, H.J. 1956. "Neue Quellen zum Zessionsrecht der Papyri." In *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli*. Pubblicazioni della Università degli studi di Firenze, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, ser. 4, vol. 1, 725–740. Firenze: F. Le Monnier (= BL IV 7). MM

[288] P.Ryl. IV 590

Resolution of a Judaeon Association

Unknown

51–30 (?) BCE

Published: Colin H. Roberts, and E.G. Turner, eds. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Vol. IV (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952) 63–64 (no. 590); C.Pap.Jud. I 138; Donald D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of*

the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period (SBLDS 162; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999) 447; ASSB 215–216 (no. 170) [TM 5306; CAPInv 674]

Current location: Manchester, John Rylands Library Gr. 590

Similar or related documents: → IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia, late I CE–early II CE).

A tattered papyrus, 11 × 12 cm.. The left hand side and the foot have been lost and a large tear runs through the centre of the document.

- [±?]· ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ε]νηθείσης συναγωγῆς ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ
 [±? Δημητ]ρίῳ τῶν [(πρώτων)] φίλων καὶ θ[υ]ρωρῶν(?) καὶ εἰσαγ-
 γελέων καὶ ἀρχυπηρε(τῶν)
 [±?] Κάμακος [· · ·]· ξ [· · · · ·]· [· · γραμ]ματεὺς
 [±?· ·]· [· · · ·] [±? κυον εἰς τὴν σ]ύνοδον
 5 [±?·] ου σὺν τοῖς[·]· [· · · · ·]· ρασιος καὶ συλλελόχισται
 [±?] ρκως το ε· [·]· ἀλλ ἐμ[· · ·]· υ ἐν τοῖς ἐρχο· [·]· [· · · ·] ντας
 [±?·] με δικαί· [·]· [· · · · ·]· εἰν ἐφ' ὧτε ἐτεάς [·]·
 [±? σ]ύνόδου [±?]· φ[·]· [· · ·]· καιροῖς
 [±?·] ωι κατ' ἔτο[ς]· εἰ επτ· [· · · · ·]· ιου γ· ἰλι· [· ·]· ωι με[·]· ε
 10 [±?·] ἰνων ε· [·]· σου κ[οινοῦ(?)· · ·]· συνταφιστῶν ἐκ τῆς
 [±?·] τε ατε[·]· πον[±9] φαλλισμων κα[—]·
 [±?]· ο τοῦ ἐσομένου και[νοῦ· · · ·]· οὐδ' ἐν ἀλλῶ[ι—]
 [±?·]· μαι Ευδ[·]· [·]· ι[±12] τρῶ συνταφια[στοῦ]
 [±?·]· σετ[αι] [ο]ῖς προσ[ήκει· · · · ·]· γ[ραμματεῖ ἀκολ[ούθως]
 15 [±?·]· εἰς ἱερο· [·]· απ[±12] ἰα τοῦ δελ· [±?]·
 [±? το]ῖς λει[του]ρ[γ]α[±12]· σ[ύν]όδου τοῦ [±?]·
 [±?· ·]· [· · · · ·]· [±15]· θησεται ξ[±?]·
 [±?]· αθε[ς] [±?]·

... at the meeting (*synagōgē*) that took place in the prayer hall (*proseuchē*)
 ... to Dēmētrios (a member) of the “first friends” and doorkeepers (?) and
 ushers and chief ministers. . . Kamakos . . . secretary . . . to the *synodos* . . .
 (5) with the . . . and has been arranged . . . <too fragmentary to read> of the
synodos . . . yearly. . . of the members of the burial society (?) from the . . .
 of the coming new (year?) . . . of the fellow member of the burial society
 . . . that are appropriate . . . to the secretary . . . service . . . of the *synodos*
 . . .

Notes

Association? Certain: associative terms: σύνοδος, συνταφιαστ[ής]?; probably a cultic association; leadership terms: γραμματεὺς, ἀρχυπηρετής; control of space.

Location: unknown (Egypt)

1. 1: ἐπὶ τῆς γ[ε]νηθείσης συναγωγῆς. For the same formula (meaning “meeting”) → BGU IV 1137.1–2 [168] (Alexandria 6 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 91.2–3 [174] (Alexandria,

4/5 CE); I.Prose I 40.2–3 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.3 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); SB XXII 15460.1–2 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)

1. 2: Δημητρίῳ is a guess, but a reasonable one, consistent with both a Jewish identity and a Hellene. The name in the dative form is confusing. If this is an honorific decree for a patron, it is unusual for the honoree to be named in the dative → IG II² 1261 [9] for three typical examples of honorific decrees; IG II² 1325 [33] for a decree honouring a benefactor; IJO II 168 [113] for the decree of a synagogue honouring benefactors. It may instead record the contents of a petition, which typically address the petitioned party in the dative. However, it would be unusual for a petition to be recorded within the resolution of an association meeting. The fragmentary nature of the document ultimately makes its function impossible to determine.
1. 2: θυρωρός door-keeper, porter. This and the titles that follow are probably aulic titles. It is here restored on the basis of P. Tebt. 790.1 (Oxyrhynchos, 127–124 BCE): Ἀρκάδι τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ ἀρχιθυρωρῶν, where we have another member of the first friends and doorkeepers, who is the acting *stratēgos* of Arsinoe. There is a rich body of evidence that refers to the θυρωρός as a courtly position, → Herodotus 1.120.2; Aeschylus, *Choephoroe* 565A. Alternatively, Binder (1999, 369–70) raises the possibility that this and the following titles may be Jewish priestly honorifics. Although Philo (*Spec.* 1.156) does not use this title, he does describe official priestly positions (πυλῶροι) with duties that correspond well to it, and to the εἰσαγγέλεος. Josephus (*Ant.* 7.364–365) has David appointing Levites to the Temple as gatekeepers (πυλῶροι) and (*Ant.* 11.108) describes the reinstatement of door-keepers (θυρωροί) upon the construction of the Second Temple (Binder 1999, 369–370).
1. 2: εἰσαγγελέων, as with θυρωρός is an aulic title → UPZ 12.1–4 (Memphis, after 158 CE): Ποσειδωνίῳ τῶν | φίλων καὶ εἰσανγγελέων καὶ στρατηγῶν; 13.1–4 (Memphis, after 158 CE): Ποσειδωνίῳ | τῶν φίλων καὶ | εἰς {σ} αγγελέων | καὶ στρατηγῶν. A Judaeoan priestly title remains an unlikely possibility.
1. 2: ἀρχυπηρε(τῶν): → *comments* below and BGU II 466.3 (unknown, II/III CE): ἀρχυπηρέτ(η) Ἑ δ; BGU XI 2016.34 (Alexandria, 210 CE). BGU I 21 iii.9 (IV CE): ἀρχυπηρέτου. Roberts, and Turner (1952, 64) suggest that this is an administrative rank (“senior paymaster”) in the army. It is attested in Macedonia (Feyel 1935, 31) and Egypt (citing P.Cair.Zen. I 59006, III 52; SB I 599.61; UPZ I 14.97; O.Wilck. 1538. As with the previous titles, this too does appear in a Jewish priestly context. Luke 4:20 has ὑπηρέτης, an attendant in the synagogue and the title appears in Philo and Josephus to refer to priestly attendants. Josephus (*Ant.* 4.214) assigns the title to attendants from the tribe of Levi whom Moses commanded to assist the archons of cities. Binder (1999, 369) cites Rengstorff, “Ὑπηρέτης” in *TDNT* 8.530–544, and lists further examples in Josephus *BJ* 2.321 and Philo *Spec.* 1.152; *Sacr.* 132–133.
1. 10: συνταφι|αφῶν, restored from l. 13.
1. 13: συνταφια[στοῦ]. → I.Boutrotos 404 = *BCH* 128/129 (2004/5) 1183–1185 (Apollonia [Illyria], II CE?): τὸ κοι[νὸν] τῶν | Μονοφιλια[κῶν] συν|ταφικοῦ θιά[σου] | [Σ]ουκεσὸς Εὐ[— — —], “the association of Monophilakoi ... burial association.”

Comments

The location of the meeting at a synagogue or prayer-hall (*proseuchē*) implies that this is probably a Jewish association. Evidence of Jewish presence in Hellenistic Egypt is early; papyrological evidence attests to the presence of

Jewish communities from mid III BCE, although whether this was the consequence of voluntary migration or capture is a topic of debate (Levine 2005, 82–83, esp. 82 n. 5).

With several officers, the organization was “highly structured and well-organized” (ASSB 216), consistent with other evidence of synagogue organization. And while the presence of many priestly roles in the synagogue could suggest priestly ownership of the space, the synagogue in both Palestine and the diaspora was the site for a great deal of Jewish community life (Binder 1999, 371–72), including as we may see here, the meetings of a burial society. White (2011, 188–189) points out the connection between burial societies and dining, and thus this inscription is suggestive that Jewish communities may have shared meals in the *proseuchē*.

The papyrological evidence connected to Jewish communities in Egypt reveal a dependence on royal patronage to support “its communal institutions, its right to own and administer property and assets, as well as the legitimacy and authority of its communal activities and decisions” (Levine 2005, 84), which we may see evidenced here with the reference to a member of the “first friends” (*protoi philoi*). The *philoi* were high-ranking courtiers in the royal court, linked to the royal family through ritualized friendship. They often served as a locus for political influence through networks of patronage relations (Strootman 2014, 36). The position of Dēmētrios among the *philoi* does not exclude the possibility of Jewish ethnicity; however, the ranks of the *philoi* were overwhelmingly filled with elites of Greek origin, or at least non-Greeks so thoroughly Hellenized as to be indistinguishable from Greeks. Identifiably non-Hellene *philoi* were rare exceptions, and when they appeared they were often notable as favorites of the court, elevated to special status precisely because of their exoticism (Strootman 2014, 134).

The possible existence of a Jewish burial society is another unusual feature, and the term *suntaphiastoi* is unique to this document. Other possible references to Jewish burial societies are tenuous. Noy (1995, 362–363) raises the possibility that a brief III–IV CE inscription from Rome may be a reference to such a group (JIWE II 440):

[ἐνθάδ]ε κεῖτε Βεργ[--]
[--] δεκανίας

Here lies Virg... of the *dekania*

The *dekania* has a few possible meanings. It evokes the *minyan*, the quorum of ten men required for Jewish worship. Noy draws a connection to the Christian use of *dekanoi* to refer to a burial society. In the commentary on IJO II 168 [113], Harland discusses a possible unofficial Jewish or Christian neighborhood association tasked with care of a grave site in IJO II 171 (= IPhyrgR 455–57, with corrections in MAMA VI List, p. 151, no. 208; Phrygia, 212–295 CE).

Literature: **Binder**, Donald D. 1999. *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period*. SBLDS 162. Atlanta, Ga.: The Society of Biblical Literature; **Feyel**, Michel 1935. “Un Nouveau Fragment du règlement militaire trouvé à Amphipolis.” In *Revue archéologique*, Sixième Série, 6:29–68, 206; **Levine**, Lee 2005. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press; **Runesson**, Anders, Donald D. **Binder**, and Birger **Olsson**, 2007. *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.* AJEC 72. Leiden: Brill; **Noy**, David, ed. 1995. *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe. Volume 2: The City of Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; **Strootman**, Rolf 2014. *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires: The Near East After the Achaemenids, c. 330 to 30 BCE*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; **White**, L. Michael 2011. “Regulating Fellowship in the Communal Meal: Early Jewish and Christian Evidence.” In *Meals in a Social Context*, ed. Inge Nielsen and Hanne Sigismund Nielsen. Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1, 177–205. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press (202–203, n. 3). MM

[289] P.Bodl. I 65 Membership List of a Guild

Unknown I CE(?)
Published: R.P Salomons, *Papyri Bodleianae*, Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia 34 (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1996) I 178–179 (no. 65, pl. 42) [TM 25950].
Translation: Mees 2002, 399–400.
Current location: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Gr. class. c. 108 (P) (a)
Similar or related documents: → BGU VII II 94 [223]; P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE); P.Mich V 247 [209]; O.Bodl. II 1858 [258]; SB XVI 12702 [270] (Oxyrhynchus, second half of III CE).

Papyrus, 17.0 × 16.0 cm., medium to dark brown fragments with two columns. The right side of col. ii has now survived, but the editors note that the siglum for drachma (Ϝ) and 4 obols can be discerned at the end of line 1. This suggests that P.Bodl. I 65 is a subscription list (*epidosis*).

⟨col. i⟩

±?

⟨col. ii⟩

Εὐδήμου τ[ο]ῦ Ἡρώδου κυβερνήτου [±?] Ϝ
Δωρίων Θέωνος ἀγρός ὡς [±?]
Ἡρακλείδης Ἀρείου αὐτὸς ἐχ[±?]
[Λ]άμπων Λάμπωνος ζυτ[ο]πώλης (?) ±?]
5 κ[αὶ ὁ]μοίως vac. ?
Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπολλωνίου ἀ[ὐ]τός (?) ±?]

- [.] ἐλαίνου vac. ?
 Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πτολ[εμ]αίου αὐτός [±?]
 Σαμβᾶς Ἡρακλείδου πρίστη[ς ±?]
 10 Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου αὐτο[±?]
 Ὀλυμπος Ἀφροδισίου ζωγράφ[ος ±?]
 Ζωίλου . Αὐνῇ Αὐνείου τ[±?]
 τοῖς λοίποῖς συνοδ[ε]ῖταις τοῦ α[±?]
 [π]ροστά[τ]α[ι τῶ]ν συμβιῶσε[ω]ν [±?]
 15 [. .] . [. .] . δε[.] . . . ν αὐτοῦ ομ [±?]

- Eudemos son of Herodes, helmsman ... *x* dr., 4 obols.
 Dorion son of Theon, personal (?) [±?]
 Herakleidēs son of Areios, personal (?) [±?]
 Lampon son of Lampon, beer[seller(?)]
 5 And also (vac. ?)
 Herakleidēs son of Apollōnios p[ersonal (?)]
 [...] of olive (oil?)
 Isidōros son of Ptolemaios, personal (?) [±?]
 Sambas son of Herkleides, carpenter [±?]
 10 Olympos son of Aphrodisios, persona[l (?)]
 Olympas son of Aphrodisios, paint[er] ... (NN son of)
 Zoilos. To Aunēs son of Aunēs (?) [±?]
 and to the other synod members (*synodeitai*) [±?]
 The [p]residents (*prostatai*) [of the] associations (*ymbioseis*) [±?]
 15 [.....] of them/their [together with (?)]...

Notes

Association? Certain: at least one association is present (συνοδεῖται). However, several presidents and perhaps several associations are mentioned (προσάται τῶν συμβιῶσε[ω]ν?). If this is an *epidosis* list, it might represent the contributions to some project by multiple associations.

Location: Unknown

- II. 1, 8, 10, 13: Eudēmos, Isidōros, the first Olympos, and Zoilos all appears in the genitive, whereas the rest of the names appear in the nominative, except for Aunēs son of Aunēs which is in the dative (II. 13). The editors suggested that this implies that something is being paid to Aunēs and the other synod members. The variation between names in the nominative and genitive is puzzling, since other similar lists lack such variation. Because the right-hand side of the papyrus is missing, and we do not know which information follows there, it is difficult to determine why the names appear in both the genitive and nominative. It could simply be the result of an unskilled scribe.
- I. 2: Mees suggests that αὐτός be interpreted as “personal,” although the poor state of the document does not enable us to establish the occupation. However, because the occupations of other members are listed, it seems safe to assume that an occupational

title would have followed αὐτός. Mees assumes that αὐτός somehow relates to the occupation (e.g. “personal scribe”).

- l. 12: Αὐνῆ Αὐνείους: To Aunēs son of Aunēs. The namesake of Aunēs appears in P.Mich. III 178.3–5 (Bakchias, Arsinoites, 119 CE), the name of one of two *laographoi*: Αὐνῆι | Αὐνείους καὶ Ὀρσενοῦφει Ὀρσενοῦφε(ως) || λαογράφοις, in a tax account, P.Princ. I 13.v.18.514 (Philadelphia, 43 CE): Αὐνῆς Αὐνήο(υς) δ; and later in the second century: SB XXIV 15885.ii.4 (Karanis, II CE): Αὐνῆς Αὐγ[είους ±?]; BGU I 204 (Psenarpsenesis, Arsinoites, 158–159): Αὐνῆς Αὐνείους; BGU IX 1893.70 (Theadelphia, 149 ce): Αὐνῆς Αὐγέιους.
- l. 13: τοῖς λοιποῖς συνοδεύεται. This formulation raises the question of whether this list represents members of one association, or whether it is a list of members from several guilds (see comments below for more on this).
- l. 14: Since [π]ροστά[τ]α[ι τῶ]ν συμβίωσε[ω]ν is in the plural, this may suggest that we are dealing here with a list of members of more than one association, or even a list of different guild presidents.
- l. 14: συμβίωσις, “association”: → IGBulg I² 23 (Dionysopolis, 222–235 CE); IGBulg II 480 (Municipium Montanensium, II CE?); IGBulg III/1 1517 + V 5550 (Philippopolis, 241–44 CE); IGBulg III/2 1841 (Aytos, date uncertain); IPergamon 321.2–3 → [110]; IPergamonAsklep 85.6 → [111]; Malay 2005 II.1–2 [112] (Aizanoi area, III CE); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?); ISmryna 218.3–4 (II CE → [150]); SEG 29:1185.3 (Lydia, 156/157 CE → [118]); SEG 49:814 (Thessalonikē, mid-III CE); συμβιωταί, “companions”: ISide 30.5–6 (220–250 CE → [146]); ISmryna 331.1–2, 5 → [111]; SEG 29:1185.4 (Lydia, 156/157 CE → [118])

Comments

It is difficult to determine the nature of this papyrus. The variety of different occupations suggests that it could be a list of members from different guilds, however, line 13 suggests that they are all members of the same association. Since *προστάται τῶν συμβιώσεων* appears in the plural in line 14, however, it is difficult to definitively establish that we are in fact dealing with just one association. The fragmentary nature of the document makes it impossible to ascertain which of these hypotheses is correct. If the first interpretation is right, this list is evidence that different guilds coordinated their organization in some way, or that local authorities kept track of them, perhaps for reasons of price regulation, which was not uncommon. With the second interpretation, we might understand this group as a non-occupational, perhaps cultic association, that recorded the occupations of its members. Cultic associations were among the more diverse associations in antiquity, and often included members with different occupational backgrounds. See, for example EKM I.Beroea 27 (Beroea, before 212 CE), which records the occupations of some members of an association devoted to Theos Hypsistos.

<i>⟨A upper left⟩</i>		<i>⟨upper middle⟩</i>	<i>⟨upper right⟩</i>
	Οὐάλ[ης	Γερμανός	Σώστρατος
	ήλο]κόπος	κηπουρός	Πρώβ[ου]
	Εὐτρώπ[ιος — —	Λούκιος	Ζωσᾶς Ϝ Ζωσίμου
]ῥας	Κομμούνου	Δημήτρις Ϝ
	Ὀνήσιμ[ος]	5 Φίλητος Ϝ	Σατύρου
	Γάιος [— — — —	χρυσοχο-	Ἰλαρος Ϝ γναφεύς
] —]	ῦς	5 Πρεμιγένης
5	Κοσμίω[ν — —		Ῥωμαί[— —]
	—]		Τίτος Ϝ
	Ἡρακλᾶς βαφεύς		παλαιστρεΐτ[ης]
	Ζωσᾶς Ϝ Μαξιμου		Λοῦππος Παπίο[υ]
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ϝ		Σωτᾶς vac.
	πειλᾶς		Ἀπρίων
	Ἀβάσκαντος		10 Σῶσπις
10	εἰμαντοτό-		Κίνναμος
	μος		Ἐπάγαθ-
	ᾠλιος		ος
	Φλαύιος		Μαξιμ-
	Ἐπίκτη-		15 ου
15	τος		<i>⟨lower right⟩</i>
	Μαξι-		Ἐπάγαθο[ς]
	μου		τέκτων
	<i>⟨lower left⟩</i>		20 Χρήσιμος
	Μᾶρκος		Εὐρυμέδον-
	ῥηξᾶς		τος
20	Φίλιππος		
	ήλοκόπος		
	<i>⟨B. in wreath⟩</i>		
	Κ(όντος) Φούριος Οὐάλ[ης]		
	Ἄκανθος χαλκεὺ[ς]		
	Βάσσος χρυσο[χοῦς]		
	Μᾶρκος		
5	Ὀπήνιος		
	Ὀνήσιμος		
	Ῥοῦφος		
	λιθο-		
	ξός,		
10	Μητρό-		
	δωρος		
	λιθοξός.		

We could, therefore, be dealing with a membership list from a cultic association.

The occupations that have survived on the list indicate that these individuals belonged to a middling, perhaps urban, socio-economic level. The inclusion of a painter suggests a middling level, in light of the increasing interest in domestic decoration, which would have created both status and a steady demand for such skills, particularly in cities.

The list is most likely an *epidosis* list (on *epidoseis* → Migeotte 1992; 2013; Kloppenborg 2017). The payments on this list are being made to Aunes son of Aunes and the other association members, which would make this an unusual *epidosis* list. Since he is the recipient of payments, Aunes son of Aunes could be the treasurer of the association or associations, cf. P.Tebt I 118 [195]. Typically, an *epidosis* lists members, sometimes including an identifier of some kind, and then indicate how much money or resources each member has contributed, either to the association as a whole or to specific banquets or events. This document includes two of these three genre indications and it is therefore likely that the missing right-hand side of the column included the payments made by each member. The original publishers of the document note that on the damaged right-hand side, the siglum for drachma (Ɐ) was discernible. If this document is an *epidosis*, it suggests that what we are dealing with here is a document pertaining to a single association, which makes the plurals in line 14 all the more perplexing.

Literature: Flohr, Miko 2019. “Artisans and Markets: The Economics of Roman Domestic Decoration.” In *AJA* 123(1) 101–125; Kloppenborg, John S. 2017. “Fiscal Aspects of Paul’s Collection for Jerusalem.” *Early Christianity* 8(2):153–98; Kloppenborg, John S. 2019. *Christ’s Associations: Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Migeotte, Léopold 1992. *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain. Genève; Librairie Droz; Québec: Éditions du Sphinx; Migeotte, Léopold 2013. “Les souscriptions dans les associations privées.” In *Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIe siècle ap. J.-C)*. *Actes de la table ronde de Paris, INHA, 19–20 juin 2009*, ed. Pierre Fröhlich and Patrice Hamon. Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 49, 113–27. Genève: Librairie Droz; Silver, Morris 2012. “The Plague under Commodus as an Unintended Consequence of Roman Grain Market Regulation.” In *CW* 105:199–225; Wallbank, Michael 1994 “Greek inscriptions from the Athenian Agora: Lists of Names.” *Hesperia* 63:169–209. RR

[290] P.Athen. 41

Wine Payments for a Guild of Donkey Drivers

Unknown

I CE

Published: Petropolous, Georgios A. *Papyroi tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Hetaireias* (Athens: Graphieion Demonseiumaton Akademias Athenon, 1939) (no. 41) [TM 25225]

Current location: Athens, Archaeological Society number unknown

Similar or related documents: → P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE); P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, I CE); O.Bodl. II 1858 [258].

Papyrus, description unavailable.

- ἐκθεσις οἰνικῶν συνόδου ὀνηλατῶν
 τῶν ἕως Φαρμουθ(ι) ιγ
 Ἄρειος Πτολεμαίου) 1 δ καὶ ὀβ(ολοί) ια
 Σαρᾶς ἀδελφὸς 1 ζ (τριώβολον)
 5 Δίδυμο(ς) Διδύμο(υ) 1 ιε ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Ἀραβᾶς Τιμοκ(ράτους) 1 ι ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Διόσκορο(ς) Πάπου 1 ζ (τριώβολον)
 Ἀπολλῶ(νιος) Φρόντ(ωνος) 1 δ ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Λεονίδ(ης) Φίλω(νος) 1 β (τριώβολον)
 10 Σωκράτ(ης) Τιμοκ(ράτους) 1 ζ ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Ἀπολλῶ() Ἡρώ(νος) 1 ιη ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Σμαρ. 1 ζ (τετρώβολον)
 Δίδυμο(ς) Τιμοκ(ράτους) 1 δ (ὀβολοί) ιε
 Πτολεμ(αῖος) Δωρίω(νος) 1 ιδ
 15 Κᾶρις Ἰσχυρίω(νος) 1 ε [ὀ]β(ολὸς 1)
 Διονύσιο(ς) Ἀπόλλω(νος) 1 κ (τριώβολον)
 Ἀκουσίλ(αος) Διδύμο(υ) 1 ζ.
 Πάπος ἀδελφὸς 1 ζ ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Διονύσιο(ς) Ἡρων(ς) 1 . .
 20 Σκαπλ() Πεκ(ύσιος) 1 [±?] ὀβ(ολὸς 1)
 Μυσθ(ᾶς) Σωκ(ράτους) 1 [±?] ὀβ(ολὸς 1)

Payments for wine of the *synodos* of donkey drivers up to Pharmouthi 13:

Areios son Ptolemaios, 5 dr and 11 obols.

Saras his brother, 6 dr. and a triobol

- 5 Didymos son of Didymos, 15 dr., 1 obol
 Arabas son of Timokrates, 10 dr. 1 obol
 Dioskoros son of Papos, 9 dr. one triobol
 Apollōnios son of Phronto, 4 dr. 1 obol
 Leonides son of Philon, 2 dr. 1 triobol
 10 Sokratēs son of Timokrates, 9 dr. 1 obol

- Apollon. . . son of Heron, 18 dr. 1 obol
 . . . son of . . . smar 9 dr., one triobol
 Didymos son of Timokrates, 4 dr. 15 obols
 Ptolemaios son of Dorion, 14 dr.
- 15 Karis son of Ischurion, 5 dr. 1 obol
 Dionysios son of Apollo, 20 dr. 1 triobol
 Akousilaos son of Didymos, 8 dr.
 Papos his brother, 9 dr. 1 obol.
 Dionysios son of Heron, x dr.
- 20 Skapl. . . son of Pekysis, x dr. 1 obol
 Mysthas son of Sokratēs, x dr. 1 obol.

Notes

Association? Certain: associative term: σύνοδος; artisans in the plural (ὀνηλάται).

1. 1: ἔκθεις, payment. → P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE): ἔκθεις εἰς συνπλήρωσι[v].
1. 1: ἔκθεις οἰνικῶν. According to Johnson (1936, 314) the price of wine in Roman Egypt during the first century CE was about five drachmae for a keramion, which further implies that these payments as quite high.
1. 1: Donkeys played a key role in many ancient occupations ranging from mining to trading. They were ubiquitous in most occupational spheres that required any kind of transport or animal power (such as farming and transportation of goods). This meant that donkeys were an important economic asset, which also meant that donkey drivers, such as the ones we encounter here, were able to provide a service with high demand in a wide range of sectors. This might explain some of the substantial payments that certain members were able to make.

Comments

This document is a list of payments made by association members used to purchase wine, presumably for the association's banquets. Note that the payments are not equal: Dionysios son of Apollo, for example, paid 20 dr. 3 obols, while Didymos son of Timokrates only paid 4 drachma and 15 obols (i.e., 6 dr. 3 obols). Individuals that occupied offices, such as supervisor or treasurer, often contributed higher sums and more resources to the association while they were in office (e.g. P.Mich VIII 511 [240]), and officers also commonly enjoyed better seating when the association convened (P.Mich. V 246 [211]). Thus, we might hypothesize that Dionysios son of Apollo held some kind of office the year this list was written.

Overall, the synod members contribute over 100 drachmae for the purchase of wine. This is a considerable sum and suggests that members had relatively ample disposable income. The payment total suggests that a large amount of wine was purchased. It seems unlikely that this quantity of wine would be consumed during a single banquet, and we might theorize that the association

purchased wine for more than one banquet. This appears to have been the case with SEG 31:983 (Magnesia ad Maeander)

- [παρ]-
 [έ]ξειν δὲ καὶ οἶνον [τ]ὸν [ικανόν]
 ἀπὸ πρωῒθεν Σ[¹⁻²]ΝΩ προε[πηγ]-
 γείλατο με(τη)τάς *vacat*
 5 [·3·]αγόρας Πρωτομάχου
 [παρέ]ξειν δὲ καὶ οἶνον τὸν ικανό[ν]
vacat προεπηγγείλατο με(τη)τάς ρ
 [Διονύ]σιος Διονυσίου παρέξει[ν]
 [καὶ ο]ἶνον τὸν ικανόν καὶ μαγε[ι]-
 10 [ρικοὺς] ἐργάτας καὶ μουσικ[οὺς]
 [τῷ ἀρί]στωι ἄρτων χοίνικα[ς ..]
vacat ΚΙΛΛΟΥ *vacat*
 [Ποσε]ιδώνιος Μενάν-
 [δρου,] φύσει δὲ Ἄνδρων[ος]
 15 [τοῦ Ἐ]πικούρου, ἐπηγγείλ[α]-
 [το το]ῖς συνβάκχοις εἰς τὸ[ν]
 [ἀγορ]ασμὸν τοῦ προσκει]-
 [μένου] τῷ βακχικῷ τόπου κισ-
 [τοφόρ]ους ἑκατὸν ἐξήκον[τα]
vacat

... provided sufficient wine previously [...] had promised *x metrētai*. (5) [...]goras son of Protamachos provided sufficient wine; he had promised 100 *metrētai*; Dionysios son of Dionysios provided sufficient wine and cooks (10) and musicians for banquet and *x choinikes* of bread. *vacat* Poseidonios son (by adoption) of Menandros and by birth of Andron son of Epikouros has promised to the fellow Bakchoi the money necessary for the purchase of the place for the Bakchic festival in the amount of 160 *cistophoroi*.

One hundred *metrētai* of wine (3900 litres) is far too much for a single banquet; it must represent a pledge for perhaps an entire year of banquets.

This high disposable income could be understood from the perspective of their share profession. Since donkeys were integral for such a diverse array of occupations, it means that donkey drivers would have enjoyed a high level of social connectivity. From a social network perspective, the fact that they offered a service required by everyone from miners to merchants suggests that they would have been ideally placed as bridges between different networks. Sociological research has demonstrated that individuals who occupy more than one bridge position (also known as bridging structural holes) are more likely to be successful, since they are able to control the access that different networks have to each other (see Burt 2004). For example, a guild of flax merchants and a guild of iron workers that are connected with each other only by their use of the same donkey driver are subsequently dependent on that donkey driver for any communication between each other. In addition, individuals who bridge different social networks are also more likely to act as agents for the diffusion of

innovations, which makes them valuable assets to the different networks they bridge (see Granovetter 1973). Therefore, behind the term “donkey drivers” we should imagine a group of well-connected and relatively well-to-do men who are able to access the benefits (both in terms of social capital, which can be defined as the resources available to you through your ego network, and economic resources) of tangentially belonging to a diverse number of social networks.

The large payment total suggests that a large amount of wine was purchased. It seems unlikely that this quantity of wine would be consumed during a single banquet, and we might theorize that some members took wine home with them, or that the association purchased wine for more than one banquet.

Literature: **Burt**, Ronald S. 1992. *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; **Granovetter**, Mark S. 1973. “The Strength of Weak Ties.” In *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6): 1360–1380; **Griffith**, Mark 2006. “Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination.” In *CP* 101:185–246; **Johnson**, Allan C. 1936. *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*. Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Ed. Tenny Frank. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. RR

[291] SB XXIV 16224 Burial Club Account?

Unknown

I/II CE

Published: J. David Thomas, and John Tait. “Greek and Demotic Accounts on a Papyrus at the Bodleian Library Oxford,” in *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman*, edited by A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming; *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 93–125, pl. IV–V (SB XXIV 16224) [TM 79390]

Current location: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Egypt. b. 22 (P)

Similar or related documents: → O.Edfou III 368 [251] (Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE) (?): account of a dining club; P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE): club account; P.Mich. V 322b [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE): account of a beer merchant; P.Ryl. II 95 (Oxyrhynchus, 71–72 CE): a declaration of tax farming which seemingly mentions burial of a deceased person and a νεκρογάφος; *Club accounts*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE): club account; SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/11 BCE); P.Tebt. I 119 [TM 3755; CAPIV 725] (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112/111 or 76/75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla,

99–30 BCE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias?, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); O.Theb. 142 (Thebes, II CE); O.Mich. I 3 (unknown, II/III CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE).

One papyrus, 38.1 × 37.2 cm. with three columns of Greek text on the *recto*. The *verso* contains a Demotic text, with a small portion of it on the *recto*.

«*recto*, col. i»

	[±? Μεσο]ρή α . [. .] ρωνίου . [.] ξου θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
	[±? στ]ρώματος	† ε =
	[±?] . . ζ Κεν[. .] ου θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† [ι]
	[±? μ]ητρὸς Δημ. [. .] υ ὀρυγῆς	† β
5	[±?] . ακος Ἀρ. [. .] . θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
	[±?] μόιτος ιε[. .] ὀρυγῆς	† β
	[±?] θεως θ[αμν]ισμοῦ	† ι
	[±?] κ() . [.] . [. .] εμ. θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
	[±?] . . ρχ() θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
10	[±?]	† ι
	[±? θαμνισ]μοῦ	† ι
	[±?] . ηνην θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
	[±?] θαμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
	[±?] ζ ὀρυγῆ[ς]	† β
15	[±?] παραχύτου [θ]αμνισ(μοῦ)	† ι
	[±?] ταφῆς	† ι
	[±?] ξους θαμν[ισ(μοῦ)]	† ι
	[±?] . πρρ[±?]	
	[±?] . [±?]	† ι
20	[±?] . σ	† ι
	[±?]	† ι
	[±?] θαμνι(σμοῦ)	† ι
	[±? ταφ]ῆς	† ι
	[±?] ο() β ταφάς	† κ
25	[±? ταφ]ῆς	† ι
	[±?] ζ	† ι
	[±?] .	† ι
	[±?] .	† β (τριώβολον)
	[±? θαμν]ισ(μοῦ)	† ι
30	[±?] .	† ι
	[±? ταφ]ῆς	† ι
	[±? ὀρυγῆ]ς	† β
	[±?] .	† ι
	[±?]	† ι
35	[±?]	† ι
	[±?]	† ι

- Χοιᾶχ τ (τριώβολον) (ὀβολός)
 Τῦβι τξς (τριώβολον)
 Μεχειρ υ (τριώβολον) (ὀβολός)
 Φαμε(νῶθ) τβ
 80 Φαρμοῦθι σκη
 Παχὼν τλβ (διώβολον)
 Παῦνι [±?]
 Ἐπειφ . [.] . [±?]
 Μεσφορή σὺν ταῖς ἐπαγομέ(ναις) Ἦ φοδ (ὀβολοὶ 3(?))
 — —
 85 γίνο(νται) ἐπ(ι τὸ αὐτὸ) Ἦ Δκγ (τριώβολον)
 καταλείπονται πρὸς τὴν ἐπάνω {ι} ὑπόστασιν
 τῶν τοῦ ἀργυρίου Ἦ Εἰρηθ ἀργ(υρίου) Ἦ
 Αἰοε (τριώβολον).

«verso» Demotic text (an account, not obviously related to burial or to the *recto*).

Mesore 1: of . . . ronios . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . covering:	5 dr. 2 obols.
. . . of Ken. . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of the mother of Dem. . . , digging	2 dr.
5 . . . of . . . ax son of . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . mis, digging	2 dr.
. . . of . . . this, (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
10 . . . of . . .	10 dr.
. . . of . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . mnen, (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . digging	2 dr.
15 . . . of . . . attendant (?) (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . burial	10 dr.
. . . of . . . eos (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . por. . .	
. . . of . . .	10 dr.
20 . . . of . . . s	10 dr.
. . . of . . .	10 dr.
. . . of . . . (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
. . . of . . . burial	10 dr.
. . . of . . . 2, burial	10 dr.
25 . . . of . . . burial	10 dr.
. . . of . . . s	10 dr.

	... of ...	10 dr.
	... of ...	10 dr.
	... of ...	2 dr. 3 obols
	... of ... (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
30	... of ...	10 dr.
	... of ... burial	10 dr.
	... of ..., digging	2 dr.
	... of ...	10 dr.
	... of ...	10 dr.
35	... of ...	10 dr.
	... of ...	10 dr.
<i>«recto, col. ii»</i>		
	of the wife of Pausirion son of Sotas: (for) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
	of ... covering	5 dr. 2 obols
28th	those of Zenarion's family: 2 burials	20 dr.
40	of the brother of Mithres the donkey driver, burial	10 dr.
29th	from (the village of) Antilochos, digging	2 dr.
	of the mother of Pausirion the fuller, <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
	of the wife of the sack-weaver, <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
	of ... the wife of the son of Dioskas (?), <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
45	covering	5 dr. 2 obols
30th	... of the mother of Tranes, burial	10 dr.
	... of the daughter of (the son) of Akes, <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
	... of the daughter of (the son) of Hathythis, digging	2 dr.
	2nd intercalary day: ... of the daughter of Ptolemaios	
50	... the son of Phnas, burial	10 dr.
	of Anesios the cavalryman, burial	10 dr.
	of B. . ., burial	10 dr.
	of ... chona, digging	2 dr.
	of another, digging	2 dr.
55	5th (intercalary day). the ... of Tamis(?), <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
	of the wife of Petsoronnophis, digging	2 dr.
	of Polykrates the physician	10 dr.
	covering	5 dr., 2 obols
	Total:	481 dr. 5 obols
60	and from the <i>xenoi</i> , on the 4th: a Roman, <i>thamnismos</i> ,	10 dr.
6th.	of a <i>xenos</i> , <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
7th.	of the son of the daughter of Nomerios, carrying out to the cemetery,	10 dr.
	covering	5 dr. 2 obols.
14th	from Admenthoi(?) <i>thamnismos</i>	10 dr.
65	21st. of Nikostratos the shoemaker	10 dr.
	30th. of the son of the daughter of Nomerios, burial	10 dr.

	of the wife of Syneros the cavalryman, digging	2 dr.
	burial	10 dr.
	covering	2 dr. 3 obols
70	Total:	92 dr. 3 obols 1 obol
	Total for the month altogether	574 dr. 3 obols

«recto 3»

Contributions from the above persons: for the month of Sebastos, 415 silver drachmae; Paophi: 364 drachmae, 3 obols (75) month of Neos Sebastos; Choiak: 300 dr. 4 obols; Tybi: 366 dr. 3 obols; Mecheir: 400 dr 4 obols; Phamenoth: 302 dr.; (80) Pharmouthi: 228 dr.; Pachon: 332 obols; Pauni ...; Epeiph ... Mesore along with the intercalary days, 574 dr. 3 obols. – – (85) making, in total: 4023 dr. 3 obols; leaving, in relation to the above amount of 5999 silver drachmae, 1975 dr 3 obols.

Notes

Association? Possible: no association or leadership terminology.

Location: unknown

- Il 1, 3, 5,7 and *passim*: θαμνισ(μοῦ). Θαμνισμός is otherwise unattested, but clearly has something to do with burial. The editors point out that θαμνίζω, from which θαμνισμός presumably derives, appears once, in SB XIV 12089, where it seems to refer to concealment or burial. They note, however, that the term might be related to θάμνος, ‘shrub, bush’, observing that some funerary stelai have depictions of shrubs (or sheaves of wheat). The editors also note that θαμνισμός never appears with ταφή for the same corpse, while the other terms, στρώμα appears with θαμνισμός at 1–2, 37–38, and 44–45. Ὀρυγή, ταφή and στρώμα appear together at 67–69, but without θαμνισμός. This might suggest that θαμνισμός and ταφή are alternate means of treating a corpse. Both ταφή and θαμνισμός are said to cost 10 dr.
- Il. 16, 23, 24, 25 and *passim*: ταφή might mean burial, a mummy, a coffin, a cemetery, or a burial-fee.
- Il. 38, 45, 58, 63, 69: στρώμα: occurs frequently in reference to articles of clothing or coverings of various sorts. Here it presumably is a covering on the bier. Yet, at 5 dr. 2 obols it is unlikely that the covering was equivalent to the linen shroud of StudPap XXII 56.9 (see below), which cost 136 dr.

Comments

The fragmentary state of this papyrus, and occurrence of several terms (θανισμός, ὀρυγή, ταφή) whose meaning is not clear impedes the interpretation of the document. Obviously, it is an account of some sort related to burials (col. i, ii) and states income and expenses for an entire year (cols. iii). The costs are consistent: θανισμός and ταφή cost 10 dr.; ὀρυγή (digging), 2 dr.; and στῶμα (covering), 5 dr. 2 obols.

The editors (Thomas and Tait 1998, 96) considered the possibility that this was an account of income and expenses by a group of νεκροτάφοι (funerary

workers), but also noted that the expenses of 2–10 dr. are dramatically inconsistent with funeral expenses attested in other sources from the first and second centuries. For example, P.Amh. II 125v (Arsinoites, late I CE):

- λόγο(ς) δαπάνη(ς) ταφῆς.
 ὧν ἐγὼ ἐδαπάνη(σα)·
 κεδρέας [Γ] δ,
 ἐλαίνου γ κο(τυλῶν) [(όβολοι)] κ,
 5 κύθρα (όβολός) α,
 εἰς πρόσωπο(ν) καὶ [.]ίμά(τιον) Γ κδ,
 τῷ ταριχευτῇ Γ ια,
 στηθὶν μυα(εἰων?) δ (όβολοι) ϖι.
 vac. ?
 καὶ ὧν Θερμο(ῦθις) ἐδαπάνη(σε) σὺν Ἀρπαγά(θη) [±?]
 10 ὀθονίου κα[ι] χιτῶ(νος) Ἀρπαγά(θου) [Γ ±?]
 ἄλλου χιτῶ(νος) υἱοῦ Θερμο(ῦθιος) [(δραχμαὶ) ±?]
 ἐλαίου [Γ ±?]
 [τῷ] ταρ[ιχευτῇ] (?) ±?]

Apparatus: 6 Pap. πρώσοπο || 10, 11: Pap. χιτο.

Account of the expenses for burial. My expenses: cedar oil, 4 dr.; 3 kotylai of oil, 20 obols; (5) an earthenware jar, 1 obol; for a mummy mask and ... 24 drachmae; (paid) to the mummifier, 11 dr.; for a necklace of ? 4 mina, 810 obols. *vac.*

Expenses of Thermouthis (?) and Harpagathos: (10) linen shroud (?) and *chiton* for Harpagathos, x dr.; another *chiton* for the son of Thermouthis: x. dr.; oil, x obols; (paid) to the mummifier, x dr.

The total cost of the burials in this case is likely 200 dr. or more for two persons (so Johnson 1936, 323). The *recto* of P.Amh. II 225 (Arsinoites, late I CE) seems to be the end of a petition concerning robbery and violence by members of a *synodos*. It is unclear whether this has anything to do with the *verso*:

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ αὐτῶ[ν ἐν] συνῶδῳ ἄνδ(ρες) κε ἀνεύρετοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἀφῆρπакαν ἡμῶν ἱμάτια ἄξ{ε}ια Γ β . . ὁ Πετεσοῦχος κινδυνεύει, καὶ [ἐ]πὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐπιδεδώκαμεν τῷ Ἰουλίῳ στρατιώτῃ τὸ ἴσον τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπομνήματος. διὸ ἀξιῶμεν ἀχθῆναι τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους ἐ[π]ὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν σῶν βοήθειαν ἐχόμεθα τοῦ πάσχειν. εὐτόχει

But the rest of the 25 men in the *synodos* have disappeared and have stolen our cloaks (*himatia*) worth 2 drachmae ... Petesouchos is at risk, and when he was there we have delivered to Iulius the *stratēgos* the same memorandum as this. Wherefore we ask that you summon the accused before you so that we may have your assistance. Goodbye.

P.Giss. I 68 (Apollonopolis, 117 CE) indicates costs of 600 dr. for a burial shroud; and PSI IV 281 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE) reports 100 dr. for the burial of a girl, and 116 dr. for the burial of a boy (Johnson 1936, 323). StudPap XXII 56 + BL IX 352; XII 278 (Soknopaiou Nesos, II–III CE) provides an elaborate list of costs:

- λόγος κηδείας
 σταος \vdash ιβ (διώβολον)
 κύ[θ]ρα (διώβολον)
 σάνδου(κος) \vdash δ (όβολοι) ιθ
 5 κηροῦ \vdash ιβ
 μύρου \vdash δ (όβολοι) δ
 μέλ{εε}ι (όβολοι) δ
 [στ(?)]έαρ (όβολοι) η
 λ{ε}ίνων \vdash ρλς (όβολοι) ις
 10 προσώπου \vdash ξδ
 κεδρέας \vdash μα
 φάρμακον εἰς τὰ
 λ{ε}ίνα \vdash δ
 15 ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ \vdash δ
 μισθοῦ Τούρβωνος \vdash η
 ἐνλυχίων \vdash κδ
 τιμὴν παλαιοῦ κιθῶν(ος) (όβολοι) κδ
 γλυκυου (όβολοι) κ
 20 κριθῆς \vdash ις
 πρόζυμα \vdash δ
 κυνί \vdash η
 προσωπίτικο ν \vdash ιδ
 ἄρτων (ἄρτάβαι) β \vdash κα
 25 στροβίλου (όβολοι) η
 [σ]τεφανίων (όβολοι) ις
 θρ[η]νηταί \vdash λβ
 ναῦλο ν ὄνου \vdash η
 ἀθηνίων (όβολοι) ιβ
 30 / \vdash υμ (όβολοι) ις
 λόγος λήμματος
 τιμῆς πώλου καμήλ(ου) [\vdash \pm ?]
 τιμῆς ὄνων \vdash ρκδ

Account of burial expenses

Account of burial expenses. Staos (?): 12 dr. 2 obols; earthenware jar, 2 obols; casket: 4 dr. 19 obols; (5) wax: 12 dr.; myrrh: 4 dr, 4 obols; honey: 4 obols; tallow: 8 obols; linen: 136 dr. 16 obols; (10) mummy mask: 64 dr. cedar oil: 41 dr. drug for the linen: 3 dr. (15) fine oil: 4 dr.; wages for Turbo: 8 dr.; torches: 24 dr.; cost of an old cloak: 24 obols; sweet (?) 20 obols; (20) barley: 16 dr.; engraving 4 dr.; helmet (?) 8 dr.; small mask: 14 dr. 2 artabae of bread: 21 dr.; (25) pine cones 8 obols; crowns: 16 obols; mourners: 32 dr.; fare for the donkey: 8 dr.; food (for the donkey): 12 obols; (30) (making) 440 dr. 16 obols (*sic*!) Account of receipts: sale of a camel foal: x dr.; sale of a donkey: 124 dr.

Thomas and Tait (1998, 96) suggest that the papyrus could be the account “of a burial club into which people had made contributions so that the funeral expenses for themselves and their relatives could be met.” This would make some sense of the consistency of the costs. However, it is also clear from P.Amh. II 125v and StudPap XXII 56 that θαμισμός/ταφή, ὀρυγή and στρῶμα are not the

only costs associated with a funeral, which would also normally include a linen shroud and a mummy mask as well as other costs. The items listed in SB XXIV 16224 are *components* of a funeral, but hardly the entire funeral. Moreover, even though names are listed by each of the items (seen especially in col. ii), it is impossible to imagine, for example, that the body of the wife of the sack-weaver (l. 43) needed only a θαμισμός and that the body from Antilochos (l. 41) required only digging. This means that the suggestion of Thomas and Tait that the genitives in col. i and ii should be understood as “(body) of ...” should be rejected. Given the known costs of burial cols. i and ii cannot simply be a tally of the funeral costs of those named. The genitive is also typical in the case of the enumeration of contributions.

Thomas and Tait’s suggestion, however, that the account belongs to a burial association (or more likely, a guild that *inter alia* assumed some responsibility for burial of its members) has merit. In that case, ξένοι in ll. 60, 61 probably does not mean “foreigner” but rather “guest” or at least individuals who are not formal members of the guild (→ P.Tebt. I 118.4, 12 [195]; P.Tebt. I 177); P.Tebt. I 224r.3.1 [196]; P.Tebt III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.5, 12; frag. 2.r.2.37; frag. 5.v.2.16 [194]; SB III 7182.23, 39 [193]).

The account in cols. i–ii might be contributions (rather than expenses) *toward* a larger suite of funerary costs. This is also consistent with συνάγονται in l. 72 which is best interpreted as things “collected” or contributed rather than as expenses (which would normally be δαπάναι). It also makes sense of the fact that each of the items – θανισμός, ταφή, ὀρυγή, and στῶμα are consistently priced, whereas if these were actual expenses, one might more reasonably expect at least small variations, depending on the month or conditions under which the expenses were incurred.

There are two difficulties with this interpretation. First, while l. 85, γίνο(νται) ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) Ἑ Δκγ (τριώβολον), could be a tally of the total contributions, ll. 86–87 appear to be what remains *after* some expenses have been deducted. Second, if this is an account of contributions towards the funeral expenses, it is odd that so many of the normal funeral expenses are not included. It is perhaps that the guild collected only funds related to a subset of burial expenses. A decision is encumbered by our ignorance of the meaning of θαμισμός and the precise meaning of ταφή or what kind of στῶμα is in view.

Literature: Thomas, J. David, and W. John Tait. 1998. “Greek and Demotic Accounts on a Papyrus at the Bodleian Library Oxford.” In *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman*. Edited by A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 30, 93–125, pl. IV–V. Leiden: Brill.

[292] P.FuadUniv. I 25

Account Book for a Symposium

Unknown

III CE?

Published: David S. Crawford, *Fuad I University Papyri*, Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents 8 (Alexandria: Société de publications égyptiennes, 1949) 47–48 (no. 25) [TM 28673]

Translation: Mees 2002, 400

Current location: Cairo, Cairo University Gr. 55.

Similar or related documents: → *Club accounts*: P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE or 206 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia, II–I BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis or Kerkeosiris, 112/111 BCE) P.Tebt. I 224 *recto* [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109 – 108 BCE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE).

Papyrus with two columns, 16.1 × 13.4 cm.

⟨col. i⟩

⟨traces of 6 lines⟩

⟨col. ii⟩

λόγ(ος) συμποσίου

κερ(αμίων)

γ Ϛ μβ

κρέως

Ϛ κα (διώβολον)

γ(ίνονται)

Ϛ ξγ (διώβολον)

5 εἰς ἄνδ(ρας) ε ἑκ(άστου) Ϛ ιβ (τετρώβολον)

Account of the symposium

3 jars (of wine) (costing)

42 drachmae;

meat costing

21 dr., 2 two obols;

Total: 63 dr. 2 obols

For 5 men, each (contributing) 12 dr., 4 obols.

Notes

Association? Possible: no association or leadership terminology.

I. 1: συμποσίου. Alston 2002, 83 takes this to mean a “dining room,” but with λόγος it more likely means “symposium.”

I. 2: κερ(αμίων), *keramia* → P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.6 [194] *note*.

I. 2: Wine, at a cost of the equivalent of 14 dr./keramion is significantly higher than that known from the mid-first century, or 3–5 dr./keramion, → P.Mich. II 127.23 [217] *note*; P.Athen. 41.1 [290] (unknown, I CE) *note*. See also P.Oxy. XIV 1672.3–8 (37–41 CE): 32 chous (=104 litres) of thin wine for 5 dr. (equivalent of 0.5 dr./keramion). Rathbone 1991, 466 lists wine prices from the Appianus estate (247–268 CE) ranging from 8–18 dr./keramion, with a mean of 12 dr. 2 obols. For wine prices in other regions of Egypt in the third century → Rathbone 1991, 467: BGU VII 1717

(Arsinoites, II/III CE): 12 dr.; P.Oxy. XLIX 3513, 3515, 3516, 3518, 3519 (Oxyrhynchus, 260 CE): 12 dr.; P.Oxy. XLIX 3515, 3520, 3521 (Oxyrhynchus, 260 CE): 16 dr.; P.Oxy VII 1055 (Oxyrhynchus, 267 CE): 11 dr.; P.Oslo II 63 (Arsinoites, III CE): 9 dr. 1 obol, 10 dr.; P.Oxy. XII 1577 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE): 9 dr., 1 obol; P.Oxy. XII 1578 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE): 9 dr. 1 obol; PSI 811 (Arsinoites, III CE): 12 dr. (for a mean of 11 dr. 2 obols.)

Comments

The cost of wine, at 3 *keramia* for 42 dr. represents a dramatic increase from the 3–5 dr./keramion in the mid-first century CE. At a cost of 14 dr./keramion, the price seems more consistent with a third century date than a second century date.

The volume of wine is more problematic. 3 *keramia* is equivalent to 29.16 litres, using the “standard” size of a keramion from the third century CE (Bagnall 2009, 188: 1 keramion = 9.72 litres). Yet this seems too high for 5 men, which would imply 5.8 litres per man! Rathbone (1991, 479), however, argues that in the Heroninus archive, the maximum possible size of a keramion was 7.3 litres and uses 7.0 litres as the more likely average. This would still yield a large volume of wine: 21 litres shared by 5 men implies 4.2 litres per person.

The meal costs are 63 dr. 4 obols, but the contributions (12 dr. 4 obols) would only yield 63 dr. 2 obols, assuming a 6-obol drachma.

Literature: Alston, Richard. 2002. *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge; Bagnall, Roger S. 2009. “Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, 179–193. New York: Oxford University Press; Mees, Allard W. 2002. *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen*. Monographien, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52. Bonn: R. Habelt; Rathbone, Dominic. 1991. *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate*. Cambridge classical studies. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

[293] P.Genova I 24

Account of the *Vestis militaris*

Unknown

IV CE

Published: Mario Amelotti and Livia Zingale Migliardi, *Papiri dell'Università di Genova (PUG)*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1974) 60–64 (no. 24, tavola XVI); SB X 10258; BL VII 275; IX 362; XII 284 [TM 32494]

Current location: Genua Università 1386.

Digital image: <http://www.pug.unige.net/Papiro/Details/b4649353-2ba0-44e5-a248-9f3b9f3ed4c2>

Similar or related documents: → P.Col. IX 247, 248 (Hermopolis, 324–326 CE); P.Col. IX 248 (Hermopolis, 324–326 CE).

Papyrus 18 × 20 cm. Each of the entries in i.3–12 (and probably i.13–16) and ii.4–14 is preceded by a cross, probably added by the hand of a supervisor or auditor, and indicating that the payment has been made.

«col. i»

	λόγ(ος) [στι]χ[α]ρ[(ίων) ἐ]γδε[κάτης]	
	ινδικ(τίονος) οὔτως	
	× ἐργ(ατῶν ?) τραπε[α]ρ(ίων)	στιχ(άρια) ξα
	× ἐργ(ατῶν ?) χ<ε>ρ(ικῶν ?)	στιχ(άρια) μη
5	× λευκαγτῶν	στιχ(άρια) θ
	× ταρσικαρίων	στιχ(άρια) η
	× κναφέων	στιχ(άρια) ιη γ
	× βαφέων	στιχ(άρια) λ
	× σαγματοράφων	στιχ(άριον) α γ
10	× λαναρίων	στιχ(άρια) ιθ
	× καναρίων	στιχ(άρια) ε
	× λαοξῶν	στιχ(άρια) β
	[±? ἀ]ρτοκ(όπων)	στιχ(άρια) ιβ
	[±?] [±?]. χοπωλ(ῶν)	στιχ(αρι) [±?]
15	[±?] [. . .] αιοπωλῶν	στιχ(άρια) β
	[±?] . . . κοπω[±?]	
	«traces of 2 lines»	
18	-----	

«col. ii»

	[±? [μα]γ<ε>ίρων	στ[ιχ(αρι) ±?]
	[±?] θύτων	στ[ιχ(αρι) ±?]
	[±?] ὠν	στιχ[(αρι) ±?]
	× ὀνηλατῶν	στι[χ(αρι) ±?]
5	× κυαμω<πω>λῶν	στ[ιχ(αρι) ±?]
	× χαλκέων	στ[ιχ(αρι) ±?]
	× .. ιουργῶν	στ[ιχ(αρι) ±?]
	× ὑελουργῶν	στιχ(άρια) β
	× φορνεντῶν	στιχ(άρια) β [±?]
10	× ὀπωροπωλῶν	στ[ιχ(αρι) ±?]
	× καταγγιστ[ῶ]ν	στιχ(άρια) γ γ
	× κοσκινευτῶν	στιχ(άριον) α
	× ἰχθυομεταβόλων	στιχ(άρια) γ
	× ἐλεφαντουργῶν	στιχ(άριον) α
15	Φοιβάμμων συστάτης	στιχ(άρια) κ

καλικάριων	στιχ(άριον) α γ
μηναρχ() τεκτ[όνων]	στιχ(αρίου) γ
Ἰωάννης κοι . . . [±?]	στιχ(αρίου) γ
[±?] ε, ελοιτ . . . [±?]	στ[ι]χ(άριον) α

Apparatus: ii.17 BL IX 362: μηναρχ() τεκτ[όνων]; prev. ed. [±?] γαρχιτεκτ[±?]

Notes

Associations? Certain (ἐργασία [ll. 3–4]; collective payment of taxes; artisans in the plural)

Location: unknown (Egypt)

Comments

The *vestis militaris* was a tax imposed on the population – on individuals, towns, and as this document indicates, on guilds. Although this and other tax documents record the tax in units of *sticharia* (tunics) and *pallia* (cloaks), the fractional figures (l. i.7: η γ = 19½; l. i.11: γ γ = 3½) suggest that the tax was collected in the cash equivalent of various military garments (Sheridan 1998, 73). The same conclusion is underscored by SB XVI 12646 (Oxyrhynchites, 326/7 CE) [TM 17442], a receipt written by the secretary of a fullers' guild to three inhabitants of a village, reporting that they had paid the equivalent of partial *sticharia* and *pallia*:

- παρέσχο(ν) Χαϊρήμων καὶ Παπνοῦτις
καὶ Παῦλος παριγ() ἀμφοτέρω(ι) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου)
[. . . γ() η πάγου ὑπὲρ γ[ε]νῆματος
ιδ ἰνδικτίον[ο]ς στιχαρ(ίου) . . . α
- 5 . . . μέρ(ος) τέταρτ[ο]ν τετρακαικ[οσ]τὸν
τεσσαρακοσόγδοον καὶ παλλ(ίου)
δωδέκατον τεσσαρακοσόγδ[ο]ν,
/ στιχαρ(ίου) δ κδ μη παλλ(ίου) ιβ μη μόνα.
L κα L ια L γ L Θώθ ι Ἑρμείας
- 10 γραμματ(εὺς) κναφῶν σεσημ(είωμαι).
<hand 2> διέγρα(ψαν) οἱ ἀπὸ ἐποι(κίου) Πετροκ . . . ιος
δι(ὰ) Χαϊρήμονος ὑπ(ὲρ) γενήμ(ατος) ιε ἰνδικ(τίονος)
ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλ(αίου) κ[αί] π(ριμι)π(ίλου) ἀργυρίου

Chairemon, Papnoutis, and Paulus, both (!) from the hamlet . . . the crop of the 8th *pagos*, have provided for . . . of the 14th indiction (5) one-quarter, one twenty-fourth, and a forty-eighth portion of a . . . (making) ¼ 1/24 1/48 of a tunic (*sticharion*) and a 1/12 and 1/48 of a cloak (*pallium*), for year 21, 11, 3, Thoth 10. I, Hermias the (10) secretary (*grammateus*) of the fuller's guild, have acknowledged this. <hand 2> The inhabitants of the hamlet of Petrok . . . acting through Chairemon have paid for the produce of the 15th indiction for the capitation tax (*epikephalaion*) and the primipilon, in silver (denarii?)

P.Ryl. II 189 = C.Pap.Hengstl 160 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 18 Dec 128 CE) offers one of the earliest records of a guild supplying garments for the army:

- Διονύσιος Σωκράτους καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι παραλήπται
 δημοσίῳ(ν) ἱματισμοῦ κουστωδιῶν παραεὶλ(ήφραμεν) παρὰ γερδί-
 ῶν κόμης Σεκνωπαίου Νήσου ιστωλο . . . οὖς χιθωνοὺς δέκα ἑννέα,
 / ιθ, καὶ ἐνὶ στρατιωτικῇς χρείας
 5 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ στρατευομένων παλλίῳλα λευκὰ
 πέντε / ε. ιγ L Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίακ κβ. <hand 2> Διογέν[η]ς παρέλαβα.
 <hand 3> Ὀνησᾶς συνπαρέλαβα. <hand 4> Φιλόξενοῦς
 συνπαρέλαβα.

We, Dionysios son of Sokratēs and the associate collectors of public clothing for the guards have received from the weavers of the village of Soknopaïou Nesos nineteen . . . tunics, making 19, and for the needs of the soldiers serving in Judaea five white cloaks, making 5. The 13th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Choiak 23. (Signed) <hand 2> I Diogenes have received (this). <hand 3> I Onesas have received (this). <hand 4> I Philoxenos have received (this).

At this early date, weavers' guilds were commissioned to supply garments (→ BGU VII 1572 [233]) and paid this work. By the fourth century, the *vestis militaris* was a tax payable by all.

P.Genova I 24 provides an index for how many individual guilds existed in a town: at least twenty-four are named: carpet weavers (*tapitērioi*), handworkers (*cheirikoi*?), bleachers (*leukantai*), linen weavers (*tarsikarioi*), fullers (*knapheis*), dyers (*batheis*), saddle makers (*sagmatoraphoi*), wool workers (*lanarioi*), clothiers (*kapsarioi*), stone cutters (*laoxooi*), bakers (*artokopoi*), dung merchants (*chopōlai*), . . . merchants, butchers (*mageiroi*), donkey drivers (*onēlatai*), bean merchants (*kuamōpōlai*), coppersmiths (*chaleis*), glass makers (*hyelourgoi*), wood workers (*torneutai*), fruit seller (*opōropōlai*), bottler (*katangistai*), winnowers (*koskineutai*), fish mongers (*ichthyometaboloi*), ivory workers (*elephantourgoi*) and boot makers (*kalikarikoï*).

Literature: Drob-Krüpe, D. 2012. "Purchase Orders of Military Garments from Papyri of Roman Egypt." In *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times*, ed. Marie-Louise Nosch, 13–18. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books; Gibbs, Matthew, and C. Michael Sampson. 2019. "A First-Century Receipt from the Receivers of Public Clothing in Tebtunis (P.Tebt. UC 1607C)." In *BASP* 56:65–78; Richter, Martina 1991. "Bemerkungen zu PUG I." In *ZPE*, 89:103–104; Sheridan, Jennifer A. 1998. *Columbia Papyri IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex*. American studies in papyrology 39. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press; Sheridan, Jennifer A. 2009. "Two Michigan Papyri." In *BASP* 46:37–57; Youtie, Herbert C. 1980. "P. Mich. Inv. 1378: vestis militaris." In *ZPE* 38:289–291.

Cumulative Index for Volumes I–III

These indices are organized both by the Latin and Greek alphabets: thus, for example, γ comes after β and before δ, but ‘g’ comes in its normal place in the Latin alphabet. The index is non-exhaustive, especially for Greek vocabulary. It does list inscriptions and papyri that are not included in this collection, especially when these are mentioned or discussed in the *Notes* and *Comments*. A question mark (?) indicates that assignment to this rubric is uncertain or that the restoration is uncertain.

IA.	Athenian Archons
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II.	Kings, Emperors, Royal Family Members, and Governors
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IA. Athenian Archons

Aischron	Dioklēs
IG II ² 1315 [29] (211/10 BCE)	IG II ² 1292 [26] (215/4 BCE)
T. Flavius Conon	Dioklēs
SEG 31:122 [50] (121/2 CE)	AM 66:228.3 [39] (138/7 BCE)
Dēmoklēs	Dioklēs
IG II ² 1277.1 [15] (278/7 BCE)	IG II ² 1339.1–2 [46] (57/6 BCE)

- Dioklēs Meliteus
IG II² 1343 [48] (37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- Diomedon
IG II² 1298.7, 14 [20] (248/7 BCE);
SEG 2:9.23 [21] (243/2 BCE)
- Dionysios
IG II² 1012.1 [42] (112/11 BCE)
- Dionysios
IG II² 1323.2 [31] (194/3 BCE)
- (Arrios) Epaphroditos
IG II² 1368.2 [51]
- Euboulos
IG II² 1273AB [18] (265/4 BCE)
- Euktēmon
IG II² 1271.4 [13] (299/8 BCE)
- Euphilētōs
IG II² 1314 [28] (213/2 BCE)
- Eupolemos
IG II² 1325 [33] (185/4 BCE)
- Euthydomos
IG II² 1343 [48] (37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- T. Flavius Conon
SEG 31:122 [50] (ca. 100 CE)
- Glaukippos
IG II² 1278.16 [17] (272/1 BCE)
- Hagnias
IG II² 1292 [26] (215/4 BCE)
- Hegemachos
IG II² 1261.44 [9] (ca. 300 BCE); IG
II² 1263.1, 32 [11] (300/299 BCE)
- Herakleitēs
IG II² 1314 [28] (213/2 BCE)
- Herakleitos III
IG II² 1337.2 [44] (97/6 BCE)
- Hermogenēs
IG II² 1328 [34] (183/2 BCE; B:
175/4 BCE)
- Hierōn
SEG 2:9.19 [21] (243/2 BCE); IG II²
1317b (245/4 BCE)
- Hippakos
IG II² 1328 [34] (183/2 BCE; B:
175/4 BCE)
- Kallikratidēs
IG II² 1343 [48] (37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- Kimōn
IG II² 1297.2 [24] (236/5 BCE)
- Klearchos
IG II² 1261.25 [9] (302/1 BCE;
301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II²
1262.1 [10] (300/299 BCE)
- Koroibos
IG II² 2499.44 [7] (306/5 BCE)
- Kydenor
SEG 2:9.1, 14 [21] (243/2 BCE)
- Leukios the younger of Rhamnous
SEG 54:235.1 [47] (ca. 50 BCE)
- Lykeas
IG II² 1284.19 [22] (241/0 BCE)
- Lysitheidēs
IG II² 1316.5 [16] (272/1 BCE); IG
II² 1317.1 (272.1 BCE)
- Medeios
IG II² 1335.66 [43] (101/0 BCE)
- Menandros
IG II² 1343 [48] (37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- Menekratēs
IG II² 1301 [25] (219/8 BCE)
- Nikandros
IG II² 1343 [48] (37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- Nikias
IG II² 1273AB.6 [18] (266/5 BCE?)
- Nikoklēs
IG II² 1261.1 [9] (302/1 BCE; 301/0
BCE; 300/299 BCE)
- Nikokratēs
IG II² 337 [3] (333/2 BCE)
- Nikophōn
IG II² 1323 [31] (200/199 BCE)
- Paramonos
IG II² 1012.2 [42] (113/12 BCE)
- Philōn
IG II² 1327 [35] (178/77 BCE)
- Claudius Phocas (Marathon)
IG II² 2361 [52] (200–211 CE)
- Phrynichos
IG II² 1255.3–4 [2] (337/6 BCE)
- Polyeuktos
SEG 2:9.6, 14 [21] (250/49 BCE)
- Polystratos
IG II² 1283.1 [23] (240/39 BCE)

Sonikos	Theoxenos
IG II ² 1328 [34] (B: 175/4 BCE); IG	IG II ² 1329.6 [37] (187/6 BCE)
II ² 1329.1 [37] (175/4 BCE)	Thersilochos
Theoklē̄s	SEG 2:10.9 (Salamis, 251/0 BCE)
IG II ² 1335.1 [43] (103/2 BCE)	Timarchos
Theopeithēs	AM 66:228.1 [39] (138/7 BCE)
IG II ² 1343 [48] (37/6 or 36/5 BCE)	Zenion
Theophemos	IG II ² 1334.6 [45] (post 71/70 BCE)
SEG 2:9.28 [21] (247/6 BCE)	

IB. Civic Eponymous Officials Elsewhere

Akrodemos son of Dioteimos (<i>prytanis</i> , civic president)	Hestaios (<i>stephanēphoros</i> , crown- bearer)
IMagnMai 215.2 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE)	IMiletos 796.1 (190/189 BCE → [132])
Antiochos (<i>stephanēphoros</i> , crown- bearer)	Menestheus son of Polyidos (<i>hipparchos</i>)
IMiletos 798.1 [132] (79/8, 43/2, or 41/0 BCE)	IMT 1539.1 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE)
Apollonios son of Dionysios (priest of Roma)	Pausanias son of Eumenes (<i>hipparchos</i>)
SEG 46:1520.1 (Sardis, 90s BCE → [121])	IMT 1431.1 (Kyzikos, I CE → [108])
Claudia Appia Tatiane (<i>stephanēphoros</i> , crown-bearer)	Phanites (<i>prytanis</i> , civic president)
IMagnMai 117.1 (ca. 100 CE → [143])	IKyme 17.22 [104] (28/27 BCE)
	Phoinix son of Phoinix (priest of Zeus Polieus)
	SEG 46:1520.2–3 (Sardis, 90s BCE → [121])

II. Kings, Emperors, Royal Family Members, and Governors

Agrippina Augusta (mother of Nero)	Artaxerxes (Persian king)
IEph 20.4 [127] (54–59 CE)	SEG 29:1205.1–2 [120] (426 BCE or 365 BCE)
Alexander the Great (Macedonian king)	Attalos III (Attalid king)
IEph 719.8–9 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE)	OGIS I 326.18 [141] (146–133 BCE)
Antiochos III (Seleukid king)	Augustus (imp. 27 BCE–14 CE)
SEG 46:1519.7 [121] (188 BCE)	BGU IV 1137 [168] (6 BCE);
Antonia Tryphaina (daughter of a king of Pontus / wife of a king of Thrace)	I.Alex.imp. 74 [171] (3 BCE);
IMT 1431 (ca. 25–50 CE → [108])	I.Alex.imp. 96.3 [166] (30 BCE–14 CE); I.Fayum I 73 [202] (24 BCE);
Antoninus Pius (imp. 138–161 CE)	I.Fayum III 212.5–6 [204] (3 CE);
BGU VII 1572.18–19 [233] (139 CE); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); ISmryna 731 (157–158 CE → [137]); IEph 22.36–37 [144] (ca. 142 CE)	IGRR I 1095.3 [163] (29/28 BCE); IKyme 17.1 [104] (28/27 BCE); SEG 1:282 [62] (27 BCE–14 CE); SEG 36:1207 (→ [147])

- Aurelian (imp. 270–275 CE)
P.Oslo III 144.4 [273] (272–275 CE)
- Claudius (imp. 41–54 CE)
IMiletos 156 (→ [144]); P.Lond. III 1178.8 [267] (200–212 CE); P.Mich. V 322b.1 [220] (51 CE)
- Claudia Octavia (daughter of Claudius / wife of Nero)
IEph 20.5 [127] (54–59 CE)
- Commodus (imp. 177–192 CE)
IEph 1600 (→ [130])
- Diocletian (emperor 284–305 CE)
P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE) *passim*
- Domitian (imp. 81–96 CE)
IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE); ISmryna 731–732 (80's CE or 150–160's CE → [137]); I.Fayum II 121.3 [227] (93 CE): name erased; P.Grenf. II 43.5 [225] (92 CE)
- Droaphernes Barakes (Persian governor [*hyparchos*])
SEG 29:1205.3–4 [120] (426 BCE or 365 BCE)
- Eumenes II (Attalid king)
IPergamonSupp AM 27, 1902, no. 86 (after 158 BCE → [110])
- Gaius (Caligula, emperor 37–41 CE)
IEph 719.9 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IGRR I 1086.1–3 [179] (39/40 or 40/41 CE)
- Hadrian (imp. 117–138 CE)
IByzantion 37 [91] (117–137 CE); IPergamon 374.1 [111] (129–138 CE); IEph 275.1–2 [130] (117–138 CE); ISmryna 622 (ca. 129–32 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 697.35 [139] (124 CE); IAph 12.719.5 [142] (117–138 CE); IAnazarbos 3 (136 CE → [153]); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.4–5 [274] (288 CE)
- G. Julius Antiochos, king of Commagene
P.Lond. III 1178.21 [267] (200–212 CE)
- Julius Polemo, king of Pontus
P.Lond. III 1178.22 [267] (200–212 CE)
- Kamasarye (wife of a Bosporan king)
IBosp 75.5, 8 [94] (ca. 150–125 BCE)
- Kleopatra ("Cleopatra VII Philopator", 51–30 BCE)
I.Fayum III 205 [201] (51 BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (37 BCE); JIGRE 125.1–2 [161] (47–30 BCE)
- Lucius Caesar (grandson of Augustus)
IEph 719.9 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE)
- Lucius Verus (imp. 161–169 CE)
IEph 278.24–25 [131] (162/3 CE)
- Marcus Aurelius (imp. 161–180 CE)
IG II² 1368 [51] (164/65 CE); IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE); IScM II 60 (II CE → [98]); ISmryna 731 (157–158 CE → [137]); IAnazarbos 4 (207 CE → [153])
- Maximian (emperor 286–305 CE)
P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 [274] (288 CE)
- Nero (imp. 54–68 CE)
IEph 20.2 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 275.3 [130] (117–138 CE); IAnazarbos 3 (136 CE → [153])
- Pairisades III (Bosporan king)
IBosp 75.3 [94] (ca. 150–125 BCE)
- Pairisades IV (Bosporan king)
IBosp 75.3–4 [94] (ca. 150–125 BCE)
- T. Petronius Secundus, governor of Egypt, 92–93 CE
I.Fayum II 121.12–13 [227] (93 CE)
- Polemon (Pontic king)
IMT 1431 (ca. 25–50 CE → [108])
- Ptolemy I Soter
Bernand 1992, no.8.3 (274–270 BCE → [120])
- Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II Philadelphos (the "Sibling gods") (285–246 BCE)
I.Prose I 3.2 [243] (269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.2 [244] (285–246 BCE)

- Ptolemy III Euergetes Tryphon (r. 246–221 BCE) and Bernikē II
IVarsovie 44 (→ [154]); JIGRE 22 [154] (245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24.1–4 [156] (140–116 BCE); JIGRE 117.2–6 [186] (245–222 BCE)
- Ptolemy IV Philopator (r. 221–204 BCE)
JIGRE 117.7–8 [186] (245–222 BCE); P.Enteux. 20.3 [189] (221 BCE); P.Enteux. 21.1 [190] (218 BCE)
- Ptolemaios VI Philometor (r. 180–145 BCE) and Kleopatra II.
P.Cair. 30606 [191] (158/57 BCE)
- Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (r. 170–163 BC, 145–116)
JIGRE 125.8–9 [161] (47–30 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (143–142 BCE)
- Ptolemy XII Auletes (r. 80–58, 55–51 BCE).
I.Fayum I 9 (80/79, 69/7 BCE);
I.Fayum II 134.1–3 (79 BCE);
I.Fayum III 204.1 [200] (68 BCE)
- Ptolemy XIV Auletes (47–44 BCE)
JIGRE 125.1–2 [161] (47–30 BCE)
- Ptolemy XV (Caesarion) (44–31)
JIGRE 13 [162] (37 BCE); JIGRE 125.1–2 [161] (47–30 BCE)
- Rhoimtalkos (Thracian king)
IByzantion 324 (early I CE → [101])
- Septimius Severus (imp. 193–211 CE)
IAnazarbos 4 (207 CE → [153]);
IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE);
P.Lond. III 1178.3, 39 [267] (200–212 CE)
- Severus Alexander (imp. 232–235 CE)
P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.11 [274] (288 CE)
- Stratonike (wife of a Seleukid king)
ISmryna 765.3 [136] (305–281 or 197–159 BCE)
- Tiberius (imp. 14–37 CE)
I.Alex.imp. 46.5–6 [176] (20–21 CE); IMT 1431 (25–50 CE → [108]);
IEph 3801 (→ [111]); IMiletos 156 = GCRE 29 (→ [144]); P.Mich. V 243.1 [206] (14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.1 [212] (43 CE); P.Mich. V 245.1 [219] (47 CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.1 [274] (288 CE)
- Tiberius Julius Kotys III (Bosporan king)
IBosp 1283.3–4 [96] (228 CE)
- Tiberius Julius Rheskouporis (Bosporan king)
IBosp 70.1–2 [95] (81 CE)
- Tiberius Julius Sauromates (Bosporan king)
SEG 19:501 (→ [95])
- Titus (imp. 79–81 CE)
ISmryna 731–732 (80's CE or 150–160's CE → [137])
- Titus Statilius Barbarus (governor of Thrace, 196–198 CE)
IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE)
- Trajan (imp. 98–117 CE)
IEph 719.6–7 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IEph 275.4 [130] (117–138 CE); IEph 3329 (98–117 CE → [130]); I.Fayum II 122 [229] (109 CE); SEG 21:703 (ca. 98–102 CE → [146]); IAnazarbos 3 (136 CE → [153]); P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (107 CE)
- Vespasian (imp. 69–79 CE)
ISmryna 731–732 (80's CE or 150–160's CE → [137]); P.Lond. III 1178.32 [267] (200–212 CE)

III. Deities and Heroes

Adonis

IG II² 1261 [9] (302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE)

Agathe Tyche

TAM V 1539.10 [117] (ca. 100 BCE); SEG 45:1607 (190–189 BCE → [132])

Amphiaraos

IG II² 1322 (III/II BCE)

Amynos

IG II² 1252.3–4 [6] (ca. 300 BCE)

Anaktores

IEph 719.8 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE)

Anoukis-Hestia

I.Th.Sy. 302 (154/3–145 BCE);
I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (143–142 BCE)

Anubis, Anoubis

I.Alex.imp. 65.2? [181] (22 CE?);
I.Fayum III 171 [226] (I–II CE);
ISmryna 765.1 [136]; IKosS EF 458
(→ [136]); OGIS II 729 [155] (221–
205 BCE); SEG 28:421 (ca. 200 BCE
→ [140]); SEG 42:157.2 [41] (ca.
116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

Aphrodite

IG II² 337 [3] (333/2 BCE); IG II²
1261 [9] (302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE;
300/299 BCE); AM 66:228 [39]
(138/7 BCE); IG II² 2361 [52]
(Piraeus, 200–211 CE); SEG 26:614
[59] (ca. 200 BCE); OGIS II 525 (→
[127])
– A. Epiteuxidia: SEG 42:625 [75]
(90–91 CE)
– A. Hagne: IG II² 1337 [44] (97/6
BCE)
– A. Ourania: IBosp 75.11 [94] (ca.
250–125 BCE)
– A. Pontia: IMT 1539.18 [107] (I
BCE)
– Syrian Aphrodite: IG II² 337 [3]
(333/2 BCE); IG II² 1337 [44] (97/6
BCE)

Apollo

I.Alex.imp. 65.4 [181] (22 CE?);
I.Alex.imp. 70.1 [180] (early I CE);

IOlbiaD 95 [92] (ca. 300 BCE);
IApamBith 35.4 [99] (119 or 104
BCE); I.Fayum III 172 [228] (I–II
CE); IHierapJ 195 (138–212 CE →
[116]); SEG 45:1607 (190–189 BCE
→ [132]); ICiliciaBM II 201 (→
[150])
– A. Archegetes: IHierapJ 153 (138–
300 CE) → [116]
– A. Patroos: SEG 27:947 (III CE)
→ [153]
– A. Pleurenos: SEG 46:1519.25
[121] (188 BCE); SEG 32:1236 (ca.
150 BCE → [121]); SEG 46:1520
(90's BCE) → [121]

Arete

TAM V 1539.9 [117] (ca. 100 BCE)

Artemis

IGLAM 648 = IGRR IV 1632 (212
CE) → [117]; IEph 4337 (19–23 CE
→ [128]); IEph 3068 (110–120 CE
→ [129])
– A. Anaitis: Malay 2005 (III CE →
[112]); ILydiaHM 85.5–6 [119]
(205/6 CE); TAM V 995 (→ [124])
– A. Ephesia: IEph 20.1 [127] (54–
59 CE); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE
→ [127])
– A. Kallistē: IG II² 1298 [20]
(248/7 BCE); IG II² 1297 [24] (236/5
BCE)
– A. Soteira: IG II² 1343 [48] (37/6
or 36/5 BCE)

Asklepios

IG II² 1252.4 [6] (ca. 300 BCE); IG
II² 2960 [54] (ca. 150 CE); IGBulg
III/2 1626 [85] (III CE); IEph 719.2
[129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IEph 1161–
1167 (138–61 CE → [129]); TAM II
910.1,6,18,23 [146] (II CE); TAM II
906 (→ [146])
– Asklepios Soter: IPergamon-
Asklep 85 (→ [111])

Atargatis (Syrian)

IG II² 1337 [44] (97/6 BCE); SEG
52:761.9–10 (II BCE)

Athena

AM 66:228 [39] (138/7 BCE); IG VII 685, 687–688 [57] (III–II BCE); IG VII 2463.1; IMT 1431 (→ [108]); ISmryna 721 (ca. 14–37 CE → [126]); IMiletos 935.12 [133] (ca. 120 CE); Athena Polias: SEG 21:703 (ca. 98–102 CE → [146]) – A. Krisoua Oreia: SEG 37:1327 = MAMA III 33 (→ [148])

Attis

ISardBR 17 (→ [120]); IPessinous 18.1 [151] (180–200 CE)

Augusti, Augustan gods (*Sebastoi*)

IMT 1431 (→ [108]); IPergamon 374.1 [111] (129–138 CE); IPergamonAsklep 85 (→ [111]); MAMA VI List 164.9 [114] (ca. 98–117 CE); IGRR IV 791.13 [115] (ca. 69–81 CE); ITrall 74 (III CE → [115]); TAM V 93 → [122]; TAM V 972.8 [123] (ca. 50 BCE); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 213.6, 9 [128] (88/89 CE); IEph 719.3 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IEph 275.4–5 [130] (117–183 CE); IEph 728.2 [131] (162/3 CE); ISmryna 639 (150–200 CE → [137]); IEph 22.37 [144] (ca. 142 CE); IMiletos 156 = GCRE 29 (→ [144]); TAM II 906 (→ [146]); IPessinous 18.5 [151] (180–200 CE); IPessinous 17 = ICybele I 59 (150–200 CE → [151]) – Augustus (as θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός): BGU IV 1137.2–3 [168] (6 BCE): Σεβαστῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος; IPergamon 374.1 [111] (129–138 CE); IEph 3801 (→ [111]); P.Mich. V 244.15 [212] (43 CE); SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (5 BCE); SEG 1:282.3–4 [62] (27 BCE–14 CE) – Augusta Nikephora: IMT 1431 (→ [108])

Aulonētēs → Heroes

Belela

IG II² 2361 [52] (200–211 CE)

Bendis

IG I³ 136 (LSCGSup 6) (432/1 or 411 BCE); IG I³ 369.68 (426/5 BCE); IG I³ 383.A.ii.V.143 = I² 310.208 (429/8 BCE); IG II² 1255 [2] (337/6 BCE); IG II² 1361 [4] (330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1256 [5] (329/8 BCE); IG II² 1283 [23] (240/39 BCE); IG II² 1301 [25] (219/8 BCE)?; IG II² 1317 (272/1 BCE); IG II² 1317b (249/8 BCE); IG II² 1324 [32] (ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1496 (334/3–331/0 BCE); SEG 2:9 [21] (243/2 BCE); SEG 2:10 (251/0 BCE); SEG 44:60 (244/3 BCE)

Charitae (Graces)

SEG 28:953.57, 62 [108] (ca. 25–50 CE); TAM V 1539.11 [117] (ca. 100 BCE)

Chnoubis-Ammon

I.Th.Sy. 302 (154/3–145 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (143–142 BCE)

Cosmos (as divine figure ?)

IOlbiaD 95 [92] (ca. 300 BCE)

Cybele → Mother of the gods

Deloptes

IG II² 1324 [32] (ca. 190 BCE)

Demeter

IGBulg V 5434 [89] (II–III CE); IG II² 11674 = IDionysosJ 5 (II CE → [100]); *Greek Anthology* 9.298 (→ [102]); ISmryna 728.14 [140] (II CE); SEG 26:1457 (late II–III CE → [153]) – D. Karpophoros: IEph 213.4–5 [128] (88/89 CE); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IPessinous 22 (→ [151]) – D. Thesmophoros: ISmryna 655 (→ [138]) – D. Cthonia: SEG 55:612 (ca. 300 BCE → [148])

Dexion

IG II² 1252.4 [6] (ca. 300 BCE)

Dionysos

IG II² 1325 [33] (185/4 BCE); IG II² 1326 [36] (176/5 BCE); IG II² 1368 [51] (164/65 CE); IG VII 686 [57] (III BCE); SEG 32:488 [58] (ca. 100 BCE); IDionysosJ 7 [60] (141 CE); IG IX,1² 670 [61] (ca. 150 CE); EKM I.Beroia 22 [63] (7 BCE); Philipp II 340/L589 [71] (I–II CE?); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (I CE); IG X/2.1 506 [80] (209–10 CE); IG X/2.1 260 [81] (III CE); IAegThrace E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–98 CE); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?); SEG 35:1327.4 [97] (155 CE); IGUR 1228 = IDionysosJ 186 (I–II CE → [100]); IDionysosJ 180 (II CE → [100]); IKyme 17.25 [104] (28/7 BCE); IEph 275.8 [130] (117–183 CE); IDionysosJ 135 (98–117 CE → [131]); IMagnMai 215.7, 21 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/ 150 CE); IEph 22.36 [144] (ca. 142 CE); I.Prose I 3 [243] (269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6 [244] (285–246 BCE); SEG 39:649 [84] (II–III CE)
 – Bacchic Dionysos: IDionysosJ 154 (350–300 BCE → [142])
 – D. Bresagenes: IG XII,2 478 (→ [137]); ISmyrna 600.1–18 (157/8 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 622 (ca. 129–132 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 639 (150–200 CE → [137])
 – D. Bromios: ISmyrna 728. 2 [140] (II CE)
 – D. Gongylos: IG X/2.1 259 [76] (I CE)
 – D. Kallōn: IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE)
 – D. Kathegemon: IGUR 1169 = IDionysosJ 195 (III–IV CE → [100]); IPergamon 485.4–5 [110] (I CE); IDionysosJ 98 (109–110 CE → [110]); TAM V 1497 (ca. 250 CE → [117])

– D. Koreseitos: IEph 1600 (177–192 CE → [130])
 – D. Parabolos: IByzantion 37 [91] (117–137 CE)

Dioskuroi

I.Varsovie 44.2–3 (→ [154]);
 P.Lund IV 11 [237] (170, 203, 231, or 263 CE)

Diotimos, Zenon, and Pammenes

IG II² 1339 [46] (57/6 BCE)

Echelos

Agora 16:161 [14] (ca. 300 BCE)

Egretēs

IG II² 2499 [7] (306/5 BCE)

Eikadeus

IG II² 1258 (324/3 BCE)

Eudaimomia

TAM V 1539.7 [117] (ca. 100 BCE)

Fate

IApamBith 103.2 [100] (ca. 250–300 CE); SEG 34:1266 = IDionysosJ 73 (imperial era → [100]); TAM V 477 = IDionysosJ 112 (240/241 CE → [100]); IG II² 11674 = IDionysosJ 5 (II CE → [100]); IGUR 1169 = IDionysosJ 195 (III–IV CE → [100])

Graces → Charitae

Gē

IBosp 74 (173–211 CE → [95]);
 IBosp 1123 (→ [95])

Harpokrates

P.Mich. V 246.1 [211] (ca. 43–49 CE); SB I 639 [164] (Alexandria, 25 BCE); SEG 42:157.2 [41] (ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

Helios

IOlbiaD 95 [92] (ca. 300 BCE);
 IBosp 1123 (41 CE → [95]); TAM V 1497 (ca. 250 CE → [117]); SEG 58:1640.A.45, C.9 [149] (150–100 BCE)

Hera Kyleidon

IBosp 1021 (105 CE → [95])

Herakles

IG II² 2343 [1] (ca. 400 BCE); IG II² 1291 [19] (ca. 250 BCE); SEG 36:228 [38] (159/8 BCE); SEG 54:235 [47] (ca. 50 BCE); SB I 639 [164] (25 BCE); SEG 31:122 [50] (121/2 CE); CIL 3.633 [68] (II CE); Philippi II 340/L589 [71]; IMiletos 935.12 [133] (ca. 120 CE); Iaph 12.719.4 [142] (117–138 CE); IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8 (→ [111]); I.Philae I 11 (172 or 146 BCE)

Hermes

IPrusaOlymp 48 = RICIS 308/0401 (150–200 CE → [102]); IPergamonSuppAaM 29, 1904, no.8 = IGRR IV 318 (→ [111]); SEG 45:1607 (190–189 BCE → [132])

Heroines

Agora 16:161 [14] (ca. 300 BCE)

Hero, ἥρως

IG II² 2499.25 [7] (306/5 BCE); CIG II 2007f.3 [66] (I CE); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE) – Aulonētēs: NewDocs 4:215 no. 17.3–4 (159/60 CE → [64])

Hestia

TAM V 1539 [117] (ca. 100 BCE)

Hosios Dikeos (Holy and Just)

Malay 2005.2 [112] (III CE)

Hygeia

TAM V 1539.9 [117] (ca. 100 BCE); TAM II 910.1,7,19 [146] (II CE); TAM II 906 (→ [146])

Hypsistos

IMiletos 1138–1139 (ca. 150–200 CE → [134])

Θεὸς μέγας “great god”

JIGRE 13.3–4 [162] (37 BCE)

Isis

IByzantion 324 (early I CE → [101]); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE

→ [127]); IFayum III 204.2 [200] (68 BCE); Isis Esenchibis; IFayum III 205 [201] (51 BCE); Isis Snonaïs; IG II² 337 [3] (333/2 BCE); IG X/2.1 255.17 [77] (I–II CE); I.Philae II 139 [252] (13 BCE); I.Philae II 157 [255] (8 CE); IKios 22.20 [101] (late Hellenistic or early Imperial); IMT 1542 (I BCE–I CE → [107]); IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028.6 [102] (late II–I BCE); IRhamnous II 59 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); ITrall 86.4–5 [145] (post–132 CE); SEG 28:421 (ca. 200 BCE → [140]); SEG 42:157.1 [41] (ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

Judaeian God

IJO I Mac 1 [73] (ca. 200 CE); IJO I Mac 15 [82] (ca. 200 CE?); IMiletos 940 f [135] (II–V CE); JIGRE 13.3–4 [162] (37 BCE): θεὸς μέγας “great god”; P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (291 CE)

Kabiroi

IMiletos 360 (80–82 CE → [128])

Kolanthes

SB III 6184 [247] (138–137 BCE)

Leto

IPergamonAsklep 120 (II BCE, → [121]); SEG 58:1640.A.31 [149] (150–100 BCE) – Meter Leto: TAM V 1556 = Malay 2005, 43 (161/162 CE → [112])

Liber → Dionysos

CIL 3.633 [68] (II CE); Philipp II 340/L589 [71] – Liber Pater: IKyme 17.13 [104] (28/7 BCE); CIL 3.703 (undated)

Libera

Philipp II 340/L589 [71]

Ma

SEG 29:1205.11 [**120**] (426 or 365 BCE)

Memnē

TAM V 1539.10 [**117**] (ca. 100 BCE)

Men

- M. Motyllites: I LydiaHM 85.4 [**119**] (205/6 CE)
- M. Tiamou: TAM V 536 = IMen 53 (171/172 CE → [**119**])
- M. Tyrannos: IG II² 1365–1366 [**53**] (ca. 200 CE); TAM V 536 = IMen 53 (171/172 CE → [**119**])

Mercury

CIL 3.633 [**68**] (II CE)

Meter → Mother of the Gods

Mother of the Gods, Meter, Cybele

IG II² 1316 [**16**] (272/1 BCE); IG II² 1273AB [**18**] (265/4 BCE); IG II² 1301 [**25**] (219/8 BCE); IG II² 1314 [**28**] (213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315 [**29**] (211/0 BCE); IG II² 1327 [**35**] (178/7 BCE); I Leukopetra 16 (184/185 CE → [**95**]); I ApamBith 35 [**99**] (119 or 104 BCE); IGUR 1169 = IDionysosJ 195 (III–IV CE → [**100**]); TAM V 955 (→ [**124**]); TAM V 962 (→ [**124**]); ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE → [**148**]); IPessinous 17 (150–200 CE → [**151**])

– Oreia: IG II² 2361 [**52**] (200–211 CE); SEG 41:1329.2 [**148**] (II CE); SEG 55:612 = Bernabe 2008 (300 BCE → [**148**]); ICariaR 162 = Reinbach 1908 (120–210 CE → [**148**])

– or Aphrodite Ourania (?): IG II² 1328 [**34**] (183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1329 [**37**] (175/4 BCE); IG II² 1334 [**45**] (post 71/70 BCE)

Nemesi

Philipp II 142/G562 [**70**]; ISmryna 697.5 [**139**] (124 CE)

Nike

Philipp II 142/G562 [**70**]; TAM V 1539.11 [**117**] (ca. 100 BCE)

Oreia → Mother of the gods

Pan

SB III 6184 [**247**] (138–137 BCE)

Petempamentes-Dionysos

I.Th.Sy. 302 (154/3–145 BCE);
I.Th.Sy. 303 [**246**] (143–142 BCE)

Petensetis-Kronos

I.Th.Sy. 303 [**246**] (143–142 BCE)

Petensenis-Hermes,

I.Th.Sy. 303 [**246**] (143–142 BCE)

Phos

IOlbiaD 95 [**92**] (ca. 300 BCE)

Ploutos

TAM V 1539.9 [**117**] (ca. 100 BCE)

Poseidon

IBosp 1134.4–5 [**93**] (173–122 CE);
IMT 1539.18 [**107**] (I BCE)

Roma

IPergamon 374.4 [**111**] (129–138 CE); IEph 3801 (→ [**111**]); TAM V 1098.6 [**124**] (I CE); SEG 36:1207 (→ [**147**])

Sabbatistēs

LSAM 80.2 [**152**] (ca. 27 BCE–14 CE)

Sabazios

IG II² 1335 [**43**] (101/0 BCE); SEG 29:1205.9–10 [**120**] (426 or 365 BCE)

Sachyphis (Isis)

I.Fayum II 121.10 [**227**] (93 CE)

Sambathos? Sambathē

IGRR I 1106.2 [**165**] (30 BCE–14 CE)

Sarapis

I.Alex.imp. 46.5 [**176**] (20–21 CE);
IByzantion 324 (early I CE → [**101**]); IG II² 1292 [**26**] (215/4 BCE); IG XI,4 1224/1225 (before 166 BCE); IG X/2.1 255.4, 17 [**77**]

- (I–II CE); IG XI,4 1299 (200 BCE → [117]); IGUR 241 (200 CE → [146]); IPrusaOlymp 48 = RICIS 308/0401 (150–200 CE → [102]); IMT 1542 (I BCE–I CE → [107]); IPrusaOlymp 48 = RICIS 308/0401 (150–200 CE → [102]); IRhamnous II 59 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); ITrall 86.6–7 [145] (post–132 CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (early III CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262] (75–199 CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] (73 CE); SB XVI 12511.5 [231] (II CE); SEG 28:421 (200 BCE → [140]); SEG 42:157.1 [41] (ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)
- Satis-Hera
I.Th.Sy. 302 (154/3–145 BCE);
I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (143–142 BCE)
- Saviour(s), *Soter*, *-eres*
IG II² 1291 [19] (ca. 250 BCE) (? Asklepios and Hygieia); SB V 8805.1 [260] (80/81 CE); SEG 20:499.7–8 (112/1 or 76/5 BCE); TAM V 1539 [117] (ca. 100 BCE)
- Sebastoi* → Augusti
- Seknebtynis, Soknebtynis → Sobek, Souchos
I.Fayum III 202.10–11 (94 BCE): Σοκνεβ|τύνει θεῶι μεγάλωι με|γάλωι; P.Lips. II 131 [215] (before 46 CE): ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Σεκνεβτύν[ις]
- Silvanus
CIL 3.633 [68] (II CE)
- Sobek (Souchos) → Seknebtynis, Soknebtynis
P.Cair. 30606 [191] (158/57 BCE); P.Stras. V 341.7–8 [224] (85 CE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (114 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (II–I BCE); I.Fayum III 201 [198] (95 BCE)
- Soknopaios
I.Fayum I 73.4 [202] (24 BCE)
- Souregethēs
Philipp II 133/G441.14 [69] (II–III CE)
- Syrian goddess
IG II² 2361 [52] (200–211 CE)
- Theos Hypsistos
IG X/2.1 70 [74] (66–67 CE); IBosp 1283 [96] (228 CE); IBosp 1123 (→ [95]); JIGRE 9.1 [157] (II BCE) *Comment*; JIGRE 27.7 [158] (II/I BCE)
- Thermouthis
I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] (25 CE)
- Thesmophoros
IEph 213.5 [128] (88/89 CE)
- Thoth
ST 158 (30 BCE)
- Triphis
SB III 6184 [247] (138–137 BCE)
- Titans
ISmryna 728.16 [140] (II CE)
- Tynaros (or Tynabos?)
IG II² 1262.17 [10] (300/299 BCE)
- Unknown deity
IG II² 1275 [8] (325–275 BCE); IG II² 1263 [11] (300/299 BCE); IG II² 2347 [12] (ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1278 [17] (272/1 BCE); SB I 4549 [269] (226 CE)
– Bendis or the Mother of the Gods (?); IG II² 1301 [25] (219/8 BCE)
– unknown female deity: IG II² 1277 [15] (278/7 BCE)
- Zeus
IBosp 74 (173–211 CE → [95]); IBosp 1021 (105 CE → [95]); IBosp 1123 (→ [95]); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); ITrall 74 (111 CE → [115]); TAM V 1497 (ca. 250 CE → [117]); ISardBR 22 (100 BCE → [120]); ISardBR 17 (→ [120]); ICiliciaBM II 201 (→ [150])
– Z. Baradates: SEG 29:1205.2 [120] (426 or 365 BCE)

- Z. Dionysos Gongylos: IG X/2.1 259 [76] (I CE)
- Z. Eleutherios: I.Fayum III 212.5–6 [204] (3 CE)
- Z. Eumenes: TAM V 1539.12 [117] (ca. 100 BCE)
- Z. Hypsistos: P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (69–58? BCE); SEG 46:744.1 [65] (51 CE); SEG 46:800 [72] (250 CE)
- Z. Kalainai: IGRR IV 788–789 (ca. 160 CE → [115])
- Z. Kristes: IKyme 39 (II–III CE → [104])
- Z. Labraundos: IG II² 1271 [13] (299/8 BCE)
- Z. Lopheites: IPerinthos 49 [86] (I CE?)
- Z. Patroos: IEph 3801 (→ [111])
- Z. Phrygios: I.Alex.imp. 74.3–4 [171] (3 BCE)
- Z. Polieus: SEG 46:1520 (90's BCE → [121])
- Z. Sabazios: I LydiaHM 85.5 [119] (205/6 CE)
- Z. Solymeus: TAM III 400 (post–212 CE → [147])
- Z. Sōter: IG II² 1291 [19] (ca. 250 BCE); IKyme 39 (II–III CE → [104])
- Z. Xenios: IG II² 1012 [42] (112/11 BCE)

IV. Ethnic Designations → immigrant or noncitizen associations (under V. Types of Associations)

Abarsakenians, Ἀβάρσακηνοί

IApamBith 103 [100] (Pylai, 250–300 CE)

Aeneadians, Αἰνέαδαι (Romans)

IASMinVers 8.14 (Kastolupedion, I BCE → [152])

οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Egyptians

IG II² 337.43 [3] (333/2 BCE)

Alexandrians, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς

TAM II 910.9, 20 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)

Aphrodisian, Ἀφροδισιεύς

IAph 12.719.7, 8–9, 24 [142] (117–138 CE)

Asians

– οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐργασταί, the traders from Asia: IMT 1431.13 (Kyzikos → [108])

Assians, Ἀσσίοι

IAssos 26.4, 10, 16 (37 CE → [103])

Athenians, Ἀθηναῖοι

TAM II 910.9, 21 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); SEG 21:703.2 (Athens, ca. 98–102 CE → [146])

Ephesians, Ἐφέσιοι

IEph 20.A7 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 1503.8 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE → [144])

ὁ Θυστειρηνός, Thyatiran (from Thyateira)

IG X/2.1 291 [79] (late II CE)

Galatians, Γαλάται

IPessinous 22.4–5, 9–10 (150–200 CE → [151])

Greeks, Ἕλληνες

IAssos 26.4.11–12 (37 CE → [103])

- οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες, the Greeks in Asia: ILaodikLyk 82.1 (I–II CE → [116])
- Italians, *Ἰταλικοί*, Ἰταλικοί
 - Italicei quei Sardibus negotiantur / Ἰταλικοὶ οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν πραγματευόμενοι, Italians engaged in business in Sardis: SEG 46:1521.1 (Sardis, I BCE → [122])
- Judeans, Ἰουδαῖοι
 - Εἰουδέων τῶν καὶ θεοσεβίων, Judeans who are also pious: IMiletos 940f [135] (II–V CE)
 - Ἰουδαία: IJO II 43.1 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106])
 - Ἰουδαῖοι: IEph 1676.4–5 (→ [129]); IMiletos 940h [135] (II–V CE); IJO II 32.7 (Ephesos, ca. mid-late II CE → [129]); IJO II 36.5–7 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); IJO II 191 (Hierapolis → [139]); IJO II 223 [150] (Tlos, late I CE); JIGRE 22.8 [154] (Schedia, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24.5 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 27.5 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 117.10 [186] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE); P.Oxy IX 1205.7 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)
 - οἱ ποτε Ἰουδαῖοι: those formerly from Judea: ISmyrna 697.30 [139] (after 124 CE)
 - τῶ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων: IJO II 43.8–9 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106])
- οἱ Κιτιεῖς, Kitians (from Cyprus)
 - IG II² 337.9–10, 20–21, 33–34, 39–40 [3] (333/2 BCE)
- Knidians, Κνίδιοι
 - IKnidos 160.1 (350–300 BCE → [142])
- Korykaians, Κωρυκαῖοι
 - MAMA III 770.4 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [153])
- Kymaian, Κυμαῖοι
 - IKyme 17.23 [104] (28/27 BCE); IKyme 37.30 [105] (I BCE or I CE)
- Macedonians, Μακεδονικοί
 - IHierapJ 153 (138–300 CE → [116])
- Magnesians, Μάγνητες
 - IMagnMai 215.3, 14, 38 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE copy)
- Milesians, Μιλήσιοι
 - IMiletos 360.2 (80–82 CE → [128])
- Milyadians, Μιλυάδεις
 - SEG 36:1207.4 (Milyas, 5/4 BCE → [147])
- Poimaneians, Ποιμανηνῶν
 - IMT 1181.8 (Poimanenon, III or II BCE → [107])
- Phrygians, Φρυγοί
 - I.Alex.imp. 74 [171] (3 BCE)
- Rhodian, Ῥόδιος
 - TAM II 910.6, 9, 20–21 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)
- Romans, Ῥωμαῖοι
 - οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥωμαῖοι, Romans in Asia: ILaodikLyk 82.1 (I–II CE → [116])
 - οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Roman settlers: IGRR IV 791.1–2 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); MAMA VI 180.A1, B1–2 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115])
 - οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι, Roman businessmen: IAssos 20.1 [103] (27 BCE–37 CE); IAssos 19.1 (27 BCE–37 CE → [103]); IAssos 26.4.9–10 (37 CE → [103]); SEG 28:953.2–3, 83–84 [108] (Kyzikos ca. 25–50 CE); TAM V 924.2–3 (Thyateira, 50 BCE → [123]); SEG 36:1207.4–5 (Milyas, 5/4 BCE → [147])

- Ῥωμαῖοι: IAssos 26.4.11 (37 CE → [103]); IKyme 37.29–30 [105] (I BCE or I CE); TAM V 1002.6 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123]); IEph 20.A6 [127] (54–59 CE)
- Samothracian, Σαμοθράκιος
IEph 20.70–71 [127] (54–59 BCE)
- Sardinians, Σαρδιανοί
SEG 46:1524.1–2 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE)
- Smyrnaeians, Σμυρναεῖοι
IMagnSip 18.2 → [115]
- Thracians, Θρᾷκες
SEG 36:1207.5 (Milyas, 5/4 BCE → [147])
- Thyateiran, ὁ Θυατειρηνοῦς
IG X/2.1 291 [79] (Thessalonikē, ca. 190 CE); IJO II 146.3, 6 (Thyateira, ca. 120–220 CE → [152])
- Trallians, Τραλλιανανοί
ITrall 74.14–15 (III CE → [115])
- Tycallean, Tucalleus, Τυκαλλέως
– Tucalleus: IKyme 17.14 [104] (28/27 BCE)
– Τυκαλλέως: IKyme 17.26–27 [104] (28/27 BCE)

V. Types of Associations

ἀπολύσιμοι, exempt from liturgies

- P.Mich. II 123.iii.40; viii.26; xxii.44 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (43 CE)

associations devoted to a particular deity (or deities) (cultic associations)

- P.Mich. II 123 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE): cultic associations of various types; P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); SEG 60:1812 [245] (Syene, early III BCE)
- Anoubis: I.Fayum III 171 [226] (Narmouthis, I–II CE)
- Apollo: I.Alex.imp. 65.4 [181] (Alexandria, I CE, 22 CE?); I.Alex.imp. 70.1 [180]; (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Fayum III 172 [228] (Narmouthis, I–II CE); SEG 46:1519 [121] (Sardis area, ca. 188 BCE); SEG 32:1236 (Sardis area, ca. 150 BCE → [21]); SEG 46:1520 (Sardis area, 90s BCE → [21])
- Artemis Pythia: SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos ca. 25–50 CE)
- Augusti: SEG 48:1960 → [169] (Alexandria, 161–169 CE)
- Augustus: BGU IV 1137.2–3 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)
- Dionysos: IKyme 17 [104] (28/27 BCE); IPergamon 485 [110] (I CE); IPergamonSupp 27 no. 86.3 → [110]; IPergamonSupp 27 no. 86.3 → [110]; TAM V 1539 [117] (ca. 100 BCE); TAM V 1497 (ca. 250 CE → [117]); TAM V 1462 (Philadelphia → [117]); IDionysosJ 114 (Philadelphia, II CE → [117]); IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE); IEph 1600 (177–192 CE → [130]); IEph 3329.3–4 (98–117 CE → [130]); ISmryna 652 [137] (I CE); ISmryna 731 (80–83 CE → [137]); ISmryna 732 (80s or 150s–60s CE → [137]); ISmryna 622.7–8 (ca. 129–32 CE → [137]); ISmryna 600 (157–58 CE → [137]); ISmryna 639 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmryna 729.1, 3 (247–49 CE or 259–68 CE → [137]); ISmryna 728.12 [140] (II CE); IKnidos 160.2, 8–9 (350–300 BCE → [142]); IMagnMai 215.28–29, 34–36 [143] (ca. 278–250

- BCE/150 CE copy); IMagnMai 117 (early II CE → [143]); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 302 (Syene, 154/3–145 BCE); SEG 31:983.15 (Söke, II–I BCE → [143])
- the Dioskoroï (Dioscuri): IPergamon 321.2–3 → [110]; P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE)
 - ‘The god’: P.Mich. II 124.ii.23 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE): σύνδοος θεοῦ, probably Sobek; P.Mich. II 127.i.20 [217].
 - Harpocrates: P.Mich. V 246.1 [211] (ca. 43–49 CE)
 - Herakles and Harpocrates: SB I 639 [164] (Alexandria, 25 BCE):
 - Horus Behoudti: P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE)
 - Isis: I.Fayum III 204.2 [200] (68 BCE): Isis Esenchibis; I.Fayum III 205 [201] (Soknopaïou Nesos, 51 BCE): Isis Snonaïs; I.Philae II 139 [252] (Philae, 13 BCE); I.Philae II 157 [255] (Philae, 8 CE); IKios 22 [101]; IPrusaOlymp 1028.6–7 [102] (late II–I BCE)
 - Isis and Sarapis: IMT 1542 (Kyzikos, I BCE or I CE → [107])
 - the Judaean god: JIGRE 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24 [156] (Xenephryris, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 117 [186] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis/Ptolemaïs Euergetis, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE); P.Ryl. IV 590.1 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE)?
 - Sachyphis (Isis): I.Fayum II 121 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE)
 - Sambathos? Sambathē: IGRR I 1106.2 [165] (Naukratis, 30 BCE–14 CE)
 - Sarapis: P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE)
 - Seknebtynis: P.Lips. II 131 [215] (before 46 CE)
 - Sobek (Souchos): P.Cair. 30606 [191] (158/57 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (114 BCE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdōla, II–I BCE); I.Fayum III. 201 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 BCE)
 - Soknopaïos: I.Fayum I 73.4 [202] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE)
 - Thermouthis: I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] (Alexandria, 25 CE)
 - Thriphis: SB III 6184 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 138–137 BCE)
 - unknown: P.Bodl. I 65 [289] (unknown, I CE)?; P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.23 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); SB I 4549 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE)?; SB XVI 12702 [270] (Oxyrhynchus III CE); SEG 60:1812 [245] (Syene, early III BCE)
 - Zeus Hysistos: P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (69–58? BCE)
- associations devoted to the Ptolemaic Family
- βασιλιστᾶί: I.Th.Sy. 302 (Syene, 154/3–145 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE); σ[υ]νβασιλιστᾶί καὶ Διοσκουριαστᾶί: IVarsovie 44.6–7 (→ [154])
- athletic or musical guild, ξυστόν, ἱερονικά, ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστική περιπολιστική σύνδοος
- IAph 12.719.32–33 [142] (117–138 CE); IErythrai 429 (I BCE → [142]); IGUR I 241.7 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); P.Lond. III 1178 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE); the sacred travelling athletic *synodos* associated with Herakles; P.Oslo III 144.3 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

citizen associations in Attica

- *Amphieraistai*: IG II² 1322 (III/II BCE)
- *Asklepiastai*: IG II² 2960 [54] (Acharnai, ca. 150 CE)
- *eranos*: IG II² 1339 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE)
- *thiasos*: IG II² 2343 [1] (Athens, ca. 400 BCE)
- *orgeōnes*: IG II² 1256 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE) (Athens, ?); IG II² 1252+999 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 2499 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1314 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1325 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1328 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1337 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1334 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE); IG II² 1361 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE)
- *Sarapiastai*: IRhamnous II 59 [27] (after 216/15 BCE)
- *Soteriastai*: IG II² 1343 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)

ethnic associations → immigrant or noncitizen associations

familial or household associations

- TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)

guilds → occupational guilds

household associations → familial or household associations

immigrant/diaspora or noncitizen associations

- IG II² 337 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE); IG II² 1275 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE) (?); IG II² 2347 [12] (Salamis, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1291 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1298 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1297 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1292 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 2354 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE); IG II² 10248 [55] (Athens, III CE); IMiletos 796 (190–189 BCE → [132])
- Asians, Ἀσianoί: IPerinthos 56.11 [87] (196–198 CE)
- Egyptians, Αἰγύπτιοι: IG II² 337.43 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE)
- Judaeans, Ἰουδαῖοι: IBosp 70.19 [95] (Pantikapaion, 70 CE); IJO I BS18.18 (Phanagoria, 53 CE → [95]); JIGRE 9 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); JIGRE 22.8 [154] (Schedia, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24 [156]; (Xenephrys, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 27 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 117 [186] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE)
- Kitians (from Cyprus), οἱ Κιτιεῖς: IG II² 337.9–10, 20–21, 33–34, 39–40 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE)
- Romans, Ῥωμαῖοι: SEG 1:282.5–6 [62]
- Phrygians, Φρυγιοί: I.Alex.imp. 74 [171] (Alexandria, 3 BCE)
- Selgians, Σελγεῖς: ICiliciaBM II 201 (before 69 CE → [150])
- Syrians, Σύριοι: SEG 52:761.9–10 (Delos, II BCE)
- *thiasōtai* in Attica with non-citizen membership: IG II² 1261 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1262 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1271 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1277 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1278 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1273AB [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); IDionysosJ 7 (?) [60] (Megara, 141 CE)
- Thracians, Θραῖκες: IG II² 1255 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE) ?; IG II² 1256 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE) ?; SEG 2:9 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); IG II² 1284 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1283 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE)

initiate associations (*mystai*)

- IG X/2.1 259.5, 12, 15, 18 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IByzantion 31.5 [90] (85–96 CE); IPrusaOlymp 48.B4 (150–200 CE → [102]); IPrusaOlymp 1028.6–7 [102] (late

II–I BCE); IPrusaOlymp 159.1 (late II or early III CE → [102]); IKyme 37 [105] (I BCE or I CE); IMT 1181 (Poimaneion, III or II BCE → [107]); IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); ITrall 74.16 (III CE → [115]); TAM V 1462.10, 13 (Philadelphia → [117]); MAMA IV 281 (Dionysopolis → [119]); SEG 46:1519.11–12, 17 [121] (Sardis area, ca. 188 BCE); SEG 32:1236.3 (Sardis area, ca. 150 BCE → [121]); SEG 46:1520.5 (Sardis area, 90s BCE → [121]); TAM V 1055.2–3 (Thyateira, II–III CE → [124]); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124]); IEph 213.6 [128] (88/89 CE); I LydiaM 131 (Sardis, 188 CE → [128]); IEph 275.7 [130] (117–138 CE); IEph 1600 (177–192 CE → [130]); ISmryna 731.18, 19 (80 CE → [137]); ISmryna 732.1 (80s or 150s–60s CE → [137]); ISmryna 622.7–8 (ca. 129–32 CE → [137]); ISmryna 639.3 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmryna 729.1, 3 (247–49 CE or 259–68 CE → [137]); ISmryna 653., 4 [138] (I–II CE); ISmryna 654.5 (I–II CE → [138]); ISmryna 655.1 → [138]; ISmryna 728.16, 18 [140] (II CE); IMT 950.2 (Stratonikeia → [142]); IMagnMai 215 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE copy); IMagnMai 117 (early II CE → [143]); ITrall 86 [145] (post-132 CE → [145]); SEG 41:1329 [148] (Termessos, late II CE); SEG 55:612.1 (Pherai, IV–III BCE → [148]); IPessinous 18 [151] (180–200 CE → [151]); IPessinous 22.21 (150–200 CE → [151])

military associations

I.Fayum I 9.6 (Arsinoe, 80/79, 69/7 BCE); I.Philae I 11 (Philae, 172 or 146 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 302 (Syene, 154/3–145 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 580 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE); P.Würzb. 4 [192] (Philadelphia, after 142 BCE)

mixed associations with both citizens and immigrants (noncitizens), or men and women

– citizens and noncitizens: CIL 3.633 [68] (Philippi, II CE); ICiliciaBM II 201 (before 69 CE → [150]); IG II² 1012 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IG II² 1316 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1323 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 1324 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE) (?); IG II² 1327 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 2361 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); SEG 36:228 [38] (Attica, 159/8 BCE); SEG 42:157 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE); SEG 42:625 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); SEG 46:744 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE)

– citizens and non-citizens (all male): IG II² 1335 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE)

– Roman citizens, freedmen, and slaves: CIL 3.633 [68] (Philippi, II CE); EKM I.Beroia 27 (Beroia, before 212 CE): 2 Roman citizens, artisans, slaves (?) (all male)

– men and women: Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); AM 67 (1942) 31 (no. 30) (Mesogaia, II CE); IGBulg III/1 1517 + V 5550 (Philippopolis, 241–44 CE); IByzantion 37 [91] (117–137 CE); I.Fayum I 73 [202] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE)?; IG II² 1283 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1292 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE): 8+ men, 1+ woman; IG II² 1297 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1298 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1315 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1316 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1337 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 2347 [12] (Salamis, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 2348 (Piraeus, IV BCE) 4+ men, 1+ women; IG II² 2354 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE): 10 men, 13 women; IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?): 59 men, 33 women; IG II² 2361 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE); IG II² 4817 (Attica, II/III CE): 15 men, 5 women; IG VII 688 [57] (Tanagra); IG IX,1² 670.2 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); SEG 46:800 [72]

(Pydna, 250 CE); IG X/2.1 255.17 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē; I CE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE): 43+ members (13+ men, 30 women); P.Lille.dem. 98 (Ghōran, 245 BCE); SEG 46:744.4 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE): 83 men, 41 women; SEG 56:203 (Athens, III BCE)
 – slaves: BGU IV 1137 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE); SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)

neighbourhood or street associations

– AM 27 (1902) 101–102 [no. 102] (Pergamon, after 142 CE) → [110]: οἱ κατοικοῦντες | τὴν Πασπαρεϊτῶν | πλατεῖαν; IG X/2.1 291 [79] (Thessalonikē, ca. 190 CE): ἡ ὀκτωκαιδεκατη, the guild of the 18th street.; IGRR IV 791.22–23 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); MAMA VI List 146,106.21–23 (Apameia Kelainai): τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Θερμαίας πλατείας ἐργαστῶν; MAMA VI List 146,111.i.15, ii.15–16 (Apameia Kelainai): τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ | Πλατείᾳ τεχνειτῶν; MAMA VI 180.B13–14 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [114]); IHistria 57.33 (150–200 CE → [129]); SEG 33:1018 (Sattai [Lydia] 167/8 CE): ἡ πλατεῖα; SEG 31:1026 (Sattai [Lydia], 162/3 CE): ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν | λεινουργῶν; TAM V/1 79 (Sattai [Lydia] 152/3 CE): ἡ πλατεῖα τῶν σκυτέων; TAM V/1 80 (Sattai [Lydia] 153/4 CE); TAM V/1 81 (Sattai [Lydia] 173/4 CE); TAM V/1 146 (Sattai [Lydia] 166/67 CE).

occupational guilds

P.Bodl. I 65 [289] (unknown, I CE): several occupational guilds?; P.Mich.Zen. 57 [185] (Philadelphia, 248 BCE); P.Mich. II 123 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE): guilds of various kinds; P.Mich. II 124 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE): guilds of various kinds; SB XVI 12695 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE): guilds of various kinds.
 – alabaster miners, ἀλαβαστρωνῖται: PSI VII 822.5 [265] (Antinoopolis? 130–199 CE)
 – ἀπολύσιμοι, those released from liturgical service: P.Mich. II 123.iii.40; viii.26; xxii.44 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE)
 – archers, οἱ φαρατρίται: SEG 26:614 [59] (Aulis, ca. 200 BCE)
 – aromatic oil merchants, σταγματοπῶλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3748 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
 – artisans τεχνίται: TAM III 4.25–26, 30 [147] (Termessos, II CE); TAM III 62.1 [147] (Termessos, II CE)
 – οἱ βαφεῖς → dyers
 – bakers, ἄρτοκόποι: IEph 215.3, 7–8 (late II CE → [125]); ISide 30.9 (220–250 CE → [146]); P.Genova I 24.i.13 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Oslo. III 144.14, 24 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. LI 3625 (Oxyrhynchus, 359 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE); TAM V 966 [125] (Thyateria, II–III CE)
 – bankers, τραπεζίται: MAMA III 771.1–3 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [153]); PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)
 – barbers, κουρεῖς: IPerinthos 49 [86], I CE?
 – bean merchants, κυαμωπῶλαι: P.Genova I 24.ii.5 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
 – bed builders, κλινοπήγος, κλινοποιοί: IEph 2213.6 → [150]
 – bee keepers, μελισουργοί: P.Oxy. LIV 3747 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE): [τοῦ κοινοῦ τ]ῶν μελ[ισ]ουργ[ῶν]; P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)
 – beer merchants, ζυθοπῶλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)

- bleachers, λευκάνται: P.Genova I 24.i.5 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3743 (Oxyrhynchus, 318 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3752 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- boot maker καλικάρικοι: P.Genova I 24.ii.15 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- bottlers, καταγγιστάι: P.Genova I 24.ii.11 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- builders, κτίσται, οικόδομοι: I.Alex.mus. 143 (Memphis, II BCE): α κοινὸν τῶν κτιστῶν; P.Mich. II 123.xvii.38 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE): οικόδομοι; P.Ryl. IV 654.8, 9 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE): οικόδομοι
- builders, carpenters: τέκτονες: IMiletos 935.1 [133] (ca. 120 CE); P.Oslo. III 144.18 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Phil. 1.32 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)
- butchers, μάγειροι: P.Genova I 24.ii.2 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- camel herders, καμηλοτρόφοι: P.Mich IX 543.3 [232] (Karanis, 135–136 CE)
- carpenters, τέκτονες: SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 45 CE)
- carpet-weavers, ἀκαίροδαπισταί, ταπητάριοι: IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); P.Genova I 24.i.3 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Leid.Inst. 62 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE); P.Oslo. III 144.6 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE)
- cavalry, ἵππεῖς: I.Fayum I 13: τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἱππέων τῆς θεραπείας; II.Fayum I 9.4–5 (Arsinoe, 80/79, 69/7 BCE): οἱ τὸ τεταγμένον ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἱππεῖς
- coarse bread bakers, κακιοποιοί: SB XVI 12695.10 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- clothiers, καψάριοι: P.Genova I 24.i.11 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- condiment merchants, ἀρτυματοπώλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3739 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3761 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- coppersmiths/bronzesmith, χαλκεῖς, χαλκουργοί, χαλκοκολληταί: IHierapJ 133.B3–4 (after 212 CE → [116]); SEG 58:1640.A2, 30, 40–41, B30–31, C24–25 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE); INikaia II.1 73* addenda, p. 327 (I or II CE → [149]); P.Genova I 24.ii.6 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Laur. IV 155 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 283–292 CE); P.Oslo. III 144.12 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)
- corpse transporters?: P.Petaus 28 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE)
- crown-plaiters, στεφανηπλόκοι: SB XVI 12695.12 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- doll-makers, κορᾶλλιοπλάσται: IMagnSip 18 → [115]
- donkey rearers (?) κτηνοτρόφοι: O.Fay. 14 → [207] (Euhemeria, 1 CE); P.Phil. 1.28 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)
- donkey drivers, ὄνηλάται: BGU I 15 (Arsinoite nome, 197 CE) → [64]; EKM I.Beroia 372.3–4 [64] (Beroia, II CE); O.Fay. 14 (Euhemeria, 1 CE); O.Fay 17 (Euhemeria, 35 CE); SB VI 9112 [207] (Arsinoites, 27/28 CE); P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE); P.Genova I 24.ii.4 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- dung merchants χοπῶλαι: P.Genova I 24.i.14 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- dyers, βαθεῖς: HierapJ 195.6 (ca. 138–212 CE → [116]); IGRR III 360 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); IPhrygR 8 (Laodikeia, II–III CE); ITrall 6; SB XVI 12628.23–24 (Oxyrhynchus, 329–331 CE); P.Genova I 24.i.8 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Mich. II 123.vi.16 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Tebt. II 287.4 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE); P.Oslo. III 144.8, 10 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); SEG 41:1201 (Hierapolis, ca. 100–150 CE); TAM V 645 (ca. 160–70 CE); TAM V 935 (c. 213 CE); TAM V 945 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 945 (193–211 CE); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca.

- 50 CE); TAM V 978 (ca. 100 CE); TAM V 989 (ca. 120–30 CE); TAM V 991.2, 6 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 1029 (II–III CE)
- farmers, γεούχοι, γεωργοί: I.Fayum II 134.4 (Euhermeria, 79 BCE): τόπος συνόδου γεωργῶν || ιδίων; I.Prose I 40.14, 29 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IGRR I 1085.2–3 [177] (Alexandria, 23–24 CE); P.Mich. V 313 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE).
- fishermen, ἄλιεις, ἀγρευταί: IEph 20.A7 [127] (54–59 CE); IMT 1539 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE), IMT 1028.2, 4 (Parium → [107]); P.Mich. II 123.xiv.37 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); PSI VIII 901 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); SB III 6704 [285] (Aphroditis Kome, 538 CE)
- fishmongers, ὀψαριοπῶλαι, ἰχθυπῶλαι, ἰχθυομεταβόλοι: IEph 20.A7 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 1503.8–10 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); fish mongers P.Genova I 24.ii.13 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3766 = P.Oxy. XXXI 2570 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE); PSI III 202 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)
- flax workers, λινωτοί?: Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1].6 (Hierapolis, ca. 180–250 CE → [116]); ISmryna 218.3–4 (II CE → [150])
- forwarding agents, ἐγδοχεῖς, ἐκδοχεῖς: ID 1520 (Delos, 153/2 BCE); ID 1528 (Delos, after 127 BCE); ID 1529 (Delos, 145–116 BCE); ID 1772 (Delos, 150–110 BCE); ID 1773 (Delos, 150–110 BCE); ID 1774 (Delos, 150–110 BCE); ID 1777 (Delos, 122/1?–110/9? BCE); ID 1778 (Delos, II BCE); ID 1779 (Delos, II BCE); ID 1780 (Delos, II BCE); ID 1781 (Delos, II BCE); ID 1782 (Delos, ca. 90 BCE); ID 1791 (Delos, I BCE); IG XI.4 1114 (Delos, 187–175 BCE); P.Oslo. III 144.23, 38 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE)
- fruit seller ὀπωροπῶλαι: P.Genova I 24.ii.10 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- fruit workers, κηπουργοί: SB XVI 12695.11 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- fullers, γναφεῖς, κναφεῖς: AE 1977, 802 (Temenothyrai, late I or early II CE → [114]); JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153] (Cilicia, before 300 CE → [153]); MAMA VI List 164 [114] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE); P.Genova I 24.i.7 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Mich. II 123.vi.17 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3766 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE); P.Phil. 1.32 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); P.Tebt. II 287.4 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE)
- gardeners, κηπουργοί: AAT 101 (1966/67) 306,25 (Hierapolis): ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν κηποῦργῶν; AE 1997, 1425 (Thyateira, ca. 238 CE → [123]); CIG 4436 (Pompeiopolis); IMiletos 1138–1139.5–6 (ca. 150–200 CE → [134])
- garum merchants, γαρῶπῶλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3749 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- glass workers, ὑελουργοί: P.Genova I 24.ii.8 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Oxy. XLV 3265 → P.Oxy. XLIV 3185 [268] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3742 (Oxyrhynchus, 317 CE)
- goldsmiths, χρυσοῦχοι: IPerinthos 49 [86] (I CE?); ISmryna 721.2 (ca. 14–37 CE → [126]); IMiletos 940a–d [135] (II–V CE); MAMA III 335.2–3 (Korykos → [153]); P.Oslo. III 144.11 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. XII 1413 → P.Oxy. XLIV 3185 [268] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. XLIII 3121 → P.Oxy. XLIV 3185 [268] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3768 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE); P.Phil. 1.33 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)
- goose herders: χηνοβοσκοί: I.Fayum II 109.6–7 → SB IV 7290 [271] (Theadelphia, 102 BCE): σύνοδος χηνοβοσκῶν
- grain dealers, σιτοκαπῆλοι: SB XVI 12695.14 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)

- grain measurers, προμέτραι, σιτομέτραι, *mensores frumentarii*: IEph 3216.1 (II–III CE → [129]); I.Fayum I 7 (Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis, 101 BCE): οἱ ἐν Πτολεμαείδι Εὐεργετίδι σιτομέτραι
- handworkers, χειρικοί: P.Genova I 24.i.4 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- hieroglyphic carvers, ιερογλύφοι: P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE)
- hucksters, παντοπῶλαι: P.Oslo. III 144.33 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE)
- hunters, ἀγρευταί: SB III 6704 [285] (Aphroditis Kome, 538 CE)
- huntsmen, gladiators, φιλοκύνηγοί: Philipp II 142/G562.3 [70] (II–III CE)
- instructors, παιδευταί: IEph 2065.2 (ca. 160 CE → [129]); ISmryna 215.10 (I CE → [129])
- ironsmiths, σιδηροχαλκεῖς, σιδηρουργοί: P.Oxy. I 84.3–4 → P.Oxy. XLIV 3185 [268] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); SEG 41:1612–1615 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)
- ivory workers, ἐλεφαντουργοί: P.Genova I 24.ii.14 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- lead workers, μολυβουργοί: P.Oxy. XLIV 3185.4 [268] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE)
- leather-workers, σκυτοβυρσεῖς, σκυτεῖς: IKibyra 63 (ca. 150 CE → [115]); IGLAM 656.11 (Philadelphia → [117]); SEG 29:1183 (Saïtai, 147 CE); TAM V 1002.1 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123])
- linen cleaners (λινέψοι): P.Rain.Cent 51 [159] (Sestos?, 99–50 BCE)
- linen merchants (οἱ λινέμποροι): MAMA III 770.2–3 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [153]); P.Oxy. XII 1414.4, 9 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE)
- linen merchants, ὀθονιοπῶλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3776 (Oxyrhynchus, 342 CE)
- linen workers, λινουργοί, λινούφοι → Dio Chrysostom 34.21–23 = AGRW L11: IAnazarbos 3.11 (136 CE → [153]); ILydiaM 104 (183/184 CE); ILydiaM 106 (209/210 CE); ILydiaM 107 (233/234 CE); ILydiaM 109.3 (238/239 CE → [118]); ILydiaP III 15 (183/184 CE); ILydiaP III 16 (192/193 CE); IMiletos 939.11–13 [134] (ca. 150–200 CE); O.Leid. 179 (Syene or Elephantine, 72 CE → [222]); P.Giss. I 40.ii.28 (Alexandria, 251 or 261 CE); P.Oxy. XII 1414.11, 12, 13, 15 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE); P.Oxy. XXII 2340.7, 17, 22 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE); P.Ryl. IV 654.3, 10 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE); SEG 29:1191 (183 CE); SEG 40:1088 (194 CE); TAM V 82 (183 CE); TAM V 83 (205 CE); TAM V 84 (211 CE)
- merchants, πῶλαι: IG II² 337 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE); IG II² 1012 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); P.Phil. 1.31 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); SEG 1:282.5–6 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE)
- millers, ὀλυροκόποι: OGIS II 729.4–5 [155] (Alexandria, 221–205 BCE)
- mortuary workers, νεκροτάφοι: P.Köln X 414 [261] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Ryl. II 65 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE): οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους νεκροτῆται
- mummifiers, embalmers, χοαχῦται: P.Louvre E3266 (197 BCE); UPZ II 162.24, 27 = P.Tor.Choach. 12 (Thebes, 117 BCE); UPZ II 190 (Thebes, 98 BCE)
- nail-manufacturers, ἡλοκόποι: IHierapJ 133.B2 (after 212 CE → [116])
- oil workers, ἐλαιουργοί: P.Mich.II 123.vi.18; xvii.9 (Tebtynis, 45–47 CE); P.Oslo. III 144.15 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3738 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3760 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE); P.Phil. 1.31 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)
- olive merchants, ἐλαιοπῶλαι: P.Oslo. III 144.13 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3772 = P.Oxy. I 85 (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE); SB XVI 12695.12 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)

- pastophores: P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Oslo III 143.1 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE)
- performers, τεχνῖται: IEph 22.18, 24, 36, 38 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IMiletos 156.4–5 (I CE → [144]); TAM II 910.12 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)
- perfume merchants, μυροπώλαι: I.Alex.imp. 96 [166] (Alexandria, 30 BCE–14 CE); P.Oslo. III 144.7 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. XXII 2340.17 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3731 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 310–311 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3733 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3766 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE)
- philosophers, φιλόσοφοι: I.Alex.imp. 98 [183] (Alexandria, second half II CE); TAM II 910.11 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); Smith 1996, lines 4–6 (Apameia, 120–250 CE → [146]); IDidyma 285.1, 3 (II–III CE → [146]); IGUR I 241.4–5 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); SEG 21:703.2 (Athens, ca. 98–102 CE → [146]); IPrusaOlymp 17.4, 7 (II CE → [146]); IPrusaOlymp 18.3–4 (II CE → [146])
- physicians, ἰατροί: IEph 719.3, 13, 14 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IDelphi I 12.1–2, 4–5, 9–10, 21–22, 24 (360 BCE → [129]); I.Alex.imp. 97 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE → [129]); IHistria 57.27 (150–200 CE → [129]); IEph 4101a (117–132 CE → [129]); IEph 1162.3, 5 (II CE → [129]); IJO II 32.2 (Ephesos, ca. mid-late II CE → [129]); IEph 2304.1, 6 (→ [129]); P.Phil. 1.30 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)
- pork merchants, pork butchers, χοιρέμποροι, χοιρομάγειροι: P.Giss. I 40.ii.19 (Alexandria, 251 or 261 CE); PSI III 202.2–4 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)
- porters, ἱεραφόροι: Ianazarbos 4.10 (207 CE → [153])
- potters, κεραμεῖς: Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3766 = P.Oxy. XXXI 2570 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE)
- purple dyers, πορφυροβαφεῖς: IHierapJ 41 (III CE): [ἡ σεμνοτάτη] ἔργα[σία τῶν] πορφ[υραβάφων]; IHierapJ 42 (imperial period); IHierapJ 133.B4–5 (after 212 CE → [116]); IHierapJ 227 (ca. 190–250 CE); IJO II 196 (Hierapolis, II–III CE); IG X/2.1 291 [79] (Thessalonikē, ca. 190 CE); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); P.Oslo. III 144.37 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE)?
- Roman merchants: IG X/2.1 33 (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.2 330 (Styberra, I CE); IMakedD 3 (Edessa, date unknown); SEG 1:282.5–6 [62]; SEG 19:483 (Eidomene, 41–44 CE); SEG 46:812 (Thessalonikē, I BCE–I CE)
- rug beaters, ραβδισταί: P.Mich. II 123.vi.19 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE)
- rush merchants, θρουοπώλαι: SB XVI 12695.11 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- sack-bearers, σακκοφόροι: IMT 1937 (Panormos → [107])
- saddle makers, σαγματοραφοί: P.Genova I 24.i.9 [293] (unknown, IV CE)
- sailors: ναυκλήροι, ναῦται: BGU VIII 1741.6, 12; 1742.7; 1743+ XIV 2368.6 [250] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE); P.Giss. I 40.ii.19 (Alexandria, 251 or 261 CE)
- salt merchants, ἄλοπώλαι: P.Mich. II 123.vii.27; xxii.27; xxi.40 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3734.6 [278] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): τοῦ κοι(νοῦ) τῶν ἄλοπωλῶν; P.Oxy. LIV 3750 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE)
- seed vegetable merchants, κερμοπώλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3737 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3744 (Oxyrhynchus, 318); P.Oxy. LIV 3755 (Oxyrhynchus, 320 CE)
- sheep and donkey rearers, προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι: I.Fayum I 73.5 [202] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE); P.Hamb. I 34 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE); P.Mich. II 123.iii.40; viii.26 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. V 240.i.31 (Tebtynis, 46 CE); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Phil. 1.28 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

- shepherds, ποιμένες: P.Mich. II 123.xvi.12 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE)
- shippers or ship owners, ναύκληροι: BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); BGU VIII 1742; 1743+XIV 2368 [247] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE); IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IG II² 1012 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); SEG 42:625 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE)
- shoemakers, σκυτοποιοί: SB XVI 12695.15 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- silver melters: IEph 585 (II–III CE?); SEG 34:1094 (Ephesos, second half III CE)
- silversmiths, ἀργεντάριοι, ἀργυροκόποι: IEph 425.10 (Ephesos); IEph 547.1–2 (Ephesos): column inscriptions; IEph 585 (III CE → [126]); IEph 636.10 (Ephesos, I CE); IEph 2212.6, 16, 17 [126] (41–54 CE or later); IEph 2441 (Ephesos); ISmyrna 721.2 (ca. 14–37 CE → [126]); Philippi II 410/G258.1–2 [67]; P.Oxy. LI 3624 (Oxyrhynchus, 359 CE)
- soldiers: I.Hermoupolis 5 (Hermoupolis Magna, 80/79 BCE): οἱ παρεφ[εδρ]ε[ύοντ]ες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιάται; I.Hermoupolis 6 (Hermoupolis Magna, 78 BCE): οἱ παρ[ε]φεδρεύοντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ξένοι Ἀπολλω[νιάται] καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι [κ]τίσται; P.Giss. I 99.23–25 (Hermoupolis Magna, II/III CE): οἱ | [παρεφεδεύ]οντες ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει || [ξένοι; P.Ryl. IV 580 [287]: ἡ σύνοδος τῶν συστρατιωτῶν.
- specialty bakers and cake makers, καθαρουργοί πλακουντοποιοί: I.Fayum III 212.6 [204] (Arsinoites, 3 CE)
- slave traders, οἱ ἐν τῷ σταταρίῳ πραγματεύμενοι: SEG 46:1524.15–17 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE); TAM V 932.1, 2, 5 (Thyateira → [122])
- stone masons, λαξοί: P.Genova I 24.i.12 [293] (unknown, IV CE); SB V 8805 [260] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 80/81 CE)
- tanners, βυρσεῖς: TAM V 986.1 (Thyateira, ca. 220–230 CE → [123])
- Tarsikarioi, ταρσικάριοι (weavers of Tarsian fabrics): I.Alex.imp. 99 [184] (Alexandria, after 212 CE); P.Genova I 24.i.6 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Oxy. LI 3626 (Oxyrhynchus, 359 CE)
- tavern keepers, κάπηλοι: P.Oxy. LIV 3740.7 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): κοινοῦ τῶν καπήλων; P.Oxy. LIV 3762.5 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE) → [279]: κ[οινοῦ] τ[ῶν] καπ[ήλων]
- theatrical performers, ἡ ἱερὰ θυμελικὴ σύνοδος: TAM II 910.12 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)
- thick garment makers, κασοποιοί: SB XVI 12695.15 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- tinsmiths, κασσιτεράτες: SB XVI 12695.15 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- tow ...?, σιππ: P.Oxy. XLV 3262 (Oxyrhynchus, 328 CE)
- tow handlers, στιπποχειρισταί: P.Harr. II 216 (Oxyrhynchus, 343 CE); P.Iand. VIII 153 (Hermopolites, IV CE); P.Oxy. XVI 1889 (Oxyrhynchus, 496 CE); P.Oxy XLV 3261 [281] (Oxyrhynchus, 324 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3753.6–7 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- tow makers, σ(τ)υποποιοί: P.Oxy. XXXVI 2799 (Oxyrhynchus, 500–525 CE)
- unidentified: P.Oxy. LIV 3732 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): ...πῶλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3735 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE): occupational guild? associated with the estate of Claudius Doryphoros.
- vegetable sellers, λαχανοπῶλαι: SB XVI 12695.12 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- vetch merchants, ὀρβιοπῶλαι: P.Oxy. LIV 3745 (Oxyrhynchus, 318 CE)
- vinedressers, ἀμπελουργοί: SEG 32:488 [58] (Boeotia, ca. 100 BCE)
- weavers, γέρδιοι: BGU VII 1572.2 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE): 12 weavers; BGU VII 1615 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE): 30 weavers; I.Alex.imp. 99 [184] (Alexandria,

after 212 CE); I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); P.Grenf. II 43 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE); P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2, 9 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE, Kronion archive); P.Mich. II 123.iii.41; xxi.31 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.19 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE): πλήθο(υς) γερδῖω[v]; P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE); P.Phil. 1.12 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); P.Ryl. II 94 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); P.Ryl. II 189.2–3 (Soknopaiou Nesos [Arsinoites], 128 CE); SB IV [271] (Abydos, 257 CE); ST 158 (Coptos, 30 BCE)

– wheat-flour purifiers, ἀλευροκαθάρται: ISide 30.7–8 (220–250 CE → [146])

– wine merchants, οἰνέμποροι: P.Oslo. III 144.20 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE)

– wine tasters, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι: IEph 728.34–35 [131] (162/163 CE)

– winnowers, κοσκινευταί: P.Genova I 24.ii.12 [293] (unknown, IV CE)

– wood sellers, ξυλοπῶλαι: SB XVI 12695.11 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)

– wood workers, τορνευταί: P.Genova I 24.ii.9 [293] (unknown, IV CE)

– wool rugbeaters, ἐριοραβδισταί: Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE) 5 members

– wool merchants, ἐριοπῶλαι, ἐριέμποροι: P.Mich. II 123.vi.25 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.15 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3751 (Oxyrhynchus, IV ce); SB XVI 12695.14 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)

– wool workers, λανάριοι: IAnazarbos 4.9 (207 CE → [153]); IGLAM 648.26 (Philadelphia, after 212 CE → [117]); P.Genova I 24.i.10 [293] (unknown, IV CE); TAM V 85.5 [118] (Saittai, 145/146 CE)

performers, artists

IMiletos 156.4–5 (I CE → [144]); I.Prose I 3 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 269–246 BCE): Artists associated with Dionysos; I.Prose I 6 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): Artists associated with Dionysos

priestly associations

P.Lips. II 131 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE); P.Mich. V 322b [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE); P.Stras. V 341 [224] (Soknopaiou Nesos?, 85 CE).

professional associations → occupational guilds

uncertain membership

– AM 66:228 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1301 [25] (219/8 BCE); SEG 31:122 [50] (Athens, early II CE); SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE)

women's associations

– CIL 6.10109 (Rome): socia mimarum; I.Alex.imp. 70 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE); IG II² 1346 (Athens, I CE); P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 31 = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 21–32 (Ghoran, 245 BCE) (11 priestesses); P.Lille.dem. 97v = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 6–12 (Ghōran, late III BCE): 32 women's names preserved; Philipp II 340/L589 [71] (I–II CE?)

VI. Association Names

ἀδελφοί, ἀδελφός, brother(s)

IBosp 1283.6 [96] (Tanais, 228 CE); IBosp 1284.1 (Tanais → [96]); IBosp 104.10–11 (Pantikapaion, 200–250 CE → [96]); ICiliciaBM II 201.B5, 7, 8 (before 69 CE → [150]); IPerinthos 167.5 (after 212 CE → [153]); IPerinthos 168.5–6 (after 212 CE → [153])

Ἀθαναῖσται, *Athanaistai*

IG VII 685 [57] (III–II BCE); IG VII 687 [57] (end of III BCE); IG VII 688 [57] (unknown)

αἵρεσις, ephebic division, association, club

I.Fayum III 200.7 → [198] (Arsinoites, 98 BCE); I.Fayum III 201.6–7 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 BCE); I.Fayum III 202.7–8 → [198] (Arsinoites, 94 BCE); OGIS I 326.12 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); P.Würzb. 4.10 [192] (Philadelphia, after 142 BCE)

Ἀμφιεραῖσται, *Amphieraistai*

IG II² 1322 (III/II BCE)

Ἀνουβιασται, *Anoubiasts*

– IKoS EF 458.2–3 (I BCE → [136])

ἡ Ἀπολλωνιακὴ σύνοδος

I.Alex.imp. 65.4 [181] (Alexandria, I CE, 22 CE?); I.Alex.imp. 70.1 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE)

οἱ ἀργενταρί (argentearii), silversmiths, money-changers

IEph 425 (81–96 CE); IEph 547 (date uncertain); IEph 578 (50–100 CE); IEph 586 (mid-II CE); IEph 636 (III CE); IEph 2212 (time of Claudius or later); IEph 2441 (date uncertain); ISmryna 721 (14–37 CE); Philipp II 410/G258.1–2 [67] (Kalambaki, uncertain date)

Ἀριστιαστή κῆ Ἀφροδισιαστή, Aristiasts and Aphrodisiasts

SEG 26:614 [59] (Aulis, ca. 200 BCE)

Artists associated with Dionysos, τεχνίται οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον

IMiletos 156.4–5 (I CE → [144]); I.Prose I 3.1 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.1, 14 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

Ἀρχακολούθων, chief followers (of Augustus)

SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE) → BGU IV 1137 [168]

Ἀσιανοί, persons from Asia

IPerinthos 56.11 [87] (196–198 CE)

Ἀσκληπιαδαί, Asklepiadaí

IDelphi I 12.1–2, 4–5, 9–10, 21–22, 24 (360 BCE → [129]); IG II² 2960 [54] (Acharnai, ca. 150 CE)

Ἀτταβοκαοί, Attabokaioi

IPessinous 18.7 [151] (180–200 CE); IPessinous 22.20 (150–200 CE → [151])

Ἀτταλισται, Attalistsai → theophoric designations for associations

OGIS I 326.1, 5, 17, 21, 27, 32–33, 34 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); Hauvette-Besnault and Pottier 1880, 164–167 [no. 21] (Teos, II BCE → [141])

ὁ Βάκχος, οἱ Βάκχοι, Bakchos, the Bakchoi, devotee of Bacchus (Dionysos)

IPerinthos 57.3 [88] (II CE?); IPergamonSupp 27 no. 86.3 → [110]; ISmryna 639.7 (150–200 CE → [137]); IKnidos 160.2, 8–9 (350–300 BCE → [142]); SEG 17:503.1 (Miletos, late III BCE or II BCE → [143])

– τὸ Βάκχειον, the Bakcheion, belonging to Bacchus (Dionysos): IPerinthos 56.11 [87] (196–198 CE)

βασιλισταί, οἱ Σ[υ]νβασιλισταὶ καὶ Διοσκουριασταί, guild of devotees of Ptolemaic house

IG XII/3 443 (Thera, 300–250 BCE): devoted to Ptolemy II Euergetes; IVarsovie 44.6–7 (→ [154]); I.Th.Sy. 303.6 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE).

οἱ βαφεῖς, dyers → occupational associations (under section V)

Βορεικοί, Boreikians

IOIbD 95.2 [92]

Βρεισεοί, *Breiseans*

ISmryna 652.3 [137] (I CE); ISmryna 729.1, 3 (247–49 CE or 259–68 CE → [137])

collegium → κολλήγιον

– *collegium Silvani*: CIL 3.633 IV.1 [68] (Philippi, II CE)

cultores, worshippers, devotees

CIL 3.633 II.3 [68b] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 3.633 IV.1 [68d] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE)

γερουσία, elders' organization

MAMA VI 263.1 (Akmoneia, mid–to late–I CE → [113]); IHierapJ 133.B5–6 (after 212 CE → [116]); IGLAM 648.22 (Philadelphia, after 212 CE → [117]); ISardBR 17.2 → [120]; ISmryna 215.8–9 (I CE → [129]); TAM II 910.3 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)

γερουσιασταί, members of the elders' organization

IHistria 57.26 (150–200 CE → [129])

γεούχοι, farmers

IGRR I 1085.3 [177] (Alexandria, 23–24 CE); I.Prose I 40.14, 29 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.4, 10, 38 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

γεωργοί, farmers

P.Berl. Leihg. II 44 (Theadelphia, 157 CE); P.Berl. Leihg. II 26 (Theadelphia, 167 CE); P.Fouad 18 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 54 CE), οἱ ἐξ πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων; P.Lond. II 256 = W.Chr. 344 (Ptolemaïs Euergetis, 11 ce); P.Mich. V 313 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): δημοσίων γεωργῶν; SB XXIV 16294 (Theadelphia, 54 CE)

Δημητριασταί, *Demetriastai*

IEph 4337.9–10, 26 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128])

Διονυσιασταί, *Dionysiaistai*

IG II² 1325.19, 20, 24 [33] (185/4 BCE); IG II² 1326.9 [36] (176/5 BCE); IG VII 686 [57] (II BCE); SEG 32:488.4 [58] (end of II BCE/beginning of I BCE)

– οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυ[σ]ον τεχνῖται, the artists of Dionysos: FD III 2.48 (Delphi, 97 BCE); III 2.49 (Delphi, 106 BCE); III.2.68 (Delphi, 130/29 BCE); IG II² 1330.1 (Athens, 163–130 BCE); IG II² 1338 (after 86 BCE): ἡ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν; IG IX² 192 (Teos, 204/3 BCE): τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς τεχνίταις; IG IX.1² 278 (Lokris, II BCE); IvO 405 (Elis, I BCE); I.Prose I 3.1 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.1, 14 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.1, 13 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται; P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.13, 15, 24, 27, 30, 34.40, 44 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): ἡ ἱερὰ μουσικὴ περιπολιστικὴ οἰκουμένη ... μεγάλη σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν; SEG 44:170.1 (Athens, imperial period), etc.

Διοσκουρτοί, Dioskouroi devotees

IPergamon 321.2–3 → [110]

δοῦμος, association

SEG 42:265 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); ILydiaHM 85.9 [119] (Saittai area, Kollyda, 205/206 CE); TAM V 536.2 (Maionia → [119]); TAM V 449.2, 8 (Iaza, 223/224 CE → [119])

ἔθνος, association

P.Ryl. II 65.3 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE); οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους νεκροῖ[άφοι]; P.Tor.Choach 12.24, 27 (Thebes, 11 Dec 117 BCE); P.Count 3.148–161 lists several trade groups under the heading κατ' ἔθνος

εἰκαδισταί, (koinon of) the twentieth day → κοινόν

SEG 52:761.9–10 (Delos, II BCE): τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασιτῶ [ν] | τῶν Σύρων τῶν εἰκαδιστῶν

εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι → ἀδελφοὶ

οἱ ἔρανισταί, *eranistai*, club members

IG II² 1291.5, 7, 10, 11, 15–16 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 2354.1 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE); IG II² 1335.5–6 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); IG II² 1343.26 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1369.30 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1366.22 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 10248.3 [55] (Athens, III CE); IG XI,4 1223.2 (Delos, 196 BCE).

ἔρανος, *eranos*, club → ἔρανος, fund (under section X)

IG II² 1339.14, 17 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1366.21 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1369.26 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); SEG 31:122.38 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

ἐργασία, guild → συνεργασία

BGU VII 1572.5 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE); IHierapJ 41 (III CE); IHierapJ 42 (imperial period); IHierapJ 195.6 (ca. 138–212 CE → [116]); IPhyrgR 8 (Laodikeia, II–III CE); ITrall 6; P.Leid.Inst. 62.4 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE); ἐργασία ταπηταρίων; PSI XII 1265.5 (bis) [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); P.Rain.Cent. 51 [159] (Sestis?, early I BCE); Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1].6 (Hierapolis, ca. 180–250 CE → [116]); P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE)

ἐργάται, workers

IEph 3216.4, 7 (II–III CE)

ἔργον, guild

TAM V 991.6 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 945 (Thyateira → [123])

ἐταιρεία, companionship

ICiliciaHW, p. 67 → [152]

ἐταῖροι, companions

IPrusaOlymp 24.2 → [146]; LSAM 80.1 [152] (ca. 27 BCE–14 CE)

θεοσεβίος, pious, god-fearer

IMiletos 940a–h [135] (II–V CE)

θεραπεῖται, therapists

IMT 1542.1 (Kyzikos, I BCE or I CE → [107]); SEG 29:1205 [120] (Sardis, 426 BCE or 365 BCE, re-engraved ca. 150 CE; → [120]); ISardBR 22.1 (100 BCE → [120])

θεράποντες, servants

– Δήμητρος θεράποντες, servants of Demeter: SEG 26:1457.12 (Tarsos, late II–III CE → [153])

θησαυρός, storeroom (as a meeting place)

SB III 7182.12, 62 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

θίασος *thiasos*, society → *thiasus*

Hauvette-Besnault and Pottier 1880, 164–167 [no. 21] (Teos, II BCE → [141]); EKM I.Beroia 22.3 [63]; IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IBosp 1284.1 (Tanais → [96]); IDionysosJ 7 (?) [60] (Megara, 141 CE); IDionysosJ 13 (Dion, date uncertain); IDionysosJ 180.6 (Tusculum, II CE → [100]); IG II² 1275.6 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1297.4 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG IX, 1² 670.2 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); IG X/2.1 260 C.13, 17 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE); IG X/2.1 506.8 [80] (Thessalonikē, 209–10 CE); IKosS EF 458.2–3 (I BCE → [136]); IMagnMai 215.28–29, 34–36 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE); IMiletos 8.4 (III BCE → [132]); IMT 950.1 (Stratonikeia → [142]); P.Enteux. 21.4 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE); SEG 41:1329.A4 [148] (Termessos, late II CE); SEG 55:612.1 (Pherai, IV–III BCE → [148])

οἱ θιασῳταί, θιασῖται, θεασώται, *thiasōtai*, *thiaseitae*, society members, associates

EKM 1 Beroia 22: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασ[ω]τῶν; IApamBith 33.1 (123 or 108 BCE → [99]); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); EKM I.Beroia 22.5–6 [63]; IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IBosp 1277.10 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IBosp 75.10 [94] (Pantikapaion, 150–125 BCE); IByzantion 37.2 [91] (117–137 CE); I.Delta 1036.2.6 (Memphis, 209–204 BCE); IDionysosJ 5.11 (Athens, II CE → [100]); IDionysosJ 7 [60] (Megara, 141 CE) (?); IEph 3329.3–4 (98–117 CE → [130]); IG II² 1261.2, 11, 23, 26, 35, 42, 48–49, 55 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1262.3, 16 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263.3, 6, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 27, 29, 30, 43, 47 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1271.2, 9, 13, 21 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1273AB.5, 6, 9, 14, 18, 19, 25, 32 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); IG II² 1275.3–4, 13, 15 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1277.18 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1278.8 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1297.9, 15, 20, 22 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1298.8, 12 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1301.4, 11 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE) (?); IG II² 1316.1, 25 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1323.3–4, 14 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 2347.1, 5, 6 [12] (Salamis, ca. 300 BCE); IG IX, 1² 670.4 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); IG XII, 3 1296.2, 3 (Thera, II BCE → [130]); I.Philae II 157.6–7 [255] (Philae, 8 CE); IKios 22.1, 21 [101]; IKyme 17.15, 27–28 [104] (28/27 BCE); IOlbiaD 11 (325–300 BCE → [92]); IOlbiaD 95.2 [92]; SEG 2:9.2 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.2 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE); SEG 52:761.9–10 (Delos, II BCE): τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασιτῶ[v] | τῶν Σύρων τῶν εἰκαδιστῶν οὓς συνήγαγε | ἡ θεός (Atargatis); SEG 60:1812.1 [245] (Syene, early III BCE)

αἱ θιασίτιδες, female society members

IApamBith 35.1 [99] (119 or 104 BCE)

οἱ θρησκευταί, devotees

SEG 46:800.6, 18–19 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE)

Ἡρακλειασταί, *Herakliastai*

IHistria 57.33 (150–200 CE → [129]); SEG 31:122 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

Ἡροῖσταί, *Heroistai*

IG II² 1339.3, 6, 7 [46] (57/6 BCE); Jones 1983.20 (revising I.LydiaKP III 117 → [124])

The 'House'

P.Cair. 30606 passim [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE)

ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστική περιπολιστική σύνοδος, the sacred travelling athletic *synodos* (associated with Herakles)

P.Lond. III 1178.2–3, 10, 18, 33, 37, 85, 90, 95 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE)

ἱερογλύφοι, συνιερογλύφοι (fellow) hieroglyphic carvers

P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE)

ἱερονικάι, victors in the sacred athletic, musical or dramatic games

P.Oslo III 144.3 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.2 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

ἱεροπλατεῖται, those of the sacred street

IHistria 57.33 (150–200 CE → [129])

Ἰουλιασταί, *Juliastai*

TAM V 1098.12 [124] (Thyateira area, I CE)

ἵπποκοινάριον, hippokoinarion, harness room (as a meeting place)

SB III 7182.45 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

Ἰσιακοί, devotees of Isis

IPrusaOlymp 1028.6–7 [102] (late II–I BCE)

καταζώσμας, wearing the sacred garment

IDionysosJ 114.4 (Philadephia, II CE → [117])

Καταίβαται, *Kataibatai*

IMagnMai 215.36 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE copy)

κλίνη, table (often the *klinē* of Sarapis, or Anubis)

P.Coll.Youtie I 51 (Oxyrhynchus, II–III CE); P.Coll.Youtie 52.4 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Köln I 57 = SB X 10496 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE); P.Oslo III 157 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. I 110 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. III 523 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. XII 1484 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1755 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592.2 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE); P.Oxy. LII 3693 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. LXII 4339 (Oxyrhynchus II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 (Oxyrhynchus, III? CE). PSI XI 1543 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); SB XVI 12511 [231] (Arsinoites, II CE); SB XVIII 13875 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Yale I 85 (unknown origin, late II CE). Anubis: SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid- to late-III CE).

– ἱερὰ κλίνη: P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.3 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE)

τὸ κοινόν, association → General Index (section X)

Agora 16:161.3–4 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); I.Alex.mus. 143 (Memphis, II BCE); EKM I.Beroia 22 B.1 [63] (7 BCE); ICiliciaBM II 201.12 (before 69 CE → [150]); IDelphi I 12.2 (360 BCE → [129]); IG II² 1261.8, 14, 21, 38, 50 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1275.17 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1277.5, 23 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1278.7 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1297.3, 8 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1315.9 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1343.23–24 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IPessinous 22.9–10 (150–200 CE → [151]); IPrusaOlymp 24.8 → [146]; IRhamnous II 59.22, 38 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); ISabazios II 6 (Serdica, ca. 200 CE → [96]); I.Prose I 6.14 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); OGIS I 326.2 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); P.Laur. IV

- 155.5 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 283–292 CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.9, 11 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 244.17 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3734.6 [278] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3740.7 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Ryl. IV 586.24, 34 [248] (Oxyrhynchus 99 BCE); PSI III 202.2, 26 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE); PSI XII 1265.2 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); SB XVI 12695.13, 15, 19 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE); SB XXII 15787.2 [242] (Karanis, IV CE); SEG 2:9.6 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); SEG 58:1640.A30, 40–41, B30–31, C24–25 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀλοπωλῶν P.Oxy. LIV 3734.6 [278] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀσκληπιαστῶν: IG II² 2960.8–9 [54] (Acharnai, ca. 150 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν: IG II² 1291.6, 15–16, 20, 25 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 2354.1 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐριοπωλῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3751 (Oxyrhynchus, IV ce)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασωτῶν: EKM I.Beroia 22.5–6 [63]; IG II² 1261.14–15, 38–39 [9] (302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263.23 [11] (300/299 BCE); IG II² 1273AB.20–21 [18] (265/4 BCE); IG II² 1317b.6 (245/4 BCE); IG II² 1298.8 [20] (248/7 BCE); IG II² 1323.14 [31] (194/3 BCE); IG II² 2343.1 [1] (ca. 400 BCE); IG II² 2347.6 [12] (ca. 300 BCE); SEG 52:761.9–10 (Delos, II BCE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἰχθ[υοπωλῶν]: PSI III 202.27 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν κατήλων: P.Oxy. LIV 3740.7 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3762 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν κεμιοπωλῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3737 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν κτιστῶν: I.Alex.mus. 143 (Memphis, II BCE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν λευκαντῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3743 (Oxyrhynchus, 318 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3752 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν μυροπωλῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3731 (Oxyrhynchus, 310–11 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3733 (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3766.80 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομανγῶνων: P.Oxy. LIV 3728 (Oxyrhynchus, 306 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀρβιοπωλῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3745 (Oxyrhynchus, 318 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀργεῶνων: AM 66:228.5 [39] (138/7 BCE); IG II² 1316.18 [16] (272/1 BCE); IG II² 1314.12 [28] (213/2 BCE); IG II² 1327.6, 20, 23 [35] (178/7 BCE); IG II² 1334.14 [45] (post 71/70 BCE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαραπιαστῶν: IG II² 1292.22–23 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1343.8–9, 32–33, 37–38 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν σταγματοπωλῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3748 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν στιπποχειριστῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3753 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν [τραπεζ]ιτῶν PSI XII 1265.2 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὑελουργῶν: P.Oxy. LIV 3742 (Oxyrhynchus, 317 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν χαλκῶων: P.Laur. IV 155.5 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 283–292 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν χοιρομαγίρων: PSI III 202.2–4 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)
- τὸ κοινὸν τῶν χρυσοχῶων: P.Oxy. LIV 3765 (Oxyrhynchus, IV CE)

κοινότης, association, guild

SB III 6704.4 [285] (Aphroditis Kome, 538 CE): κοινότης τῶν ἀγρευτῶν κολλήγας (?), *collegium*?

Nigdelis II.10 (Thessalonikē, II CE); SEG 39 597 (Kassandreia, II CE?): κολλήγιον, *collegium* → *collegium*

CIG II 2007f.4 [66] (Kassandreia, I CE)

κονβέντος, company

TAM V 1002.6 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123])

κοπιάται, corpse bearers

Philipp II 029/G215.4–6 (Philippi, II CE)

κῶμος, band of revellers

SEG 35:1327.4 [97] (Amastris, 155 CE)

λαός, people (referring to a synod)

IJO II 26.4 (Nysa, I BCE → [144])

Μαινάδες, maenads

IMagnMai 215.26, 32 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE); Philipp II 340/L589.2 [71]

οἱ μύσται, initiates

Hauvette-Besnault and Pottier 1880, 164–167 [no. 21] (Teos, II BCE → [141]);

IByzantion 31.5 [90] (85–96 CE); IEph 213 [128] (88/89 CE → [128]); IEph 275.7

[130] (117–138 CE); IG X/2.1 259.5, 12, 15, 18 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IKyme

37.31 [105] (I BCE or I CE); IMagnMai 117.3–4, 6, 11 (early II CE → [143]);

IMakedD 920 = Philipp II 5979/G211 (Podgora, first half of III CE); IPessinous

22.21 (150–200 CE → [151]); IPrusaOlymp 48.A1, B2, B5 (150–200 CE → [102]);

ISmryna 622.7–8 (ca. 129–32 CE → [137]); ISmryna 639.3 (150–200 CE → [137]);

ISmryna 653.1, 4 [138] (I–II CE); ISmryna 654.5 (I–II CE → [138]); ISmryna 655.1

→ [138]; ISmryna 728.16, 18 [140] (II CE); ISmryna 729.1, 3 (247–49 CE or 259–68

CE → [137]); ITrall 74.16 (III CE → [115]); ITrall 86.8 [145] (post-132 CE); SEG

32:1236.3 (Sardis area, ca. 150 BCE → [121]); SEG 46:1519.11–12, 17 [121] (Sardis

area, ca. 188 BCE); SEG 46:1520.5 (Sardis area, 90s BCE → [121]); SEG 55:612.1

(Pherai, IV–III BCE); → [148]); TAM V 1055.2–3 (Thyateira, II–III CE → [124]);

TAM V 1462.10, 13 (Philadephia → [117])

– σακκηφόροι μύσται, sack-bearing initiates: IEph 1600.6–7 (177–192 CE → [130])

ναύαρχος, commander of the fleet

IByantion 324.8–9 (early I CE → [101])

οἱ ναύκληροι καὶ ἔμποροι, shippers and merchants → occupational associations (under section V)

– ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων: ID 1519.10 (Delos, 153 BCE)

– τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτ[ί]ων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων: ID 1520.27–28 (Delos, after 153/2 BCE)

– ναυκλήροι Ἴπποδρομίται, “Racing Horses” Sailors (of Memphis): BGU VIII

1741.6, 12; 1742.7; 1743+ XIV 2368.6 [250] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE)

– φιλαδέλφει ἀνδρὸι ναυκλήροι ἀπλανήτοι, “brotherly shippers who do not get lost”:

IGLAM 311

νεκροτάφοι, mortuary workers.

P.Köln X 414.1, 8 [261] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Ryl. II 65 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE)

Νεομηνιασταί, *Neomeniastai*

IOlbiaD 96 (VI BCE → [92])

νέοι, youths

ISmryna 215.9 (I CE → [129])

νεώτεροι, younger men

IMiletos 940e [135] (II–V CE)

ξυστόν, athletic guild

IGUR I 241.6 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); P.Lond. III 1178.50, 78, 83, 98 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE)

οἶκος (as a designation for the group)

BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); IMagnMai 117.7 (early II CE → [143]); IScM II 60 (II CE → [98])

ὀλυροκόποι, millers

OGIS II 729.4–5 [155] (Alexandria, 221–205 BCE)

ὁμότεχνον, ὁμοτέχνη, guild

SB III 6704.3 [285] (Aphroditēs Kome, 538 CE); TAM V 85.4 [118] (Saittai, 145/146 CE)

οἱ ὀνηλάται, donkey drivers → occupational associations (under section V)

οἱ ὀργεῶνες, ὀργεῶνες, sacrificing associates

Agora 16:161.2, 18, 24 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); AM 66:228.2, 5, 6, 11, 13 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); Hauvette-Besnault and Pottier 1880, 164–167 [no. 21] (Teos, II BCE → [141]); IG II² 1252.2, 3, 8, 14, 19, 20 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1255.1, 7, 14 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); IG II² 1256.6, 7 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 1259.8 (Athens, 313/2 BCE); IG II² 1283.10, 12, 13, 22, 28, 30 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1284.1, 7, 9, 11, 15, 23, 28, 31 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1314.9, 13, 22, 25 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.16, 19, 26, 29–30 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1316.15, 19 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1324.11, 14–15, 18–19, 21, 24, 26, 35 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1325.2, 27, 30 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1326.18, 30, 34, 46 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1327.17, 20 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1329.4, 19, 22, 25 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1334.2, 11, 14, 17 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE); IG II² 1337.3, 8, 9, 11 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1361.3, 11, 18, 21 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 2361.8, 18 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE); IG II² 2499.2, 20, 25, 36 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); IG II² 1328.1, 8, 12, 22, 28, 30, 33, 37, 39, 44 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE)

Ὀρφικοί, Orphics (?)

IOIbiaD 94a–c (V BCE → [92])

pastophores

P.Oslo III 143.4 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE)

οἱ περὶ, ἢ περὶ NN, those associated with, or gathered around NN

IBosp 104.3 (Pantikapaion, 200–250 CE → [96]); IBosp 1277.4 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IBosp 1284.2 ? (Tanais → [96]); IBosp 80.1–2 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IPerinthos 49.8 [86] (I CE); Nigdelis II.12.1 [78] (Thessalonikē, ca. 100–150 CE)

– οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον: FD III 2.48 (Delphi, 97 BCE); III 2.49 (Delphi, 106 BCE); III.2.68 (Delphi, 130/29 BCE); IG II² 1330.1 (Athens, 163–130 BCE); IG II² 1338 (after 86 BCE): ἡ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν; IG IX.1² 278 (Lokris, II BCE); IvO 405 (Elis, I BCE); SEG 44:170.1 (Athens, imperial period)

πλατεῖα, the street → V. neighborhood or street associations

τὸ πλῆθος, association

I.Alex.imp. 97.2 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE); I.Fayum I 13 (Arsinoe, 42 BCE): τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἱππέων τῆς θεραπείας; I.Fayum III 212.4 [204]

- (Arsinoites, 3 CE); P.Mich. II 123.iii.41; vi.25; xxii.44 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.15 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE); P.Mich. V 244.7 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): association of *apolyssimoi*; P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097.1.7–8 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE); PSI V 498.2 (III BCE); SEG 41:1612–1615.3 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)
- πλῆθος τῶν ἀλιέων, association of fishermen: OGIS I 56.24 (Canopus, III BCE)
- τὸ πλῆθος τῶν | ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου καθαροῦργων καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν, specialty bakers and cake makers: I.Fayum III 212 [204] (Arsinoites, 3 CE)
- πλῆθος ἀπολυσίμων, association of those exempt from compulsory service: P.Mich. II 123r.xxii.44 [216] (Tebtynis, 45/46 CE)
- τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ [. . .] | μένων ιατρῶν: I.Alex.imp. 97.2 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE)
- τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαφέων, association of dyers: TAM V 1029 (II–III CE); TAM V 1081 (III CE)
- τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γερδίων, association of weavers: P.Mich. II 123r.iii.42 [216] (Tebtynis, 45/46 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.19 [216] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097.1.7–8 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE)
- πλῆθος <τῶν> ἐριοπωλῶν: P.Mich. II 123r.vi.25 [216] (Tebtynis, 45/46 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.15 [216]
- τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἱππέων τῆς θεραπείας: I.Fayum I 13 (Arsinoe, 42 BCE)
- τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαχαιοφόρων OGIS II 737 (Memphis, II BCE)
- πλῆθος σιδηουργ[ῶ]ν, association of ironsmiths SEG 41:1612.3 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE); SEG 41:1613.3 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE); SEG 41:1614.4–5 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE); SEG 41:1615.3 [280] (Memnoneia, mid IV CE)

πολιτεύμα = *synodos*?

- I.Alex.imp. 74 [171] (Alexandria, 3 BCE): πολιτεύμα τῶν Φρυγῶν; I.Fayum II 121.6–7 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE); I.Prose I 25.1–4 (Memphis, 12/11 BCE), π. τῶν Ἰδουμαίων; P.Pol.Jud. 8 (Herakleopolis, 133 BCE): πολιτεῦ[μα]τος τῶν Ἰουδαίων; P.Pol.Jud. 20 (Tebetnoi, ca.143–132 BCE): πολιτεύματος | τῶν Ἰουδαίων; SEG 2:871 (Xoïs, ca. 165 BCE): σ[υ]μπολιτευόμενοι; SEG 8:359 (Alexandria, date?): π. τῶν Λυκίων.

οἱ πορφυροβαφεῖς, purple-dyers → occupational associations (under section V)

οἱ ποσιασταί → συμποσιασταί

Philippi II 133/G441.20 [69] (II–III CE)

προεδρία, presidency

IJO II 196.5 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE)

προσευχή, prayer house → συναγωγή

- 64.20–21 (Pantikapaion, 306 CE); IBosp 70.6–7, 13–14 [90] (Pantikapaion, 81 CE); IBosp 71.2–3, 7 (Pantikapaion, I CE); IBosp 73.6, 20 (Pantikapaion, 100–150 CE); IBosp 985.9 (Phanagoria, 16 CE); IBosp 1123.9 (Pantikapaion, 41 CE), IBosp 1127.6 (Gorgippia, 100–150 CE) → IBosp 1134 [93]; IBosp 1128.2 (Gorgippia, 100–150 CE); IJO I BS18.8 (Phanagoria, ca. 53 CE) → IBosp 70 [90]; ID 2329.4 (Delos, I BCE); IosPE I 176.7 (Olbia, 100–150 CE); JIGRE 9.3–4 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 13.5 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24.7 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 27.6 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 117.10 [186] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 125.5, 9 [161]

- (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 590.1 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE);
 RECAM II 209B.7 (Galatia, III CE); SEG 32:810.5 (Delos, 250–175 BCE); SEG
 43:510.10, 13 (Phanagoria, 51 CE)
- Πυθαϊστρίδοι, Pythaistridoi (devotees of Artemis Pythia)
 SEG 28:953.60, 62 [108] (Kyzikos ca. 25–50 CE)
- Σαβαζιασταί, *Sabaziastai*
 IG II² 1335.4 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE)
- Σαββατισταί, *Sabbatistai*, *Sambathistai*
 ICiliciaHW, p. 67 → [152]; IJO II 146.1 (Thyateira, ca. 120–220 CE → [152]); IGRR
 I 1106 [165] (Naukratis, ca. 30 BCE–14 CE → [152]); LSAM 80.1–2, 21 [152] (ca.
 27 BCE–14 CE)
- Σαμοθρακιασταί, *Samothrakiastai*
 Hauvette-Besnault and Pottier 1880, 164–167 [no. 21] (Teos, II BCE → [141])
- Σαραπιασταί *Sarapiastai*
 IG II² 1292.3, 11, 13 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IRhamnous II 59 [27]
 (after 216/15 BCE)
- σεβόμενοι
 IBosp 1283.6 [96] (Tanaïs, 228 CE)
- sodalis, –es, companions (of an association)
 CIL 3.633 I.3 [68a] (Philippi, II CE)
- Soteriastai → Σωτηριασταί
- σπεῖρα, σπεῖρη, *speira*, company
 IDionysosJ 114.11 (Philadephia, II CE; → [117]); IDionysosJ 180.7 (Tusculum, II CE
 → [100]); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?); SEG 39:649 [84] (Augusta Traiana, II–III CE)
- στατίων, station
 IMiletos 1138–1139.4 (ca. 150–200 CE → [134])
- στέμμα, guild
 Philipp II 142/G562.3–4 [70] (II–III CE)
- οἱ συμβαλόμενοι, the contributors to NN
 IG XI,4 1224.2 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1225.1 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG
 XI,4 1243.3 (Delos, end III BCE); IG XI,4 1290.3 (Delos III/II BCE); ID 1403.col.
 2.1.41–42, 87–88, 94; ID 1412.67, 69 (Delos, 165–157/6 BCE); ID 1417.61 (Delos,
 155/4 BCE).
- συμβίωσις, association
 IGBulg I² 23 (Dionysopolis, 222–235 CE); IGBulg II 480 (Municipium Montanen-
 sium, II CE?); IGBulg III/1 1517 + V 5550 (Philippopolis, 241–44 CE); IGBulg III/2
 1841 (Aytos, date uncertain); IPergamon 321.2–3 → [110]; IPergamonAsklep 85.6
 → [111]; Malay 2005 II.1–2 [112] (Aizanoi area, III CE); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?);
 ISmyrna 218.3–4 (II CE → [150]); P.Bodl. I 65.14 [289] (unknown, I CE); SEG
 29:1185.3 (Lydia, 156/157 CE → [118]); SEG 49:814 (Thessalonikē, mid-III CE)
- συμβιωταί, companions
 ISide 30.5–6 (220–250 CE → [146]); ISmyrna 331.1–2, 5 → [111]; SEG 29:1185.4
 (Lydia, 156/157 CE → [118])
- συμμύσται, fellow initiates
 IMT 1181.7 (Poimaneion, III or II BCE, → [107])

οἱ συμποσιασταί, symposiasts, drinking associates

IGBulg III/2 1626 [85] (Augusta Traiana, III CE); Philipp II 133/G441.20 [69] (II–III CE)?

συμπόσιον, συνπόσιον, symposium, association

P.FuadUniv. I 25.1 [292] (unknown, II–III CE); Philipp II 133/G441.14 [69] (II–III CE)

οἱ συνανουβιασται, *Sunanoubiastai*

ISmryna 765.6 [136] (305–281 BCE or 197–159 BCE)

συναγωγή, synagogue, assembly, gathering place → προσευχή

– of Attalists: OGIS I 326.12 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)

– of barbers (κουρείς): IPerinthos 49 [86] (Perinthos-Herakleia [Thrace], I CE?)

– of Judaeans: IBosp 70.19 [95] (Pantikapaion, 70 CE); IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, ca. 200 CE); IJO I Mac 15 [82] (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE?); IJO I BS18.11 (Phanagoria, 53 CE → [95]); IJO II 36.6 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); IJO II 168.3–4 [113] (Akmoneia area, late I CE or early II CE); P.Oxy IX 1205.7, 9 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

– of dealers in small wares (ῥωποπωλαί): IPerinthos 59.3–5 (Perinthos-Herakleia [Thrace], I/II CE)

– of youths: IMT Kyz Kapu Da ğ 1485 (Kyzikene, [Mysia] 280/79–76/75 BCE)

– of Zeus: IApamBith 35.7 [99] (Apameia, 119 or 104 BCE)

– unknown association: I.Alex.imp. 92.4 [182] (Alexandria, I CE)

συναγωνισταί, fellow contestants

IEph 22.39 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); I.Prose I 6.56 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

συναθλητής, fellow athlete

IAph 12.719.32–33 [142] (117–138 CE)

συνβάκχοι, fellow bacchants

SEG 31:983.15 (Söke, II–I BCE → [143])

Συνβασιλισταί καὶ Διοσκούριασταί → βασιλισταί

οἱ σύνδικοι syndics

IG II² 1369.36 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE)

συγγεώργοι, united farmers

I.Prose I 40.3 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.16–17, 23, 35–36, 41–42, 44, 48, 51 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

σύνδευνοι, fellow diners

P.Tebt. I 118.4, 10 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE)

συνέδριον, association

IEph 636 (81–96 CE) (τὸ ἱερὸν συνέδριον τῶν ἀργυροκόπων); IEph 2212.17 [126] (41–54 CE or later → [126]); IEph 2304.6 → [129]; IEph 2441 (date uncertain);

IGLAM 648.22 (Philadelphia, after 212 CE → [117]); IJO II 196.7–8 [116]

(Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IMiletos 939.11–13 [134] (ca. 150–200 CE); IMT 1937.5 (Panormos → [107])

οἱ συνελθόντες θρησκευτά, the convened devotees

SEG 46:800.5–6 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE)

συνεργασία, guild → ἐργασία

Αἶ, 1977, 802 (Temenothyrai, late I or early II CE → [114]); IKibyra 63.5–6 (ca. 150 CE → [115]); IEph 2213.6 → [150]; ISmryna 218.9 (II CE → [150]); ISmryna 721.1

- (ca. 14–37 CE → [126]); MAMA VI List 164.11–12 [114] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE)
- συνέργιον, guild
 ICiliciaDF 46.4 (I/II CE); ICiliciaDF 46.4–5 (I–II CE → [153]); IGBulg II 703.3 (Nicopolis ad Istrum); ISide 109.8–9 = IGRR III 810.9 (Side, Pamphylia, undated); JHS 11 (1890) 236.2 [153] (Cilicia, III CE or later); P.Mich.Zen. 57.2, 6 [185] (Philadelphia, 248 BCE); SEG 26:1457.16 (Tarsos, late II–III CE → [153]); SEG 27:947 (Tarsos, III CE); SEG 27:947.13–14 (Tarsos, III CE → [153]); SEG 27:947.13–16 (Cilicia, III CE).
- συνήθεια, guild, association
 EKM I.Beroia 372.3–4 [64] (II CE); IG X/2.1 291.1 [79] (Thessalonikē, II CE); Nigdelis II.12 [78] (Thessalonikē, II CE); SEG 46:744.4 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE)
 – ή συνήθεια τῶν ὄνων, guild of donkey drivers: EKM I.Beroia 372.3–4 [64] (II CE)
- οἱ συνήθεις, the guild members, associates
 IGBulg V 5434.7 [89] (Philippopolis, II–III CE); SEG 46:744.4–5 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); TAPA 69 (1938) 63 (Kassandreia, imperial period)
- συνθιασῖται, συνθιασιτεῦντες, fellow (male) member of the association
 P.Enteux. 20.2 [189] (Magdōla, 221 BCE); P.Grenf. I 31.5, 15–16 (Pathyris, 101–100 BCE); SB III 6319.v.1.52 [197] (Magdōla, II–I BCE)
- συνθιασιτευσούση, fellow thiasos members (female)
 P.Enteux. 21.3 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE)
- συνθιασιτίδαι fellow (female) member of the association
 P.Enteux. 21.2 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE)
- οἱ συνθρησκευταί, fellow devotees, fellow worshippers
 IG X/2.1 192 (Thessalonikē, III CE)
- οἱ συνθύται (συνθύτη; σουνθούτη), synthytai, sacrificing associates
 IG VII 2463.1 [56] (Thebes, ca. 300 BCE); SEG 26:614 [59] (Aulis, ca. 200 BCE)
- οἱ συνκλίται, banqueters
 IG X/2.1 58 (Thessalonikē, early II CE); οἱ ἱεραφόροι συνκλίται; IG X/2.1 68 (Thessalonikē, end of I CE); IG X/2.1 69 (Thessalonikē, end of I CE); IG X/2.1 70.6 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67 CE); Nigdelis II.8 (Thessalonikē, mid-I to early II CE)
- σύνλογος, meeting
 IEph 22.56–57 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)
- συνμυσταί, συμμυσταί, synmystai, fellow initiates
 IAegThrace E18.5 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); IApamBith 103.4–5 [100] (Pylai, 250–300 CE); IPessinous 18.9[151] (180–200 CE); TAM V 477.4 (Iaza, 240/241 CE → [100])
- συνοδείτης, συνοδεῖται, member(s) of the synod
 BGU IV 1137.9 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); IBosp 104.13–14 (Pantikapaion, 200–250 CE → [96]); P.Bodl. I 65.13 [289] (unknown, I CE); P.Lips. II 131.5 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE); P.Mich. V 243.10 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. IX 575.2, 10 [238] (Karanis, 184 CE); SB I 4549.9, 10 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE); SB III 6184.7 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 138–137 BCE)
- σύνδοδος, synod → σύνοδος (under section X)
 BGU IV 1137.2, 8, 16 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); BGU V 1210.240 [234] (Theadelphia, after 149 CE); I.Alex.imp. 61.2 [178] (Alexandria, 25 CE); I.Alex.imp. 65.5 [181] (Alexandria, I CE, 22 CE?); I.Alex.imp. 70.2 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 90.3 [167] (Alexandria? 10/9 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 93.4 [172]

Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 94.2 [173] (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 96.5 [166] (Alexandria, 30 BCE–14 CE); I.AnkyraM 141.4 (128/129 CE → [151]); I.Aph 12.719.3 [142] (117–138 CE); IBosp 1277.3, 10 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IBosp 80.1 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IEph 22.14, 31, 68 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IEph 3801.1.11–12, 19, 2.17 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); I.Fayum I 6.5–7 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 104 BCE): οἱ ἐκ τῆς [με]γάλης συνόδου Πραμαρρε[ί]ους θεοῦ μεγάλου; I.Fayum II 109.6 (Theadelphia, 102 BCE): σύνοδος χηνοβοσκῶν; I.Fayum II 119.1–2 → [167] (Theadelphia, II/I BCE): συνόδου νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ Ὀσιρείου; I.Fayum II 134.4 (Euhermeria, 79 BCE): τόπος συνόδου γεωργῶν || ιδίων; I.Fayum III 171.3 [226] (Narmouthis, I–II CE); I.Fayum III 172.4 [228] (Narmouthis, I–II CE); I.Fayum III 204.2 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE); I.Fayum III 205 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE); IGRR I 1114.5 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); IG II² 1012.17, 25 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IG II² 1326.43 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1343.10, 12, 15, 27, 34, 42 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1369.32 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG VII 688 [57] (Tanagra); IGRR I 1106.1 [165] = JIGRE 26.2 (Naukratis, ca. 30 BCE–14 CE → [152]); I.Philae II 139.2 [252] (Philae, 13 BCE); IGRR I 1085.2 [177] (Alexandria, 23–24 CE); IGRR I 1086.5 [179] (Alexandria, 39/40 or 40/41 CE); IGUR I 241.9 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); IJO II 26.4 (Nysa, I BCE → [144]); IMagnSip 18.2 → [115]; GCRE 38.2 (Pergamon, late I CE → [129]); I.Prose I 40.9, 14, 15, 18, 31, 33, 43 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.51 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); ISmryna 215.10 (I CE → [129]); ISmryna 600.5–6 (157–58 CE → [137]); ISmryna 639.1 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmryna 652.2 [137] (I CE); ISmryna 653.1 [138] (I–II CE); ISmryna 655.1 → [138]; I.Prose I 3.3 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 269–246 BCE); O. Bodl. II 1858.1 [258] (Thebes, 66/67 CE); I.Th.Sy. 302.24 (Syene, 154/3–145 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303.13, 17 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE); OGIS I 326.3, 23, 25, 32 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); O.Joach. 2.12 → [191] (Kom Ombo, 78 BCE); P.Athen. 41.1 [290] (unknown, I CE); P.Lips. II 131.2, 8 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE): σύνοδος ἱερέων; P.Lond. III 1178.2–3, 10, 18, 33, 37, 83, 85, 90, 95 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.11 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE): Διὸς Ὑψίστου συνόδου; P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.10 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): synodos of weavers; P.Mich. II 123.vi.18; ix.45; x.6; xi.36 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.23 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 127.i.20, 30 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); P.Mich. V 246.1 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE); P.Mich. V 322b.4 [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE): σύνοδος ἱερέων; P.Oslo III 143.1, 8, 9 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.5, 19, 30, 41, 43, 44 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE); P.Ryl. IV 580.6 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 590.4, 8, 16 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE); P.Tebt. I 119.22, 25, 30 (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); SEG 41:1638.3 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); P.Stras. V 341.7 [224] (Soknopaiou Nesos?, 85 CE); SB I 4549.7, 10 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE); SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE); SEG 31:122.4, 5, 27, 35 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); SEG 36:228.3 [38] (Attica, 159/8 BCE); TAM II 910.12 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)

– σ. τοῦ Ἀρποχρά(τους): P.Mich. II 127.1.30 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); P.Mich. V 246 [211]

– σ. τοῦ θεοῦ; P.Mich. II 124.2.23 [216] (46–47 CE); P.Mich. II 127.1.20 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE)

– σ. ἱερέων: P.Mich. V 322b.4 [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE); P.Stras. V 341.7 [224] (Soknopaiou Nesos?, 85 CE)

- σ. ὀνηλατῶν: P.Athen. 41.1 [290] (unknown, I CE)
- σ. Σεβαστῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος: BGU IV 1137.2, 8, 16 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE)
- σ. τῶν συστρατιωτῶν: P.Ryl. IV 580.6 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE)
- τῆς τῶν Ἑρακλιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Λίμναις: SEG 31:122.4–5 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
- συνουκία, association
 - OGIS I 326.21–22 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)
- συνπόσιον, συμπόσιον, symposium, association
 - Philipp II 133/G441.14 [69] (II–III CE)
- οἱ συνπραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι, association of Roman merchants
 - IG X/2.1 33 (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.2 330 (Styberra, I CE); IMakedD 3 (Edessa, date unknown); SEG 1:282.5–6 [62]; SEG 19:483 (Eidomene, 41–44 CE); SEG 46:812 (Thessalonikē, I BCE–I CE)
- συνταφιασταί, burial society
 - P.Ryl. IV 590.10 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE)
- συντεχνία, guild → τέχνη
 - IANazarbos 3.11 (136 CE → [153]); IGRR III 360.12 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); IHierapJ 133.B2 (after 212 CE → [116])
- σύσσειτιον, banqueting association
 - SEG 48:1960 → [169] (Alexandria, 161–169 CE)
- σύσσιτος, συσσειτος, fellow banqueter, messmates
 - IAlexandria 98.5 [184] (150–200 CE → [146]); SEG 48:1960.8 → [169] (Alexandria, 161–169 CE)
- σύστημα, association
 - MAMA III 770.2–3 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [153]); MAMA III 771.1–3 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [153])
- Σωτηριασταί, *Soteriastai*
 - IG II² 1343 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)
- οἱ ταρσικάριοι, Tarsian linen weavers
 - I.Alex.imp. 99.4 [184] (Alexandria, after 212 CE)
- Ταυριασταί, *Tauriastai* → Occupational guilds
 - IHistria 57.26–27 (150–200 CE → [129])
- τέκτονες, carpenters
 - SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 45 CE)
- τεμενεῖται, members of the sanctuary association
 - IMiletos 798.3 [132] (79/8, 43/2, or 41/0 BCE); IMiletos 796.4 (190–189 BCE → [132])
- τέχνη, guild → συντεχνία
 - P.Ryl. IV 654.3, 17, 18 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE); SEG 41:1201 (Hierapolis, ca. 100–150 CE)
- τεχνῖται, performers, artists, artisans, craftsmen → Artists, Διονυσιασταί
 - IHistria 57.31–32 (150–200 CE → [129]); OGIS I 50 [242] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 269–246 BCE): Artists associated with Dionysos; I.Prose I 3 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeïou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeïou, 285–246 BCE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.1, 13 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται; P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.13, 15, 24, 27, 30, 34, 40, 44 [274]

(Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): ἡ ἱερὰ μουσικὴ περιπολιστικὴ οἰκουμένη ... μεγάλη
σύνδοξος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν

thiasus, society → θίασος

CIL 3.703 (undated); CIL 3.704 (undated); IDionysosJ 14 (Dion, date uncertain):

IDionysosJ 15 (Dion, date uncertain); IDionysosJ 16 (Dion, date uncertain):

IDionysosJ 17 (Dion, date uncertain); Philipp II 340/L589.2 [71] (Philippi, I–II CE?)

– *thiasus* Maenadum: Philipp II 340/L589.2 [71] (Philippi, I–II CE?)

φамиλία, familia, family

– φамиλία μονομάχων, family of gladiators: CIL 9.465–466; IMT 1498.2–3 [109]

(Kyzikos, after 212 CE); IEph 1182.1–2 (early II CE → [109])

– familia Silvani: AE (1929) 161 (Trebula Mutuesca [Regio IV: Samnium], 60 CE);

CIL 6.9102 (Rome, I CE): liberti et familiae ...NN

οἱ φαρατρίται, archers

SEG 26:614 [59] (Aulis, ca. 200 BCE)

φιλαγρίπται, friends of Agrippa

ISmryna 331.1–2 → [111]

φιλανπέλοι, lovers of the vine

Malay 2005, l. 1 [112] (Aizanoi area, III CE); TAM V 1556.3 (Lydia, 161/162 CE →

[112])

φίλοι, friends

IG II² 1275.8–9, 10 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1369.25–26 [49] (Liopesi, ca.

100 CE), IBosp 1277.9 ? (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IlydiaM 109.4 (238/239 CE

→ [118]); IPrusaOlymp 17.4, 7 (II CE → [146]); IPrusaOlymp 18.5, 9 (II CE →

[146]); Jones 1983.16 (revising IlydiaKP III 117) → [124]; P.Mich. VIII 511 [240]

(Karanis, early III CE); TAM V 93.4 (Lydia, 225/226 CE → [118])

– συνήθεις φίλοι, close friends: IPrusaOlymp 24.2–3 → [146]

φιλο– lovers of..., friends of..., fans of...

IPergamonAsklep 85.7 → [111]; ISmryna 331.1–2 → [111]; Nigdelis II.12.4 [78]

(Thessalonikē, II CE); Philipp II 142/G562.3 [70] (II–III CE); Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no.

1].6 (Hierapolis, ca. 180–250 CE → [111]); TAM III 400.1 (Termessos, post–212 CE

→ [147])

οἱ φιλοκόνηγοι, gladiators or fans of gladiators

Philipp II 142/G562.3 [70] (II–III CE)

οἱ φιλοπαίκτωρες, sport lovers

Nigdelis II.12.4–5 [78] (Thessalonikē, ca. 100–150 CE)

φιλόπλοι, gladiatorial fan club

Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1].6 (Hierapolis, ca. 180–250 CE → [116]); TAM III 400.1

(Termessos, post–212 CE → [147])

φιλοσεβάστοι, friends of the Augusti

IPergamonAsklep 85.7 → [111]

φιλοτεχνῖται, friends of the Artists → Artists associated with Dionysos

I.Prose I 6.73 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

φράτορες φίλοι, friends

IlydiaM 109.4 (238/239 CE → [118]); P.Lond. VII 2193.14 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–

58? BCE)

φράτρα, brotherhood

IKyme 39 (II–III CE → [104])

φυλή, tribe

IGLAM 648.26 (Philadelphia, after 212 CE → [117]): ἡ ἱερὰ φυλή τῶν ἐριουργῶν;

IGLAM 656.11 (Philadelphia → [117]): ἡ ἱερὰ φυλή τῶν σκυτέων; SEG

40:1063.36.1–37.1 (Saittai, second half of II–mid III CE → [117]): φυλ(ῆς) β

[λ]ινου[ργῶν] | [φ(υλῆς) λινου]ρ {α} γφ[ν(?)] νε[ωτέρων(?)]

VII. Officers and Functionaries

aedilis, *aedile* (of an association)

CIL 3.633 I.2 [68a] (Philippi, II CE)

ἀγορανομήσας, to have been an agoranomos, ἀγορανομία, market-overseer, supervisor

EKM I.Beroia 22.A3 [63] (7 BCE); P.Mich. VIII 511.5–6 [240] (Karanis, early III

CE)

ἀγωνοθέτης, director of contests

ISMryna 731.15.25 (83 CE → [137])

ἀγωνοθετῶν, director of contests

ISMryna 731.13 (80 CE → [137])

ἀνθιερεὺς, vice priest

IG II² 1368.9, 27, 28, 85, 104, 109, 122 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἀνθιεράσασθαι to have served as vice priest

IG II² 1368.5–6 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἀντιγραφεὺς, ἀντιγραφομένος, checking clerk

IG II² 1278.9 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IMT 1028.11–12 (Parium → [107])

ἄππας, “papa”

IMagnMai 117.8, 11 (early II CE → [143])

ἀργυροταμίας, treasurer → ταμίας

P.Lond. III 1178.74, 95 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE)

ἀρκάρις = Latin: arcarius, treasurer

Philipp II 410/G258.1 [67] (Kalambaki, uncertain date)

ἀρχαῖος μύστης, ancient initiate

IMagnMai 215.44 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE copy)

ἀρχι(–), archi. . .?, ἀρχι(–), β, second arch...?

SEG 41:1612–1615 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)

ἀρχεραμιστής, archeraniṣtēs

IG II² 1297.10, 15–16, 23 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 2358.4 [40] (Athens, ca.

135 BCE?); IG II² 1339.4 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1343.12–13, 36 [48]

(Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1369.35 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG XII,1

155.20, 29, 40, 71, 83, 105, 107 (Rhodes, II BCE); SEG 31:122.3, 10, 18, 19, 23, 34,

41 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 2960.3 [54] (Acharnai, ca. 150 CE)

ἀρχεραμιστρία, archeraniṣtria → προεραμιστρία.

SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE)

ἀρχιατρός, chief physician → V. Associations types, ἱατροί, physicians

I.Alex.imp. 97.1 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE)

ἀρχιβακχος, *archibakchos*

IG II² 1368.12–13, 67, 93, 117–118, 123, 140 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἀρχιβούκολος, chief cowherd

IAegThrace E18.4 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); IPerinthos 57.5 [88] (II CE?); IPergamon 485.3 [110] (I CE); IPergamonSupp AM 24 1899, no. 31.12 (after 109/110 CE → [110]); IDionysosJ 114.10 (Philadephia, II CE → [117])

ἀρχιγάλλος, chief-gallos

IKyme 37.1 [105] (I BCE or I CE)

ἀρχιγραμματεὺς ξυστοῦ, secretary of the athletic guild → γραμματεὺς

P.Lond. III 1178.82–83 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE)

ἀρχιερωσύνη, high priesthood

I.Prose I 49.21 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

ἀρχιέρεια (ἀρχιέρη), high priestess

I.Alex.imp. 70.3 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE)

ἀρχιερεὺς, high priest → λεσώνης

I.Alex.imp. 90.3 [167] (Alexandria? 10/9 BCE); IEph 1600.9 (177–192 CE → [130]); IEph 22.25–26, 28 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); I.Fayum I 9.6 (Arsinoe, 80/79, 69/7 BCE): ἀρχισυνάγωγος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς; I.Fayum II 119.3 → [167] (Theadelphia, II/I BCE); IGUR I 241.6 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); IPergamonAsklep 120.2 (II BCE → [121]); I.Prose I 49.9, 12, 15 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IPessinous 18.13–5 [151] (180–200 CE); IPessinous 22.4, 7–8 (150–200 CE → [151]); IPrusaOlymp 24.4 → [146]; SEG 32:1236.1 (Sardis area, ca. 150 BCE → [121]); P.Lond. III 1178.50, 58, 78, 97 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.16, 26, 30. 33. 42, 43 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE); SB I 4549.1, 2, 3 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE); SEG 46:1519.3, 8–9, 20 [121] (Sardis area, ca. 188 BCE).

ἀρχιθιασεΐτης, president of the association

O.Joach. 2.11 (Kom Ombo, 78 BCE) → P.Cair. 30606 [191]; P.Enteux. 20.4 [189] (Magdōla, 221 BCE); SEG 41:1329.A6 [148] (Termessos, late II CE)

ἀρχιμύστης, chief mystagogue

IPerinthos 56.15 [87] (196–198 CE); IPerinthos 57.6 [88] (II CE?); IMT 950.2 (Stratonikeia → [142]); IMagnMai 117.2 (early II CE → [143]); SEG 41:1329.B5 [148] (Termessos, late II CE)

ἀρχιπροστάτης, chief prostatēs → προστάτης

I.Alex.imp. 91.5 [174] (Alexandria, 4/5 CE); I.Fayum I 16.4 (Arsinoë-Krokodolopolis, II BCE): ἀ[ρ]χιπρ[ο]στατοῦντος

ἀρχιπρύτανις, chief prytanis.

SB V 8805.2 [260] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 80/81 CE)

ἀρχισυναγωγός, *archisynagogos*, president of the association

CIG II 2007f.2 (Kassandreia, I CE → [66]); I.Alex.imp. 91.4 [174] (Alexandria, 4/5 CE); I.Fayum I 9.6 (Arsinoe, 80/79, 69/7 BCE): ἀρχισυνάγωγος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς; IJO II 43.1 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106]); IJO II 168.3–4 [113] (Akmoneia area, late I CE or early II CE); IJO II 46.1 (Teos, III CE → [141]); SEG 42:625.3–4 [75] [Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE]

ἀρχυπηρέτης, chief servant

BGU II 466.3 (unknown, II/III CE); BGU XI 2016.34 (Alexandria, 210 CE); P.Ryl. IV 590.2 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE)

ἄρχων, ἄρχοντες, magistrate(s), ruler(s), leader(s) (of associations, not the yearly eponymous archons)

IEph 719.12 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IG XII,1 155.20, 29–30, 71, 86, 97 (Rhodes, II BCE); IPergamon 374.B22, D19 [111] (129–138 CE); IJO II 168.5 [113] (Akmoneia

- area, late I CE or early II CE); P.Lond. III 1178.60 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.19, 23 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 1v3.54 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SEG 46:800.11 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); SEG 58:1640.B30, 37, C28 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
- ἀρχαί (?): P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 1v3.54 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)
 - ἀρχοντεία, leadership: IJO II 23.5 [150] (Tlos, late I CE)
 - ἀρχονδῶν, being chief contractor: IMT 1028.3 (Parium → [107])
 - τε[λων]α[ρχ]ήσαντες, those in charge of tolls: IMT 1028.2–3 (Parium → [107])
- ἀρχώνης σκοπιᾶς, chief-contractor of the look-out
IMT 1539.2 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE)
- οἱ τὰ ἔνπυρα βαστάζοντες, those who carry the burning incense/burnt offerings
SEG 29:1205.10 [120] (Sardis, 426 BCE or 365 BCE, re-engraved ca. 150 CE)
- βησαρτής, *bēsartēs* (cultic official?)
IG X/2.1 259.3 [76] (I CE)
- βουκόλοι, cowherds
IPergamon 485.1, 7 [110] (I CE)
– οἱ χορεύσαντες βου[κόλοι, dancing cowherds: IPergamonSupp AM 24 1899, no. 31.6, 14 (after 109/110 CE → [110])
- curator, -es, magistrates
CIL 6.631.2 (Rome, 177 CE); CIL 6.10231.9 (Rome, II/III CE); CIL 6.642.7 (Rome, 97 CE); CIL 6.10234.11, 12, 22, 24 (Rome, 153 CE); CIL 6.10331.3 (Rome); CIL 6.10350.15 (3 women as *curatores*) (Rome, time of Vespasian); CIL 6.33885.5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 20, 22, 23 (Rome, 117–138 CE); CIL 14.309.5, 6 (Ostia, 150–200 CE)
- γραμματεὺς, *grammateus*, secretary, clerk → ἀρχιγραμματεὺς ξυστοῦ
AM 66:228.16 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); BGU VIII 1741.5, 11; 1742.8; 1743+XIV 2368.6 [250] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE); IByzantion 37.9 [91] (117–137 CE); IG II² 1255.17 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); I.Fayum III 201.7–8 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 BCE); IG II² 1361.24 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1263.5–6 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1277.4, 20 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1278.9 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1291.17 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1298.22, 23–24 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1284.16, 22, 32 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1292.4, 34 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1323.12 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 1324.30–31 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1328.20, 44 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1329.5 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1335.11 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); IG XII,1 155.19, 62 (Rhodes, II BCE); IG II² 1368.155–56 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IMiletos 798.2 [132] (79/8, 43/2, or 41/0 BCE); IMiletos 796.2 (190–189 BCE → [132]); IPergamon 321.5 → [110]; IPergamon 374.D3 [111] (129–138 CE); IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8.7 (I CE → [111]); O.Fay. 14.1 (Euhemeria, 1 CE); O.Fay 17.1 (Euhemeria, 35 CE); SB VI 9112.1 [207] (Arsinoites, 27/28 CE); I.Prose I 6.23 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); P.Lond. III 1178.102 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE); P.Mich. V 313.9, 21–22 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Oslo III 143.4 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.20, 27 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE); P.Petr. III 136.i.13 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); P.Ryl. II 94.3 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); P.Ryl. IV 580.11 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 590.3, 14 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE); P.Tebt. I 119.56 (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); PSI VIII

- 901.1, 7,17, 24 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); SB I 4549.10 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE); ὁ γράψας; SEG 2:9.16, 19, 20, 25 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); SEG 27:947.16–17 (Tarsos, III CE → [153]); SEG 20:499.11 = I.Alex.Ptol. 32 (Alexandria, 112/1 or 76/5 BCE); SEG 41:1612.7 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE); SEG 42:625.7–8 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); SEG 46:800.15 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); SEG 54:235.4 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); TAM V 1497.10 (Philadelphia, ca. 250 CE → [117])
- γραμματοφύλαξ, record keeper
IG II² 1278.10 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE)
- γυμνασιάρχης, -ος, head of the gymnasium (as an officer of an association!)
BGU IV 1137.5 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); IBosp 1277.8 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IPrusaOlymp 24.4 → [146]
- decurion, sub-official in an association
CIL 3.633 III.C.14 [68c] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 6.4019.7 (Rome); CIL 6.4052.3 (Rome); CIL 6.4056.6 (Rome); CIL 6.4057.3 (Rome); CIL 4058.7 (Rome); CIL 6.4060.2 (Rome); CIL 6.4063.3 (Rome); CIL 6.5362.1 (Rome)
- δεκατισταί, ten-day celebrators
IPrusaOlymp 48.B5 (150–200 CE → [102])
- δημοσίάρχος? or συμποσίάρχος?
SB XXIV 16296.3, 9, 14 [286] (unknown, 182 or 158 BCE)
- διάδοχος, successor
SEG 21:703.2 (Athens, ca. 98–102 CE → [146])
- διάκων, server
ICariaR 162.20 (120–210 CE → [148])
- διαταξίάρχος, assigner of offices
IPergamonSupp AM 24 1899, no. 31.10 (after 109/110 CE → [107])
- δικτυαρχήσαντες, those in charge of the fishing nets
IMT 1028.2, 4 (Parium → [107])
- διοικητής, administrator
IPerinthos 49.A2 [86] (I CE)
- διοικῶν, administrator
ISmryna 731.15 (80 CE → [137])
- ἐγλογιστής, auditor
SEG 31:122.30, 40 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
- ἐξεταστής, accountant
SEG 42:625.9 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE)
- ἐπαγωγοί, those who lead (the fish into the nets)
IMT 1539.3 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE)
- ἐπαρχον, prefect
MAMA VI List 164.4–5 [114] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE)
- ἐπὶ τοῦ χρηματισμοῦ, managers of the funds
IMT 1539.3 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE)
- ἐπιμελητής, *epimelētēs*, supervisor
I.Fayum II 134.8 (Euhermeria, 79 BCE); I.Fayum III 202.8–9 (Arsinoites, 94 BCE); IG II² 1361.15, 16 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1256.3 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 1261.12, 27 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1262.4

- [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1277.3, 19, 34 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1316.23 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1278.7, 9 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1291.21 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); SEG 2:9.3, 14, 18, 23 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); IG II² 1283.17 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1301.2 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE); IG II² 1292.4, 36 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1314.21 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1324.1 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1327.27, 30 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); AM 66:228.3, 17 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1335.12 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); SEG 46:744.4–5 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); P.Mich. V 244.4 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245.6 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Mich. IX 575.1 [238] (Karanis, 184 CE); SB III 6184.7 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 138–137 BCE); SB III 7182.14 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE); SEG 42:625.12 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); PIR² C 1637.10 (Pergamon, after 142 CE → [110]); TAM V 536.9 (Maionia → [119]); TAM V 991.5–6 (Thyateira → [123]); IEph 275.10 [130] (117–138 CE)
- ἐπιμήνιος? monthly officer → μηνιάρχης
IG XII/3 330.65 (Thera 210–195 BCE); P.Petr. III 136.i.2, 6 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)
- ἐπίσκοπος, supervisor
ASAA 22 (1939/40) 148,2; Clara Rhodos 2 (1932) 193,21; ID 1522.8, 10, 17 (Delos, time of Trajan); IG XII,1 49; IG XII,1 50; IG XII,1 731; IG XII,3 329.12 (Thera, ca. 200 BCE); ILindos II 208; ILindos II 378; Maiuri, NSER 20; Pugliese Carratelli 1939–1940, no. 2 (Rhodes, II/I BCE)
- ἐπίσσοφος, supervisor
IG XII,3 330.203, 209, 224, 234, 250, 267, 271, 281 (Thera, 210–195 BCE)
- ἐπιστάτης τοῦ κοινοῦ, administrator of the association
IG XII,1 155.30–31, 60 (Rhodes, II BCE)
- ἐπιστησάμενος, was superintendent
TAM V 945 (Thyateira → [123])
- ἐρاناρχέω, to be president of the *eranistai*
IG XI,4 1223.2 (Delos, 196 BCE): ἐρاناρχοῦντος τοῦ ἱερέως Λάμπρωνος.
- ἐργεπιστάς, be supervisor of works
ISMryna 639.15–16 (150–200 CE → [137])
- ἐστιάτωρ hestiatōr, host
Agora 16:161.12, 24 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1259.1–2 (Athens, 313/2 BCE): οἱ ἱστιά[τορ]ες (2 chosen yearly).
- εὐκόσμος, officer in charge of good order
IG II² 1368.94–95, 136 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IPergamon 374.B3, 13 [111] (129–138 CE)
- ἐφημερεύων, on daily service
IMT 1028.10–11 (Parium → [107])
- ζάκορος, attendant, assistant
IG II² 1328.16–17, 31, 35, 39 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE)
- ζακορεύω serve as an attendant
IG II² 1328.24–25 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); SEG 42:157.14 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

ἡγέομαι, ἡγησάμενος, to be, have become, president

P.Würzb. 4.9 [192] (Philadelphia, after 142 BCE)

ἡγέμων, -όνες leader(s), president(s)

IG II² 1278.5 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE)

ἡγούμενος, president → προηγούμενος

1 Clem 1.3 (οἱ ἡγούμενοι ὁμών); Hebrews 13:7, 17, 24 (οἱ ἡγούμενοι ὁμών)

BGU VII 1615.6 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE); P.Grenf. II 43.9 [225] (Soknopaiou

Nesos, 92 CE); P.Grenf. II 67.3–4 (Bakchias [Arsinoites], 237 CE): ἡγουμένου

συνόδου κώ[μη]ς Βακχιάδος; P.Lond. VII 2193.6, 10–11, 14 [199] (Philadelphia,

69–58? BCE); P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Mich. II 121.r.col.

iii abstract 5 [→ 210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Mich. II 124.ii.19 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47

CE); P.Mich. II 127.i.20 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); P.Tebt. II 401.vi.23–24 [214]

(Tebtynis, after 14 CE); P.Mich. V 244.7, 16, 19, 21, 45 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE);

P.Mich. V 245.43 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Mich. V 246.1 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–

49 CE); P.Mich. V 247.1 [209] (Tebtynis, early I CE); P.Ryl. II 94.1 [205]

(Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); P.Tebt. II 484v.1–2 (Tebtynis, 14 CE); P.Tebt. II 573.frag. 1

+ 2, A.2 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE)

θεαγός, one who bears (the mummy) of sacred animals in procession

P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 6r3.8 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

θεολόγος, sacred expositor

TAM V 962.4 (Thyateira → [124]); ISmryna 653.3 [138] (I–II CE); ISmryna 654.3

(I–II CE → [138]); ISmryna 697.38 [139] (after 124 CE)

θεοφάντης, revealer of the god

ISmryna 728.1 [140] (II CE)

ἱέρεια, priestess; ἱερατεύειν, ἱερωτεύειν, to be a priestess

IG II² 1361.4, 7 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1316.7, 15 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1

BCE); IG II² 1283.21 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1314.4–5, 12, 14, 26 [28]

(Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.5, 29 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1328.6, 8,

17, 19, 23, 28, 33, 34, 41 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1337.4 [44]

(Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1334.4, 15 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE); IG II² 2361.37–

77 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE); IG X/2.1 260.A2, B4 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE);

IApamBith 35.3 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); IMagnMai 117.9 (early II CE → [143])

ἱερέυς, priest / ἱερατεύειν, ἱερωτεύειν, to be a priest → *sacerdos*

BGU IV 1137.4, 7 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); O.Edfou III 368.3 [251]

(Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE); IG II² 2343.1 [1] (Athens, ca. 400 BCE); IG II² 1361.7

[4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1273AB.13, 21, 29 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE);

IG II² 1298.13 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1283.21 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE);

IG II² 2358.5 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?); SEG 42:157.8–9 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–

ca. 95/4 BCE); IG II² 1335.8 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); SEG 54:235.5 [47] (Epano

Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); IG II² 1343.36 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1368.5,

12, 14, 17, 25, 34, 53, 59, 61, 67, 71, 85, 88, 92, 104, 107, 109, 111, 122, 137, 140,

144 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG II² 2361.10 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE); IDionysosJ

7.5–6 [60] (Megara, 141 CE); SEG 46:744.18–19 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); Philipp II

142/G562.2 [70] (II–III CE); IG X/2.1 70.10 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67 CE); IG X/2.1

259.22, 33 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 506.7 [80] (Thessalonikē, 209–10

CE); IPerinthos 49.B3 [86] (II CE); IPerinthos 56.15 [87] (196–198 CE); IByzantion

31.7 [90] (85–96 CE); IByzantion 37.5 [91] (117–137 CE); IOlbiaD 11 (325–300 BCE → [92]); IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IBosp 80.2 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IBosp 1277.4 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IBosp 104.4 (Pantikapaion, 200–250 CE → [96]); ISabazios II 6.5 (Serдика, ca. 200 CE → [96]); IApamBith 33.2 (123 or 108 BCE → [99]); IDionysosJ 195 (Rome, III–IV CE → [100]); IPrusaOlymp 48.B4 (150–200 CE → [102]); IPergamon 374.C3 [111] (129–138 CE); I.Prose I 49.5 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); SEG 46:1519.4–5, 24–25 [121] (Sardis area, ca. 188 BCE); SEG 32:1236.3 (Sardis area, ca. 150 BCE → [121]); SEG 46:1520.1, 5 (Sardis area, 90s BCE → [121]); IEph 719.11 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); ISmryna 731.8 (80 CE → [137]); IVarsovie 44.6 (→ [154]); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE → [141]); Smith 1996, lines 4–6 (Apameia, 120–250 CE → [146]); OGIS II 729.5 [155] (Alexandria, 221–205 BCE); P.Enteux. 20.3 [189] (Magdōla, 221 BCE); P.Petr. III 136.i.11, 12 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); SEG 21:703.2 (Athens, ca. 98–102 CE → [146]); IPessinous 18.1 [151] (180–200 CE); LSAM 80.24–25 [152] (ca. 27 BCE–14 CE)
 – ιερεὺς διὰ βίου: I.Prose I 40.40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)
 – priest of Attis: IPessinous 18.1 [151] (180–200 CE)
 – priest of Drusus: SEG 31:122.2 [50] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE)
 – priest of Herakles: IG II² 2343.1 [1] (Athens, ca. 400 BCE); SEG 54:235.5 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE)

ιερητεύω, ιερατεύω → ιερεὺς, priest, and ιέρεια, priestess

ιεροκᾶρυξ, sacred herald

IG XII,1 155.31 (Rhodes, II BCE)

ιεροποιός, ιεροποιία, *hieropoios*, manager (of the temple), sacrificial manager

IG II² 1255.2–3 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); IG II² 1361.16 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1261.28, 36, 45–46 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263.38 [11] (Piraeus, 3R00/299 BCE); IG II² 1291.22 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1297.12 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1292.15, 35 [26] (Athens or Piraeus?, 215/4 BCE); IRhannous II 59.27 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2r2.22; frag. 7v2.7 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.47, 77 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE); SB V 8805.2 [260] (Ptolemaïs Hormeion, 80/81 CE); SEG 54:235.2 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE)

ιεροφάντης, revealer of sacred objects

TAM V 1497.8 (Philadelphia, ca. 250 CE → [117]); IDionysosJ 114.8 (Philadelphia, II CE → [117]); IEph 275.9 [130] (117–138 CE); IMagnMai 117.10 (early II CE → [143])

ιεραφόροι, bearer of sacred objects

IAnezarbos 4.9.8–10 (207 CE → [153])

ιερωσύνη, priesthood

IG II² 1361.6 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1271.13 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1328.32 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1326.9–10, 34–35 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1334.7 [45] (Piraeus, after 71/70 BCE); P.Enteux. 21.4 [190] (Magdōla, 218 BCE)
 – ιερωσύνη τοῦ Διονύσου: IG II² 1325.20, 21 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IDionysosJ 7.5–6 [60] (Megara, 141 CE)

ἱπάρχης, *hipparchēs*.

I.Prose I 6.3 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeion, 285–246 BCE)

ἵπποκόμοι, horse groomers

ICariaR 162.19 (120–210 CE → [148])

ἵππος, hippos, “horse”, bouncer → παννυχιστής

IG II² 1368.144 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG II² 2361.16 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE)

ἰστιάτωρ → ἐστιάτωρ

κεφελαιωτής, secretary-treasurer? president?

O.Mich. I 266–269, 351–352, 582–582, 591, 593–594 (Arsinoites, III/IV CE); III 1052, 1071, 1094 (Arsinoites, III/IV CE); O.Heid.443 (IV CE); O.Leid.Gr. 342 (IV CE); O.Mich. I 86, 109 148–150 (Karanis, IV CE); P.Lips. 40 iii.17 (Hermopolis, IV CE); P.Lips. 89.2 (379 CE): κεφαλ[α]ιωτής ταρσικαρίων; P.Mich. V 244.16 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE) *Note*; P.Oxy. X 1253.16, 19 (IV CE); XXXIV 2729 (IV CE); L 3576 (IV CE); LIV 3769 (IV CE); LXIII 4374 (IV CE); LXXXIV 5364 (late IV CE): a receipt from two ‘presidents’ of the Judaeans’: κ[εφαλαι]ωται . . . Ἰσιδώρου κεφαλωτῇ Ἰουδαίων (late IV CE); P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5364 (late IV CE): κ[εφαλαι]ωται . . . Ἰσιδώρου κεφαλωτῇ Ἰουδαίων; PSI XII 1265.8, 9, 13 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); SB III 6704.2, 9 [285] (Aphroditis Kome, 538 CE); SB XVIII 13916.7 (Oxyrhynchus, 386 CE) → PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE) *Comment*; Stud.Pal. XX 67v.i.5, ii.7 (Arsinoites, II/III CE)

κλειδοῦγέω, be a temple guardian → General Index (section X)

SEG 42:157.11–12 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

κλεισιάρχης, president of the banquet

P.Mich. V 246.14, 19 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE)

κοσμητής, supervisor

SEG 54:235.2 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE)

κουρατορεύων, to be a superintendent

TAM V 1002.5 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123])

κρίνων τὰ ὀράματα, dream interpreter (?)

SEG 42:157.16–17 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

κυβερνῶν, piloting (a ship)

IMT 1028.8–9 (Parium → [107])

κωμάρχης, mayor (as the title of an association official)

I.Prose I 49.5, 18 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

λεμβαρχῶν, in charge of the fishing galley

IMT 1028.12–13 (Parium → [107])

λεσώνης, administrator, priest → προστατής, ἀρχιερεὺς

I.Fayum III 205.7 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE)

λευκουργός, mason

ICariaR 162.23 (120–210 CE → [148])

λογιστής, λογιστεύω, auditor, to be an auditor

IG XII,1 155.54 (Rhodes, II BCE); SEG 46:800.9 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE)

magister, master (of the banquet?)

CIL 6.9202 (Rome): magister quinquennalis conlegii aurificum; 6.10234.11, 12, 21, 22 (Rome, 153 CE); CIL 14.250.17 (Ostia, 152 CE); CIL 14.251.26, 28 (Ostia, 193 CE); CIL 14.2112

μετέχοντες, partners

IKyme 37.4–5, 13, 30, 35 [105] (I BCE or I CE)

μέτοικοι, partners

IMT 1539.6 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE)

μηνιάρχης, monthly officer → ἐπιμήνιος

O.Bodl. 2.1986 (Thebes, II–III CE); P.Harr. II 216R.10 (Oxyrhynchus, 343 CE);

P.Leid.Inst. 62.3 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE); P.Oxy. I 53

(Oxyrhynchus, 316 CE); P.Oxy. I 84 (Oxyrhynchus, 316 CE); P.Oxy. VIII 1139

(Oxyrhynchus, 322 CE); P.Oxy. P.Oxy. XXXI 2579.11 (Oxyrhynchus, 309? 313?

CE); P.Oxy. XLIII 3126.19 (Oxyrhynchus, 328 CE); P.Oxy. XLV 3261.4 [281]

(Oxyrhynchus, 324 CE); P.Oxy. XLV 3262.1 (Oxyrhynchus, 328 CE); P.Oxy. LIV

3730.5 (Oxyrhynchus, 308–312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3734.8 [278] (Oxyrhynchus, 312

CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3740.10 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3743.11–12

(Oxyrhynchus, 318 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3752.9–10 (Oxyrhynchus, 319 CE); P.Oxy. LIV

3753.9–10 (Oxyrhynchus, 319 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3765.54–55 (Oxyrhynchus, 319 CE);

P.Oxy. LIV 3766.32 (Oxyrhynchus, 329 CE); P.Petaus 37 (Ptolemais Hormou,

Arsinoites, 182–187 CE); P.Prag III 236.113 (Theadelphia, 259 CE); PSI V 456.4

(Oxyrhynchus, 279–282 CE); SB VI 9409.126, 145 (Theadelphia, 260 CE); SB XIV

11593 (Hermopolites, 338–341 CE); SB XIV 12629.5 (Oxyrhynchus, 329–331 CE).

μουσική, singer

ICariaR 162.21 (120–210 CE → [148])

μυσταγωγός, mystagogue

IEph 275.13 [130] (117–138 CE)

νεανισκάρχης, head of the youths

IBosp 1277.8 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); ICariaR 162.10–11 (120–210 CE →

[148])

νεανίσκοι, youths

ICariaR 162.3–4 (120–210 CE → [148])

ξυστάρχης, president of the athletic association

ISMryna 731.15.26 (83 CE → [137]); IGUR I 241.7 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]);

P.Lond. III 1178.50, 58, 98 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE)

ξυσταρχῶν, president of athletics

ISMryna 731.14 (80 CE → [137])

οἰκονόμος, manager, treasurer

IBosp 1134.14, 17, 18 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); I.Prose I 3.13 [243] (Ptolemais

Hormeïou, 269–246 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118. 8, 15 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE)

ὁμολεΐτωρ, liturgist (?)

IG II² 1369.38 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE)

ὄροφυλακήσαντες, mountain guards

ICariaR 162.9 (120–210 CE → [111])

παιδονόμοι, supervisors of children's education

IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8.5 (I CE → [111])

παννυχιστής, watchman or bouncer → ἵππος

SEG 31:122.24, 26 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

παρὰφιλάγαθος, assistant *philagathos*

IBosp 80.6–7 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IBosp 1277.7 (Tanais, 173–211 CE

→ [96])

παραφύλαξ, guard

ICariaR 162.1 (120–210 CE → [48])

πάρεδρος, assistant

SEG 54:235.119–121 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE)

pater, father (of a collegium)

CIL 3.633 IV.3 [68d] (Philippi, II CE)

πατήρ, father

– πατήρ ὀργεωνικῆς συνόδου, father of the orgeōnic synod: IG II² 2361.14–15 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE)

– πατήρ συνόδου, father of the synod: IBosp 1277.4 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IBosp 104.8–9 (Pantikapaion, 200–250 CE → [96])

– πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς, father of the synagogue, IJO I Mac 1.4–5 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); P.Oxy IX 1205.8–9 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

πατρομύστης, ancestral initiate

ISmryna 731.18, 19 (80 CE → [137]); ISmryna 732.1 (80s or 150s–60s CE → [137])

πραγματᾶς, official in charge of affairs

IBosp 80.7–8 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94])

πράκτορες, bailiffs → debtors

SEG 31:122.28 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IKyme 37.15, 49 [105] (I BCE or I CE)

πρεσβύτερος, πρεσβύτεροι, elder(s)

I.Alex.imp. 92.2? [182] (Alexandria, I CE); I.Fayum II 122.1–2 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); OGIS II 729.4 [155] (Alexandria, 221–205 BCE); P.Fouad 18 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 54 CE), οἱ ἐξ πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεοργῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων; P.Fouad 19 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoites, 53 CE): οἱ πέντε πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεοργῶν Ἀρεῶς; P.Hamb. I 34.6 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE): 6 elders of a guild of sheep and donkey rearers; P.Mich. V 313.8, 21 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργῶν; P.Phil. 1.49 (Arsinoites, 119 CE): πρώτως ἐξ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτερος; Phil. 1.49 [234] (Arsinoites, 119 CE): πρώτως ἐξ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτερος; P.Stras. V 341.7 [224] (Soknopaiou Nesos?, 85 CE); PSI VIII 901.10 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): Oath of πρεσβύτεροι ἀλιέων; SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemais Hormeion, 45 CE)

πρόεδρος, presiding officer

IG II² 1368.20–21 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

προερανίστρια, *proeraniστρία* → ἀρχερανίστρια

IG II² 1292.24, 30 [26] (Athens or Piraeus?, 215/4 BCE)

προεστῶτες, presiding officers

IG II² 1368.30–31 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

προηγούμενος, leader → ἡγούμενος

1 Clem 21.6 (οἱ προηγούμενοι ἡμῶν); Hermas Vis 2 2.6; 9 9.7 (οἱ προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας)

προστατέω, to be president, in the aorist: to be former president

I.Alex.imp. 46.2–3 [176] (Alexandria, 20–21 CE); I.Alex.imp. 65.2–3 [181] (Alexandria, I CE, 22 CE?); I.Alex.imp. 90 [167] (Alexandria? 10/9 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 92.2? [182] (Alexandria, I CE); I.Alex.imp. 93.1 [172] Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 94.2–3 [173] (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 96.2 [166] (Alexandria, 30 BCE–14 CE); I.Fayum III 201.7 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 BCE); IGRR I 1095.2 [163] (Kanopos, 29/28 BCE); IGRR I 1114.1 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE);

- JIGRE 24.7–8 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE); SB I 639.2 [164] (Alexandria, 25 BCE)
- προστάτης, president, patron → προστάτης, προστάτων, ἀρχιπροστάτης, λεσώνης
 BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); BGU IV 1137.4 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); BGU V 1210.240 [234] (Theadelphia, after 149 CE); BGU VIII 1741.5, 11; 1742.8; 1743+XIV 2368.5 [250] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE); IByzantion 37.7 [91] (117–137 CE); ICiliciaDF 46.6–7 (I–II CE → [153]); I.Fayum I 7.11 (Arsinoe, 101 BCE); I.Fayum II 119.4 → [167] (Theadelphia, II/I BCE); I.Fayum II 121.15–16 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE); I.Fayum III 212.7–8 [204] (Arsinoïtes, 3 CE); IG II² 1369.34 [49] (Lipsi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1368.13 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IGRR I 1086.4 [179] (Alexandria, 39/40 or 40/41 CE); IGRR I 1095.2 [163] (Kanopos, 29/28 BCE); I.Prose I 49.5, 17 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); ISabazios II 6.6 (Serdica, ca. 200 CE → [96]); JIGRE 24.7–8 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE) *Note*; I.Th.Sy. 303.16 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE); P.Bodl. I 65.14 [289] (unknown, I CE); P.Lips. II 131.2 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE); P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.11 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Mich. V 243.3 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 322b.4 [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE); P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097.1.6 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE); P.Ryl. IV 580.7 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE); SB XVI 12702.1, 10, 20 [270] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); SEG 20:499.7–8 = I.Alex.Ptol. 32 (Alexandria, 112/1 or 76/5 BCE); SEG 41:1638.2 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); SEG 46:800.14 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); SB XXII 15460.6 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE).
- προστάτις, president (fem.)
 I.Alex.imp. 70.4 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE)
- προφήτης, prophet
 IDidyma 285.1, 3 (II–III CE → [146])
- πρωταργύριος, chief goldsmith
 MAMA III 335.2–3 (Korykos → [153])
- πρύτανης, president
 IEph 1600.10 (177–192 CE → [130]); I.Prose I 6.3 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)
- quaestor, treasurer
 CIL 6.10342.1–2 (Rome): a woman
- quinquennalis, president [CHECK]
 CIL 6.9202 (Rome): quinquennalis [c]o<l>legi(i) aurificum; CIL 6.10309.2 (Rome): a woman
 – quinq(uennalis) perp(etuus): CIL 14.250.13 (Ostia, 152 CE); CIL 14.251.14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, (Ostia, 193 CE)
 – quinq(uennalicus): CIL 14.250.15 (Ostia, 152 CE)
- sacerdos, priest → ιερεύς
 CIL 3.633 I.13 [68a] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 3.633 II.c.3 [68b] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 3.633 IV.2 [68d] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 6.2292.2 (Rome)
- σεβαστοφάντης, revealer of the Augusti
 MAMA VI List 164.8–9 [114] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE); IPessinous 18.6–7 [151] (180–200 CE); IPessinous 22.10–11 (150–200 CE → [151])
- Σειληνοί, Silenoi
 IPergamon 485.29 [110] (I CE)

σκοπιᾶζων, being on lookout

IMT 1028.7 (Parium → [107])

σοφός, sage

O.Edfou III 368.3 [251] (Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE)

σπείραρχος, speirarchos, leader of the company

IPerinthos 57.7 [88] (II CE?)

στεφανήφορος, crown-bearer

IMiletos 798.1 [132] (79/8, 43/2, or 41/0 BCE); IMiletos 796.1 (190–189 BCE → [132]); ISmryna 731.12 (80 CE → [137]); ISmryna 731.15.24 (83 CE → [137]); ISmryna 655.4 → [137]; IMagnMai 117.1, 9 (early II CE → [143])

στρατηγός

IBosp 1134.15 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE)

συμποσίαρχος? or δημοσίαρχος?

SB XXIV 16296.3, 9, 14 [286] (unknown, 182 or 158 BCE)

συναγωγός, συναγωγεὺς, convener, president of the synagogue

BGU IV 1137.3 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); IBosp 1134.11–12 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IBosp 75.8–9 [94] (Pantikapaion, 150–125 BCE); IBosp 80.3–4 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IBosp 1277.5 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96]); IFayum III 204.4 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE); IFayum III 205.6 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE); IGRR I 1106.1 [165] (Naukratis, 30 BCE–14 CE); LSAM 80.10–11 [152] (ca. 27 BCE–14 CE); SB I 639.2 [163] (Alexandria, 25 BCE); SB XXII 15460.6 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE).

συναγωγέω, to serve as a *synagogs*

IGRR I 1095.1 [163] (Kanopos, 29/28 BCE)

συνάρχοντες, co-leaders

Hauvette–Besnault and Pottier 1880, 164–167 [no. 21] (Teos, II BCE → [141])

συνβολαφόροι, symbol bearers

TAM V 576.5–6 (Maionia → [119])

συνιερεῦσις, co–priest, fellow priest

IG II² 1368.18 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

συνιεροποιοί, fellow hieropoioi, fellow sacrifice-makers

IG II² 1261.29–30 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE)

συνμύσστε, fellow initiates

IPrusaOlymp 159.1 (late II or early III CE → [102])

συνναῦται, fellow sailors

IMT 1028.15 (Parium → [107])

ταμεία, office of treasurer

IG II² 1271.10 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE)

ταμία, treasurer → ἀργυροταμία

IG II² 1263.31–32 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1316.23 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1278.9, 15 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1291.12 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1298.22, 23–24 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); SEG 2.9.17, 20, 21, 26 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); IG II² 1284.18, 34 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1292.3, 29, 32 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1323.6 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 1324.33 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1325.20, 32 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1327.4 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1326.11, 51 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1329.22 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1012.13–

14 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IG II² 1335.10 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); SEG 54:235.4 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); IG II² 1343.36 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); SEG 31:122.13, 23, 29, 37, 42, 43 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 1368.100, 123, 146, 150 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IByzantion 37.6 [91] (117–137 CE); IMagnSip 18.5, 11 → [115]; ISmryna 622 (ca. 129–32 CE → [137]); ISmryna 653.5 [138] (I–II CE)

ταμειῶν, serve as a treasurer

IG II² 2499.19–20 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); IG II² 1343.13, 20, 22 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); ISmryna 639.14 (150–200 CE → [137])

ὕμνοδιδάσκαλοι, hymn instructors

IPergamon 485.26 [110] (I CE)

ὕμνωδοί, hymn singers

IPergamon 374.A3, B16–17, C12–13, D13, 15, 17–18 [111] (129–138 CE); IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8.5 (I CE → [111]); IEph 3801.1.10, 19, 2.13 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); TAM V 955.2 (Thyateira, after 212 CE → [123]); TAM V 962.3 (Thyateira → [123]); IHistria 57.31 (150–200 CE → [129]); IEph 275.14 [130] (117–138 CE); ISmryna 697.39 [139] (after 124 CE)

ὕπηρέτης, assistant

P.Lond. VII 2193.11 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE) (assistant to the ἡγούμενος, *q.v.*)

ὕπότροφος, nurse

IMagnMai 117.10 (early II CE → [143])

φελλογαλαστῶν, in charge of loosening corks

IMT 1028.10 (Parium → [107])

φιλάγαθος, *philagathos*, ‘goodness loving’ official

IBosp 80.4–5 (Pantikapaion, 80–150 CE → [94]); IBosp 1277.6 (Tanais, 173–211 CE → [96])

φροντιστής, -αί, manager(s)

IBosp 1134.13 [93]; IFayum II 122.5 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE)

χορηγός, chorus leader

IPergamon 485.32 [110] (I CE)

χρηματοφύλαξ, treasurer (of an association)

P.Erasm. I 10.2 (Arsinoites, II BCE); P.Ryl. IV 586.18–19 [248] (Oxyrhynchus 99 BCE)

χρυσονομῶν, treasurer of the gold

IMiletos 798.1 [132] (79/8, 43/2, or 41/0 BCE); IMiletos 796.2 (190–189 BCE → [132])

VIII. Epigraphical and Papyrological Genres

Accounts

BGU VII 1615.3 [223] Philadelphia, 84 CE): account of garments; O.Edfou III 368 [251] (Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE) (?): account of a dining club; P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE); P.FuadUniv. I 25 [292] (unknown, II–III CE); P.Genova I 24 [293] (unknown, IV CE): account of taxes paid; P.Lond. VII 2193 *verso* [199]

(Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE): club account; P.Mich. II 127 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): Kronion's personal account; P.Mich. V 322b [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE): account of a beer merchant; P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE): account of a club of *pastophores*; P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE): club account; P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE): club account; P.Tebt. I 119 (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE): club account; P.Tebt. I 224r [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE): club account; P.Tebt. II 401.vi.23–24 [214] (Tebtynis, after 14 CE): account of a beer seller; P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE): club account; SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE): club account; SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE): club account; SB XVI 12695 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE): account of capitation taxes; SB XXIV 16224 [291] (unknown, I/II CE); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE): tax account

Building inscriptions, τόπος inscriptions

I.Fayum I 73 [202] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE): dedication of a *peribolos* by an association; I.Fayum I 96, III CE) → SB IV 7290 [271] (Abydos, 257 CE); I.Fayum II 109.6 (Theadelphia, 102 BCE): τόπος συνόδου | χηνοβοσκῶν; I.Fayum II 121 [227] (Theadelphia, 93 CE); I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); I.Fayum II 134.4 (Euhemeria, 79 BCE): τόπος συνόδου γεωργῶν || ιδίων; I.Fayum III 171 [226] (Narmouthis, I–II CE); I.Fayum III 172 [228] (Narmouthis, I–II CE); I.Fayum III 200.5 (Arsinoites, 98 BCE): τόπο[ς] τῶν | τὸ β L ἐφηβευκῶτων | τῆς Ἀμμωνίου αἰρέσεως; I.Fayum III 201.4 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 BCE): ὁ τόπος τῶν τὸ L ζ || ἐφηβευκῶτων τῆς Ἀσκλ[η]πιδου τοῦ Ἀσκλ[η]πιδου αἰρέσε[ω]ς; I.Fayum III 202.5–8 (Arsinoites, 94 BCE): τόπος τῶν τὸ ι L | ἐφηβευκῶτων τῆς | Παραβάτου αἰρέ[σε]ως; I.Fayum III 204.4 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE); I.Fayum III 205.3–4 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE); IG II² 1325.26 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG XI,4 1299.4, 6 (ca. 200 BCE → [117]); IHierapJ 195.1 (ca. 138–212 CE → [116]); IHierapJ 153.1 (138–300 CE → [116]); IJO I Mac 1.11 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE): ἄγιος τόπος; IJO II 26.2 (Nysa, I BCE → [144]); IJO II 146.1 (Thyateira, ca. 120–220 CE → [152]); IJO II 191.A1, B1 (Hierapolis, ca. 200–250 CE → [116]); IJO II 205.1 (ca. 150–200 CE → [116]); IJO II 206.2 (ca. 150–200 CE → [116]); IMiletos 940a–f [135] (II–V CE); IPerg 374.22 [111] (129–138 CE); LSAM 80.26 [152] (Elaioussa Sebaste area, ca. 27 BCE–14 CE); Malay 1981 (II–I BCE → [143]); P.Rain.Cent. 51.6 [159] (Sestis, 99–50 BCE); TAM III 4.20, 26 [147] (Termessos, II CE); SB I 996 [256] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 45 CE); SB IV 7290 [271] (Abydos, 257 CE); SB V 8805 [260] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 80/81 CE); SB V 8842.1 (98 CE, unknown provenance); SEG 28:953.76, 81 [108] (Kyzikos area, ca. 25–50 CE); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE): dedication of a *deipnēterion*

Bylaws → *Lex collegii*, νόμος

Contracts

P.Stras. V 341 [224] (Soknopaiou Nesos?, 85 CE)

Court or trial records

P.Ryl. IV 654 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

Declarations

P.Hamb. I 34 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE): declaration of animals owned by a guild of sheep and donkey rearers; P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): declaration

- of agreement to pay for beer; P.Mich IX 543 [232] (Karanis, 135–136 CE):
 declaration (for tax purposes); P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE):
 declaration of membership; PSI VIII 901 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): declaration
 χειρογραφία of an oath of fishermen; I 4549 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE):
 declaration about members in arrears; SB XXII 15787 [242] (Karanis, IV CE):
 declaration of persons liable to liturgies (?).
 – of assignment of a burial benefit: P.Ryl. IV 580 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE)
 – of death: P.Leid.Inst. 62 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE)

Decrees (of the State) regarding associations

- BGU V 1210.240 [234] (Theadelphia, after 149 CE): Gnomon of the Idios Logos;
 P.Phil. 1.18–35 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097 [257]
 (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE)

Decrees (honorific)

- I.Alex.imp. 91 [174] (Alexandria, 4/5 CE); I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64
 BCE); I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (Alexandria,
 5 BCE); OGIS I 50 [242] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6 [244]
 (Ptolemaïs Hermeïou, 285–246 BCE); SB XX 15460 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)

Dedications

- I.Alex.imp. 46 [176] (Alexandria, 20–21 CE); I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] (Alexandria, 25
 CE); I.Alex.imp. 96 [166] (Alexandria, 30 BCE–14 CE); I.Fayum III 204 [200]
 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE); I.Fayum III. 201 [198] (Arsinoites, 95 BCE); I.Fayum
 III 205 [201] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 BCE); I.Fayum III 212 [204] (Arsinoïtes, 3 CE);
 I.Philae II 139 [252] (Philae, 13 BCE); IGRR I 1085 [177] (Alexandria, 23–24 CE);
 IGRR I 1114 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); IVarsovie 44 (→ [154]); JIGRE 9 [157]
 (Alexandria, II BCE); JIGRE 13 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); JIGRE 22 [154]
 (Schedia, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 24 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 27
 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE); JIGRE 117 [186] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE);
 I.Th.Sy. 302 (Syene, 154/3–145 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142
 BCE); OGIS II 729 [155] (Alexandria, 221–205 BCE); SEG 48:1960 → [169]
 (Alexandria, 161–169 CE); SEG 60:1812 [245] (Syene, early III BCE)
 – with ὑπὲρ + genitive → JIGRE 22.1 [154] *Note*.

Delivery orders

- SB VI 9112 [207] (Arsinoites, 27/28 CE)

Diplomas

- P.Lond. III 1178 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE)

Ἐπιδόσεις, subscriptions

- P.Bodl. I 65 [289] (unknown, I CE); P.Oslo. III 144 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275
 CE)

Foundations → θεμελιώω, κτάνομαι, συνάγω, φέρω

- CIL 6.10234 (Rome,); CIL 10.6483; IG II² 1297.4 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II²
 1326 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1012.13–15 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IG II²
 1343.12–14 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1369.25–26 [49] (Lipsoi, ca.
 100 CE); IG II² 1366.21 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG X/2.1 255.17 [77]
 (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IG XI.4 1299 (Delos, before 166 BCE → [117]); IG XII.3
 330 (Thera [Aegean Islands], 210–195 BCE); LSAM 72 (Halikarnassos → [117]);
 Jones 1983 (Lydia → [124]); IMagnMai 215 [143] (Magnesia on the Maeander, ca.

278–250 BCE and 150 CE); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)
 – συνάρω SEG 52:761,9 (Delos, II BCE)

Graphaeion registers

P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Mich. II 123 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE)

Honorific decrees → decrees (honorific)

Imperial or regal letter or decree

JIGRE 125 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE)

Invitations to a banquet

P.Coll.Youtie I 51 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Coll.Youtie I 52 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); P.Köln I 57 = SB X 10496 (Oxyrhynchus, III CE); P.Oxy. I 110 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oslo III 157 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. III 523 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592.2 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE); P.Oxy. LII 3693 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. LXII 4339 (Oxyrhynchus II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 (Oxyrhynchus, III? CE); P.Oxy. XII 1484 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1755 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); PSI XI 1543 (Oxyrhynchus?, II/III CE); P.Yale I 85 (unknown origin, late II CE); SB XVI 12511.5 [231] (Narmouthis, II CE); SB XVIII 13875 (Oxyrhynchus, II/III CE); SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid- to late-III CE)

Judicial proceedings → court records

P.Köln X 414 [261] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Ryl. II 65 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 654 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE); P.Oxy. XXII 2340 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE); P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE)

Letters

P.Lips. II 131 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE); P.Mich. IX 575 [238] (Karanis, 184 CE); letter of resignation; P.Mich.Zen. 57 [185] (Philadelphia, 248 BCE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE); P.Petaus 28 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE); PSI VII 822 [265] (Antinoopolis? 130–199 CE); request.

Lex collegii, νόμος, bylaws

AE (1929) 161 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE); AE 2012, 312 (Ostia, II CE); Agora 16:161 [14] (early III BCE); BGU XIV 2371 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE); CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE); CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE); CIL 8.14683 (Africa proconsularis, II/III CE?); IG II² 1275 [8] (325–275 BCE); IG II² 1283 [23] (240/39 BCE); IG II² 1328 [34] (183/2, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1339 [46] (57/6 BCE); IG II² 1361 [4] (330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1365–66 [53] (late II/early III CE); IG II² 1368 [51] (164/5 CE); IG II² 1369 [49] (II CE); IG IX,1² 670 [61] (mid II CE); LSAM 80 [152] (27 BCE–14 CE); P.Bagnall 42 = P.Tebt. Suppl. 1578 (Tebtynis, 250–210 BCE); P.Berl.Spieg. 3115 = P.Assoc. p. 103–131 (Memnoneia, Theban area [Upper Egypt], 109–8 BCE); P.Cair. 30605 = P.Assoc. p. 73–78 (145 BCE); P.Cair. 30606 = P.Assoc. pp. 45–51 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Cair. 30618 A–B = P.Assoc. pp. 229–236 (Tebtynis, II BCE); P.Cair. 30619 = P.Assoc. pp. 93–97 (137 BCE); P.Cair. 31178 = P.Assoc. pp. 39–40 (179 BCE); P.Cair. 31179 = P.Assoc. pp. 63–68 (147 BCE); P.Dem.Louvre E 7840 bis = P. Louvre Eisenlohr 6 (ed. Françoise de Cenival, “Comptes d’une association religieuse

Thébaïne datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis [P. Démot. Louvre E 7840 bis],” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 37 [1986]: 13–29); P.Enteux. 20.10 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE): θασαιτικὸς νόμος; P.Lille.dem. 29 = P.Assoc. pp. 3–10 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Hamb. 1 = P.Assoc. pp. 59–61 (151 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. II 123.vi.18; ix.45; x.6; xi.36; xvi.12; xvii.38 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124 ii.23 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Mil.Vogl.dem. inv. 77–78 (178 BCE); P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE?); P.Prague.Satzung = P.Assoc. pp. 83–91 (137 BCE); P.Ryl. II 65 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE): reference to bylaws; P.Stan.Green.Dem. inv. 21 (ed. Arlt and Monson, 2010) (Bakchias? 190–170 BCE); P.Würzburg. Akademie der Wissenschaften.dem. 10 (Arsinoites, 245–243 BCE); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 241 (ed. Françoise de Cenival, “Papyrus Seymour de Ricci: Le plus ancien des règlements d’association religieuse [4ème siècle av. J.–C.] [Pap. Bibl. Nationale E 241],” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 39 [1988]: 37–46) (IV BCE); PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); SB III 6704 [285] (Aphrodites Kome, 538 CE); SEG 31:122 [50] (early II CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (II/I BCE).
 – νόμος συνόδο(υ); P.Mich. II 123.vi.18; ix.45; x.6; xi.36 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. II 124 2.23 [216] (Tebtynis 46–47 CE)
 – approval formula (εὐδοκῶ, ἐψηφισμαι, συνφωνεῖ, I approve, I have voted) for bylaws: I.Alex.Mus. 167.11–13 = I.Alex.Ptol. 45 → [163]; P.Mich. V 243.17–31 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): εὐδοκῶ; P.Mich. V 244.45–46 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): ἐψηφισμαι; P.Mich. V 246.20–23 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE): ἐψηφισμαι; P.Mich. V. 247.17–18 [209] (Tebtynis, 40–41 CE): ἐψηφισμαι; P.Mich. V 248.8–10 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE): ἐψηφισμαι; P.Ross. Georg. II 8.1–10 (unknown, II BCE): εὐδοκῶ formula for 10 members of οἱ ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, approving an account of wheat (?); PSI XII 1265.15, 16, 17, 18, 19 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE): συμφωνεῖ.
 – duration of bylaws: one year or 12 ½ months: P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE)

Loan documents

BGU IV 1137 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); SB XXIV 16296 [286] (unknown, 182 or 158 BCE)

Manumissions

P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)
 – *inter amicos*, μεταξύ φίλων: P.Oxy IX 1205.5 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

Membership lists, *alba*

AE 1929, 161.53, 55, 58, 59, 68, 78, 85, 103 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE): 78 named; CIL 6.647.iv.1 (Rome); BGU VII 1615 [223] Philadelphia, 84 CE): 30 members?; CIL 6.7459 (Rome, II CE): 36; CIL 6.9102 (Rome, I CE): 85 names; CIL 11.1355a.33 (Luna, II CE); CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE); CIL 14.250 (Ostia, 152 CE); CIL 14.251 (Ostia, 193 CE); CIL 14.4569.iv.61, v.1 (Ostia, 198 CE); I.Alex.mus. 143 (Memphis, II BCE): 170 members of a κοινὸν τῶν κτιστῶν; IG II² 1292 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE): 8+ men, 1+ woman; IG II² 2348 (Piraeus, IV BCE) 4+ men, 1+ women; IG II² 2354 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE): 10 men, 13 women; IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?): 59 men, 33 women; IG II² 2361 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE); IG II² 4817 (Attica, II/III CE): 15 men, 5 women; SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE): 43+ members (13+ men, 30 women);

I.Philae II 157 [255] (Philae, 8 CE); IK Apameia 114 (Strobilos [Bithynia], 178–187 CE); ILLPRON 610.ii.9, 13; iii.1, 14; iv.1 (Virunum, II CE); NSA 1953, 280 (no. 42) (Ostia, 213 CE); I.Prose I 6 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 302 (Syene, 154/3–145 BCE): mentioned but in lacuna; I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): 30 members; P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE): 19 members; P.Lille.dem. 31 (Souchos Pisais [Arsinoites], III BCE) (11 female members); P.Lille.dem. 97 *verso* = de Cenival 1977, 1–49, pp. 6–12 (Ghōran, late III BCE): 32 women's name preserved; P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): 24 members; P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): 15 members; P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, early I CE): 16 members; P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE): 9 members; P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE): 5 members; P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); PSI VIII 901.10, 19 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): 13 (+ secretary); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 1.v.2.48 [194]; SB III 6184 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 138–137 BCE): 29 members; SB III 6704 [285] (Aphrodites Kome, 538 CE): list missing in lacuna; SB V 8805 [260] (Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 80/81 CE): 5 members; SB XVI 12702 [270] (Oxyrhynchus III CE): 8 members; SEG 60:1812 [245] (Syene, early III BCE): 19 members

Nomination for liturgies

SB XVI 12497 [241] (Theadelphia, 253 CE)

Petitions

BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE); P.Enteux. 20.3 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE); P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE); P.Rain.Cent. 51.2, 4 [159] (Sestis, 99–50 BCE); P.Ryl. II 94 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); P.Würzb. 4 [192] (Philadelphia, after 142 BCE); PSI VIII 901.10, 19 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): 13 (+ secretary).

Price declarations

P.Oxy. LIV 3734 [278] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): similar or related documents; P.Oxy. LIV 3740 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3762 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 326 CE) → [279]; PSI III 202 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)

Proskynēmata

I.Philae II 157 [255] (Philae, 8 CE); SB I 4549.10 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE); SEG 41:1612–1615.9 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)

Recruitment documents

P.Oxy XLV 3261 [281] (Oxyrhynchus, 324 CE)

Requests for payment

P.Laur. IV 155 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 283–292 CE): coppersmiths requesting payment for work done.

Statue bases

I.Alex.imp. 46.2–3 [176] (Alexandria, 20–21 CE); I.Alex.imp. 61 [178] (Alexandria, 25 CE) (?); I.Alex.imp. 65 [181] (Alexandria, I CE, 22 CE?); I.Alex.imp. 90 [167] (Alexandria? 10/9 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 92 [182] (Alexandria, I CE); I.Alex.imp. 93 [172] (Alexandria, early I CE); I.Alex.imp. 97 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE); I.Alex.imp. 98 [183] (Alexandria, second half II CE); I.Alex.imp. 99 [184] (Alexandria, after 212 CE); I.Philae II 139 [252] (Philae, 13 BCE); IGRR I 1095 [163] (Kanopos, 29/28 BCE); IGRR I I 1106 [165] (Naukratis, 30 BCE–14 CE); SB I 639 [164] (Alexandria, 25 BCE)

Subscription → ἐπιδόσεις

Topos inscriptions → building inscriptions

IX.Common Topoi

Banquets → meals

Meals

- CIG II 2007f [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); O.Edfou III 368.1, 7 [251] (Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE); I.Alexandria 98.5 (150–200 CE → [146]); IBoubon 58 (Lycia → [149]); IG X/2.1 70 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102] (Nikomedia, late II–I BCE); IEph 3801 (I CE → [111]); IHistria 57.32–33 (150–200 CE → [129]); ISmryna 728.12 [140] (II CE); IGUR I 241.5 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE); P.FuadUniv. I 25 [292] (unknown, II–III CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.15 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Mich. V 243.7 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.14 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): banquet on the days of the god Augustus; P.Mich. V 245.35 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE); P.Tebt. II 573 (Tebtynis, late I BCE – first half I CE → [214]); SB XXII 15460.16 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE); SEG 31:122 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); SEG 34:1266.4 (Nikomedia, imperial era → [100]); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
- banquets in multiple locations (city and village) I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.4 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.7–9 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE)
- banquet (frequency): one banquet monthly: CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): at least monthly; I.Th.Sy. 303.13–14 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): monthly meetings on the first nine days of the month; I.Varsovie 44 → [154] (unknown, before 241 BCE): κατὰ μῆνα; P.Lond. VII 2193.8 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243.1 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): κατὰ μῆνα; P.Mich. V 244.14 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): κατὰ μῆνα; P.Mich. V 245 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE) *Comment*.
- banquet, patron present: I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)
- costs: P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE) *Comment*; P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE) *Comment*; P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE) *Comment*; P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE) → P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] *Note*; P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE) *passim*; P.Tebt. I 224 [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE)
- equal distributions: CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE); P.Mich. V 245.35 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE)
- funerary banquet, περιδείπνον: P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE)
- venues: P.Oslo III 143.5 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE): *hestiatorion*, Thooniceion (temple of Thonis)

Συμπόσιον, *symposium*

P.Lond. VII 2193.15 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

X. General Index

abortion → miscarriage or abortion

absence, absenteeism → fines

AE (1929) 161.13–15 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE): absence from a funeral; CIL 6.10234.16–18 (Rome, 153 CE); CIL 6.10298.7–9 (Rome, time of Augustus); IG II² 1361.19–20 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1339.13–15 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368.96–99, 162–163 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670.13–15 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); IQS 7.10–12 (Qumran, I BCE) (distinguishes absence from a session (במליצה) and absence from a vote[?]); P.Cair. 30606.11–12, 22 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193.11–12 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58 BCE): attendance is required at all command occasions, meetings, assemblies, and outings; P.Mich. V 243.4 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.7–9 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245.35–37 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE)

– absence from an obligatory meeting: IG II² 1368.96–99 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670.13–17 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE): two types of absenteeism are distinguished: absence from a meeting (σύννοδος); absence from the rituals on the mountain; P.Cair. 30606.22 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193.11–12 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58 BCE): attendance is required at command occasions; P.Mich. V 243.4 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): a distinction between meetings in the village and in the city with different → fines; P.Mich. V 244.7–9 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): a distinction between meetings in the village, a meeting in an unusual place, and in the city with differing → fines; P.Mich. V 245.35–37 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE): meeting in the village (1 dr.) outside the village (4 dr); in the metropolis (8 dr) → fines.

– excusable absences: AE (1929) 161.13–15 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE); CIL 6.10234.16–18 (Rome, 153 CE): being overseas or ‘prohibited by some serious condition’; CIL 6.10298.7–9 (Rome, time of Augustus): legitimate excuses to be decided by the magistrates; IG II² 1339.14–15 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE): mourning or sickness; IG II² 1361.20 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE): poor health; IG II² 1368.50–51 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE): being out of town, in mourning, or ill; P.Cair. 30606.12 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): being ill or in prison or in court; P.Mich. V 244.8 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): the excuse is lost in a lacuna; PSI XII 1265.9 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE): illness, being out of town

– from the funeral of member: IG II² 1368.162–163 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

– absent members entitled to distributions: I.Prose 40.41 [160]; LSAM 72.42–43 = Syll³ 1044 (Halikarnassos [Caria], ca. 300 BCE): ἀποδόντων|σαν ἐκάστῳ μερίδα τῶν τε παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων; Justin, *Apol.* 67.3.

– absent members not entitled to distributions: CIL 6.10234.16–17 (Rome, 153 CE); IG II² 1339.12 [46] (Piraeus, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368.162–63 [51]

accounts, rendering

Agora 16:161.9–10, 16–17 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1263.9–12 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1277.16–17 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1284.26–

27 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1292.7–8 [26] (Athens or Piraeus?, 215/4 BCE); IRhamnous II 59.33–34 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); SEG 2:9.5–6, 11 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); SEG 31:122.30, 40 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

ἀγερμός, collection

IG II² 1328.11, 22 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1329.15 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE)

ἅγιος, holy → σεμνοτάτη

IJO I Mac 1.11 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE): ἅγιος τόπος; SEG 28:421.2 (Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [140]): ἱερὸς ἅγιος

ἀγνός, pure → σεμνοτάτη → Virtues and Vices

IAssos 26 (37 CE → [103]); IEph 213.7 [128] (88/89 CE); IG II² 1369.33 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IMagnMai 215.24 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE and 150 CE); LSAM 80.6 [152] (Elaioussa Sebaste area, ca. 27 BCE–14 CE); Robert 1949, 197–205.12–13 (Tarsos, late II–III CE → [153]); SEG 28:421.5 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 972.11 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); TAM V 1539.35 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE) – ἀγνεύειν, to be pure: IKnidos 160 (350–300 BCE → [142]); SB I 3451 (Ptolemaïs, 1 BCE → [140])

ἀγορά, meeting

IEph 215.3 (II CE → [125]); IG II² 1263.2–3 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1277.2 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1298.7 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1284.20 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1283.3 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1314.2 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.3 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1323.3 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 1325.18, 34 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1328.4, 21 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE); IG II² 1327.2 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1326.2 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1329.2 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1335.3 [43] (Piraeus, 102/1 BCE); IG II² 1337.2 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1334.1–2 [45] (Piraeus, ca. 100 BCE); IG XI,4 1299.9 (Delos, ca. 200 BCE → [117]); ISardBR 17.10 → [120]; SEG 28:953.58, 65 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE) – ἀγορὰν συνάγειν, to convene a meeting: IG II² 1368.4–5 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἀδικέω to be wronged

P.Enteux. 20.1 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE); P.Enteux. 21.1 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE)

aedile → VII. Officers and Functionaries within Associations

CIL 3.633 I [68]

ἄζήμιος free from charges → ἀσύμβολος, ἀτελεία

I.Prose I 40.40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)

ἀκοσμέω, misconduct, act in a disorderly way

IG II² 1368.137 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

album → membership lists

ἄλειτούργητος, exempt from *leitourgiai* → ἀσύμβολος, ἀτελεία

IDionysosJ 7.7–8 [60] (Megara, 141 CE); IEph 4337.12 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]);

I.Prose I 40.40–41 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Oxy. I 40 = Oxyrhynchus, II CE → [175] *Comment*; P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.45 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

altar

CIG II 2007f [66]; IApamBith 33 (123 or 108 BCE → [99]); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); ICiliciaDF 46 (I–II CE → [154]) IEph 1503.12 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IDionysosJ 114.3 (II CE → [117]); IEph 20.A71 [127] (54–59 BCE); IEph 2304.1 → [129]; IEph 275.10, 13 [130] (117–138 CE); IG IV 2.1 106.27–29 (Epidauros, IV

- BCE → [95]); IG X/2.1 506 [80] (Thessalonikē, 209–10 CE); IGBulg V 5434 [89] (Philippopolis, II–III CE); IMagnMai 215.46 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE / 150 CE, copy); IMT 1539 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE); IParium 5 → [107]; IPergamon 374 [111] (128–138 CE); IPergamonAsklep 120 (II BCE → [121]); IPergamonAsklep 85 → [111]; IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8 (I CE → [111]); IPergamonSupp 27 no. 86 (after 158 BCE → [110]); IPerinthos 49 [86] (I CE); IThraceD, letter O, p. 316 (Serdica, ca. 200 CE → [96]); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); SEG 39:649 [84] (Augusta Traiana, II–III CE); SEG 58:1640.33 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE); TAM II 906.3 (Rhodiapolis, II CE → [146]); TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); TAM V 1055.4, 11–12 (Thyateira → [124]); TAM V 1539.11 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)
- ἀναβολικόν, *anabolikon* (tax payable in linen) → taxes
 P.Leid.Inst. 62.8 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE); P.Oxy. XII 1414.4 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE); P.Ryl. IV 654.7 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)
- ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον. announce the ‘crowning’
 I.Prose I 3.9 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 269–246 BCE)
- ἀνεπιμηνιευτος, free from monthly office
 I.Prose I 40.40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)
- ἀμπελουργοί, vinedressers → occupational associations (under section V)
- ἀμφιετηρίς, yearly festival?
 IG II² 1368.43, 69, 112–113, 152 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- ἀναφόριον petition
 P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.13–14 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE)
- ἀνείσφορος, exempt from dues → ἀσύμβολος, ἀτελεία
 IG II² 1368.158 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- ἀναγορεύω τὸν στέφανον, announcement of a crowning
 IEph 22.54–55 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IG II² 1263.37, 43–45 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1277.24 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1273AB.17 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); IG II² 1297.14 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1292.14 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1314.20–21 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.25 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1325.29 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IScM II 7 (late I BCE–early I CE → [101])
- ἀνδριάς, statue → see statue
 IEph 728.33 [131] (162/163 BCE); IEph 22.46 [144] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); IGRR IV 791.21 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); IScM II 60.7–8 (II CE → [98]); MAMA VI 180.B14 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); SEG 28:953.75, 80 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); TAM II 910.7 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); TAM III 4.27, 29 [147] (Termessos, II CE)
- ἀνείσφορος, exempt from contributions/entrance fee → ἀσύμβολος
 I.Prose I 40.41 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)
- ἀπειθής, disobedient
 IG II² 1368.142 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); TAM V 536.5 (Maionia, 171/172 CE → [119])
- ἀπλὴ τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀπλῶς, with a simple soul
 IG II² 1365.26 [53] (Piraeus, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1366.12, 25–26 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

ἀπογραφή, registration

IG II² 1368.34 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Mich IX 543 [232] (Karanis, 135–136 CE); SEG:953.69 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE)

ἀποδημία, ἀποδημέω, out of town, to be out of town → trans mare

IG II² 1339.7 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368.50 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG II² 1365.28 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1366.13 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.12 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); PSI XII 1265.9 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)

Ἀπολλωνιακῇ, *Apollonian*

I.Alex.imp. 70.1 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE)

ἀπολύσιμοι, ἀπολύόμενοι, exempt from liturgical obligations

P.Mich. V 244.3 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): *Comment*; P.Phil. 1.12, 26 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

ἀπόρρησις resignation

P.Lond. VII 2193.17 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. IX 575.8 [238] (Karanis, 184 CE)

applause (κροτῆσαι) prohibited at meetings

IG II² 1368.64 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

apprentices, μαθηταί → ἐκμανθάνω

P.Oxy VII 1029.25 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE); P.Ryl. IV 654.4 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

approval

– of honorary decrees by a vote: IG II² 1343.45 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE);

I.Prose I 40.48, 49 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

– approval formula → εὐδοκῶ

ἀποχώρησις, decamping

P.Bour. 21 (Karanis, 139–145 CE); P.Gen. II 94 (Oxyrhynchus, 63 CE); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE)

archers → occupational associations (under section V)

archives (of the association) → records.

I.Prose I 49.54 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

army

BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE)

arrears → lists

P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); SB I 4549 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE)

ἄρτος, bread

P.Petr. III 136.iii.19 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)

ἀρχέφοδος, chief of police

P.Grenf. II 43.7 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE); P.Soter. 28 (Theadelphia, 91 CE) → [225] *Comment*.

Asians, those from Asia → immigrant or noncitizen associations (under section V)

ἀσπίδεϊον, shield, image → εἰκόν, ὄπλον

I.Prose I 49.34 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

assistance to member in need, imprisoned, or seeking asylum

P.Cair. 30606.22 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 5 shares = 25 deben; PSI XII 1265.11 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)

asylum, ἀσυλεία, ἄσυλον

JIGRE 125.10 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.5 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

ἀσπρατεία, exemption from compulsory service

P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.5 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

ἀσύμβολος, exempt from dues → ἀνείσφορος, ἀτελής, dues

ABSA 56 (1961) 5,5.9 (Cyprus, 114–106 BCE): a decree of Dionysiac artists honoring Isoteles; ASAtene 22 (1939/40) 147,1.5, 10 (Rhodes, II BCE); ID 1519.44 (Delos, 153/2 BCE); IG XII,7 22.9 (Amorgos, III BCE); IG XII,7 241.18 (Amorgos, III BCE); IK Rhod. Peraia 12.5 = Rhodian Peraia 110 (Rhodes, III/II BCE); I.Prose I 40.40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2r1.4 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.55, 90 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

ἀτελεία, exempt from dues, service → ἀνεπιμνηνέυτος, ἀνείσφορος, ἀσύμβολος, ἀτελής, dues

ASAtene 22 (1939/40) 147,1.5, 10 (Rhodes, II BCE); IG II² 1252+999.11 (Athens, late IV BCE); IG XII,1 155.45, 80, 114 (Rhodes, II BCE); IK Rhod. Peraia 12 = Rhodian Peraia 110 (Rhodes, III/II BCE); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.5, 45 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

– exempt for two years (?): IG XII,1 155.45, 80, 114 (Rhodes, II BCE): ἀτελείαις δυσι

ἀτελής, exempt from dues, service

IDionysosJ 7.6 [60] (Megara, 141 CE); IG II² 1361.3 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IMT 1431.6 (Kyzikos → [108]); IGUR I 241.5 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146])

athletic games

IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE); IEph 728.16–17 [131] (162/163 CE); IMiletos 939.2–3 [134] (ca. 150–200 CE); IEph 22.6–8, 42, 65 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)

Ἀττίδεια, Attideia, Festival of Attis

IG II² 1315.10 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE)

αὐτήτης, flute player

P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2v2.47 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.37, 93 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

ἀφέσιμοι, exempt from dues → ἀσύμβολος, ἀτελεία

P.Tebt. I 224r.2.3 [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE)

ἀφηρωῖζω, to heroize

IG II² 1326.46 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE)

ἀφιλαργγῶς, selflessly, not being addicted to money

IG II² 1343.25 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)

Ἀφροδείτη, Aphrodite, as a part in a Bacchic play

IG II² 1368.124–25 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἀφυδρεύμα, ἀφειδρύμα, ἀφιδρύμα, statue, thing set up

Philipp II 142/G562.5 [70] (II–III CE)

Βακχεΐα, Bacchic days

IG II² 1368.8, 16, 27, 37, 43, 56, 101, 148 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

Βακχεῖον, sanctuary of Bacchus

IG II² 1368.8, 16, 27, 37, 43, 56, 101, 148 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE)

bankers

Philipp II 410/G258 [67]; MAMA III 771 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [153])

banquet

CIG II 2007f [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); IAlexandria 98.5 (150–200 CE → [146]); IBoubon 58 (Lycia → [149]) IEph 3801 (I CE → [111]); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 70 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67); IGUR I 241.5 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); IHistria 57.32–33 (150–200 CE → [129]); IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102] (Nikomedia, late II–I BCE); ISmyrna 728.12 [140] (II CE); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); SEG 31:983 (Söke, II–I BCE → [143]); SEG 34:1266.4 (Nikomedia, imperial era → [100]); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)

– funeral banquet, περὶ δειπνον: P.Ryl. IV 589.68–69 (Philadelphia, 180 BCE);

P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111

BCE, or 76–75 BCE)

barbers → occupational associations (under section V)

beer

P.Mich. V 322b [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE); SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE)

– consumption of beer per member: P.Mich. V 245.35 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); 1

chous per member (3.25 l.); P.Mich. V 322b [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE) *Comment*; SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE) *Comment*: 3.5–4.0 litres.

benefaction → εὐεργετέω

AE 1977, 802 (Temenothyrai, late I or early II CE → [114]); AE 1997, 1425

(Thyateira, ca. 238 CE → [123]); IAnazarbos 3 (136 CE → [153]); IAnazarbos 4 (207

CE → [153]); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); IAssos 20 [103] (27bce–37 CE);

IEph 2065 (ca. 160 CE → [129]); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); IG XII,3 1296.21–25

(Thera, II BCE → [130]); IG X/2.1 506 [80] (Thessalonikē, 209–10 CE); IGLAM 648

(post 212 CE → [117]); IGRR III 360 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); IGRR IV 791

[115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); IHistria 57.25–33 (150–200 CE → [129]);

IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia, late I CE or early II CE); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or

Phokaia, III CE); IJO II 43 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106]); ILaodikLyk 82 (I–II CE →

[116]); IMiletos 1138–1139 (ca. 150–200 CE → [134]); IMiletos 939 [134] (ca. 150–

200 CE); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos, I BCE–I CE → [108]); INikaia II.1 73*, addenda, p. 327

(I or II CE → [149]); IPergamonSupp 27 no. 86 (after 158 BCE → [110]); IPessinous

18 [151] (180–200 CE); I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IPrusaOlymp 24 →

[146]; IPrusaOlymp 48 (150–200 CE → [102]); IRhamnous II 59 [27] (after 216/15

BCE); ISmyrna 639 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 653 (I–II CE → [138]); ISmyrna

697 [139] (after 124 CE); ITrall 74 (III CE → [115]); MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia,

mid-to late-I CE → [113]); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); PIR² C 1637

- (Pergamon, after 142 CE → [110]); P.Lond. VII 2193.8–10 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE): president expected to supply the monthly meal; SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); SEG 32:1236 (Sardis, ca. 150 BCE → [121]); TAM III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); TAM V 1098 [124] (Thyateira area, I CE); TAM V 449 (Iaza, 223/224 CE → [119]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); TAM V 986 (Thyateira, 220s–230s CE → [123])
- bequest → endowments and donations
- birthdays (of members) celebrated
CIL 14.326 (Ostia)
- bis honorati*, -ae, twice honored → ἀτελεία
CIL 6.5744 (Rome): *bis honoratae*, *bis honorati*
- βουκολικός, βουκόλος cowherd in a Bacchic play
IG II² 1368.123 [51] (Athens, Athens, 164/65 CE); IPergamon 485.1, 7 [110] (I CE); IPergamonSupp AM 24, 1899, no. 31.14 → [110]
- bread
IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IPergamon 374.B5, 9, 11, 12, C5, 7–9, D9, 11, 19 [111] (129–138 CE); IJO II 196.7 [116] (late II–III CE); IEph 215 (late II CE → [125]); SEG 31:983 (Söke, II–I BCE → [143])
- brother, ἀδελφός, → frater
P.Petaus 28.1 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE)
- buildings
CIL 3.633 [68] (Philippi, II CE); ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE → [148]); IEph 1162 (ca. 138–61 CE → [129]); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 20 [127] (54–69 CE); IGUR I 241 (Rome, ca. 200 CE → [146]); IJO II 146 (Thyateira, ca. 120–220 CE → [152]); IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia, late I CE or early II CE); IJO II 26 (Nysa, I BCE → [144]); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); IJO II 46 [Teos, III CE → [141]]; IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IMagnMai 117 (early II CE → [143]); IMiletos 935 [133] (ca. 120 CE); ISardBR 17 → [120]; ISmyrna 728 [129] (after 124 CE); IVarsovie 44.5 (→ [154]); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); TAM V 991 (Thyateira, → [123])
- burial → ταφικόν, θαμνισμός, ταφή
CIG II 2007f [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); CIL 3.633 I.15 [68a] (Philippi, II CE); EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE); I CE; ICiliciaBM II 201 (Lamos, I CE → [150]); IEph 2213 → [150]; IEph 2304 → [129]; IG II² 10248 [55] (Athens, III CE); IG II² 1275 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1278 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1323 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 1368.159–161 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG VII 686 [57] (Tanagra, II BCE); IG VII 687 [57] (Tanagra, ca. 200 BCE); IG VII 688 [57] (Tanagra); IG X/2.1 506 [80] (Thessalonikē, 209–10 CE); IHierapJ 69 (ca. 150–200 CE → [116]); IJO I Mac 15 [82] (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE?); IJO II 171 (Akmoneia, 212–295 CE → [113]); IJO II 191 (Hierapolis, ca. 200 CE/after 250 CE → [116]); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IKosS EF 458 (I BCE → [136]); I.Prose I 40.43 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); ISmyrna 218 → [150]; ISmyrna 295 (II–III CE → [106]); P.Cair. 30606.13 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Enteux. 20 [189]

(Magdôla, 221 BCE); P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); PRyl IV 580.1, 5 [287] (unknown provenance; SB XXIV 16224 [291] (unknown, I/II CE); SEG 26:614 [59] (Aulis, ca. 200 BCE); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); SEG 42:625 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE)
 – cost, expenses: IG II² 1278 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); P.Amh. II 125v → [291] (Arsinoites, late I CE); P.Giss. I 68 → [291] (Apollonopolis, 117 CE); SB XXIV 16224 [291] (unknown, I/II CE); StudPap XXII 56 → [291] (Soknopaiou Nesos, II–III CE)
 – funerary commemoration: Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); ILaodikLyk 82 (I–II CE → [116]); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE); IBoubon 58 (Lycia → [149])

βωμός, altar → altar

CIG II 2007f.6 [66] (Kassandraia, I CE); Philipp II 133/G441.7 [69] (II–III CE); IPergamon 374.29 [111] (129–138 CE); TAM V 1539.11 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); TAM V 966.24 [125] (Thyateira, II–III CE); IEph 20.71 [127] (54–59 CE); ISmryna 728.10, 13 [140] (II CE); IMagnMai 215.46 [143]

Caesar's household

IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE); IGBulg V 5434 [89] (Philippopolis, II–III CE); IAssos 26 (37 CE → [103]); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE → [108]); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia, I CE → [113]); IMiletos 156 (I CE → [144]); IAsMinVers 8 (Kastolupedion, I BCE → [152])

Capitoline games

P.Oslo. III 144 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE)

children

Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IPamBith 103 [100] (ca. 250–300 CE); IAsMinVers 8 (Kastolupedion, I BCE → [152]); IBosp 75 [94] (Pantikapaion, ca. 150–125 BCE); ICiliciaDF 46 (I–II CE → [153]); IDionysosJ 180 (Tusculum, II CE → [100]); IEph 1677 (mid–late II CE → [129]); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 2304 → [129]; IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE); IEph 3216 (II–III CE → [129]); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IG II² 4671 (Attica, late IV–III BCE → [120]); IG II² 11674 (Athens, II CE → [100]); IG II² 6214 (Attica, IV BCE → [102]); IGUR 1169 (Rome, III–IV CE → [100]); IGUR 1228 (Rome, I–II CE → [100]); IJO II 171 (Akmoneia → [113]); IJO II 191 (ca. 200 CE–250 BCE → [116]); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IJO II 205 (Hierapolis, ca. 150–200 CE → [116]); IKyme 37 [105] (Kyme, late I BCE–early I CE); IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8 (I CE → [111]); IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102] (II–I BCE); ISmryna 215 (I CE → [129]); ISmryna 600.1–18 (157–158 CE → [137]); ISmryna 654 (I–II CE → [138]); Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1] (ca. 180–250 CE → [116]); SEG 21:703 (Athens, ca. 98–102 CE → [146]); SEG 34:1266 (Nikomedia → [100]); TAM V 1055 (Thyateira, II–III CE → [124]); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); TAM V 477 (Sattai, 240/241 CE → [100]); TAM V 991 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124])

Christianoi, Christians

IG X/2.1 291 [79] (Thessalonikē, ca. 190 CE); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?); SB XVI 12497.50 [241] (Theadelphia, 253 CE); P.Oxy XLV 3261 [281] (Oxyrhynchus, 324 CE) *Comments*

citizenship

SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); IKyme 17 [104] (28/27 BCE); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE); IMiletos 360 (80–82 CE → [128]); TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); IAsMinVers 8 (Kastolupedion, I BCE → [152]); Robert 1949, 197–205 (late II–III CE → [153])

city, relationships of associations with the polis or civic élite

IAph 12.719 [142] (117–138 CE); ICiliciaBM II 201 (I CE → [150]); IDionysosJ 7 [60] (Megara, 141 CE); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 215 (late II CE → [125]); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); IG II² 1339 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IGLAM 656 (post–212 CE → [117]); IGRR III 360 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); IGRR IV 791 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia, late I–early II CE); IJO II 223 [150] (Tlos, late I CE); IKibyra 63 (ca. 150 CE → [115]); IKyme 17 [104] (28/27 BCE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE–early I CE); ILaodikLyk 82 → [116]; IMagnMai 215 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE/150 CE, copy); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [108]); IPergamonSupp AM 29, 1904, no. 8 (I CE → [111]); IPrusaOlymp 17 (II CE → [146]); ISmryna 653 [138] (I–II CE); ITrall 86 [145] (Tralleis, post–132 CE); LSAM 48 (Miletos, III CE → [132]); MAMA VI 180 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia, mid–late I CE → [113]); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE); TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); TAM III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); TAM V 1098 [124] (Thyateira, I CE); TAM V 1497 (ca. 250 CE → [117]); TAM V 924 (Thyateira, 50 BCE → [123]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE → [123]); TAM V 991 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124])

clock

Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE)

clothing

P.Köln X 414 [261] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE)

collegia, Roman suppression of

IG II² 1339 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IEph 215 (II CE → [125])

coloniae, civic slaves

CIL 3.633 II.A.3; B.4, 5; C.7 [68b] (Athens, Philippi, II CE)

complaint

P.Enteux. 20 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE); P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE)

compulsory service → λειτουργία, *leitourgia*

confession inscriptions → reconciliation inscriptions

conflict

– abuse, insult: IG II² 1368.74–75, 78, 79 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670.9, 11 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE)

- between guilds: P.Ryl. IV 654 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)
- conflict over seating: IG II² 1368.74 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- fighting: IG II² 1369.43–44 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); SEG 31:122.6 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 1368.71, 73, 80–83, 89–90, 94–95 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670.9, 11 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE)

Constitutio Antoniniana

- SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); IJO I Mac 15 [82] (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE?)

contributions

- I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): for the sacrifices and libations;
- LSAM 80 [152] (Elaïoussa Sebaste area, ca. 27 CE–14 CE); P.FuadUniv. I 25 [292] (unknown, II–III CE): 12 dr. 4 obols; P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE): contributions of wine, wheat, myrrh, crowns; ST 158.11–29 (Coptos, 30 BCE)
- failure to contribute: SB I 4549 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE)
- in the case of marriage: IG II² 1368.130 [51]; P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]: 2 dr.; SB III 6704.18 [285] (Aphroditēs Kome, 538 CE): two jars (*angia*) of wine, but if the wife is the daughter of a member, 1 jar.
- if the member's wife gives birth to a female child: P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]: 1 dr.
- if the member's wife gives birth to a male child: P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]: 2 dr.
- if a member purchases donkeys: P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]: 1 dr.
- if a member purchases a flock of sheep: P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]: 4 dr.
- if a member purchases land: P.Mich. V 243.5 [206]: 4 dr.
- individual contributors to associations: IKios 22 [101] (late Hellenistic or early imperial); IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102] (II–I CE); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)
- late contributions: P.Tebt. III/2 894 frag 1r2.6 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)
- list of contributors: CIL 6.633a [68] (Philippi, II CE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE–early I CE); IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); ISmyrna 697 [139] (after 124 CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); SEG 41:1329 [148] (Termessos area, late II CE)
- public service contributors: IGRR IV 791 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); IGLAM 648 (post–212 CE → [117]); TAM V 991 (Thyateira → [123]); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IHistria 57 (150–200 CE → [129]); TAM III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE)

conventio → *lex*

copper inflation

- P.Petr. III 136.1 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE) *Note*

crown → στέφανος

cult table → τραπέζα

curialis, a member of the body of magistrates

- IG X/2.1 506 [80] (Thessalonikē, 209–10 CE)

currency devaluation

- P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE) *Comment*

γενεαλογήσειν, to discuss genealogies (pedigrees)

P.Lond. VII 2193.15 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

γέρδιοι, weavers → occupational associations (under section V)

γερουσιαστής: *gerousiastēs*, member of the elders' council

SEG 39:649 [84] (Augusta Traiana, II–III CE); Histria 57.26 (150–200 CE → [129])

γναφεῖς, κναφεῖς, fullers → occupational associations (under section V)

– exempt from *leitourgia*: P.Phil. 1.32 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

γυμνασιάρχος, *gymnasiarchos*, superintendent of athletic training

IByzantion 37.3 [91] (117–137 CE); MAMA VI 180.A4, 7, B.4–5 (Apameia

Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); IEph 4337.8 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IEph 1162.11

(ca. 138–61 CE → [129]); IPessinous 17.8 (150–200 CE → [151])

dancing

SEG 35:1327 [97] (Amastris, 155 CE); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); SEG

34:1266 (Nikomedia area, imperial era → [100]); TAM V 477 (Saittai, 240/241 CE

→ [100]); IDionysosJ 180 (Tusculum, II CE → [100]); IPergamonSupp AM 24,

1899, no. 31 (II CE → [110]); ISmryna 654 (I–II CE → [138])

δαπάνη, expense

I.Prose I 49.18 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE): χάριν τῆς <δ>απάνης; expenses P.Oslo III

143.7 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE)

– association providing president with funds to cover his expenses: I.Prose I 49.25

[170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

– refusal to serve as an officer owing to the expense: I.Prose I 49.18–19 [170]

(Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

δασύνω, to “cloud” (= create dissension)

BGU XIV 2371.4 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.18 [199]

(Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

date of (regular) assembly (and deity or hero, if known)

– *Anthesterion* 3: SEG 2:9 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE) (Bendis)

– Elaphebolion 8: IG II² 1368.3 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE) (Dionysos)

– Elaphebolion ? : IG II² 1323 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE) (unknown deity)

– Hekatombaion 8: IG II² 1283 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE) (Bendis)

– Hekatombaion 17–18: Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE) (Hero and Heroines)

– Mounichion: IG II² 1301 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE) (Bendis or the Mother of the

Gods?); IG II² 1314 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE) (Mother of the Gods); IG II² 1315 [29]

(Piraeus, 211/0 BCE) (Mother of the Gods); IG II² 1328 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B:

175/4 BCE) (Mother of the Gods); IG II² 1327 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE) (Mother of

the Gods); IG II² 1329 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE) (Mother of the Gods); IG II² 1334.1

[45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE) (Mother of the Gods?); IG II² 1335 [43] (Piraeus,

101/0 BCE) (Sabazios)

– Mounichion 6: IG II² 1343.6–7 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE) (Artemis Sotereia)

– Mounichion 17: IG II² 1277 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE)

- Mounichion 18: IG II² 1369 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); SEG 31:122.2 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE) (Herakles)
- Poseideon: IG II² 1325 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE) (Dionysos); IG II² 1326 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE) (Dionysos)
- Pyanopson 5: IG II² 1263 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE)
- Skirophorion: IG II² 1298.7 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE) (Artemis Kalliste); Skirophorion IG II² 1337 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE) (Syrian Aphrodite Hagne/Atargatis)
- Skirophorion 8: IG II² 1284 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE) (Bendis)
- Soterios 13: TAM III 4 + 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE)
- ἐνάρτας meetings on the ninth day of each month: IG II² 1368.43, 69 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE) (Dionysos)

date of other assembly

- Hekatombaion* (not the regular assembly) IG II² 1316 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE) (Mother of the Gods)

daughters

- Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IApamBith 35 [99] (Apameia Myrleia area, 119 or 104 BCE); IBosp 75 [94] (Pantikapaion, ca. 150–125 BCE); IBoubon 58 (Lycia → [149]); ICariaR 162 (Apollonia Salbake, 120–210 CE → [148]); IDionysosJ 180 (Tusculum, II CE → [100]); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 2213 → [150]; IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IJO II 205 (Hierapolis, ca. 150–200 CE → [116]); IJO II 206 (Hierapolis, ca. 150–200 CE → [116]); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); ILeukopetra 16 (184/185 CE → [95]); IMagnMai 215 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE and 150 CE); IMT 1431(Kyzikos, I BCE–I CE → [108]); IPergamonAsklep 85 → [111]; IPergamonSupp AM 24, 1899, no. 31 → [110]; ISmryna 697 [139] (after 124 CE); MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia, I CE → [113]); SEG 17:503 (Miletos, late III BCE or II BCE → [143]); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); TAM III 4 + 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); TAM V 1002 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124])

decretum publicum → *lex*

decuria

- CIL 3.633 III [68] (Philippi, II CE); IEph 215 (late II CE → [125])

de suo, at one's own expense → *posteris suis*, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

- CIL 3.633 I.3, 19 [68a] (Philippi, II CE)

death of a member → burial

death, declaration of (for taxation purposes)

- P.Oxy. II 262 (Oxyrhynchus, 61 CE) → [222]: *Comment.*

debt (of an association member)

- BGU XIV 2371.1 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Würzb. 4 [192] (Philadelphia, after 142 BCE)

debtors → bailiffs

- names inscribed on a stele: IG II² 1361.14–15 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); Agora 16:161.5–8 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE)

δειπνῆσαι, to dine

P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE)

δειπνητήριον, *deipnētērion*, dining room → ἐστιατορείον

I.Fayum I 87 (Karanis, 69–79 CE); I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE); SEG 41:1638.1 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE)

δένδρα, trees (in a sacred grove as a source of income)

IG II² 2499.15 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE)

δημοσία, public courts

IG II² 1368.93 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

– δημοσία χρεία, public service: P.Ryl. IV 654.6 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

διὰ βίου, for life (used of an office)

BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); IDionysosJ 7.5 [60] (Megara, 141 CE);

IG II² 1328 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2, 175/4 BCE) (attendant); IG II² 1326.36 [36]

(Piraeus, 176/5 BCE) (priesthood); IG II² 1368.7 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG II²

2361.10, 68 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE) (priest; priestess); I.Prose I 3.4 [243]

(Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.3 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–

246 BCE); I.Prose I 40.12, 27, 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.21

[170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE) (high priesthood); P.Lond. III 1178.50 [267]

(Hermopolis, 200–212 CE) (president); SB XXII 15460.5–6 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)

διαβολή, calumny

P.Mich. V 243.8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)

δικαιοσύνη → Virtues and Vices

Diocletian persecution

P.Oxy XLV 3261 [281] (Oxyrhynchus, 324 CE) *Comments*

Διόνυσος, Dionysos as a part in a Bacchic play

IG II² 1368.124 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

διπλᾶ, double share → *sesquiple*

IPergamon 374.15 [111] (129–138 CE); I.Prose I 40.41 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64

BCE); I.Prose I 49.39 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis,

early III CE); SB I 4549.9 [269] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE): double fines for those in arrears; SEG 31:122.19 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

disorderly conduct (ἀκοσμέω, θορυβέω)

IG II² 1368.64, 137–38 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IEph 215 (late II CE → [125])

IG II² 1368.90–94 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.17 [199]

(Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE) *Note*; P.Mich. V 243.7–8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)

dispute settlement (members prohibited from taking other members to court)

distributions of food or sacrificial meat → διπλᾶ, *sesquiple*

Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IHistria 57 (150–200 CE → [129])

distributions of money or *sportulae*

IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IEph 2212 [126] (41–54 CE) IHistria 57

(150–200 CE → [129]); IEph 2304 → [129]; TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)

– income from rental property distributed yearly on the birthday of Hadrian: IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)

δόγμα, rule, regulation → νόμος

IG II² 1343.38–39 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1368.10, 15, 16–17, 22–23 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); ITrall 74.12 (III CE → [115]); IGRR III 360.15 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); ISmryna 697.36 [139] (after 124 CE)

Dodona, oracle at

IG II² 1283.6 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE)

δοκιμάζω, to examine (new members)

IG II² 1361.23–24 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1369.34 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1368.35, 54 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); ISmryna 218.7 (II CE → [150])

donatio mortis causa

CIL 3.633 I.15 [68a] (Philippi, II CE)

donations → endowments and donations

donkey drivers → occupational associations (under section V)

donkey sacrifice

SEG 41:1612–1615.3 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)

dreams (as foundations of cults): Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 1.28–30 → ὄνειρον, ὄναρ, ὕπνος.

CMRDM 4:137: dedication to Men [κα]τὰ ὄναρ); IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IG XI/4 1299.14 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IMakedD 7 (Edessa, III CE); Kaunos 23 (Küçükale; no date): κ]αθ' ὄραμα; SEG 42:157 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE); IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); TAM V 1539.4 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)

drinking

BGU XIV 2371.5 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE): οἰνοποσία; IGBulg III/2 1626 [85] (Augusta Traiana, III CE); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); IHistria 57 (150–200 CE → [129]); ICariaR 162 (Apollonia Salbake, 120–210 CE → [148]); P.Mich. V 244.14 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE)

dues → ἀνείσφορος, ἀσυμβολός, ἀτελεία, ἀτελής, ἐπιμήνιον, *immunes*, συμβολαί, *stipes menstrua*, φορά

CIL 14.2112.12, 23 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): 5 *asses* [HS 1.25] monthly; IG II² 1252+999.11 [6]: χοῦς; IG II² 1291 [19] (mid III BCE); IG II² 1298.18–20 [20] (248/7 BCE); IG II² 1339.7–9 [46] (57/6 BCE): 6 dr. for sacrifices, payable also by those in Athens but absent without a legitimate excuse; those with an excuse pay 3 dr.; IG II² 1368.46–47 [51] (164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670.5–6 [61] (mid II CE): 14 obols; I.Prose I 40.41 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): contributions for the sacrifices and libations; P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE); P.Cair. 30606.7–9 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) (10 deben = 200 *ae* dr.); P.FuadUniv. I 25 [292] (unknown, II–III CE): 12 dr. 4 obols for a symposium; P.Lille.dem. 29.6 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 1 kite (= 2 dr.); P.Lond. VII 2193.20 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE): 100–20 dr.; P.Mich. II 127.ii.33 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): συμβολαί; P.Mich. V 243.2 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): 12 silver drachmae, ἐπιμήν[ι]ον; P.Mich. V 244.19 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): συμβολαί; P.Mich. V 246 [211]

(Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): ranging from 10 dr.–24 dr.; P.Petr. III 136.iii [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE): 100 dr. (= 0.20 ar dr.); P.Tebt. I 119.56 (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224r [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE): 105 dr. (= 0.22 ar dr.); P.Tebt. III/2 894 frag 3v1.4–18 and passim [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE): 100 dr. (= 0.20 ar dr.); SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE); SEG 31:122.42 [50] (Liopesi [Attica], early II CE)

– differing amounts: P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE): 20–100 dr.; P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): depending on one's place at the table; SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE)

– dues relative to subsistence P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE)

Comment.

– ἐπιμήνιον, monthly dues: P.Mich. V 243.2 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): 12 silver drachmae.

– late payment: P.Tebt. III/2 894 frag 1r2.6 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

– μηνιαία φορά monthly dues: IG II² 1368.46–47 [51] (164/65 CE)

– nonpayment of dues: P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

– συμβολάς καὶ ἐράνους φέρειν: Philo, *Ebr.* 20–21

– exempt, immune from dues: ABSA 56 (1961) 5.5.9 (Cyprus, 114–106 BCE): a decree of Dionysiac artists honoring Isoteles; ASAtene 22 (1939/40) 147, 1.5, 10 (Rhodes, II BCE); CIL 6.10234.12 (Rome, 153 CE); ID 1519.44 (Delos, 153/2 BCE); I.Delta I 446.40 (Psenamosis [Kôm Tukala], Egypt; II BCE); IDionysos J 7.6 [60] (141 CE); IK Rhod. Peraia 12 = Rhodian Peraia 110 (Rhodes, III/II BCE); IG II² 1361.3 [4] (330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1368.158–159 [51] (164/65 CE) (for the treasurer); IG XII,1 155.II.45, 80, 114 (Rhodes, II BCE); IG XII,7 22.9 (Amorgos, III BCE); IG XII,7 241.18 (Amorgos, III BCE); P.Tebt. I 224 recto r.2 [196] (Kerkeosiris, 109/8 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 2r1.4 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.55, 90 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE).

– underpayment of dues: P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 4.v.2 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

duplicarius, entitled to a double portion → διπλᾶ, *sesquiple*x

CIL 13.2026.6 (Lugdunum, II CE)

dyers → occupational associations (under section V)

eagle

SEG 46:744 [65]

ἐγγυῶν, to stand surety → ἐνεχυράζειν, seize a surety

P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29.22 [188]; P.Mich.Zen. 57.3 [185] (Philadelphia, 248 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.9 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE);

P.Mich. V 244.9–10 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 245.40 [219]; P.Würzb. 4.13–14 [192]

ἐγκαλεῖν, ἐνκαλεῖν, to bring a suit (against another member)

BGU XIV 2371.2 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE)

ἐγκτησις, ἐνκτησις, the right to own property

IG II² 337 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE); IG II² 1283.5 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE)

‘Egyptian contract’

P.Ryl. II 65 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE)

Egyptian gods → Isis, Sarapis, Anubis (under section III)

ἔθνος, association

P.Ryl. II 65.3 [249] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE)

εἰκόν, image, statue

IG II² 1012.17 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IG II² 1314.18 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE);

IG II² 1327.24 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1334.18 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE); I.Prose I 40.10, 17, 25, 33, 47 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 6.22 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

εἰσέρχομαι, to enter, join (the association)

IG II² 1368.54, 72 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἐκ κοινῶν χρημάτων from common funds → contrast ἐκ τῶν ιδίων.

I.Alex.imp. 70.2–3 [180] (Alexandria, early I CE)

ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, from his own resources, at his own expense → *de suo, pecunia sua*

IG II² 1271.10–11 [13] (Piraeus ?, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1316.10 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1297.6 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1324.8 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1327.9–10 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1326.11 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); AM 66:228.8 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); EKM I.Beroia 22.4 [63]; Philippi II 142/G562.9–11 [70] (II–III CE); I.Prose I 49.25 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IScM II 60.8 (II CE → [98]); PIR² C 1637.13 (Pergamon, 142 CE → [110]); IPergamon 374.29 [111] (129–138 CE); MAMA VI 180.7, 19 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 → [115]); TAM V 932.7 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 995.18 (Thyateira → [124]); TAM V 966.4 [125] (Thyateira, II–III CE); IEph 1503.13 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 275.12 [130] (117–138 CE); Robert 1949, 197–205.16 (Tarsos, II–III CE → [153]); IPerinthos 168.3 (after 212 CE → [153])

ἐκδόσις, loan

SEG 31:122.43 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

ἐκθεσις, payments

P.Athen. 41.1 [290]

ἐκκλησία, meeting, assembly; sometimes equivalent to δῆμος, ‘the People’

– meeting, assembly (of a civic assembly): IG II² 337.15 [3]; 340.6–7 (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE); IGRR IV 791.5 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE) and frequently especially in Athens.

– meeting, assembly (of a private association): ID 1519.1, 5 (Delos, 153/2 BCE); IG XII,6 1:133.1–4 (Samos, II BCE): ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἁλειφομένοις ἐν τῇ γεροντικῇ παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν; ISinuri 73 (Sinuri [Caria], 350/44 BCE): [ἔδοξεν] Πελεκωδος συγγενεῦσι | [συ]νελθοῦσι πᾶσιν· *vacat* | [ἐκκλ]ησίης κυρίης γενομένης.

ἐλαιουργοί, oil workers

– exempt from *leitourgiae*: P.Phil. 1.31 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); SB XVI 12497.44 [241] (Theadelphia, 253 CE)

ἐκμανθάνω, to be apprenticed → μαθητής

P.Ryl. IV 654.17 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

election → χειροτονέω

CIL 6.10234.5, 6 (Rome, 153 CE): *liberi adlegantur* (to membership); CIL 11.970 (Regium Lepidum, 190 CE): election of a patron; CIL 14.2112.29 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): *electi ex corpore n(ostro) homines tres* (to arrange a funeral); P.Mich. V 245.4 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE): προχειρίσαι; PSI XII 1265.20 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)

ἐλευθερώω, to set free (manumit)

– ἡλευθερώσαμεν καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν, we have manumitted and discharged: P.Oxy IX 1205.5–6, 7, 10 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

ἐλευθέρωσις, manumission

P.Oxy IX 1205.1, 5–6, 7, 10, 27 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

emperor → section IIB

IAnazarbos 3 (136 CE → [153]); IAnazarbos 4 (207 CE → [153]); IAph 12.719 [142] (Aphrodisias, 117–138 CE); IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 213 [128] (88/89 CE); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IEph 2304 → [129]; IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE); IEph 3068 (110–120 CE → [129]); IEph 3329 (Apateirenion, 98–117 CE → [130]); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); IEph 719 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); IEph 972 (ca. 120 CE → [137]); IGBulg V 5434 [89] (Philippopolis, II–III CE); IKyme 17 [104] (28/27 BCE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IMiletos 156 (I CE → [144]); IMiletos 940a–h [135] (II–V CE); IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE); IScM II 60 (II CE → [98]); ISmyrna 600.1–18 (157–158 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 731 (80–83 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 732 (80s or 150s–60s CE → [137]); Robert 1949, 197–205 (late II–III CE → [153]); SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); SEG 21:703 (Athens, ca. 98–102 CE → [146]); SEG 36:1207 (Milyas, 5/4 BCE → [147]); TAM V 1002 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123]); TAM V 966 (Thyateira, II–III CE → [125])

emperor worship → imperial cults

ἔμποροι, merchants → occupational associations (under section V)

endowments and donations

CIL 3.633 I [68a] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 5.1872 (Rome, late II CE): HS10,000; CIL 5.7906 (Cemelenum, Gallia Cisalpina): unknown amount; CIL 6.10231 (Rome, II/III CE): donation of a *scola*; CIL 6.10234 (Rome, 153 CE): HS60,000; CIL 6.647 (Rome): HS2000; CIL 6.9254 (Rome, I CE): 5,000 den.; CIL 9.9.5568 (Tolentinum, Picenum): HS10,000; CIL 10.6483 (Ulubrae, time of Hadrian): donation of meeting and dining space; CIL 11.126 (Ravenna): HS30,000; CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): HS15,000; CIL 14.246 (Ostia, 140–172 CE): HS4000; IEph 2213 → [150]; IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 260 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE); IG X/2.1 70 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67 CE) (4 columns); IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); I.Prose I 40 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE): endowment (of land); I.Prose I 40.38 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE): endowment (of 1000 dr.); IRhamnous II 59

- [27] (after 216/15 BCE); ISmryna 218 (II CE → [150]) Jordanis–Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [129]); MAMA VI 180 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); Philipp II 133/G441.13–16 [69] (II–III CE) (150 den.); SEG 31:122.10–11 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
 – books, properties: IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)
 ἐνεχυράζειν, seize a surety → ἐγγυάω, to stand surety
 SB XXIV 16296.12 [286] (unknown, 182 or 158 BCE)
 ἐντάγιον entrance fee → entrance fees
 P.Lond. III 1178.43 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE): 100 dn.
 entertainment
 SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)
 entrance criteria (moral)
 IG II² 1368.36–37 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); ISmryna 728 [140] (II CE)
 entrance fees, (ε)ισηλύσιον, εισόδιον, ἐντάγιον
 CIL 6.10234.6–7 (Rome, 153 CE): one-half of the funeral dues; CIL 14.2112 (Lanuvium, 136 CE): 100 sesterces [25 dn.], an amphora of good wine; IG II² 1361.22 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1339.17 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE): 30 drachmae; SEG 31:122.39 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE): a sacrifice; IG II² 1368.37–38 [51] (164/65 CE); IPergamon II 374.D.17–22 [111] (129–138 CE); I.Prose I 40.41 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); ISmryna 732 (80s or 150s–160s CE → [137]); P.Lond. III 1178.43 [267] (Hermopolis, 200–212 CE): ἐντάγιον, 100 dn.; P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE)
 – exempt from dues: I.Prose I 40.17, 31 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)
 εορτὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, festival of the god
 IG II² 1368.44 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
 ἐξακολουθεῖω, ἐξακολου[ουθη]σαι, accompany to the grave
 P.Enteux. 20.5 [189] (Magdōla, 221 BCE)
 ἐξέδρα, colonnade or an out-building (?)
 JIGRE 28.5 (Athribis, II/I BCE)
 ἐξεταστής, tax inspector
 P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE)
 ἐξωτικοί, outsiders
 IPergamon 374.C12 [111] (129–138 CE)
 ἐπήκοος, who listens (epithet of a deity)
 JIGRE 13.4 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE)
 ἐπιδίδωμι, contribute
 IG II² 1301 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE); IG II² 1325.22 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1328.2–3 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); ILaodikLyk 82.12 → [116]
 ἐπικεφάλαιον, capitation tax (on trades) → Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 1346a4, χειρωνάξιον
 P.Leid.Inst. 62 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE) *Comment*; P.Oxy. XXXI 2579 → [281] (Oxyrhynchus, 309 CE?); SB XIV 11374 (Arsinoites, 168 CE)

- ἐπιμήνιον, monthly dues → ἀνείσφορος, ἀσυμβολός, ἀτελεία, ἀτελής, ἐπιμήνιον,
immunes, συμβολαί, *stipes menstrua*, φορά
 P.Mich. V 243.2 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- ἐπίπλοος, grain shipment
 BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE)
- ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακικῶν, commander of the police
 JIGRE 27.4 [158] (Athribis, II/I BCE)
- ἐπιστολή, letter (attesting membership)
 IG II² 1368.59–60, 62 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- ἐπιταφέω, attend a funeral
 IG II² 1368.161, 163 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- ἐπιτηρητής, superintendant of the tax on trades → χειρωναξίον
 P.Köln V 228.3 [→ 262] (Oxyrhynchus, 176 CE); P.Tebt. II 287.9, 17 [236]
 (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE); SB XVI 12695.3 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- ἔρανον σύναγειν, convene a club
 IG II² 1369.26–27 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1366.21 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); SEG 52:761.9 (Delos, II BCE)
- ἔρανος, association, club
 IG II² 1369.26 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1366.21 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
- ἔρανος, common fund, treasury
 IG II² 1291.7 [19] (Piraeus ?, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1298.20 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE);
 IG II² 1327.13–14 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE)
- erasures → membership lists, *damnatio memoriae*
- ἐργασία, workshop
 P.Oxy. XXII 2340.8 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE)
- ἐργαστηριάρχης foreman of a workshop
 P.Oxy. XXII 2340.20–21 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE)
- ἐργάτης, labourer
 SB XVI 12497.33 [241] (Theadelphia, 253 CE)
- ἐρωτᾷ, NN invites (you) → Invitations to a cultic banquet (VIII Epigraphical and
 Papyrological Genres)
 P.Oxy. XXXI 2592.1 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE); SB XVI 12511.1 [231]
 (Narmouthis, II CE)
- ἐστιᾶν, to host a banquet
 IG II² 1343.26 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.10 [206] (Tebtynis,
 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.18 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE)
- ἐστίασις, banquet
 IG II² 1368.105 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG X/2.1 259.9 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE)
- ἐστιατορεῖον, dining room, banquet hall → ἱστιατορία, δειπνητήριον
 I.Delta I 1036.2 (Memphis, 209–204 BCE); I.Fayum II 106 (Theadelphia, 140 BCE);
 IG II² 1368.141 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Oslo III 143.5 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I
 CE); SEG 60:1812.1 [245] (Syene, early III BCE)
- ἐστιάτωρ, host of a banquet → VII. Officers and Functionaries within Associations

εὐδοκᾶ approve by a vote → ἐψηφισμαί

I.Prose I 40.48, 49 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE);

– approval formula (εὐδοκᾶ, ἐψηφισμαί, I approve, I have voted) for bylaws:

I.Alex.Mus. 167.11–13 = I.Alex.Ptol. 45 → [163]; P.Mich. V 243.17–31 [206]

(Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): εὐδοκᾶ; P.Ross. Georg. II 8.1–10 (unknown, II BCE): εὐδοκᾶ formula for 10 members of οἱ ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, approving an account of wheat (?)

– approval of bylaws/nomos: P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE)

εὐεργεσία, benefaction, to be named as a benefactor

IByzantion 37.4 [91] (117–137 CE); IG XII,1 155.45, 80, 113 (Rhodes, II BCE)

εὐεργέτης, benefactor

AE, 1977, 802.16–17 (Temenothyrai, late I or early II CE → [113]); Halfmann 1979, 154 [no. 66].4 (Pergamon, after 142 CE → [110]); IAnazarbos 4.7 (207 CE → [153]); IAssos 20.2 [103] (27 BCE–37 CE); IByzantion 37.8 [91]; IEph 2065.4 (ca. 160 CE → [129]); IG XII,1 155.3, 17, 34, 41–42, 106 (Rhodes, II BCE); IGLAM 648 → [117]; IGRR I 1114.4 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); IGRR III 360.13 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); IGRR IV 791.9 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); IMiletos 1139.6 (ca. 150–200 CE → [134]); IMiletos 939.5 [134] (ca. 150–200 CE); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [108]); INikaia II.1 73*, addenda, p. 327.7 (I–II CE → [149]); IPergamonSupp 27 no. 86.2 (after 158 BCE → [110]); IPessinous 18.10 [151] (180–200 CE); IPrusaOlymp 24.6 → [146]; IPrusaOlymp 48.3, 13 (150–200 CE → [102]); MAMA VI 263.10–11 (Akmonia, I CE → [113]); OGIS I 326.33 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); TAM III 62.3 [147] (Termessos, II CE); TAM V 1098.9 [124] (Thyateira area, I CE); TAM V 986.5 (Thyateira, 220–230s CE → [123])

εὐεργετέω, be a benefactor

IG II² 1252.22 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1271.20 [13] (Piraeus ?, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1284.10 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1297.7 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1327.23 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1329.21 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG XII,1 155.12, 47 (Rhodes, II BCE)

εὐεργέτημα, kindness, benefaction

IG II² 1252.23 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1262.15 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263.31 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE)

euergetism → εὐεργετέω

IG II² 1262 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE)

εὐκοσμία, good order → εὐκοσμος (Athens, under VI.)

IG II² 1368.16, 65 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

εὐσεβής, pious → Virtues and Vices

IG II² 1369.33 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE)

εὐσέβεια → Virtues and Vices

εὐπόρος καὶ ἐπιτηδείους, wealthy and suitable (for a liturgy)

BGU I 91.7 (Arsinoites, 170–171 CE); BGU I 193.21 (Ptolemaïs Euergetis, 136 CE);

BGU I 235.13 (Ptolemaïs Euergetis, 136 CE); BGU VII 1566.11 (Kynopolis, 198–209 CE); P.Berl.Leihg. 2 42 A .4–5 (Ptolemaïs Euergetis, II CE); SB XXII 15760.7 (Karani, 194 CE); SB XXII 15786.5 (Karani, 310 CE)

εὐχεῖτον, prayer place → προσευχή

P.Lond. III 1177.60 → JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment* (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE)

εὐχή, εὐχαί → vow(s)

ἐφάμιλλος, rivalry

IG II² 1292.18 [26]; 1297.6–7 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); 1301.8 [25]; 1324.22 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1327.20 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1329.20 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE)

examination of new members → δοκιμάζειν

exclusion or expulsion

- absence, resulting in nonpayment of dues: IG II² 1339.13–14 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE): for those in Athens who do not attend; IG II² 1368.47–53 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE): for those in Athens who do not attend the *stibas* without a legitimate excuse.
- absence from a meeting: IG II² 1368.67–71 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE): absence from the *stibas* except those with a legitimate excuse
- disorderly conduct: IG II² 1368.139–141 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- fighting: IG II² 1369.42 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); SEG 31:122.9, 44–45 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 1368.48–50, 89, 95 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- nonpayment of dues or a fine: IG II² 1339.13–15 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE) (unless an excuse is given); IG II² 1368.82–83, 100–101, 104–6 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- speaking against the association: IG II² 1361.14 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE)

exemption from dues → dues

ἐξέρανος, excluded member

SEG 31:122.44 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

expulsion → exclusion

ἐχφορά, cortège, funeral procession

IG II² 1275.6–7 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE)

festival

EKM I.Beroia 22 [63] (7 BCE); IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE); IKios 22 [101] (late Hellenistic or early imperial); IByzantion 324 (early I CE → [101]); IScM II 7 (late I BCE–early I CE → [101]); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos, I BCE–I CE → [108]); IPergamonSupp AM 24, 1899, no. 31 → [110]; IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); ILaodikLyk 82 (I–II CE → [116]); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); ISmryna 653 [138] (I–II CE); ISmryna 654 (I–II CE → [138]); ISmryna 697 [139] (after 124 CE); Robert 1977, 88 [no. IV] (Tarsos, III CE → [153])

fighting → μάχη, exclusion or expulsion

finances

CIG II 2007f [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); IHierapJ 133 (after 212 CE → [116]); Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1] (ca. 180–250 CE → [116]); IHierapJ 195 (ca. 138–212 CE → [116]); IHierapJ 153 (138–300 CE → [116]); Jordanis–Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [129]); OGIS I

326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); IMagnMai 117 (II CE → [143]); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE); IPessinous 22 → [151]

finēs, ζῆναια

BGU XIV 2371 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE)

– absenteeism; absence from meeting: CIL 6.10298.7–9 (Rome, time of Augustus):

100 asses (unless he provides a legitimate excuse prior to the meeting; if after the

meeting, 50 asses); IG II² 1339.7–8 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE): 6 dr. (for those absent

but in Athens; those out of town charged 3 dr.); IG II² 1368.96–99 [51] (Athens,

164/65 CE): fifty light drachmae for those absent from an obligatory meeting; IG

IX,1² 670.13–17 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE): 4 dr. for absence from the συνέδος; 5

dr. for absence from the gathering on the mountain; 5 dr. for a maenad who fails to

bring [?]; Iasos 152 (Iasos, II BCE): 1000 dr. fine for failure to come to Iasos and

participate in the games without a legitimate excuse; P.Cair. 30606.24 [191]

(Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 25 *deben* = 200 *ae* dr.; P.Lille.dem. 29.9 [188] (Pisais, 223

BCE): 1/2 kite (1 dr.); BGU V 1210.240 [234] (Theadelphia, after 149 CE): for

forming an association; P.Mich. V 243.4 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): absence from a

village meeting (1 dr. fine); from a meeting in the city (4 dr.); P.Mich. V 244.16–18

[212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): absence from a funeral; P.Mich. V 244.6–7 [212] (Tebtynis,

43 CE): absence from a command meeting; P.Mich. V 244.7–9 [212] (Tebtynis, 43

CE): a distinction between meetings in the village (2 dr.), a meeting in an unusual

place (4 dr.), and in the city (8 dr.); P.Mich. V 245.35–37 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE) (1

–4–8): a distinction between meetings in the village (1 dr.), a meeting in an unusual

place (4 dr.), and in the city (8 dr.); PSI XII 1265.9 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE);

P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 3v1.13; frag. 4v2.24; frag. 5r2.10 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE);

ST 158 (Coptos, 30 BCE)

– absence from a funeral: AE (1929) 161.13–15 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE): fine of

HS20; IG II² 1368.162–163 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE): absent members cannot have

any wine; P.Cair. 30606.14 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 5 *deben*; P.Lille.dem.

29.18–19 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 1/2 kite (= 1 dr.); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis,

14–37 CE)

– absence from funeral of the family member of a member: P.Cair. 30606.16 [191]

(Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 5 *deben*; P.Mich. V 244.16–18 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE).

– accusation of leprosy: P.Cair. 30606.18 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 100 *deben*;

P.Lille.dem. 29.10 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 8 kite

– adultery with spouse of a member: P.Lille.dem. 29.10 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 8

kite = 16 dr.; P.Mich. V 243.1 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): 60 dr.; SB III 6319

r.ii.45–46 [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE)

– attempt to alter a bequest: IJO I Mac 1.26–28 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); SEG 58:1640

[149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)

– attempt to alter a decree: I.Prose I 49.51–52 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); SB XXII

15460.19–21 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE): 500 dr.

– differential fines for absence, depending on the banquet venue: P.Mich. V 243.4

[206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): 1 in the village; 8 in the city; P.Mich. V 244.7–9 [212]

- (Tebtynis, 43 CE): a distinction between meetings in the village (2 dr.), a meeting in an unusual place (4 dr.), and in the city (8 dr.); P.Mich. V 245.35–37 [**219**]: 1–4–8 dr.
- denunciation of a member to the civil authority: P.Cair. 30606.17 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 50 deben
 - disturbances at dinner: BGU XIV 2371 [**253**] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Mich. V 243 [**206**] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
 - double ($\delta\iota\pi\lambda\alpha$) fines: Philipp II 133/G441.20 [**69**] (II–III CE)
 - failure to announce honors: AM 66 228 no. 4.18–20 [**39**] (Athens, 138/7 BCE): 50 drachmae; IG II² 1263.43–45 [**11**] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE) (50 drachmae); IG II² 1273AB.22–23 [**18**] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE) (50 drachmae); IG II² 1292.16–17 [**26**] (Athens or Piraeus?, 215/4 BCE) (50 drachmae?); IG II² 1297.17–18 [**24**] (Athens, 236/5 BCE)
 - failure to comply with a summons to attend a meeting: P.Cair. 30606.22 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) ? deben; P.Mich. V 244.6–7 [**212**] (Tebtynis, 43 CE)
 - failure to offer assistance to member: P.Cair. 30606.21 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) ? deben; P.Mich. V 243 [**206**] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); PSI XII 1265.12–13 [**284**] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)
 - failure to attend the procession of the god: P.Cair. 30606.12 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29.12 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 1 kite (= 2 dr.)
 - false testimony against a colleague P.Lille.dem. 29.15 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 4 kite = 16 dr.
 - fighting: SEG 31:122.7–8 [**50**] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 1368.80–82, 89–90 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE): 25 silver den.; IG IX,1² 670.7–11 [**61**] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE)
 - financial misappropriation: SEG 31:122.15, 16 [**50**] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
 - founding (or joining) a new association (?): SB III 6319 r.ii.47 [**197**] (Magdôla, II–I BCE) *note*
 - hunting (?): SB III 6319 r.ii.47 [**197**] (Magdôla, II–I BCE) *note*
 - insults and abuse: IG II² 1368.79–80 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE): 25 light drachmae; IG IX,1² 670.9–11 [**61**] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); IDelos 1520.58–68 (Delos 153/2 BCE) (6000 dr.); P.Cair. 30606.19 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 25 deben; SB III 6319 r.ii.43–44 [**197**] (Magdôla, II–I BCE)
 - insulting a priest: P.Cair. 30606.20 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 40 deben
 - insulting a superior: P.Cair. 30606.19 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) ? deben; P.Lille.dem. 29.13–14 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 8 kite = 16 dr.
 - repeated insults: P.Cair. 30606.19–20 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) ? deben, 35 deben, 60 deben, 90 deben.
 - late payment of dues: SEG 31:122.44 [**50**] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
 - misdeed of president: PSI XII 1265.13 [**284**] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)
 - noncompliance with contracts: SEG 31:122.22 [**50**] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
 - nonobservance of funerary commemoration: Philipp II 133/G441.17–21 [**69**] (II–III CE)

- nonpayment of dues: P.Cair. 30606.8, 10 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) (25 deben); P.Lille.dem. 29.8 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 2 kite = 4 dr.; P.Mich. V 244.18–19 [**212**] (Tebtynis, 43 CE)
- obstruction of a superior collecting the monthly fee: P.Lille.dem. 29.22 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 6 kite = 12 dr.
- of the εὔκοσμος for failure to enforce good order: IG II² 1368.144–145 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE): 25 silver den.
- of the εὔκοσμος for failure to expel fighters: IG II² 1368.94–95 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE): 25 silver den.
- paid by one association to another: Philipp II 133/G441.20 [**69**] (II–III CE); Jordanis–Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [**129**])
- paid to association and to the state treasury: P.Ryl. II 65 [**249**] (Oxyrhynchus, 67 or 95 BCE)
- refusal to serve as a watchman: SEG 31:122.26 [**50**] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE): 100 dr.
- refusal to serve as representative of house: P.Cair. 30606.24 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 25 deben
- refusal to assist in the recovery of a body: P.Cair. 30606.15 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 10 deben; P.Lille.dem. 29.21 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 4 kite = 8 dr.
- resort to public courts, lawsuits against members: BGU XIV 2371.2 [**253**] (Herakleopolis, I CE); IG II² 1368.90–94 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Cair. 30606.18 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 25 deben; P.Lille.dem. 29.25 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 4 kite = 8 dr.; P.Mich. V 243.7–8 [**206**] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): 8 silver drachmae
- resort to public courts after association has rendered judgment: P.Cair. 30606.19 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 30 deben; P.Lille.dem. 29.25 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 4 kite = 8 dr.
- sordid behaviour: SEG 31:122. 33–34 [**50**] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
- speaking or acting against the law: IG II² 1275.14–16 [**8**] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE)
- physical violence: P.Lond. VII 2193 [**199**] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- striking a colleague: P.Cair. 30606.20 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 60 deben; P.Lille.dem. 29.14 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 1 kite
- striking a priest: P.Cair. 30606.21 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 80 deben; repeat offence: 90 deben
- striking a superior: P.Cair. 30606.20 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 60 deben; P.Lille.dem. 29.14 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 8 kite = 16 dr.; repeat offence: P.Cair. 30606.20 [**191**] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 80 deben
- superior striking member: P.Lille.dem. 29.14 [**188**] (Pisais, 223 BCE): 20 dr.
- unauthorized speech-making: IG II² 1368.107–110 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE): thirty light drachmae.
- unauthorized use of a tomb: IJO I Mac 15 [**82**] (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE?); IMT 1937 (Panormos → [**107**]); IHierapJ 153 (138–300 CE → [**116**]); IHierapJ 212 (ca. 150–200 CE → [**116**]); IHierapJ 69 (ca. 150–200 CE → [**116**]); IEph 2212 [**126**] (41–54 CE); TAM III 400 (Termessos, post-212 CE → [**147**]); IJO II 223 [**150**] (Tlos, late I CE); IPerinthos 167–168 (after 212 CE → [**153**])

- underselling salt: P.Mich. V 245.28–29 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE)
- violation of association's laws: IG II² 1328.13 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE) (50 drachmae); LSAM 80 [152] (Elaioussa Sebaste area, ca. 27 BCE–14 CE); SB III 6704.27–28 [285] (Aphroditēs Kome, 538 CE)
- “whatever the association decides”: P.Mich. V 243.12 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἃ ἐάν τῷ κοινῷ δόξῃ.
- withdrawal from the association (so as to evade some of its rules): ST 158.28 (Coptos, 30 BCE): 50 *deben*.
- fire
 - Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE)
- firewood → wood
- fisheries
 - IParium 5 → [107]; IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127])
- fishing industry → occupational associations (under section V)
- IByzantion 37 [91] (117–137 CE)
- foundation of an association → θεμελιόω, κτάομαι, συνάγω, φέρω
 - IG II² 1297.4 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1326 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1012.13–15 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IG II² 1343.12–14 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1369.25–26 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1366.21 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); LSAM 72 (Halikarnassos → [117]); IG XI,4 1299 (Delos, ca. 200 BCE → [117]); Jones 1983 (Lydia → [124]); IMagnMai 215 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE and 150 CE); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
- frater, brother
 - CIL 3.633 IV [68] (Philippi, II CE)
- freedpersons
 - CIL 3.633 I [68a] (Philippi, II CE); CIL 3.633 II.1, C.2 [68b] (Philippi, II CE); IBosp 74 (Pantikapaion, 173–211 CE → [95]), IKyme 37.22 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IJO II 43 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106]); P.Mich. V 246.15 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): freedman of three former owners.
- friend, φίλος
 - P.Petaus 28.v.1 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE)
- funeral → burial
- garlic → pollution
 - IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
- gladiator → occupational associations (under section V)
- Gnomon of the Idios Logos:
 - BGU V 1210.240 [234] (Theadelphia, after 149 CE); SB XVI 12695.7, 30 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
- god-fearers
 - IMiletos 940f–g [135] (II–V CE)
- goldsmith → occupational associations (under section V)
 - IPerinthos 49 [86] (II CE)

grain

EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE); IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); TAM V 991 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 966 [125] (Thyateira, II–III CE); Jordanis-Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [129]); TAM III 4 + 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); Robert 1977, 88 [no. IV] (Tarsos, III CE → [153])

grain shipment, ἐπίπλοος,

BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE); BGU VIII 1742; 1743+XIV 2368 [248] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE)

grapheion

P.Enteux. 20 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE)

grotto

IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?)(

guard(s), φύλαξ, φύλακες

BGU VIII 1742.12–13; 1743+XIV 2368.9 [248] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE): required on grain boats; P.Grenf. II 43.12 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE): φύλακες μετροπόλεως; P.Soter. 28 (Theadelphia, 91 CE): φύλακες μετροπόλεως → [225] *Comment.*

guest(s), ξένος, ξένοι

I.Prose I 40.32 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118.4, 12 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224r.3.1 [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); P.Tebt III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.5, 12; frag. 2.r.2.37; frag. 5.v.2.16 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.23, 39 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE); SB XXIV 16224.60, 62 [291] (unknown, I/II CE) – guests of individual members: P.Tebt III/2 894.frag.4 recto, l.8: ξένοι Ἡρακλείδ[ου]; frag. 5.v.2.16. [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

ζημία, fines → fines

PSI XII 1265.13 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 3v1.13; frag. 4v2.24; frag. 5r2.10 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

ζημιόω, to fine → fines

BGU XIV 2371.6 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Mich. V 243.3 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)

θαμισμός

SB XXIV 16224.1, 3, 5, 7 and passim [291] (unknown, I/II CE)

θεμελιώω τὴν σύνοδον, found an association → κτάομαι, συνάγω

IG II² 1343.14–15 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE) (τοῦ θεμελιωθῆναι τὴν σύνοδον)

θεοί, Gods! as an opening invocation in a decree

IG II² 337.1 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE)

θεολογία, divine story, sermon → VII. Civic Officers and Functionaries within Associations s.v. θεολόγος, sacred expositor

IG II² 1368.115 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

θεραπεία, θεραπῆα, service in a temple

IG II² 1329.8–9 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE)

θεραπεύω, to perform a service

AM 66:228.7 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1365.26 (Laurion, 200 CE → [140])

θεσμός, ordinance, law

IG II² 1369.28 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE)

θάψαι, bury

P.Enteux. 20.4 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE)

θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, shorthand for son of the divinized Caesar.

I.Fayum I 73.2 [202] (Soknouaiou Nesos, 24 BCE)

θυρουρὸς, door keeper

SB XVI 12497.37 [241] (Theadelphia, 253 CE)

θύρσος, thrysos, wand

IG II² 1368.138, 139 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

θορυβέω, cause a disturbance

IG II² 1368.64, 138 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

θυσία, θύω, sacrifice → sacrifice

IG II² 1277.21 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); SEG 2:9.4 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); IG II² 1283.20, 24 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1297.12 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1292.15, 25 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); I.Prose I 40.8, 26–27 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); IRhamnous II 59.27 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IG II² 1314.20 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.8, 24 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1323.8–9 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); IG II² 1325.23 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1327.8, 25 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); AM 66:228.4 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1337.5 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1339.9 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368.118 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG X/2.1 255.19, 24 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.8 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE) (for the emperor); SEG 41:1612–1615.3 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)

– θυσίαν ὄνον, donkey sacrifice: SEG 41:1612–1615.3 [280] (Memnoneia, 324 CE)

θωρακοποιός, breastplate maker

IG II² 1261.3 [9]

hero cults, heroization

IG II² 2499.25 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); IG II² 1326 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE);

IHierapJ 153 (138–300 CE → [116]); TAM V 1098 [124] (Thyateira, I CE); Jones

1983 (Lydia → [124]); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)

honoratus, honorata, honoured (man, woman)

CIL 6.5744 (Rome): bis honoratae, bis honorati

honours

SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); EKM I.Beroia 22 [63] (7 BCE); CIG II 2007f [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); IPerinthos 56 [87] (196–198 CE); IGBulg V 5434 [89] (Philippopolis, II–III CE); IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE); IBosp 104 (Pantikapaion, III CE → [96]); BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); IScM II 60 (II CE → [98]); IApamBith 35 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); TAM V 477 (Saittai, 240/241 CE → [100]); IG II² 11674 (Athens, II CE or later → [100]); IKios 22 [101] (late Hellenistic or early imperial); IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102] (II–I BCE);

IAssos 20 [103] (27 BCE–37 CE); IAssos 19 (27 BCE–37 CE → [103]); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); IMT 1431(Kyzikos → [108]); IPergamon 485 [110] (I CE); IPergamonSupp AM 24, 1899, no. 31 (109/110 CE → [110]); PIR² C 1637 (Pergamon, after 142 CE → [110]); IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia area, late I or early II CE); MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia, I CE → [113]); MAMA VI List 164 [114] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE); *ΑΕ*, 1977, 802 (Temenothyrai, late I or early II CE → [114]); IGRR IV 791 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); MAMA VI 180 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); ITrall 74 (III CE → [115]); IKibyra 63 (ca. 150 CE → [115]); IGRR III 360 (II–III CE → [115]); ILaodikLyk 82 (I–II CE → [115]); TAM V 1462 (Philadelphia, II CE → [117]); IGLAM 648 (after 212 CE → [117]); IGLAM 656 → [117]; TAM V 1497 (ca. 250 CE → [117]); LSAM 72 (Halikarnassos → [117]); TAM V 85 [118] (Saittai, 145/146 BCE); SEG 29:1185 (156/157 CE → [118]); TAM V 93 (225/226 CE → [118]); TAM V 449 (Iaza, 223/224 CE → [119]); ISardBR 22 (100 BCE → [120]); SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE); SEG 46:1521 (Sardis → [122]); Herrmann 1996, 184 (Sardis, I BCE → [122]); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 1002 (Thyateira, late I CE → [123]); TAM V 924 (Thyateira, 50 BCE → [123]); TAM V 1002 (Thyateira, I CE → [123]); TAM V 986 (Thyateira, 220–230 CE → [123]); TAM V 991 (Thyateira → [123]); TAM V 954 (Thyateira, after 212 CE → [124]); TAM V 955 (Thyateira, after 212 CE → [124]); TAM V 962 (Thyateira → [124]); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124]); TAM V 966 [125] (Thyateira, II–III CE); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IEph 719 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); I.Alex.imp. 97 (Alexandria, 7 CE [175]); IEph 1162 (ca. 138–61 CE → [129]); IEph 3068 (110–120 CE → [129]); ISmyrna 215 (I CE → [129]); IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); IMiletos 939 [134] (ca. 150–200 CE); IMiletos 1138–1139 (ca. 150–200 CE → [134]); ISmyrna 652 [137] (I CE); ISmyrna 622 (ca. 129–32 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 639 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmyrna 653 [138] (I–II CE); ISmyrna 654 (I–II CE → [138]); ISmyrna 655 → [138]; OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); Iaph 12.719 [142] (Aphrodisias, 117–138 CE); IMT 950 → [142]; IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); ITrall 86 [145] (post–132 CE); TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); IAlexandria 98 (150–200 CE → [146]); IPrusaOlymp 24 → [146]; TAM II 4 + 64 [147] (Termessos, II CE); INikaia II.1 73*, addenda, p. 327 (I–II CE → [149]); IPessinous 18 [151] (180–200 CE); IPessinous 17 (150–200 CE → [151]); IAsMinVers 8 (Kastolupedion, I CE → [152]); IAnazarbos 4 (207 CE → [153]); Robert 1977, 88 [no. IV] (Tarsos, III CE → [153]); Robert 1949, 197–205 (Tarsos, late II–III CE → [153])

hospitality

IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE)

host → ἐστιάτωρ, host of a banquet → VII. Officers and Functionaries within

Associations

hunting

Philipp II 142/G562 [70] (II–III CE); IGLAM 648 (after 212 → [117])

hymn singers → ὑμνοῦδοί (under section VII)

IG II² 2361.3–4 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE)

ἡμίσεων, –αν, half-shares of sacrificial meat

Agora 16:161.19, 21 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE)

ἡρώϊζω → ἀφηρώϊζω

ἥρωες, hero

IG II² 2499.25 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); TAM V 1098.4 [124] (Thyateira, I CE); SEG 58:1640.31 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)

ἡσυχία, decorum, quiet

IG II² 1368.65 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ιατροί, physicians

I.Alex.imp. 97.3 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE) *Comment*

– exempt from public services (*leitourgiae*): I.Alex.imp. 97 (Alexandria, 7 CE [175])

Comment; P.Phil. 1.30 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE).

ἰδία καὶ κοινεῖ, individually and collectively → IG II² 1327.6 [34]

τὰ ἱερά, sacred ceremonies

IG II² 1325.1, 30 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE)

ἱερογλύφοι, συνιερογλύφοι (fellow) hieroglyphic carvers

P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE)

– hieroglyphic carver of Osiris: P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE)

ἱερόν temple, sanctuary → *templum*

IEph 22.17, 47, 49 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IG II² 1255.16 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE);

IG II² 337 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE); IG II² 1361.3, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 21 [4] (Piraeus,

330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1256.3–4, 11 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 1252.11, 14 [6]

(Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 2499.5–6, 7, 16, 27 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); IG II²

1263.26 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1271.3, 12, 17, 22 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8

BCE); Agora 16:161.7 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1277.6 [15] (Athens, 278/7

BCE); IG II² 1316.9 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1278.14 [17] (Athens, 272/1

BCE); IG II² 1273AB.31 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); SEG 2:9.9 [21] (Salamis, 243/2

BCE); IG II² 1284.15, 33 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1283.6, 8, 19 [23] (Piraeus,

240/39 BCE); IG II² 1297.5 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1315.15 [29] (Piraeus,

211/0 BCE); IG II² 1324.4, 28 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1328.20 [34]

(Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1329.9, 30 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG

II² 1335.7 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); IG II² 1337.8 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IKyme

17.3 [104] (28/27 BCE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.4 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE); SB III

6184.8 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 138–137 BCE)

– ἱερόν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος: IG II² 1298.11 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE)

– construction of a temple by association members: CIL 3.633 I [68a] (Philippi, II

CE)

ἱεροποιέω, to be a *hieropoios*, manager, sacrifice maker

SEG 54:235.2 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); SEG 28:953.62 [108] (Kyzikos, ca.

25–50 CE)

ιερός, sacred

IKyme 37.5, 45 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); OGIS I 326.17, 35 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); IMagnMai 215.14, 25 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE); IMagnMai 117.6 (II CE → [140]); TAM II 910.6, 10, 12 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); IJO II 146.4 (Thyateira, ca. 120–220 → [152]); Robert 1949, 197–205.17 (Tarsos, late II–III CE [153])

ιερός παῖς boy active in sacred rites?

IG II² 1368.55 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

illiteracy

P.Ryl. II 94 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); PSI VIII 901.25 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE)

immigrants → immigrant or noncitizen associations (under section V)

immunis, immunes, dues-exempt

CIL 6.3951.6 (Rome): a woman; CIL 6.4087.3 (Rome): a woman; CIL 6.4265.3 (Rome) a man and a woman

imperial cults

IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [108]); IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); IPergamonAsklep 85 → [111]; MAMA VI 263 (Akmoneia, I CE → [113]); MAMA VI List 164 [114] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE); ITrall 74 (III CE → [115]); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 213 [128] (88/89 CE); IMiletos 360 (80–82 CE → [128]); IEph 719 [129] (ca. 102–114 CE); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); ISmyrna 639 (150–200 CE → [137]); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); TAM II 906 (Rhodiapolis → [146]); IPessinous 18 [151] (180–200 CE); IPessinous 18 (150–200 CE → [151])

income

Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 260 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE); MAMA VI 180 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)

initiation → μεγαρεύς, megareus, initiate; see also μύσται (under section VI)

IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?); IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE); ISmyrna 728 [140] (II CE); SEG 55:612 (Pherai, 300 BCE → [148])

impurity → pollution

inflation (and devaluation)

O.Edfou III 368.6 [251] (Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE) *Note*; P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE) *Comment*; P.Oxy. XII 1414.14 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE) *note*; P.Oxy. LIV 3740.10 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): *Comment*; P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE) *Note*; SB III 7182.43 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE) *Comment*

interest

I.Prose I 40.38–39 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE): interest: 200 dr.! (= 20%); SEG 31:122.12, 14 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); MAMA VI 180 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); IJO II 196 [116] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); Jordanis-Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [129]); IMagnMai 117 (II CE → [143]); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Kanthos, 150–100 BCE)

ἰόβακχος, Iobakchos, member of a Bacchic association

IG II² 1368.32, 35, 42, 53–54, 57, 60, 68, 77, 83, 87, 96, 127, 135, 147, 160 [**51**]
(Athens, 164/65 CE)

ἰστιατορία, dining room

P.Oslo III 143.5 [**254**] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE)

ἰστοτελής, metics exempt from paying the alien tax (τὸ μετοίκιον)

IG II² 1291.12 [**19**] (Piraeus ?, ca. 250 BCE)

ἰσχάδια, dried figs

P.Petr. III 136.iii.22 [**187**] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)

ivy crown (for Dionysiastai)

I.Prose I 3.5 [**243**] (Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.16 [**244**]
(Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

Judeans → immigrant or noncitizen associations (under section V)

SEG 46:744 [**65**]; IJO I Mac 1 [**73**] (Stobi, II–III CE); IJO I Mac 15 [**82**]
(Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE?); IPerinthos 56 [**87**] (196–198 CE); IPerinthos 57 [**88**] (II
CE?)

Judean culture, Judaism

IJO I Mac 1 [**73**] (Stobi, II–III CE); IBosp 70 [**95**] (Pantikapaion, 81 CE); IBosp 1283
[**96**] (Tanais, 228 CE); IBosp 1277 (ca. 173–211 CE → [**96**]); IJO II 36 [**106**] (Kyme
or Phokaia, III CE); IJO II 43 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [**106**]); IJO II 168 [**113**]
(Akmoneia area, late I or early II CE); IJO II 196 [**116**] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE);
IMiletos 940a–h [**135**] (II–V CE); IJO II 26 (Nysa, I BCE → [**144**]); IJO II 223 [**150**]
(Tlos, late I CE); LSAM 80 [**152**] (Elaioussa Sebaste area, ca. 27 BCE–14 CE)

judicial function of associations → I Cor 6:1–7

IG II² 1368.90–94 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE) (fine levied if a member resorts to the
public courts); P.Lond. VII 2193.17 [**199**] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE): μ<ῆ>
κατη{ι}γορή[σ]ειν [α] τοῦ ἐτέρου; P.Mich. V 243.7–8 (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE) (fine of
8 silver drachmae for resorting to the court); Il. 12: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἃ ἐὰν τῶι κοινῶι δόξῃ.

καθιδρῶω, establish (an association) → συνάγω, θεμελιόω, κτάομαι

IMagMai 215a [**143**] (II CE): θιάσους Βάκχοιο καθειδρύσουσιν ἐν ἄστει.

καθαρουργοί, bakers of fine bread

I.Fayum III 212.5–6 [**204**] (Arsinoites, 3 CE)

καλλιερῶω, to obtain good omens.

AM 66:228.4–5 [**40**]; IG II² 1343.25 [**48**] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)

καμηλοτρόφοι, camel herders

P.Mich IX 543.3 [**232**] (Karanis, 135–136 CE)

κάρυα, nuts

P.Petr. III 136.iii.21 [**187**] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)

καταγορέω, accuse

P.Lond. VII 2193.17 [**199**] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243.7 [**206**]
(Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)

Καταγωγίων, festival of the return

IG II² 1368.114 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

καταλέγω, to enroll (in an association, list) → 1 Tim 5:9 (χήρα καταλέγέσθω)

AM 32 (1907) 295–97 (no. 18).11–12 (Pergamon); I.Delta I 989.20–23 (238 BCE);

IEph 1224 (106/7 CE); IG II² 896.9 (186/5 BCE); IG II² 1330.41 (163–130 BCE); IG

XII/8 666.1–3 (mid II BCE).

kidnapping

P.Ryl. IV 654 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

κίμαιδος dancer

SB III 7182.94 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

κισσός, ivy (associated with Dionysos)

I.Prose I 3.5 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.16 [244]

(Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

κλίνη, κλισία, couch, throne

IG II² 1315.9 [29] (211/0 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193.19 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58?

BCE); P.Mich. V 243.7 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 246.13 [211]

(Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karani, early III CE); P.Oxy.

XXXI 2592.2 [262] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE); SB XVI 12511.4–5 [231]

(Narmouthis, II CE)

– κλίνης τῶν θεῶν: Agora 16:235; IG II² 1316 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE)

– κλισία πρώτη, first couch: I.Prose I 40.12, 27 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE)

– κλίνη τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος: P.Coll.Youtie I 51 (Oxyrhynchus, II–III CE);

P.Coll.Youtie 52.4 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Köln I 57 = SB X 10496 (Oxyrhynchus,

III CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karani, early III CE); P.Oslo III 157 (Oxyrhynchus,

II CE); P.Oxy. I 110 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. III 523 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE);

P.Oxy. XII 1484 (Oxyrhynchus, II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XIV 1755 (Oxyrhynchus,

II/early III CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 [262]; P.Oxy. XLIV 3164 [259] (Oxyrhynchus,

73 CE); P.Oxy. LII 3693 (Oxyrhynchus, II CE); P.Oxy. LXII 4339 (Oxyrhynchus

II/III CE); P.Oxy. LXVI 4540 (Oxyrhynchus, III? CE). PSI XI 1543 (Oxyrhynchus?,

II/III CE); SB XVI 12511 [231] (Arsinoites, II CE); SB XVIII 13875 (Oxyrhynchus,

II/III CE); P.Yale I 85 (unknown origin, late II CE). A κλίνη of Anubis is attested →

SB XX 14503 (Oxyrhynchus, mid- to late-III CE).

κναφεῖς, fullers → occupational associations (under section V)

κοινεῖ καὶ ἰδία, collectively and individually → ἰδία καὶ κοινεῖ, individually and collectively.

κοινόν, common fund → κοινόν (under section V)

IG II² 1262.9–10 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1297.6 [24] (Athens, 236/5

BCE); IG II² 1292.29 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1325.23 [33]

(Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1327.28 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1326.11–12

[36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1343.18 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II²

1368.80, 98, 110 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); SB III 7182.31 [193] (Philadelphia?,

after 142 BCE); P.Mich. V 244.8, 13, 17 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Ryl. IV 586.12

[248] (Oxyrhynchus 99 BCE); SB XXIV 16296.4, 10, 14 [286] (unknown, 182 or 158

BCE)

κοινωνοί, partners

P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097.2, 3–4 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE); PSI III 202.6 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE)

κοινόν, league → regional or provincial leagues

κοσμητεύω, to be a supervisor

SEG 54:235.2 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); IEph 4337.7 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128])

κλειδουχέω be a temple guardian

SEG 42:157.11–12 [41] (Athens, ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE)

Κλεοπάτρειον, Kleopatrion (shrine to Kleopatra)

I.Prose I 49.3–4 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)

κονιάω, to plaster

AM 66:228.8 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE)

Κόρη, *Kore* in a Bacchic play

IG II² 1368.124 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

κρέα, sacrificial meat

Agora 16:161.18 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); P.FuadUniv. I 25.3 [292] (unknown, II–III CE)

κρεανομία, distribution of meat

IG II² 1255.5–6 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE)

κροτέω, to applaud (prohibited at meetings)

IG II² 1368.64 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

κτάομαι, to found an association → θεμελιώω, συνάγω

IG II² 1343.12 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)

κτηνοτρόφοι, donkey rearers

O.Fay. 14 → [207] (Euhemeria, 1 CE)

– exempt from *litourgiae*: P.Phil. 1.28 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

κύριος, εἶναι κύριον, to be valid (of a *nomos*)

P.Lond. VII 2193.4 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

land

IRhamnous II 59 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE);

IHierapJ 153 (138–300 CE → [116])

law → νόμος, law, rule, constitution

BGU XIV 2371.2 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Ryl. II 94 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE)

leases

IMT 1539 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE); IParium 5 → [107]

legion, *legio*

JIGRE 125.9 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE) *Comment*

λεγιονάριος, legionary

P.Petaus 28.5 [239] (Ptolemaïs Hormou, II CE)

λειτουργέω, render service

IG II² 1323.7 [31] (194/3 BCE); IG II² 1328.7, 40 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); P.Phil. 1.26 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

λειτουργία, *leitourgia*, liturgical obligations, service → στυβάς, χρεία

I.Alex.imp. 97 (Alexandria, 7 CE [175]): physicians exempt from liturgies: *Comment*; BGU VII 1572.8 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE): obligation to guard the grain shipments; IG XII/3 330.134–135 (Thera, 210–195 BCE): officers serve at their own expense; 139–141: monthly officers are to supply at their own expense good wine for three libations, a crown, music, and perfumed oil; IRhannous II 59.28 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IG II² 1368.112 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IDionysosJ 7.7–8 [60] (Megara, 141 CE); IGLAM 648.11 (post–212 CE → [117]); IGLAM 656.5,9 → [117]; P.Lond. VII 2193.8–10 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE): president expected to supply the monthly meal; P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.2 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): duty of the president to buy beer; P.Mich. V 244.15 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): responsibility of the president (Kronion) to supply beer or wine; P.Mich. V 322b [220] (Tebtynis, 51 CE) *Comment*; P.Oxy. XXII 2340 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE) [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE); P.Phil. 1.12, 26 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); P.Tebt. II 401.vi.23–24 [214] (Tebtynis, after 14 CE): duty of the president to buy beer; SB XXII 15787 [242] (Karani, IV CE); TAM V 955.7 (Thyateira, after 212 CE → [124])
– exemption from liturgical service: BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE); P.Phil. 1.12, 26 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); P.Oxy. XXII 2340 [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE) [266] (Oxyrhynchus, 192 CE)

letter

IKyme 17 [104] (28/27 BCE); SEG 46:1519 [121] (Sardis area, 188 BCE); IEph 213 [128] (88/89 CE); IMiletos 360 (80–82 CE → [128]); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)
– attesting membership: IG II² 1368.59–60, 62 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
– from an emperor: IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); IEph 213 [128] (88/89 CE); ISmyrna 600.1–18 (157–58 CE → [137]); IMiletos 156 (I CE → [144])
– from a god: IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE)

lex, law, rule, constitution (*pactio*, *conventio*, *decretum publicum*) → νόμος, δόγμα

Lex Clodii de collegiis

IG II² 1339 [46] (57/6 BCE)

λημνίσκος woolen fillet

IG II² 1297.11 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); AM 66:228.15 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1366.26 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

libations

IG II² 1368.127–134 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IBosp 75 [94] (Pantikapaion, ca. 150–125 BCE); IApamBith 33 (Triglia, 123 or 108 BCE → [99]); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)

lists → membership lists

– of donors: ISmyrna 697 [139] (after 124 CE)
– of items/provisions: Jones 1983 (Lydia → [124]); Malay 1981 (Caria, II–I BCE → [143])
– of fountains: ISardBR 17 → [120]
– of yearly *epimelētai*: SEG 2:9 [21] (Salamis, 243/42 BCE).

– of members whose dues are in arrears: Agora 16:161.5–8 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1361.14–15 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); ISamos 10.

litigation

P.Mich.Zen. 57 [185] (Philadelphia, 248 BCE)

loans

Agora 16:161.5–8 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); BGU IV 1134 (Alexandria, 10 BCE); BGU IV 1135 (Alexandria, 10 BCE); BGU IV 1136 (Alexandria, 11–10 BCE); BGU IV 1137 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); IG II² 1335 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); P.Erasm. I 10 (Arsinoites; mid II BCE); P.Grenf. I 31 (Pathyris, 101–100 BCE); P.Grenf. II 43 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE); P.Grenf. II 43 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE); P.Ryl. IV 586.28 [248] (Oxyrhynchus 99 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 589 (Philadelphia, 180 BCE); SB XXIV 16296 [286] (unknown, 182 or 185 BCE); SEG 31:122.6 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)

λόγος, account

BGU VII 161.3 [223] Philadelphia, 84 CE); P.Lund IV 11.1 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Mich. II 127.i.1 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); P.Oslo III 143 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE); P.Oslo. III 144.2 [273] (Oxyrhynchus, 272–275 CE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 4.v.2.1, 27; 8.r.1.1, 2; 9.v.2.30 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x.379, 391 [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolites, 73 CE) – ἐπὶ λόγου: on account: P.Mich. II 123.vi.16 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Oxy. XLIV 3185.5 [268] (Oxyrhynchus, III CE) – πρὸς λόγον, on account: P.Petr. III 136.i.5, 15, 17 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)

λοιδορόω, to abuse, insult other members

BGU XIV 2371.6 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); IG II² 1368.75, 78, 79 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IG IX,1² 670.9, 11 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE)

long-term benefactor

IG II² 1343 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE)

λουτρόν, bathhouse

AM 66:228.9 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE)

Macedonian league (*koinon*) → regional or provincial leagues

μαγειρεῖον, kitchen

IG II² 1301.5 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE)

μαθητής, apprentice

P.Oxy VII 1029.25 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE); P.Ryl. IV 654.4 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

μαινάς, maenad → association names (under section VI)

IG IX,1² 670.8, 9 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); Philipp II 340/L589 [71] (I–II CE?); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?)

μαντεία oracle

IG II² 1283.6 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1326.18 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE)

manumission

IG II² 1369.39 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IBosp 70 [95] (Pantikapaion, 81 CE); IBosp 74 (Pantikapaion, 173–211 CE → [95]); IBosp 1021 (Taman peninsula, 105 CE)

→ [95]); SEG 43:510 (ca. 53 CE → [95]); IBosp 1123 (Gorgippia, 41 CE → [95]); P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)
 – fee for manumission: P.Oxy IX 1205.9 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE): 14 talents of silver

market, marketplace

EKM I.Beroia 22 [63] (7 BCE); EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos area, ca. 25–50 CE); IG XI,4 1299 (Delos, ca. 200 BCE → [117]); ISardBR 17 → [120]; SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); IEph 215 (II CE → [125]); SEG 27:947 (Tarsos, III CE → [153])

μάχη, fighting → exclusion or expulsion

IG II² 1369.43–44 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); SEG 31:122.6 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 1368.71, 73, 80–83, 89–90, 94–95 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 5.r.2.10 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

meetings → meals

meetings → date of meeting

IEph 215 (II CE → [125]); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); I.Th.Sy. 303.13–14 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): monthly meetings on the first nine days of the month

– disciplinary meetings: IG II² 1368.84–90 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

meeting places

P.Lond. VII 2193.9 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE): meeting place: temple of Zeus; P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

μεγαρεύς, *megareus*, initiate

SEG 39:649 [84] (Augusta Traiana, II–III CE)

μέγαρον, sanctuary, shrine, grotto

IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?)

membership, size of associations

Agora 16:161 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE): a few families?; BGU VII 1572 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE): 12 weavers; BGU VII 1591 (Philadelphia, 136 CE): 12–13 weavers; BGU VII 1615 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE): 30 weavers; CIL 3.633 II [68b] (Philippi, II CE): 69 members; CIL 3.633 III [68c] (Philippi, II CE): 25 names; CIL 3.633 IV [68d] (Philippi, II CE); IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE): 21 ‘brothers’; IBosp 1277 (ca. 173–211 CE → [96]): 37+ members; IEph 20 [127] (Ephesos, 54–59 CE): 99–100 (fishermen, fishmongers); IG II² 1292 [26] (Athens or Piraeus? 215/4 BCE): 8+ men, 1+ woman. but perhaps as many as 50–80 members; IG II² 1298 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE): 12+ members; IG II² 1325 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE): 15 members; IG II² 1343 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE): 60 members; IG II² 2348 (Piraeus, IV BCE) 4+ men, 1+ women; IG II² 2354 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE): 23 members, 10 men, 13 women; IG II² 2354 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE): 10 men, 13 women; IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?): 94 members, in several stages; IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?): 59 men, 33 women; IG II² 2361 [52] (Piraeus,

200–211 CE): 43 members; IG II² 4817 (Attica, II/III CE): 15 men, 5 women; IG VII 2463 [56] (Thebes, ca. 300 BCE): 22 members; IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE): 17 members; I.Philae II 157 [255] (Philae, 8 CE): 5 members; IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE): 43+ members (13+ men, 30 women); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE): 43+ members (13+ men, 30 women); IMiletos 796 (190–189 BCE → [132]): 13 members; IMiletos 798 [132] (79/8, 43/2, or 41/0 BCE): 20 members; IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE): 38 members; IPergamon 485 [110] (I CE): 24 members; I.Prose I 40 (Psenamosis [Western Lower Delta], 67–63 BCE): 29 members; I.Prose I 6 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE): 39+ members; I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): 30 members; Malay and C. Nalbantolu 1996, 79–80 [no. 2] (90s BCE → [121]): 44 (all citizens); P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE): 19 members; P.Cair. 30605 (Tebtynis, 145 BCE): 30; P.Cair. 30606 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): 15 members; P.Cair. 31178 (Tebtynis, 179 BCE): 19 men; P.Cair. 31179 (Tebtynis, 147 BCE): 18 men; P.Corn. 23 (Philadelphia, I CE): 88 members; P.FuadUniv. I 25 [292] (unknown, II–III CE): 5 members; P.Hamb. I 34 (Euhemeria, 159/60 CE): >6 members; P.Hamb.dem. 1 (Tebtynis, 151 BCE): 10 members; P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE): 20 members; P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE): 5 members; P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE): 16 members; P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): 24 men; P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): 15 members; P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, early I CE): 16 members; P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE): 9 members; P.Mich. IX 543 [232] (Karanis, 135–136 CE): 12–13 members; P.Mich. XII 640 (Philadelphia, I CE): 6 herdsmen; P.Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE): 5 hieroglyphic carvers; PSI VIII 901.10, 19 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): 13 (+ secretary); SB III 6184 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 138–137 BCE): 29(?) members; SB III 6319 [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE): about 40 men; SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE): 7–9 members (mainly slaves); SB XVI 12702 [270] (Oxyrhynchus III CE): 8 members; SEG 41:1329 [148] (late II CE): 18 members; SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE): 130 members, in three stages; Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222]: 5 potters

- age of members: P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, early I CE): 16 members aged 22–52 years; P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE): 9 members, 29–60 years.
- dual or multiple memberships: IG II² 1325.10 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE), Simon of Poros, also a member of the *orgeōnes* of the Great Mother in IG II² 1327.32 [35] and IG II² 1328.1 [34]; IG II² 11674 (Athens, II CE or later → [100]); P.Enteux. 21 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE): 7 women +?; membership in two associations? P.Mich. II 127.i.20, 30 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): membership in two associations; SEG 32:488 [58] (Tanagra, ca. 100 BCE); IGUR 1169 (Albani, III–IV CE → [100])
- dual or multiple membership, prohibition: SEG 29:1205.8–11 [120] (Sardis, 426 BCE or 365 BCE, ca. 150 CE)
- new members: SEG 36:228 [38] (Attica, 159/8 BCE)

membership accounts

CIL 3.633 I [68a] (Philippi, II CE)

membership lists (*alba*)

AE 1929, 161.53, 55, 58, 59, 68, 78, 85, 103 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE): 78 named; BGU VII 1615 [223] (Philadelphia, 84 CE): 30 members?; CIL 11.1355a.33 (Luna, II CE); CIL 14.250 (Ostia, 152 CE); CIL 14.251 (Ostia, 193 CE); CIL 14.4569.iv.61, v.1 (Ostia, 198 CE); CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE); CIL 6.647.iv.1 (Rome); CIL 6.7459 (Rome, II CE): 36; CIL 6.9102 (Rome, I CE): 85 names; IK Apameia 114 (Strobilos [Bithynia], 178–187 CE); ILLPRON 610.ii.9, 13, iii.1, 14 iv.1 (Virunum, II CE); I.Prose I 6 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE); NSA 1953, 280 (no. 42) (Ostia, 213 CE); P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown provenance, I CE): 19 members; P.Lille.dem. 31 (Souchos Pisais [Arsinoites], III BCE) (11 female members); P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE): 20 members; P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): 15 members P.Mich. V 247 [209] (Tebtynis, early I CE): 16 members; P.Mich. V 248 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE): 9 members; P.Petr. III 136 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); PSI VIII 901.10, 19 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE): 13 (+ secretary); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 1.v.2.48 [194]; SB III 6184 [247] (Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 138–137 BCE); SB V 8805 [260] (Ptolemaïs Hormeiou, 80/81 CE): 5 members; SB XVI 12702 [270] (Oxyrhynchus III CE): 8 members; ST 158 (Coptos, 30 BCE) 36 members.
 – erasures of names on *alba*: AE 1929, 161.53, 55, 58, 59, 68, 78, 85, 103 (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 CE): 8 (of 78) erasures; CIL 6.647.iv.1 (Rome): one name; CIL 6.7459 (Rome, II CE): 3 (of 36) erasures; CIL 6.9102 (Rome, I CE): 9 (of 85) erasures; CIL 11.1355a.33 (Luna, II CE): one erasures; CIL 6.33885 (Rome, 117–138 CE): requirement to erase names from the album; CIL 14.4569.iv.61, v.1 (Ostia, 198 CE): 2 erasures; I.Aphrod. 12.629 (Aphrodisias, II/III CE): a patron's name erased; IK Apameia 114 (Strobilos [Bithynia], 178–187 CE): a patron's name erased; ILLPRON 610.ii.9, 13; iii.1, 14; iv.1 (Virunum, II CE): 5 (of 57) erasures; P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 1.v.2.48 [194] [Εὐδῆμος]
 – *damnatio memoriae*: AE 1994, 1334 (Virunum [Noricum] 14–201 CE): Commodus; CIL 3.4816 + ILLPRON 748 + ILLPRON 773 + ILLPRON 774 (Virunum, 209): Geta; CIL 6.251.4 (Ostia, 193 CE): a senatorial patron

membership profiles → V. Types of Associations

οἱ μένοντες, (or οἱ <ν>έ<μ>οντες?) members?

I.Alex.imp. 93.3 [172] Alexandria, early I CE)

menstruation

IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); SEG 28:421 (Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [140])

merchants

SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); SEG 42:625 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); I.Assos 20 [103] (27 BCE–37 CE); I.Assos 19 (27 BCE–37 CE → [103]); I.Assos 26 (37 CE → [103]); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos, ca. 25–50 CE); SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE); Herrmann 1996, 184 (Sardis, I BCE → [122]); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 924 (Thyateira, 50 BCE → [123]); SEG 36:1207 (Milyas area, 5/4 BCE → [147])

τὸ μεσανύκτιον ἄρτου, a midnight banquet of bread (?)

IG X/2.1 259.13 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE)

μεταξὺ φίλων, *inter amicos* (manumission)

P.Oxy IX 1205.5 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

Μητροῦον, Metroon, temple of Cybele or Demeter

IG II² 1327.27 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE)

miscarriage or abortion

IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); ISmryna 728 [140] (II CE); SEG 28:421

(Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [140]); SB I 3451 (Ptolemaïs, I BCE → [140])

moral purity

IG II² 1369.31–34 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1365/1366 [53] (Laurion, ca.

200 CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); ISmryna 728 [140] (II CE)

Mouseion

I.Alex.imp. 98 [183] (Alexandria, second half II ce) *Comment*

mountain (ὄρος), as a venue for rites

IG IX,1² 670.16 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); SEG 17:503 (Miletos, late III BCE or II

BCE → [143]); SEG 41:1329 [148] (Termessos, late II CE); ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE

→ [148])

mules

EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE)

murder

IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

mysteries

IG II² 11674 (Athens, II CE → [100]); IGUR 1170 (Albani, III–IV CE → [100]);

IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IPergamon 485 [110] (Pergamon, I CE);

IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE);

MAMA IV 281 (Dionysopolis → [119]); SEG 29:1205 [120] (Sardis, 426 BCE or

365 BCE and ca. 150 CE); ISardBR 17 → [120]; TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124]);

IEph 213 [128] (88/89 CE); I LydiaM 131 (Sardis, 69–79 CE → [128]); IPessinous 18

[151] (180–200 CE); IAnkyraM 141 (128/129 CE → [151]); IPessinous 17 (150–200

CE → [151])

τὰ μυστήρια, the mysteries

IG X/2.1 255.21 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IDionysosJ 195.6 (Rome, III–IV CE →

[100])

μυστικῶς

SEG 35:1327.5 [97] (Amastris, 155 CE)

ναοποιός, temple builder

IDionysosJ 7.5 [60] (Megara, 141 CE)

ναός sanctuary

IRhamnous II 59.30 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IG II² 1314.18 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2

BCE); IG II² 1315.28 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1325.21, 31 [33] (Piraeus,

185/4 BCE); IG II² 1327.25 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE)

ναύκληροι shippers, ship owners → occupational associations (under section V)

νεκροτάφοι → occupational associations (under section V)

νέμειν τὴν σύνοδον, to form, to participate in, to manage (?) the association

BGU IV 1074.5 = Pap.Agon. no. 1 (Oxyrhynchus, 273–274 CE): τοῦ[ς] τὴν ἱερὰ[ν] σὺ[ν]οδ[ο]ν νέμοντας; BGU V 1210.240 [234] (Theadelphia, after 149 CE): Gnomon of the Idios Logos; I.Alex.Mus. 144 (Alexandria; II BCE) = I.Alex.Ptol. 41: οἱ νέμ[ον]τος σὺν ἀ]ὐτῶ τὴν ... σύνοδον; IGRR I 1114.5 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); I.Prose I 3.3 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, ca. 269–246 BCE): καὶ τοῖς τὴν σύνοδον νέμουσιν; P.Mich. IX 575.6 [238] (Karanis, 184 CE): νέμειν τὴν κοινήν; P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.7–8 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE): τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν | σύνοδον νέμοντας.

νέοι, neoi, youths

IPerinthos 49 [86] (II CE)

networks

P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE) comment; P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE) *Comment*

New Institutional Economics

P.Mich. V 245 [219] *Comment*

νεώκορος, temple warden

IPerinthos 56.9–10 [87] (196–198 CE); IEph 3801.7 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); SEG 29:1205.12 [120] (Sardis, 426 BCE or 365 BCE and 150 CE); IEph 1503.7 (ca. 138–61 CE → [128]); IEph 728.2 [131] (162/163 CE); ISmyrna 697.37 [138] (after 124 CE); IEph 22.41 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IAnazarbos 4.15 (207 CE → [153])

νόμος law, rule, constitution → δόγμα, *lex*

IG II² 1361.13 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1275.12–13, 13 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1271.18 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1278.3 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1291.5–6 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1298.20 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); SEG 2:9.5 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); IG II² 1284.24 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1292.8 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1325.28 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1326.23, 30, 45 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1369.30 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG IX,1² 670.1–2 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE); P.Enteux. 20.5, 9 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE): τὸν θιαστικὸν νόμον – κατὰ τὸν νόμον: IG II² 1271.18 [13] (Piraeus ?, 299/8 BCE) – acting against the association's rules: IG II² 1361.13 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1275.14–16 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); P.Enteux. 20.5, 9 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE)

νόσος, illness (an excuse for absence from a meeting)

IG II² 1368.50 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ξένος, ξένοι, guest(s)

I.Prose I 40.32 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118.4, 12 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE); P.Tebt. I 224r.3.1 [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); P.Tebt III/2 894.frag. 2.r.1.5, 12; frag. 2.r.2.37; frag. 5.v.2.16 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.23, 39 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE); SB XXIV 16224.60, 62 [291] (unknown, I/II CE)

– guests of individual members: P.Tebt III/2 894.frag.4 recto, l.8: ξένοι
Ἡρακλείδ[ου]; frag. 5.v.2.16. [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE)

oath

P.Cair. 30606.21 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Mich. V 233 → [218] (Tebtynis, 24 CE): φυλασσόντων τὴν ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἄφεσιν ἱερέων; P.Oxy. II 251 → [222] (Oxyrhynchus, 44 CE); P.Oxy VII 1029.20, 27 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE): of a guild of hieroglyphic carvers, concerning their membership; P.Oxy XII 1453 (Oxyrhynchus, 30–29 CE): λυχνάπτοι τοῦ ἐν Ὁξύρυζων; P.Oxy. LIV 3734 [278] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE); P.Oxy. LIV 3762 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 326 CE); P.Oxy LXVII 4583 (Oxyrhynchus, 45 CE): οἱ μελισσοῦργοι τῶν ἀπ' Ὁξύρυγγων πῶλεως; PSI III 202 [282] (Oxyrhynchus, 338 CE); PSI VIII 901.10 [218] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); SEG 31:122.31, 40 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE): of auditors

occupations → occupational associations (under section V)

offices

– term of office: διὰ βίου: IG II² 1328 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE) (attendant); IG II² 1326.36 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE) (priesthood); IG II² 2361.10, 68 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE) (priest; priestess); BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]); IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia area, late I CE or early II CE); MAMA VI 180 (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); I.Prose I 3.4 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, Arsinoites, 269–246 BCE) (πρύτανις); IGRR III 360 (Sagalassos, II–III CE → [115]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); TAM V 966 [125] (Thyateira, II–III CE); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 CE → [128]); IJO II 46 (Teos, III CE → [141]); IPrusaOlymp 24 → [146]; IPessinous 17 (150–200 CE → [151])

– term of office (*one year*): BGU VIII 1741; 1742; 1743 + XIV 2368.5 [250] (Herakleopolites, after 63 BCE) *Comment*: προστάτης; I.Alex.imp. 46 [176] (Alexandria, 20–21 CE): προστάτης; I.Alex.imp. 90 [167] (Alexandria, 10/9 BCE) (προστάτης); I.Alex.imp. 92.4 [182] (Alexandria, I CE) (πρεσβυτέρος?); I.Alex.imp. 94.2 [173] (Alexandria, early I CE) (προστάτης); I.Alex.imp. 96 [166]; I.Fayum II 122 [229] (Theadelphia, 109 CE): (*phontistēs*); I.Fayum III 212.8 [204] (Arsinoïtes, 3 CE): προστάτης; IG II² 1298.13 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE) (priests); IG II² 1324 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE): ἐπιμελητής; IG II² 1328 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE): priestess; IG II² 1334 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE) (priesthood, but renewable); IGRR I 1114.2 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] (Setis Island, 143–142 BCE): προστάτης, ἱερεύς; P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Arsinoites, Fayūm, 69–58 BCE): ἡγούμενος; P.Mich. V 244.18 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): ἡγούμενος, ἐπιμελητής; P.Mich. V 245 [219], Tebtynis, 47 CE): ἐπιμελητής; PSI XII 1265.4 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE): κεφαλαιωτής; SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE): secretary; treasurer

– term of office: *two years*: I.Alex.imp. 93 [172] (προστάτης); IG II² 1368.147 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE) (treasurer); 2 years SB I 639 [164] (Alexandria, 25 BCE) (συναγωγός)

- office (many years): IG II² 1284 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE) (secretary); IG II² 1323 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE) (treasurer); IG II² 1325 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE) (treasurer; priest); IG II² 1327 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE) (treasurer); IG II² 1329 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE) (secretary, 12 years); IG II² 1368.5–7 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE) (vice–priest, priest); IG XII,1 155.83 (*archeranistes* for 18 years), 108 (*archeranistes* for 28 years); I.Fayum III 212.7–8 [204] (Arsinoe, 3 CE) (προστάτης)
- multiple offices for a long duration: IG II² 1343 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE) (*archeranistēs*, treasurer, priest)
- οικέτης, household slave
 - SEG 46:800.33 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); TAM V 1539.6, 16 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)
- οικία, house for cultic use
 - IG II² 1361.10 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE)
- οικοδομία, building, edifice
 - IG II² 1273AB.8 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE)
- οικογένης δούλη, houseborn slave
 - P.Oxy IX 1205.4 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)
- οικονόμος, household manager
 - SEG 46:800.32 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); IBosp 1134.14, 19 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); SEG 46:1519.14 [121] (Sardis area, 188 BCE)
- οἶκος, house (= temple, shrine, meeting room)
 - BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no. 184) [98] (Amastris); sIG II² 1273AB.7 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IScM II 60.5 (II CE → [98]); IJO II 36.2 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); I.Prose I 40.7, 10, 20, 25 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.7, 11 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?); SB XXII 15460.4 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE); TAM V 1539.5, 15, 32 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)
 - room: IJO I Mac 1.10 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE)
- olive branch (decoration)
 - SEG 2:9 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE)
- ὄνειρον, ὄναρ, dream → dreams
 - IG X/2.1 255.8 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE)
- ὄπλον, shield
 - IG II² 1012.18 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE)
- oracles
 - P.Lips. II 131 [215] (Tebtynis, before 46 CE): Seknebtynis
- ὀργεῶνες, *orgeōnes* → V. Associations Names
- ὄργια, sacred rites
 - IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IDionysosJ 186.9 (Rome, I–II CE → [100]); LSAM 48.2 (Miletos, III BCE → [132]); IMagnMai 215.28 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE and 150 CE); SEG 17:503.3 (Miletos, late III BCE or II BCE → [143]); SEG 55:612.1 (Pherai, ca. 300 BCE → [148])

ὄρυγή, digging (a grave)

SB XXIV 16224 [291] (unknown, I/II CE)

ὀφείλει, he (still) owes, arrears

P.Petr. III 136.i.4, 8, 10, 14, 17 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)

pactio → *lex*

painting

CIL 3.633 [68] (Philippi, II CE); IKios 22 [101] (late Hellenistic or early imperial);

IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE → [148])

Παλαίμων, *Palaimon* as a role in a Bacchic play

IG II² 1368.124 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

πάμφυλος διὰ βίου beloved by all for life (honorific title)

SB XXII 15460.5–6 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)

παραγγελία, command meetings

P.Lond. VII 2193.12 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

παραδιδόναι, to hand over a non-paying member

P.Mich. V 244.12, 20 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE)

παράδοξος, incredible

I.Alex.imp. 99.3 [184] (Alexandria, after 212 CE)

παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, at his own expense → *posteris suis*, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

I.Alex.imp. 90.5 [167] (Alexandria? 10/9 BCE)

Parentalia

IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE)

πατήρ, intellectual father

I.Alex.imp. 98.6 [183] (Alexandria, second half II CE)

Patriarch

IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE)

πάτρων, patron

IGRR I 1114.4 [203] (Memphis, 17 BCE); I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE);

IRhamnous II 59 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IG II² 1368 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE);

TAM V 1497 (Philadelphia, ca. 250 CE → [117]); Robert 1977, 88 [no. IV] (Tarsos,

III CE → [153])

patron, patronage

I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); IG

X/2.1 70 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67); IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE)

pax Romana

SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE)

πένθος, mourning as an excuse for absence from a meeting

IG II² 1339.14–15 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368.50 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

performers

Nigdelis II.12 [78] (Thessalonikē, ca. 100–150 CE); ISmryna 639 (150–200 CE →

[137]); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); IMiletos 156 (I CE → [144])

περίβολον, enclosure

- I.Fayum III 204.4 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE); JIGRE 9.3 [157] (Alexandria, II BCE)
- περιδείπνον, funeral banquet
 P.Ryl. IV 589.68–69 (Philadelphia, 180 BCE): payment for the *perideipnon* of the sister of an association member; P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE); P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE)
- περιρράπτρια, who dresses (the goddess)
 IG II² 2361.12 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE)
- Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, *Persian of the Epigone*
 P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.1 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE); P.Mich. V 313.10 [208] (Tebtynis, 37 CE) *note*.
- philosophers, φιλόσοφοι
 I.Alex.imp. 98 [183] (Alexandria, second half II CE)
- πίναξ, tablet
 CIG II 2007f.7 [66] (Kassandreia, I CE)
- πλακουντοποιοί, cake bakers
 I.Fayum III 212.6 [204] (Arsinoïtes, 3 CE)
- πλατεῖα, the street → V. neighborhood or street associations
- play
 Nigdelis II.12 [78] (Thessalonikē, ca. 100–150 CE); SEG 35:1327 [97] (Amastris, 155 CE)
- pledge → surety, ἐνεχυράζειν
- πλειστος, the majority (voting, or present)
 BGU IV 1137.6 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE); I.Prose I 49.6 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE) *note*.
- πληγή, blow
 BGU XIV 2371.7 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); IG II² 1369.43 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE)
- police
 P.Grenf. II 43 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE)
- polis, relations of association with → city, relationships of associations with the polis or civic élite
 IG II² 337 [3] (Piraeus, 333/2 BCE); IG II² 1012 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE)
- poll tax, λαογραφία:
 P.Mich. V 244.6, 13 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE)
- pollution, sources of
 – abortion/miscarriage: IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); ISmryna 728 [140] (II CE); SEG 28:421 (Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [140]); SBI 3451 (Ptolemaïs, I BCE → [140])
 – garlic: IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
 – intercourse: IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); SEG 28:421 (Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [140])
 – menstruation: IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); SEG 28:421 (Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [140])

– murder: IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

– pork: IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

πομπή, procession

IG II² 1255.5 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); IG II² 1261.8 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1283.6, 11, 14, 15 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1324.6 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IEph 22.32 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)

– πομπή τῶν Ἀδωνίων IG II² 1261.8 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE)

ποσις, drinking

BGU XIV 2371.5 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE): οἰνοποσία; O.Edfou III 368.1, 7 [251] (Apollonopolis Magna, I BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193.8 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

posteris suis, at one's own expense

Philipp II 340/L589.4 [71] (I–II CE?)

ποταμοφύλακες, river guards

JIGRE 22 [154] (Schedia, 245–222 BCE) *Comment*

οἱ πότε..., those formerly from...

ISmryna 697 [139]

presidential power to seize sureties from members → Taxes

P.Cair. 30606.8 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE); P.Lille.dem. 29.22 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.3 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.10–12, 19–20 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Würzb. 4 [192] (Philadelphia? after 142 BCE)

priesthood → offices

– duration: IG II² 2361 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE)

– succession: IG II² 1326 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE)

πρὸ πόλεως, pro poleōs, before the city, outside the walls

SEG 39:649 [84] (Augusta Traiana, II–III CE); IEph 4337 (ca. 19–23 BCE → [128]); IEph 275.7 [130] (117–138 CE); ISmryna 655.1–2 → [138]; IMagnMai 215.35 [143] (ca. 278–250 BCE and 150 CE); SEG 17:503.4 (Miletos, late III BCE or II BCE)

προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι, sheep and donkey rearers → donkey herders, κτηνοτρόφοι

I.Fayum I 73.5 [202] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 24 BCE) *note*; P. Lond. III 842.10 (Apias, 140 CE); P.Bingen 58 (Philadelphia, 22 CE); P.Hamb. I 34.6, 10 [235] (Euhemeria, 160 CE); P.Iand. III 26a (Theadelphia, I/II CE); P.Lond. III 604 B (Krokodilopolis, 47 CE); P.Mich. II 121v. Abstract 4.xii [210] (Tebtynis, 42 CE); P.Mich. II 123r iii.40, viii.26 [216] (Tebtynis 45–46 CE); P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Ryl. II 131.21–22 (Euhemeria, 31 CE); P.Ryl. II 143.11–12 (Euhemeria, 38 BCE); P.Ryl. II 229.4 (Arsinoites, 38 CE); P.Ryl. II 73.6–7 (Euhemeria, 32–31 BCE); P.Strasb. IV 181.8–9 (Euhemeria, 166 CE); P.Wash. Univ. I 1.14–15 (Oxyrhynchus, 27–37 CE)

procession → πομπή

produce

EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE)

προεδρία (right to sit in the) front/first seats

P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.5 [274] (Oxyrhynchus, 288 CE)

prohibited behaviour:

- absence from a meeting: P.Mich. V 243.4 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- absence from a funeral: P.Mich. V 243 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- abuse one another at the banquet: P.Lond. VII 2193.15–16 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243.8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- accusation of a member: P.Mich. V 243.7 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- adultery or intrigue: P.Mich. V 243.8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- cloud (blemish?) the drinking festival: P.Lond. VII 2193.18 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- drunkenness: P.Mich. V 243.3 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- enter into one another's pedigrees at the banquet P.Lond. VII 2193.15 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- failure to assist a member in distress: P.Mich. V 243.6 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- to hinder the [president?] P.Lond. VII 2193.20 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- indict or to accuse one another: P.Lond. VII 2193.16–17 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- litigation, lawsuits against a member: BGU XIV 2371.2 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); P.Mich. V 243.7–8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- move from one couch to another: P.Lond. VII 2193.18 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 243.7 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE)
- verbal abuse: BGU XIV 2371.6 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE)

propagation → recruitment

SEG 46:744 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE)

πρόξενος, *proxenos*

IG II² 1012.18–19 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); I.Prose I 6.67 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)

προσευχή, prayer house

- of Asbameus: Kalinka, JÖAI 28 (1933) 61, no. 8 (Beibl.) (Amastris → [95])
- of the Judaean God: IBosp 70.6–7 [95]; IJO I BS18 (Phanagoria, 53 CE → [95]); JIGRE 9.3–4 [157]; JIGRE 13.5 [162] (Alexandria, 37 BCE); JIGRE 22.7 [154] *Note*; JIGRE 24.7 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE); JIGRE 25.6; JIGRE 27.6 [158]; JIGRE 117.10 [186] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE); JIGRE 125.5, 9 [161] (Leontopolis, 47–30 BCE); C.Pap.Jud. II 1539b (I/II CE) (→ JIGRE 24 [156]); P.Lond. III 1177.57 (→ JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment*); P.Tebt. I 86r.17, 18 → JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment* (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE)
- of Theos Hypsistos: IBosp 1123.9 (Gorgippia, 41 CE → [95])

πρόσταγμα, command (often in the phrase κατὰ πρόσταγμα, ‘in accord with a divine (?) command’) → dreams.

IG II² 4671 (IV/III BCE) (dedication to Agdistis); IAegThrace 203 (Thrace; II/III CE): dedication to Sarapis, Anoubis and Isis; IBosp 27 (Pantikapaion; II BCE); ID 1450.198 (Delos; 140/39 BCE): κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ; ID 1901 (Delos; 114/13 BCE); ID 2047 (Delos; 126/5 BCE): dedication of a priest of Sarapis, Isis and Anoubis, κατὰ πρόσταγμα; ID 2080 (Delos; 105–103 BCE): dedication of an altar to Isis

- Aphrodite by the *θεραπευταί* ID 2098 (Delos; after 158/7 BCE): *κατὰ πρόσταγμα Σαράπιος*, Ἴσιος, Ἀνούβιος, Ἀφροδίτης; ID 2100 (Delos); 2107 (Delos); SEG 42:157.7–8 [41] (ca. 116/5–ca. 95/4 BCE); IG XI,4 1224.3 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1225.2 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1230.5 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1231.3 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1233.4 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1234.1 (Delos, before 166 BCE); IG XI,4 1235.4 (Delos, before 166 BCE) and many other Delian dedications to Isis and Sarapis; IG XI,4 1299.1–2 (Delos, before 166 BCE); SEG 14:481 (Macedonia; 300–250 BCE): Dedication to Artemis Opitais.
- προστατήσας*, “having served as president,” “former president.” → Index VII:
- προστάτης*, president
- I.Alex.imp. 46.2–3 [176] (Alexandria, 20–21 CE); I.Alex.imp. 93.1 [172]; I.Alex.imp. 94.1–2 [173]; I.Alex.imp. 96.2–3 [166]; IGRR I 1095 [163]; 1114.1 [203]; SB I 639 [164]
- προστάτων*, “current president” → index VII: *προστάτης*, president
- I.Alex.imp. 90.1 [167]
- προχειρίζω*, elect → *χειροτονέω*.
- P.Mich. V 245.4 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE): *προχειρίσαι*.
- Πρωτεύρρυθμος Proteurythmos as a role in a Bacchic play
- IG II² 1368.125 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- provincial leagues (*koina*) → regional or provincial leagues
- punishments
- IG II² 1369.42–44 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); IEph 215 (II CE → [125]); IKnidos 160 (350–300 BCE → [142]); IEph 2212 [126] (41–54 CE); SEG 58:1640 [149] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
- purity, purifications → moral purity, pollution
- IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
- ῥάβδος, rod (used for punishment of members)
- BGU XIV 2371.7 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE)
- ῥαβδοφορία, rod bearing
- IG II² 1368.131 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- reconciliation inscriptions
- ILydiaHM 85 [119] (Sattai area, 205/206 CE); TAM V 576 (Maionia → [119])
- records (of the association), τὰ κοινὰ βιβλία
- I.Prose I 49.54 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)
- recruitment → Waltzing 1895–1900, 4:260–62
- IG II² 1361 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); SEG 36:228 [38] (Attica, 159/8 BCE); IG II² 1339 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1369 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE); SEG 31:122.38–39 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE); IG II² 1368.32–33 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); SEG 46:744 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE)
- recruitment to the army: P.Oxy XLV 3261 [281] (Oxyrhynchus, 324 CE) *Comments*
- refusal to serve as officer (because of expense)
- I.Prose I 49.18–19 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)
- regional or provincial leagues (*koina*)

- Asian *koinon*: MAMA VI List 164 [**114**] (Akmoneia, ca. 98–117 CE)
- Augustan Galatians *koinon*: IPessinous 17 (150–200 CE → [**151**])
- Galatian *koinon*: IPessinous 18 [**151**] (180–200 CE)
- Hellenes of Asia: IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [**111**])
- Macedonian *koinon*: SEG 1:282 [**62**] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); EKM I.Beroia 22 [**63**] (7 BCE)

rental income

- IEph 22.20 [**144**] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE): πρόσδοτον αἰώνιον; IG II² 1361.8–10 [**4**] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE): τὸ ἐν[οίκιον τῇ]ς οἰ[κίας]; IVarsovie 44.4–5 (→ [**154**]): τὴν πρόσδοτον τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων.

resignation

- P.Lond. VII 2193.17 [**199**] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

return of guild member, declaration (for taxation purposes)

- P.Bour. 21 [→ **222**] (Karanis, 139–145 CE)

ritual, rites

- SEG 46:744 [**65**] (Edessa, 51 CE); CIG II 2007f [**66**] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); Philipp II 340/L589 [**71**] (I–II CE?); IG X/2.1 259 [**76**] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 255 [**77**] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IPerinthos 57 [**88**] (II CE?); IByzantion 37 [**91**] (117–137 CE); SEG 35:1327 [**97**] (Amastris, 155 CE); IGUR 1228 (Rome, I–II CE → [**100**]); IEph 213 [**128**] (88/89 CE); LSAM 48 (Miletos, III BCE → [**132**]); ISmyrna 728 [**140**] (II CE); IMagnMai 215 [**143**] (ca. 278–250 BCE and 150 CE); SEG 17:503 (Miletos, late III BCE or II BCE → [**143**]); SEG 55:612 (Pherai, ca. 300 BCE → [**148**])

rivalry → ἐφάμυλλος

river gods

- IKyme 37 [**105**] (late I BCE or early I CE)

roosters, ἀλέκτορες

- SB I 4549.5, 9 [**269**] (Talmis [Kalabchah], 226 CE) as items contributed along with wine

Rosalia, ρόδοι, rosalia

- Philipp II 133/G441.17 [**69**] (II–III CE); IG X/2.1 259 [**76**] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 260 [**81**] (Thessalonikē, III CE); IPergamon 374 [**111**] (129–138 CE); IJO II 171 (Akmoneia, 212–295 CE → [**113**])

sacrifice → θυσία, θύω sacrifice

- EKM I.Beroia 22 [**63**] (7 BCE); IG X/2.1 255 [**77**] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); IG X/2.1 260 [**81**] (Thessalonikē, III CE); IByzantion 37 [**91**] (117–137 CE); IApamBith 35 [**99**] (Apameia Myrleia area, 119 or 104 BCE); IApamBith 33 (Apameia Myrleia, 123 or 108 BCE → [**99**]); IAssos 26 (37 CE → [**103**]); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [**108**]); IPergamon 374 [**111**] (129–138 CE); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [**111**]); TAM V 1539 [**117**] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [**124**]); IEph 213 [**128**] (88/89 CE); IMiletos 360 (80–82 CE → [**128**]); IEph 719 [**129**] (ca. 102–114 CE); IDelphi I 12 (360 BCE → [**129**]); IEph 1162 (ca. 138–61 CE → [**129**]); LSAM 48 (Miletos, III BCE → [**132**]); IMiletos 935 [**133**] (ca. 120 CE); ISmyrna 728 [**140**] (II CE); SEG 28:421 (Megalopolis, ca. 200 BCE → [**140**]); OGIS I 326 [**141**] (Teos,

- 146–133 BCE); SEG 58:1640 [**149**] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE); IBoubon 58 (Lycia → [**149**])
- salary, wages, ὀψώνιον
P.Grenf. II 43.13 [**225**] (Soknopaïou Nesos, 92 CE); P.Soter. 28.4 (Theadelphia, 91 CE) → [**225**].
- Σαραπεῖον, Sarapeion
IG II² 1292.27 [**26**] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IRhamnous II 59 [**27**] (after 216/15 BCE); IG X/2.1 70 [**74**] (Thessalonikē, 66–67); IG X/2.1 259 [**76**] (Thessalonikē, I CE); P.Oxy. XXXI 2592.3 [**262**] (Oxyrhynchus, 75–199 CE)
- sarcophagus
IJO I Mac 15 [**82**] (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE); IJO 196 [**116**] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE); Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1] (ca. 180–250 CE → [**116**]); IJO II 191 (Hierapolis, ca. 200 CE and post–250 CE → [**116**]); IJO II 206 (Hierapolis, ca. 150–200 CE → [**116**]); TAM V 1055 (Thyateira, II–III CE → [**124**]); TAM III 400 (post–212 CE → [**147**]); IJO II 146 (Thyateira, ca. 120–220 CE → [**152**]); MAMA III 770 (Korykos, V–VII CE → [**153**])
- sea
SEG 42:625 [**75**] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE); IMT 1539 [**107**] (Kyzikos, I BCE); TAM V 1539 [**117**] (ca. 100 BCE)
- seating
IG II² 1368.74 [**51**] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IJO II 36 [**106**] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); IMiletos 940a–h [**135**] (II–V CE); TAM II 910 [**146**] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); P.Lond. VII 2193.24–29 [**199**] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- σεμνοτάτη most holy → ἅγιος, ἅγνός
IG II² 1369.31 [**49**] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); MAMA VI 180.8 (Apameia Kelainai → [**115**]); IKibyra 63.5 (ca. 150 CE → [**115**]); IJO II 196.5 [**116**] (Hierapolis, late II–III CE)
- Senate
IPerinthos 56 [**87**] (196–198 CE); IPerinthos 57 [**88**] (II CE?); IGBulg V 5434 [**89**] (Philippolis, II–III CE); I LydiaHM 85 [**119**] (Saittai area, 205/206 CE); IEph 728 [**131**] (162/163 CE); IMiletos 156 (I CE → [**144**]); Robert 1949, 197–205 (Tarsos, late II–III CE → [**153**])
- σημαίνω, to record
O.Fay. 14.4 (Euhemeria, 1 CE) (→ SB VI 9112 [**207**])
- shippers and shipping → occupational associations (under section V)
- shrine
Philipp II 133/G441 [**69**] (II–III CE); SEG 29:1205 [**120**] (Sardis, 426 BCE or 365 BCE and ca. 150 CE); ISardBR 22 (ca. 100 BCE → [**120**]); Jones 1983 (Lydia → [**124**]); IEph 20 [**127**] (54–59 CE); ISmryna 728 [**140**] (II CE); SEG 58:1640 [**149**] (Tlos or Xanthos, 150–100 BCE)
- Sibylline Oracle
IPerinthos 57 [**88**] (II CE?)
- silversmith → occupational associations (under section V)

simplicity → ἀπλῆ τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀπλῶς

singing (ἀεῖδω, ᾄσαι)

IG II² 1368.63 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); IEph 3801 (Hypaipa, I CE → [111]);

ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE → [148])

size of associations → membership

σιωπητικόν, a fee for silence,

P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE)

σκευοθήκη, “tool shed” or “harness room” (as a meeting place)

SB III 7182.46, 77 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)

slaves

IG II² 1335 [43] (Piraeus, 101/0 BCE); IG II² 1369 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG VII 688 [57] (Tanagra); CIL 3.633 II.A.3 [68b] (Philippi, II CE); SEG 46:800 [72] (Pydna, 250 CE); IByzantion 31 [90] (85–96 CE); IBosp 70 [95] (Pantikapaion, 81 CE); IBosp 74 (Pantikapaion, 173–211 CE → [95]); IBosp 1021 (Pantikapaion, 105 CE → [95]); IBosp 1123 (Gorgippia, 41 CE → [95]); ILeukopetra 16 (184/185 CE → [95]); Ikyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IJO II 43 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106]); P.Mich. V 244.12 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): σῶμα; TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE → [122]); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 995 (Thyateira → [124]); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); OGIS I 326 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE); JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153] (Flaviopolis?, before 300 CE)

slaves, imperial: BGU IV 1137 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE)

slaves or freedmen

IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?)

slave names

IG II² 1256.2, 3 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 2347 [12] (Salamis, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1277 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); SEG 2:9 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); SEG 36:228 [38] (Attica, 159/8 BCE); IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE)

slave trade

SEG 46:1524 [122] (Sardis, late I CE–early II CE)

sleep

IG X/2.1 255 [77] (Thessalonikē, I–II CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)

Solon

IG II² 1275.10 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1012.14 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE)

son of god

SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); IKyme 17 [104] (28/27 BCE); IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE); ISmyrna 731–732 (80–83 CE → [137]); SEG 36:1207 (Milyas, 5/4 BCE → [147]); IAnazarbos 3 (136 CE → [153])

σπήλαιον, grotto, cave

IThraceLPZ E18 [83] (Abdera, III CE?)

σπονδαί, libations

P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.9 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE)

sportulae → distributions of money

στασιωδής, στασιώδεις, seditious (?), factious

P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097.8 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE).

statue

CIL 3.633 [68] (Philippi, II CE); IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IScM II 60 (II CE → [98]); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos area, ca. 25–50 CE); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [108]); AÉ, 1977, 802 (Temenothyrai, late I or early II CE → [114]); IGRR IV 791 [115] (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 69–81 CE); MAMA V (Apameia Kelainai, ca. 160 CE → [115]); IGLAM 648 (post–212 CE → [117]); SEG 29:1205 [120] (Sardis, 426 BCE or 365 BCE and ca. 150 CE); TAM V 932 (Thyateira → [122]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); TAM V 955 (Thyateira, after 212 CE → [124]); TAM V 966 [125] (Thyateira, II–III CE); ISmryna 721 (ca. 14–37 CE → [126]); PIR² A 1559 (Halikarnassos, II CE → [127]); IEph 1503 (ca. 138–61 CE → [127]); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); IAph 12.719 [142] (Aphrodisias, 117–138); IEph 22 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE); TAM II 906 → [146]; TAM III 4 + 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); IBoubon 58 (Lycia → [149]); Robert 1949, 197–205 (Tarsos, late II–III CE → [153])

στέφανος, wreath, crown,

EKM I.Beroia 22 [63] (7 BCE); IG X/2.1 260 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE); Philipp II 142/G562 [70] (II–III CE); IApamBith 35.4–5, 6 [99] (119 or 104 BCE); IScM II 7.11 (late I BCE–early I CE → [101]); IPergamon 374.15–17 [111] (129–138 CE); Jordanis–Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556.5 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [129]); IPessinous 17.19 (150–200 CE → [151]); IProse I 3.9 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hormeïou, 269–246 BCE); P.Petr. III 136.iii.23 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); P.Tebt. I 118.9, 14 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag. 7v2.3, frag. 10r.7 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); Robert 1949, 197–205.8 (late II–III CE → [153]); SB III 6319 *passim* [197] (Magdôla, II–I BCE)

– ἄνθινος στέφανος, flower wreath: IApamBith 33.5 (123 or 108 BCE → [99])

– for deceased member: IG II² 1368.161 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); SEG 35:1327.16 [97] (Amastris, 155 CE); SEG 28:953.52, 54, 56, 70 [108] (Kyzikos area, ca. 25–50 CE)

– δρυὶς στέφανος, oak wreath: IG II² 1284.13, 29 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE)

– θαλλοῦ στέφανος, olive wreath: IG II² 1261.15–16, 49 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE; 301/0 BCE; 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1262.8 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263.36 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1271.16 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1277.26 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1278.11 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1273AB.12, 35 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); IG II² 1291.13, 18, 25 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1297.11 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1301.13 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE); IG II² 1292.12 [26] (Athens or Piraeus?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 1314.15 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.21 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1324.20 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1329.24 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); AM 66:228.14 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1334.15 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE); IG II² 1343 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE).

- κιττοῦ στέφανος ivy wreath: IG II² 1325.28 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE)
- χρύσος στέφανος, golden wreath: IG II² 1255.8 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); IG II² 1256.9 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 1252.9–10 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IRhannous II 59.8, 23 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IJO II 36.8 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); ISmryna 215.6–7 (I CE → [129]); IEph 22.55 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE); TAM III 4.18 [147] (Termessos, II CE)
- στιβάς, straw-strewn floor, meeting place, *stibadium*
IG II² 1368.48, 52–53, 63, 70, 112, 114–115, 152 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); I.Prose I 49.27 [170] (Psenemphaia 5 BCE)
- στολισμός θεῶν, dressing the gods
P.Lund IV 11.i .1, ii.3 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE)
- στροῦμα, covering (on a grave)
SB XXIV 16224.38, 45, 58, 63, 69 [291] (unknown, I/II CE)
- στόρννυμι, στραννύω, στρῶννυμι, spread, strew for a seat or throne, spread a banquet
IG II² 1315.9 [29] (Piraeus, 211/210 BCE): ἔστρωσεν δὲ καὶ κλίνην; IG II² 1328.9–10 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE): στ[ρω]νύειν | θρόνους δὺ[ο ὦ]ς καλλίστους
- στρεπτός, pastry rolls
SEG 31:122.33 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
- strike
PSI VII 822 [265] (Antinoopolis? 130–199 CE)
- στρῶννυμι → στόρννυμι, στραννύω, στρῶννυμι, to spread a throne, banquet
- στρώσις, spreadings, furnishings
Agora 16:235.7–9 (Athens, 202/1 BCE): [—· ἐπεμ]ελήθη δὲ τῆς στ[ρώ]||σεως τῆς κλίνης τῶν θεῶ||ν; IG II² 1329.14–16 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE): διατετέλεκεν δὲ καὶ || συνλειτουργῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγερμοῖς καὶ ταῖς στρώσε|σιν ταῖς ἱεραῖς; IPergamon 374.C5, 10, D5, 9, 10, 18 [111] (129–138 CE)
- subscriptions, ἐπιδόσεις → ἐπιδίδωμι, contribute
CJZC 72 (Bernikē, 54/55 CE); IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IG II² 1322 (Rhannous, III/II BCE); IKyme 37 [105]: each contributing 103 dr.
- συγγενής, kinsman (of the king)
I.Prose I 40.5, 14, 20, 29 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); P.Rain.Cent. 51.1 [159] (Sestis, 99–50 BCE) *note*
- συνεργοί, fellow workers
P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097.2, 9 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE)
- συλλογὴ σύλλογος, meeting, gathering
IG II² 1343.11 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193.12 [199]; P.Mich. V 243.4 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); PSI XII 1265.8 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)
- συμβολαί, dues → dues
Philo, *Ebr.* 20–21; IG XII,7 22.28 (Arcesine, III BCE); P.CairZen III 341a.18a (Alexandria, after 247 BCE): διὰ τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν πάσας τὰς συμβολάς; contributions, dues P.Lond. VII 2193.20 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. II 127.ii.33 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE); P.Mich. V 244.19 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Mich. VIII 511

- [240] (Karanis, early III CE); P.Petr. III 136.i.3, 7, 9, 13, 16, 19 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE); P.Tebt. I 112.26 (Kerkeosiris, Arsinoites, 112 BCE) = P.Tebt. V 1151; P.Tebt. I 119.56 (Tebtynis, 105–102 BCE); P.Tebt. III/2 894.frag 3v1.4–18 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE); SB III 7182.38 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE)
- σύμβολον, token, proof, authorization
 P.Ryl. IV 580.1, 2, 9 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE)
- συνάγω, to convene, gather, found → θεμελιώω, καθιδρύω, κτάνομαι
 – to convene a meeting: IG II² 1177.4–5 (Piraeus, IV BCE): μηδὲ θιά[σο]||[υς]
 συνάγει; IG II² 1368.4–5 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE): ἀγορὰν συνήγαγεν
 – to found or convene an association: ID 2225 (Delos, end of II BCE): οὗς
 συνήγα[γε] (Atargatis); IG II² 1297.4 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE): σ. τὸν θίασον; IG II²
 1366.21 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1369.25–26 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG
 XI,4 1227.1–4: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν δεκαδιστῶν καὶ | δεκαδιστριῶν ὧν συνήγαγεν |
 Ἀρίστων Σαράπιδι, Ἰσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, | θεοῖς συννάοις; IG XII,3 330 (Thera, 210–195
 BCE): συναγαγὲν κοινὸν ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν; LSAM 48.3–4 = SEG 15:679
 (Miletos, 276/5 BCE): μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ μηδὲ | [συν]αγαγεῖν τὸν θίασον
 – God as the founder: ID 2225.3–4: ἀ[πὸ τῶν? θι]ασιτῶν Ἀγνῆς Θεοῦ οὗς
 συνήγα[γε] (Atargatis); SEG 52:761.8–10 (Delos, II BCE): τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασιτῶ [ν]
 | τῶν Σύρων τῶν εἰκαδιστῶν οὗς συνήγαγε | ἡ θεός (Atargatis)
- συναγωγή, meeting (rather than the name of an association) → James 1:2
 BGU IV 1137.1–2 [168] (Alexandria 6 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 91.2–3 [174] (Alexandria,
 4/5 CE); I.Prose I 25.1–4 (Memphis, 12/11 BCE); I.Prose I 40.1 [160] (Psenamosis
 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.2–3 [170] (Psenemphaia 5 BCE); P.Lond. VII 2193.12 [199]
 (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Ryl. IV 590.1 [288] (Unknown Egyptian location, 51–
 30 (?) BCE); SB XXII 15460.3 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)
 – ἐπὶ τῆς γενομένης συναγωγῆς, at the meeting which occurred: BGU IV 1137.1–2
 [168] (Alexandria 6 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 91.2–3 [174] (Alexandria, 4/5 CE); I.Prose I
 40.2–3 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.3 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE);
 P.Ryl. IV 590.1 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE); SB XXII 15460.1–2 [169]
 (Alexandria, 5 BCE)
- συναγωγή, assembly hall, synagogue → section VI
 IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); IPerinthos 49 [86] (I CE); IJO I Mac 15 [82]
 (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE)
- σύνδευτοι, fellow diners
 P.Tebt. I 118.4, 10 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE)
- συνεισφόροι, contributors
 P.Lond. VII 2193.7–8 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)
- συνερανιστής, fellow eranistēs → ἐρανισταί (under VI)
 SEG 31:122.8–9 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE)
- συνεργός co-worker
 P.Ryl. IV 654.4 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)
- συνθιασῶται fellow *thiasōtai* → θιασῶται (under VI)

συνλογία (συλλογή) meeting

P.Lond. VII 2193.12 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

συνοδίτης, -οι, member of a synodos

BGU IV 1137.8 [168] (Alexandria, 6 BCE)

σύνοδος, meeting, gathering (equivalent to *ekklēsia*) → σύνοδος (under section VI)

IG II² 1325.30 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE); IG II² 1326.6–7, 40 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1329.8 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1012.14 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); IDionysosJ 7.2 [60] (Megara, 141 CE); IG IX,1² 670.3 [61] (Physkos, ca. 150 CE)

syncretism

IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 291 [79] (Thessalonikē, ca. 190 CE); LSAM 80 [152] (Elaioussa Sebaste area, ca. 27 BCE–14 CE)

συντάξις, allotment, arrangement

P.Rain.Cent. 51.10 [159] (Sestis, 99–50 BCE) *note*

συνταφιαστής, fellow burial society member

P.Ryl. IV 590.13 [288] (unknown, 51–30 (?) BCE)

συντελοῦντες, contributors

P.Lund IV 11.ii.1 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE)

surety, ἐνεχυράζειν, ἔγγυος

P.Mich. V 243.9 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.9–10 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE): association required to provide surety for arrested member (up to 100 dr.);

P.Mich.Zen. 57.3 [185] (Philadelphia, 248 BCE); P.Oxy XLV 3261.11 [280] deeds of

security offered by a guild; P.Ryl. II 94 [205] (Euhemeria, 15–36 CE); P.Ryl. IV

586.28 [248] (Oxyrhynchus 99 BCE): the wife of a debtor is identified as the surety.

– seizure of a surety (ἐνεχυράζειν) from a defaulting member: P.Cair. 30606.8 [191]

(Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE): *note*; P.Lille.dem. 29.22 [188] (Pisais, 223 BCE); P.Mich. V

243.3 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 244.10–12, 19 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE);

P.Mich. V 245.40 [219] (Tebtynis, 47 CE); P.Würzb. 4.13–14 [192] (Philadelphia?

after 142 BCE). Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] *Comment*; SB XXIV

16296.12 [286] (unknown, 182 or 158 BCE)

σύσσιτος, οι, messmate(s)

I.Alex.imp. 98.5 [183] (Alexandria, second half II CE)

συστάτης, registrar (of a town)

P.Leid.Inst. 62.5 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE)

σχίσμα, division

P.Lond. VII 2193.13 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE)

σωτηρία, safety, salvation

TAM V 1539.1 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)

– ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας: SEG 46:744.2 [65] (Edessa, 51 CE); IAssos 26 (37 CE →

[103]); TAM V 1556 (Lydia, 161/162 CE → [112]); IMiletos 1139.7 (ca. 150–200 CE

→ [134]); JHS 11 (1890) 23.1 [153] (Flaviopolis?, before 300 CE)

table → τραπέζα

tablet

CIG II 2007f.2 [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); IOlbiaD 94a-c (V BCE → [92]); SEG 55:612 (Pherai, ca. 300 BCE → [148])

tabula ansata

CIL 3.633 [68] (Philippi, II CE); IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); IJO I Mac 15 [82] (Thessalonikē, ca. 200 CE)

ταμεία, treasury

IG II² 1326.38 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE)

ταμειευτική σπονδή, libation of the treasurer

IG II² 1368.157–158 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ταφή, burial → burial

IG II² 1327.11 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); SB XXIV 16224.16, 23, 24, 25 [291] (unknown, I/II CE)

ταφικόν burial payment → burial

IG II² 1278.2 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1323.11 [31] (Athens, 194/3 BCE); BGU VI 1668.14 (Philadelphia, Arsinoites; I CE); P.Cair. 30606.14 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 8 shares = 40 deben for members; P.Cair. 30606.16 [191] (Tebtynis, 158/57 BCE) 20 shares = 100 deben! (for family members); P.Enteux. 20.5, 7, 14 [189] (Magdôla, 221 BCE); P.Enteux. 21.6, 8, 16 [190] (Magdôla, 218 BCE); P.Ryl. IV 580.1, 5 [287] (unknown, 27/78/49 BCE)

taxes → χειρωνάζιον, ἀναβολικόν, χρυσάργυρον, *vestis militaris*

EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE); IBosp 1134 [93] (Gorgippia, 173–211 CE); IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [108]); P.Genova I 24 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Oxy. XII 1414.4 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE); PSI XII 1265.6, 7 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE); SB XVI 12695 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolites, 73 CE) – dispute over taxes: P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE) – guilds as the node for tax extraction: P.Mich. V 244 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE); P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097 [257] (Oxyrhynchus, 62 CE) *Comment*; PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE); SB XVI 12695.3 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolites, 73 CE) – corporate liability of the guild for the taxes for recalcitrant?: P.Oxy. LXXVI 5097 [257] *comment*; P.Tebt. II 287 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE); PSI XII 1265 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE); Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolites, 73 CE)

τέκτονες, builders

– exempt from *litourgiae*: P.Phil. 1.32 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

τελετής, –αί, rites, initiations

SEG 35:1327.5 [97] (Amastris, 155 CE)

τελέω, to perform, complete sacrifices/libations

P.Oxy. XLIV 3164.5 [259] (Oxyrhynchus, 73 CE)

τέμενος, sacred precinct, sanctuary

IG II² 2948.2; IG II² 1314.23 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1343.40 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); ISmryna 728.2 [140] (II CE); IEph 22.17 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142.CE)

temple → ἱερόν, νάος

templum, temple

CIL 3.633 I.7, 12, 13, 16, 23 [68a] (Philippi, II CE)

– construction of a temple by association members: CIL 3.633 I [68a] (Philippi, II CE)

τετραστόα, tetrastoa

IJO I Mac 1.13 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE)

τέχνη craft, craft guild

P.Ryl. IV 654.3, 17, 18 [277] (Oxyrhynchus, 302–309? CE)

theatre

Philipp II 142/G562 [70] (II–III CE); IGLAM 648 (post–212 CE → [117]); IMiletos 935 [133] (ca. 120 CE); IMiletos 940a–h [135] (II–V CE); TAM II 910 [146] (Rhodiapolis, II CE)

Thracian Horseman

Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE); IG X/2.1 291 [79] (Thessalonikē, ca. 190 CE)

title borrowing

P.Mich. VIII 511 [240] (Karanis, early III CE) *Comment*; SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE) *Comment*

tomb, τάφος, ἡ σορός καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος → burial

I.Prose I 40.43 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); Philipp II 133/G441 [69] (II–III CE)

– informants about misuse of a tomb: Philipp II 133/G441.9 [69] (II–III CE)

– multiple associations designated as guardians of a tomb: IG X/2.1 260 [81]: the *thiasos* of the Dryophoroi, and failing them, the city; IHierapJ 133: nail manufacturers, failing them, the coppersmiths, and failing them, the purple-dyers; IHierapJ 227: the purple-dyers, failing them, the cattle herders; IHierapJ 342: the purple-dyers, failing them, the carpet-weavers; IJO II 196 [116]: the purple-dyers and the carpet weavers; Philipp II 133/G441.9 [69] (II–III CE): symposium of the god Souregethēs, and failing them, the symposiasts of the Hero; Ritti 2006, 48–52 [no. 1]; ca. 180–250 CE): guild of flax-workers, and failing them, the *philoploi* (a gladiatorial fan-club?).

τόπος → Building inscriptions (Epigraphical and Papyrological Genres)

transport

EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE)

τραπέζη, bank

P.Grenf. II 43.2 [225] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 92 CE)

τραπεζίται, bankers

PSI XII 1265.2 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)

τραῦμα, wound (?)

BGU XIV 2371.8 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE)

thrones

IG II² 1328.10 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IEph 275 [130] (117–138 CE)

translocal cultic connections

I.Fayum III 204 [200] (Soknopaiou Nesos, 68 BCE); P.Oxy IX 1205 [276] (Oxyrhynchus, 291 CE)

τράπεζα, cult table

IG II² 2343 [1] (Athens, ca. 400 BCE); Agora 16:161.15 [14] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1366.20 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

τρίκλινον, τρίκλεινον, triclinium

IG II² 2499.29–30 [7] (Athens, 306/5 BCE); IJO I Mac 1.12 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); P.Lond. VII 2193 [199] (Philadelphia, 69–58? BCE); P.Mich. V 246 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE): *triclinium* or *deipnēterion*

ὕβριζω insult, abuse

IG II² 1368.74–75, 78, 79 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

ὕμνητής, hymn singer → ὕμνωδοί

IG II² 2361.3–4 [52] (Piraeus, 200–211 CE)

ὕμνωδοί, hymn singers → section VII

ὕπὲρ NN, for the wellbeing of NN

JIGRE 22.1–2 [154] (Schedia, 245–222 BCE): βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου; JIGRE 24.1 [156] (Xenephyris, 140–116 BCE)

ὕπνος (κατ' ὕπνον), in a dream → dreams

IG XI/4 1299.14 (Delos, before 166 BCE); TAM V 1539.4 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE)

ὕπογραφεύς, clerk, scribe → Youtie 1975.

P.Laur. IV 155.2 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 283–292 CE); P.Mich. II 121.r.IV.vi.13 [210] (Tebtynis, 37 CE)

Vedii, Vedius family

IEph 20 [127] (54–59 CE); IEph 1162 (ca. 138–61 CE → [129]); IEph 2065 (ca. 160 CE → [129]); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE)

vestis militaris

P.Genova I 24 [293] (unknown, IV CE); P.Leid.Inst. 62 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE); P.Oxy. XII 1414.4 [272] (Oxyrhynchus, 271–272 CE) *note*

veterans

P.Lund IV 11 [237] (Bakchias, 170, 203, 231, or 263 CE)

Via Egnatia

SEG 1:282 [62] (Acanthus, 27 BCE–14 CE); SEG 42:625 [75] (Thessalonikē, 90–91 CE)

vineyard

IG X/2.1 259 [76] (Thessalonikē, I CE); IG X/2.1 260 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE)

virtues and vices

– ἀγνός και εὐσεβής και ἀγαθός, pure and pious and good: IG II² 1369.33–34 [51] (Athens, ca. 100 CE)

- ἀκοσμέω, be disorderly: IG II² 1368.73 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- ἀλύπως, without causing offence: IG II² 1334.10 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE)
- ἀνδραγαθία, goodness, generosity, virtue: IG II² 1261.13–14, 37–38 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE)
- ἀπλόος, ἀπλῶς, simple, simply: IG II² 1365.26 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1366.12, 26 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
- ἀρετή, excellence: I.Prose I 6.174 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)
- ἀρετή και δικαιοσύνη excellence and honesty: IG II² 1252 + 999.7 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1263.22 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 2347.5–6 [12] (Samalis, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1316.16–17 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE)
- ἀρετή και εὖνοια, excellence and good will: IG II² 1263.41–42 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IPessinous 18.10–11 [151] (180–200 CE)
- ἀρετή και εὐσέβεια, excellence and piety: IG II² 1297.16 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1327.18–19 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1329.24–25 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1334.16 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE)
- ἀρετή και καλοκαγαθία και εὖνοια, excellence and benefactions and good will: IG II² 1325.28–29 [33] (Piraeus, 185/4 BCE)
- ἀρετή και φιλοτιμία, excellence and zeal: IG II² 1277.22 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1291.25–26 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE)
- ἀφιλαργυρία, ἀφιλαργύρως, selflessly, not being addicted to money: IG II² 1343.25 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)
- δικαιοσύνη, honesty: IJO II 171.C3 (212–295 CE → [129])
- δικαιοσύνη και ἐπιμελεία, honesty and care: IG II² 1256.8 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE)
- δικαιοσύνη και φιλοτιμία και εὐσέβεια, honesty and zeal and piety: IG II² 1278.11–12 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE)
- εὐεργετέω, be a benefactor: IG II² 1329.21–22 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE)
- εὐκοσμία, orderly behaviour: IG II² 1368.65 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- εὖνοια, εὖνους, good will: I.Alex.imp. 97.3 [175] (Alexandria, 7 CE); IG II² 1326.5 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1329.3 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1343.8 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); I.Prose I 49.16 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IRhamnous II 59.18 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); ISmryna 600.7 (157–158 CE → [137]); ISmryna 639.10 (150–200 CE → [137]); I.Prose I 3.5 [243] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 269–246 BCE); I.Prose I 6.4, 19 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE); OGIS I 326.11, 19 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)
- εὖνοια και καλοκαγαθία, good will and nobility: IG II² 1326.40–41 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE)
- εὖνοία και φιλοτιμία, good will and zeal: IG II² 1301.13–14 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE)
- εὐσέβεια, piety: IMT 1431 (Kyzikos → [108]); ISmryna 639.9 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmryna 639.8 (150–200 CE → [137]); ISmryna 653.3 [138] (I–II CE); ISmryna 654.4 (I–II CE → [138])
- εὐσέβεια ... και φιλοτιμία, piously [to the gods] and with zeal [towards the association]: IG II² 1277.22 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1314.15–17 [28]

- (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.21–22 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1324.17–19 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IRhannous II 59.17 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); AM 66:228.11, 15 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE)
- εὐσεβέω, to act piously: IG II² 1275.10 [8] (Piraeus, 325–275 BCE); IG II² 1324.23 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE)
- εὐσεβῶς, piously: IG II² 1328.42 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1327.5 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); I.Prose I 6.7, 18 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)
- ἡσυχία, decorum, quiet: IG II² 1368.65 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως, honorably and worthily: IApamBith 33.2 (123 or 108 BCE → [137])
- καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, honorably and justly: IG II² 1263.7–8 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1292.9–10 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE)
- καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς, honorably and piously: IG II² 1298.9–10 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1283.26 [23] (Piraeus, 240/39 BCE); IG II² 1314.4 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.13 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1328.36–37 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1334.7 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE)
- καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως (καὶ εὐσεβῶς), honorably, appropriately (and piously): IG II² 1328.26–27, 32–33 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE; B: 175/4 BCE); AM 66:228.7 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE)
- καλῶς καὶ ἱεροπρεπῶς, honorably and befitting a sacred place: IG II² 1315.11 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE)
- καλῶς ... καὶ φιλοτίμως, honorably and with zeal: IG II² 1255.4–5 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); IG II² 256.4–5 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 1277.6–7, 15–16 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1316.8 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1273.30–31 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE)
- λοιδορέω, abuse: IG II² 1368.75, 75–76, 78, 79 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)
- μεγαλομερῶς: I.Prose I 49.30 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)
- μεγαλοψυχία καὶ εὐνοία, magnanimity and good will: IG II² 1326.25–26 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); I.Prose I 49.30 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)
- ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, properly and honestly: IG II² 1263.9–10 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1316.11–12 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1291.2–3 [19] (Piraeus ?, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1284.24–25 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE)
- ὁσίως: I.Prose I 6.7 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)
- περιεργάζομαι, meddle: IG II² 1365.30 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1366.15 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
- πολυπραγμονέω, be a busybody: IG II² 1365.30 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1366.14–15 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)
- σπουδή, σπουδαίως, zeal: IG II² 1343.23 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IAnkyraM 141.2 (128/129 CE → [151]); SB XXII 15460.13 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE)
- ὑβρίζω, abuse: IG II² 1368.74–75, 76, 78, 79 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

- φιλαγαθία, φιλάγαθος, benefactor, love of benevolence: IG II² 1326.8 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); I.Prose I 40.14, 30 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE)
- φιλανθρώπως, generous, magnanimous: I.Prose I 40.5, 20–21 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 6.7 [244] (Ptolemaïs Hermeiou, 285–246 BCE)
- φιλοτιμέω, be zealous, ambitious: IG II² 1261.7, 53 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE); IG II² 1262.13 [10] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1263.28 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE); IG II² 1271.19 [13] (Piraeus, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1277.31 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1316.20 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1273.4, 20 [18] (Athens, 265/4 BCE); IG II² 1292.20 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); I.Prose I 40.15–16 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); IRhannous II 59.21 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); IG II² 1314.8, 10 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1324.7, 13, 24 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1327.7, 21 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1329.20 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); AM 66:228.13 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); IG II² 1343.9 [45] (Piraeus, post 71/70 BCE)
- φιλοτιμία, φιλοτίμως, love of honor, zeal, ambition: AM 66:228.12 [39] (Athens, 138/7 BCE); I.Alex.imp. 93.3 [172]; IG II² 1255.13 [2] (Piraeus, 337/6 BCE); IG II² 1256.5 [5] (Piraeus, 329/8 BCE); IG II² 1252.19–20 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1261.7, 37 [9] (Piraeus, 302/1 BCE); IG II² 2347.1 [12] (Salamis, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1271.4 [13] (Piraeus ?, 299/8 BCE); IG II² 1277.7, 15, 22 [15] (Athens, 278/7 BCE); IG II² 1316.8 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1278.5, 18 [17] (Athens, 272/1 BCE); IG II² 1273.7, 11, 17 [18] (Piraeus, 265/4 BCE); SEG 2:9.3 [21] (Salamis, 243/2 BCE); IG II² 1284.8–9, 13, 20 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE); IG II² 1301.6, 9, 14 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE); IG II² 1315.12, 22 [29] (Piraeus, 211/0 BCE); IG II² 1324.19 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1328.34 [34] (Piraeus, 183/2 BCE); IG II² 1329.6–7 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE); IG II² 1334.16–17 [45] (Piraeus, 71/0 BCE); IG II² 1343.23, 28, 35 [48] (Athens, 37/6 BCE); IG II² 1369.40 [49] (Liopesi, ca. 100 CE); IG II² 1368.45–46, 116 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); I.Prose I 49.16 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); IRhannous II 59.18–19 [27] (after 216/15 BCE); OGIS I 326.8 [141] (Teos, 146–133 BCE)
- φιλοτιμία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, zeal and honesty: IG II² 1284.30–31 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE)
- φιλοτιμία καὶ εὐνοία, zeal and good will: IG II² 1291.14–15, 18–19 [19] (Piraeus, ca. 250 BCE); IG II² 1284.13–14 [22] (Piraeus, 241/0 BCE)

voting → εὐδοκεῖν, φημίζομαι

- CIL 14.2112 passim (Lanuvium, 136 CE): approval of individual bylaws; IG II² 1012.7 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE): voting honors; IG II² 1301.4, 8 [25] (Piraeus, 219/8 BCE); IG II² 1343.45–46 [48] (Athens, 37/6 or 36/5 BCE); IG II² 1361.11 [4] (Piraeus, 330–324/3 BCE); IG II² 1368 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE) (ll. 36, 54, 59: vote to approve members; 86–87: approval of disciplinary sanctions; l. 147: election of a treasurer); IG II² 1369.20–24 [51] (Athens, ca. 100 CE); IEph 22.6, 25, 45, 50 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE): voting honors; I.Prose I 40.48, 49 [160] (Psenamosis, 67–64 BCE); I.Prose I 49.6 [170] (Psenemphaia, 5 BCE); P.Mich. V 243.7–8 [206] (Tebtynis, 14–37 CE); P.Mich. V 246.20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26 [211] (Tebtynis, ca. 43–49 CE):

approval of bylaws; P.Mich. V 247.17, 18 [209] (Tebtynis, early I CE): approval of bylaws; P.Mich. V 248.8–10 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE): approval of bylaws?; SB XXII 15460.15 [169] (Alexandria, 5 BCE); SEG 31:122.9 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE) (vote to expel a member); SEG 58:1640.25 [149] (150–100 BCE): approval of bylaws.

vow(s)

IJO I Mac 1 [73] (Stobi, II–III CE); IG X/2.1 70 [74] (Thessalonikē, 66–67 CE); IBosp 70 [95] (Pantikapaion, 81 CE); IBosp 1123 (Gorgippia, I CE → [95]); Kalinka, JÖAI 28 [1933] 61, no. 8 [Beibl.] + L. Robert, RA [1936] 237 (Epidauros, IV BCE → [95]); IBosp 1283 [96] (Tanaïs, 228 CE); IThraceD, letter O, p. 316 (Serdica, ca. 200 CE → [96]); Malay 2005 [112] (Aizanoi area, III CE); TAM V 1556 (Lydia, 161/162 CE → [112]); TAM V 536 (Maionia, 171/172 CE → [119]); SEG 41:1329 [148] (Termessos area, late II CE); IAsMinVers 8 (Kastolupedion → [152]); TAM V 355 (Kollyda → [152])

φαραρτίτης, archer

SEG 26:614 [59] (Aulis, ca. 200 BCE)

φέρω, to bring an association to the god

IG II² 1326.7, 24 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IG II² 1012.13–15 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE)

φθόρα, miscarriage/abortion

IG II² 1365.22 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG II² 1366.7 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE)

φιλόσοφοι, philosophers

I.Alex.imp. 98 [183] (Alexandria, second half II ce)

φορά, dues, contribution

IG II² 1339.11, 13 [46] (Athens, 57/6 BCE); IG II² 1368.47 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE)

χάρις, thanks, gratitude

– χάριτας ἀποδίδωμι, to render thanks: IG II² 1252+999.20 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE); IG II² 1261.54–55 [9] (Piraeus, 302–299 BCE); IG II² 1262.14–15 [10] (Piraeus, 200/299 BCE); IG II² 1316.19 [16] (Piraeus, 272/1 BCE); IRhannous II 59.5, 20 [27]; IG II² 1314.10 [28] (Piraeus, 213/2 BCE); IG II² 1315.17 [29] (Piraeus, 211/210 BCE); IG II² 1324.12–13, 25 [32] (Piraeus, ca. 190 BCE); IG II² 1337.9–10 [44] (Piraeus, 97/6 BCE); IG II² 1334.12 [45] (Piraeus, 71/0 BCE); IEph 22.45, 54, 68 [144] (Nysa, ca. 142 CE)

– χάριτας ἀπολαμβάνω, to receive thanks: IG II² 1263.29–30 [11] (Piraeus, 300/299 BCE)

– χάριτας κοινοῦμαι, to convey thanks: IG II² 1277.32–33 [15] (Athens, 278/77 BCE); IG II² 1284.9–10 [22] (Piraeus, 241/40 BCE); IG II² 1297.8–9 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE); IG II² 1301.10 [25] (Piraeus, 219/18 BCE); IG II² 1327.22 [35] (Piraeus, 178/7 BCE); IG II² 1329.21 [37] (Piraeus, 175/4 BCE)

χειρογραφία, expense for preparation of a report

P.Oslo III 143.6 [254] (Oxyrhynchus, I CE)

χειροτέχναι, artisans (association?)

P.Phil. 1.4 [230] (Arsinoites, after 4 Aug 119 CE)

χειροτονέω, elect (by a show of hands)

IRhamnous II 59.2, 6 [27]; IG II² 1012.19 [42] (Athens, 112/11 BCE); PSI XII 1265.4 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE): χειροτονοῦμεν

χειροτονία, election

PSI XII 1265.20 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)

χειρωναξίον, craft tax

BGU XIII 2294 [→ 222] (81–96 CE); O. Ashm. 23 (Elephantine, II/III ce); O. Wilb. 33 [→ 222] (Elephantine, 188 CE); O. Banks 26 [→ 222] (Elephantine, 100 CE); O. Berl. 28 [→ 222] (Syene or Elephantine, 73 ce); O. Berl. 29 [→ 222] (Elephantine, 83–84 ce); O. Leid. 179 [→ 222] (Syene or Elephantine, 72 ce); O. Wilck. 16 [→ 222] (Thebes or Elephantine, 60 ce); O. Wilck. 19 [→ 222] (Thebes or Elephantine, 68 ce); O. Wilck. 32 [→ 222] (Syene or Elephantine, 83–84 ce); O. Wilck. 45 [→ 222] (Syene or Elephantine, 96 ce); P. Oxy VII 1029 [263] (Oxyrhynchus, 107 CE) (?): *Comment*; P. Oxy. LXXIII 4953 [→ 222] (Oxyrhynchus, 48 CE); P. Phil. 1.34 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE); P. Tebt. II 287.4 [236] (Tebtynis, 161–169 CE); SB XVI 12695 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE) *Comment*; Stud. Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x.379 [222] (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 73 CE): *Comment*.

ΧΜΓ, Christian acronym, Χ(ριστός) (ὁ) (ἐκ) (Μ(αρίας) γ(εννηθεῖς) “Christ, born from Mary” and Χ(ριστός), Μ(ιχαήλ), Γ(αβριήλ) “Christ, Michael and Gabriel.”

P. Leid. Inst. 62.1 [283] (Oxyrhynchus, 370 CE? 385? 400? CE)

χοῦς, heap (meaning monthly? contribution)

IG II² 1252+999.11 [6] (Athens, ca. 300 BCE)

χρεία, liturgy

BGU VII 1572.8 [233] (Philadelphia, 139 CE)

χρηματισμός, archives

IG II² 1326.20 [36] (Piraeus, 176/5 BCE); IMT 1539.3 [107] (Kyzikos, I BCE)

Χρηστιανός, Christian

SB XVI 12497.50 [241] (Theadelphia, 253 CE)

χρυσάργυρον, trade tax

PSI XII 1265.6, 7 [284] (Oxyrhynchus, 426 CE)

χρυσοχόοι, goldsmiths → occupational associations (under section V)

– exempt from *litourigae*: P. Phil. 1.33 [230] (Arsinoites, after 119 CE)

ψηφίζομαι, to vote, approve → εὐδοκῶ

approval formula for bylaws: P. Mich. V 244.45–46 [212] (Tebtynis, 43 CE):

ἐψηφισμαι; P. Mich. V 246.20–26 [211] (Tebtynis, 43–49 CE); P. Mich. V. 247.17–18 [209] (Tebtynis, 40–41 CE); P. Mich. V 248.8–10 [213] (Tebtynis, I CE).

water supply

JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment* (Arsinoë-Krokodilopolis, 245–222 BCE)

wine

IPergamon 374 [111] (129–138 CE); IHistria 57 (150–200 CE → [129]); Jordanis–Fontrier, BCH 19 [1895] 556 (Ephesos, II–III CE → [129]); IEph 728 [131] (162/163 CE); Malay 1981 (II–I BCE → [143]); ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE → [148]); P. Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE)

– price: P.Athen. 41 [290] (unknown, I CE): 5 dr./keramion; P.FuadUniv. I 25.2 [292] (unknown, II–III CE) 14 dr./keramion; P.Mich. II 127.i.30 [217] (Tebtynis, 46 CE) *note*: prices ranging from 14 to 24 obols/keramion, with a median of 3 dr. (18 obols)/keramion; P.Oslo II 63 (Arsinoites, III ce): 9 dr. 1 obol, 10 dr.; P.Oxy VII 1055 (Oxyrhynchus, 267 ce): 11 dr.; P.Oxy. XII 1577 (Oxyrhynchus, III ce): 9 dr., 1 obol; P.Oxy. XII 1578 (Oxyrhynchus, III ce): 9 dr. 1 obol; P.Oxy. XIV 1672.3–8 (37–41 CE): 32 chous (=104 litres) of thin wine for 5 dr. (equivalent of 0.5 dr./keramion); P.Oxy. XLIX 3513, 3515, 3516, 3518, 3519 (Oxyrhynchus, 260 ce): 12 dr.; P.Oxy. XLIX 3515, 3520, 3521 (Oxyrhynchus, 260 ce): 16 dr.; P.Oxy. LIV 3740 [279] (Oxyrhynchus, 312 CE): 1 sextarius: 75 dn.; P.Prag. I 104.7–8 (Theadelphia, 250 CE): 10 dr., 6 obols / keramion; PSI 811 (Arsinoites, III ce): 12 dr. (for a mean of 11 dr. 2 obols.); P.Tebt. I 118 [195] (Tebtynis, 112/111 BCE) *Comment*; P.Tebt. I 177 (Tebtynis, 112–111 BCE, or 76–75 BCE) → P.Tebt. I 118.1 [195] *note*; P.Tebt. III/2 894 [194] (Tebtynis, 114 BCE) *passim*; P.Tebt. I 224 [196] (Kerkeosiris? 109/8 BCE); SB III 7182 [193] (Philadelphia?, after 142 BCE) and Rathbone 1991, 467–468.

– supplied for a funeral: IG II² 1368.162, 164 [51] (Athens, 164/65 CE); EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE)

women

IG II² 1298 [20] (Athens, 248/7 BCE); IG II² 1292 [26] (Athens or Piraeus ?, 215/4 BCE); IG II² 2354 [30] (Athens, ca. 200 BCE): 13 women (along with men); IG II² 2358 [40] (Athens, ca. 135 BCE?); SEG 54:235 [47] (Epano Liosia, ca. 50 BCE); IG II² 1365/66 [53] (Laurion, ca. 200 CE); IG VII 688 [57] (Tanagra); CIG II 2007f [66] (Hagios Mamas, II CE); Philipp II 340/L589 [71] (I–II CE?); IG X/2.1 260 [81] (Thessalonikē, III CE); IPerinthos 57 [88] (II CE?); IKyme 37 [105] (late I BCE or early I CE); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos area, ca. 25–50 CE); IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia area, late I CE or early II CE); TAM V 1539 [117] (Philadelphia, ca. 100 BCE); LSAM 72 (Halikarnassos → [117]); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); ISmryna 653 (I–II CE → [138]); ISmryna 728 [140] (II CE); SB I 3451 (Ptolemais, I BCE → [140]); SEG 17:503 (Miletos, late III BCE or II BCE → [143]); TAM III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); ICiliciaDF 46 (I–II CE → [153])

women as leaders or benefactors

IApamBith 35 [99] (Apameia Myrleia area, 119 or 104 CE); IJO II 36 [106] (Kyme or Phokaia, III CE); IJO II 43 (Smyrna, II–III CE → [106]); SEG 28:953 [108] (Kyzikos area, ca. 25–50 CE); IJO II 168 [113] (Akmoneia area, late I CE or early II CE); TAM V 972 [123] (Thyateira, ca. 50 CE); ISmryna 653 (I–II CE → [138]); TAM III 4 and 62 [147] (Termessos, II CE); ICiliciaDF 46 (I–II CE → [153])

wood

CIL 10.444.39 (Caposele [Regio III], 81–96 CE): for sacrifices to Silvanus; ICariaR 162 (120–210 CE → [148]); IG XII,5 606.6 (Iulis, Cos): wood for sacrifices; P.Cair.Zen II 59154 (Philadelphia, 256 BCE): wood for τὴν ἐφ’ ἧν τῶν Εἰσιείω[v]; P.Cair.Zen II 59191.3–4 (Philadelphia, 255 BCE); P.Lund IV 11.33 [237] (Bakchias,

170, 203, 231, or 263 CE); P.Mich VIII 511.8 [240] (Karanis, early III CE): wood for a banquet; P.Oxy VIII 1144.15 (Oxyrhynchus, 75–125 CE): a temple account listing ξύλων εἰς θυσίαν τ[±?]; SEG 31:122.42, 45 [50] (Liopesi, 121/2 CE): wood for sacrifices.

wooden tablets (for recording an association νόμος)

IG XII/3 330.276–277 (Thera, 210–195 BCE)

woolen fillet

IG II² 1297.11 [24] (Athens, 236/5 BCE)

wreath → στέφανος

yoke maker

EKM I.Beroia 372 [64] (7 BCE)

ὠὰ, eggs

P.Petr. III 136.iii.20 [187] (Arsinoites, 231 BCE)

ὡς χρημάτιζει “he/she may be styled”

P.Laur. IV 155.3 [275] (Oxyrhynchus, 283–292 CE)

XI. Concordance of Inscriptions and Papyri (in GRA III)

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III 4684d = I.Alex.imp. 93 [172]

III 4893 = I.Th.Sy. 303 [246]

III 5866c = I.Alex.imp. 74 [171]

Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum* (CIJ)

II 1432 = JIGRE 13 [162]

II 1433 = JIGRE 9 [157]

II 1440 = JIGRE 22 [154]

II 1441 = JIGRE 24 [156]

II 1443 = JIGRE 27 [158]

II 1447 = I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]

II 1449 = JIGRE 125 [161]

Corpus inscriptionum latinarum (CIL)

10.796 = I.Alex.imp. 74 [171]

Tcherikover, et al. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum* (C.Pap.Jud.)

III 473 = P.Oxy. IX 1205 [276]

III 1432 = JIGRE 13 [162]

III 1433 = JIGRE 9 [157]

III 1440 = JIGRE 22 [154]

III 1441 = JIGRE 24 [156]

III 1443 = JIGRE 27 [158]

III 1447 = I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]

III 1449 = JIGRE 125 [**161**]

III 1532 = JIGRE 117 [**186**]

Filip-Fröschl, et al. *Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur antiken Sklaverei* (CRRS)

109 = BGU IV 1137 [**168**]

Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives* (DFSJ)

86 = JIGRE 13 [**162**]

87 = JIGRE 9 [**157**]

92 = JIGRE 22 [**154**]

95 = JIGRE 27 [**158**]

98 = I.Alex.imp. 92 [**182**]

99 = JIGRE 117 [**186**]

The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum (GIBM)

IV 1069 = I.Fayum II 122 [**229**]

Breccia, *Inscriptiones nunc Alexandriae in Museo* (I.Alex.Mus.)

11 = JIGRE 22 [**154**]

23 = OGIS II 729 [**155**]

41 = JIGRE 13 [**162**]

45 = IGRR I 1114 [**203**]

47 = I.Alex.imp. 91 [**174**]

51 = I.Alex.imp. no. 46 [**176**]

52 = IGRR I 1085 [**177**]

54 = SB I 996 [**256**]

116 = JIGRE 9 [**157**]

132 = I.Alex.imp. 65 [**181**]

135 = I.Alex.imp. 94 [**173**]

135 = I.Alex.imp. 96 [**166**]

146 = I. Alex.imp. 98 [**183**]

170 = I.Alex.imp. 70 [**180**]

Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque* (I.Alex.Ptol.)

24 = OGIS II 729 [**155**]

62 = JIGRE 9 [**157**]

Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs* (I.Delta)

I 3 = JIGRE 22 [**154**]

I 11 = IGRR I 1095 [**163**]

I 446 = I.Prose I 40 [**160**]

I 452(b) = IGRR I 1085 [**177**]

I 458 = I.Prose I 6 [**244**]

II 28 = JIGRE 26 [**164**]

III 899–913 = I.Prose I 49 [**170**]

III 928–930 = JIGRE 24 [**156**]

III 930–931 = I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]

Bernard, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* (I.Fayum)

I 1 = JIGRE 117 [186]

Inscriptiones graecae (IG)

XIV 701 = I.Alex.imp. 74 [171]

Cagnat, et al., *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes* (IGRR)

I 458 = I.Alex.imp. 74 [171]

I 1051 = I.Alex.imp. no. 46 [176]

I 1077 = I.Alex.imp. 91 [174]

I 1081 = I. Alex. Imp. 98 [183]

I 1084 = I.Alex.imp. 61 [178]

I 1116 = I.Fayum I 73 [202]

I 1117 = I.Fayum III 212 [204]

I 1122 = I.Fayum II 122 [229]

I 1151 = SB V 8805 [260]

I 1155 = SB I 996 [256]

I 1315 = JIGRE 125 [161]

Bernard, *La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (I.Prose)

I 23 = JIGRE 125 [161]

I 50 = I.Alex.imp. 91 [174]

Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (JIGRE)

18 = I.Alex.imp. 91 [174]

20 = I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]

22 = JIGRE 22 [154]

154 = SB III 6184 [247]

Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (OGIS)

I 50 = I.Prose I 3 [243]

I 96 = JIGRE 27 [158]

I 129 = JIGRE 125 [161]

I 130 = I.Th.Sy. 303 [246]

I 178 = I.Fayum III 201 [198]

II 655 = I.Fayum I 73 [202]

II 658 = I.Alex.imp. 74 [171]

II 712 = I. Alex. Imp. 98 [183]

II 726 = JIGRE 22 [154]

II 742 = JIGRE 13 [162]

Frisch, *Zehn agnostische Papyri* (P.Agon.)

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de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte* (P.Assoc.)

pp. 3–10 = P.Lille.dem. 29 [**188**]

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Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (RIG)

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I 12 = JIGRE 26 [**164**]

I 589 = JIGRE 9 [**157**]

I 978 = IGRR I 1086 [**179**]

I 983 = IGRR I 1114 [**203**]

I 5793 = I.Fayum II 121 [**227**]

I 5862 = JIGRE 24 [**156**]

I 5959 = I.Alex.imp. 91 [**174**]

IV 7307 = I.Alex.imp. 92 [**182**]

V 7875 = I.Alex.imp. 74 [**171**]

V 8133 = I.Fayum III 171 [**226**]

V 8135 = I.Fayum III 172 [**228**]

V 8267 = I.Prose I 49 [**170**]

V 8394 = I.Th.Sy. 303 [**246**]

V 8548 = I.Alex.imp. 93 [**172**]

V 8775 = I.Alex.imp. no. 46 [**176**]

V 8787 = I.Alex.imp. 91 [**174**]

V 8790 = I.Alex.imp. 61 [**178**]

V 8791 = IGRR I 1085 [**177**]

V 8855 = I.Prose I 6 [**244**]

V 8872 = JIGRE 27 [**158**]

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V 8895 = I.Fayum I 73 [**202**]

V 8914 = I. Alex. Imp. 98 [**183**]

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 IPrusaOlymp 48 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]
 IPrusaOlymp 48 → IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [**102**]
 IPrusaOlymp 50 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]
 IPrusaOlymp 63 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]
 IPrusaOlymp 64 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]
 IPrusaOlymp 159 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]; IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [**102**]; IJO II 223 [**150**]
 IPrusaOlymp 229 → IAssos 20 [**103**]
 IPrusaOlymp 1013 → IBosp 1283 [**96**]
 IPrusaOlymp 1036 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]
 IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [**102**] → IApamBith 35 [**99**]; IApamBith 103 [**100**]; IKios 22 [**101**] IPrusiasHyp 49 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]; IAph 12.719 [**142**]
 IRhamnous II 59 [**27**] → I.Prose I 40 [**160**]
 IRhodB 556 → IPergamon 485 [**110**]
 IRhodP 18 → IJO II 223 [**150**]
 ISabazios II 6 → IBosp 1283 [**96**]
 ISabazios II 28 → Malay 2005 [**112**]; OGIS I 326 [**141**]; LSAM 80 [**152**]
 ISabazios II 43 → Malay 2005 [**112**]; SEG 29:1205 [**120**]
 ISabazios II 51 → IMiletos 798 [**132**]; LSAM 80 [**152**]
 ISaittai 28 → IMiletos 935 [**133**]
 ISardBR 8 → IJO II 196 [**116**]; SEG 46:1524 [**122**]
 ISardBR 17 → SEG 29:1205 [**120**]
 ISardBR 22 → SEG 29:1205 [**120**]
 ISardBR 27 → OGIS I 326 [**141**]
 ISardBR 46 → SEG 46:1524 [**122**]
 ISardBR 62 → SEG 29:1205 [**120**]
 ISardBR 96 → ILydiaHM 85 [**119**]
 ISardBR 101b → SEG 41:1329 [**148**]
 IScM II 7 → IKios 22 [**101**]
 IScM II 60 → BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no.184) [**98**]
 IScM II 132 → BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no.184) [**98**]
 IScM II 160 → ILydiaHM 85 [**119**]
 ISide 30 → TAM V 966 [**125**]; TAM II 910 [**146**]
 ISide 31 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
 ISide 32 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
 ISinope 117 → IBosp 1283 [**96**]

ISinope 118 → IBosp 1283 [96]
 ISinope 119 → IBosp 1283 [96]
 ISinope 128 → SEG 35:1327 [97]; IJO II 223 [150]
 ISmryna 191 → TAM II 910 [146]
 ISmryna 204 → IMT 1539 [107]; IJO II 196 [116]; IJO II 223 [150]
 ISmryna 205 → IJO II 223 [150]
 ISmryna 215 → IEph 719 [129]; TAM II 910 [146]
 ISmryna 218 → IJO II 223 [150]
 ISmryna 225 → IJO II 196 [116]
 ISmryna 240 → IJO II 196 [116]
 ISmryna 241 → IJO II 196 [116]
 ISmryna 295 → IJO II 36 [106]; IJO II 196 [116]
 ISmryna 331 → IPergamon 374 [111]; IJO II 223 [150]
 ISmryna 409 → IMT 1498 [109]
 ISmryna 416 → IMT 1498 [109]
 ISmryna 500 → ISmryna 653 [138]
 ISmryna 521 → IPrusaOlymp 1028 + 1054 [102]
 ISmryna 534 → IAssos 20 [103]
 ISmryna 594 → ISmryna 653 [138]; ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 595 → IPergamon 374 [111]; ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 598 → ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 599 → ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 600 → IPerinthos 56 [87]; ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 601 → ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 622 → SEG 39:649 [84]; IPerinthos 56 [87]; ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 634 → ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 637 → IMT 1498 [109]
 ISmryna 639 → IPerinthos 56 [87]; ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 642 → IJO II 196 [116]
 ISmryna 644 → IPergamon 374 [111]
 ISmryna 650 → ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 652 [137] → Malay 2005 [112]
 ISmryna 654 → ISmryna 653 [138]
 ISmryna 655 → SEG 39:649 [84]; IEph 213 [128]; ISmryna 653 [138]
 ISmryna 659 → ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 660 → ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 668 → ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 676 → ISmryna 697 [139]
 ISmryna 697 [139] → SEG 46:800 [72]
 ISmryna 713 → IMT 1539 [107]
 ISmryna 714 → IGRR IV 791 [115]
 ISmryna 715 → IEph 20 [127]
 ISmryna 719 → IEph 20 [127]

- ISmryna 721 → Philipp II 410/G258 [67]; IEph 2212 [126]
 ISmryna 725 → ISmryna 765 [136]
 ISmryna 726 → ISmryna 653 [138]
 ISmryna 729 → SEG 39:649 [84]; ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 730 → SEG 39:649 [84]
 ISmryna 731 → IG II² 1368 [51]; ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 732 → ISmryna 652 [137]
 ISmryna 733 → IG II² 1368 [51]; IKyme 17 [104]
 ISmryna 743 → ISmryna 653 [138]
 ISmryna 765 [136] → ISmryna 765 [136]
 ISmryna 842 → IMT 1498 [109]
 ISmryna 844a → Philipp II 142/G562 [70]
 IStratonikeia 149 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 IStratonikeia 174 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 IStratonikeia 310 → TAM II 910 [146]
 IStratonikeia 352 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 IStratonikeia 507 → IAssos 20 [103]
 IStratonikeia 527 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 IStratonikeia 666 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 IStratonikeia 672 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 IStratonikeia 845 + 846 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 ISultanDaði 230 → SEG 41:1329 [148]
 ISultanDaði 509 → SEG 41:1329 [148]
 ISyria 9161–9163 → IEph 2212 [126]; IMiletos 940a–h [135]
 ITlos 14 → SEG 58:1640 [149]
 ITrall 6 → IG X/2.1 291 [79]
 ITrall 8 → TAM V 1539 [117]
 ITrall 23 → OGIS I 326 [141]
 ITrall 50 → ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 65 → ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 74 → IGRR IV 791 [115]; ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 77 → IAssos 20 [103]; IPergamon 374 [111]; TAM V 972 [123]; IEph 20 [127];
 ITrall 86 [145]; JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153]
 ITrall 79 → ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 80 → ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 86 [145] → IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102]
 ITrall 93 → IPergamon 374 [111]; ITrall 86 [145]; JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153]
 ITrall 105 → IAph 12.719 [142]; ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 109 → ITrall 86 [145]
 ITrall 127 → IAssos 20 [103]
 ITrall 145 → IPergamon 374 [111]
 ITrall 162 → ITrall 86 [145]
 I.Varsovie 44 → JIGRE 22 [154]

Jaccottet → IDionysosJ

JIGRE 22 → JIGRE 117 [**186**] *Comment*

JIGRE 26 → LSAM 80 [**152**]

JIGRE 27 [**158**] → JIGRE 9 [**157**] *Comment*

JIGRE 28 → JIGRE 27 [**158**] (Athribis, II/I BCE)

JIGRE 105 [**183**] → JIGRE 9 [**157**] *Comment*

JIWE II 130 → IPergamon 374 [**111**]

JIWE II 170 → IPergamon 374 [**111**]

JIWE II 251 → IJO II 36 [**106**]

JIWE II 440 → P.Ryl. IV 590.2 [**288**]

JIWE II 549 → IPergamon 374 [**111**]

JIWE II 562 → IPergamon 374 [**111**]

Kearsley 2001, 54–55, no. 75 → IEph 2212 [**126**]

Kearsley 2001, 59–60, no. 83 → IEph 2212 [**126**]

Kolb 1990, 115, no. 36 → TAM V 1539 [**117**]

Kolb 1990, 115, nos. 37–41 → TAM V 1539 [**117**]

Labarre and Dinahet 1996, 71–72, no. 9 → IPergamon 485 [**110**]

LSAM 2 → IApamBith 35 [**99**]

LSAM 20 → IG X/2.1 255 [**77**]

LSAM 33b → SEG 46:1519 [**121**]

LSAM 48 → IG II² 1368 [**51**]; IMiletos 798 [**132**]

LSAM 72 → TAM V 1539 [**117**]; IAph 12.719 [**142**]

LSCG 55 → ISmryna 728 [**140**]

LSCG 139 → ISmryna 728 [**140**]

LSCGSup 20 → SEG 58:1640 [**149**]

LSCGSup 54 → ISmryna 728 [**140**]

LSCGSup 59 → IG II² 1365/66 [**53**]

LSCGSup 77 → IDionysosJ 7 [**60**]

LSCGSup 108 → IG II² 1365/66 [**53**]; ISmryna 728 [**140**]

LSCGSup 115 → IG II² 1365/66 [**53**]

LSCGSup 119 → IG II² 1365/66 [**53**]; ISmryna 728 [**140**]

Lupu 2005, no. 5 → SEG 58:1640 [**149**]

Lupu 2005, no. 7 → IG II² 1365/66 [**53**]; ISmryna 728 [**140**]

MAMA I 2 → IKyme 37 [**105**]

MAMA I 214 → IEph 2212 [**126**]

MAMA I 215 → IEph 2212 [**126**]

MAMA I 281 → IEph 2212 [**126**]

MAMA III 170 → TAM V 966 [**125**]

MAMA III 223 → TAM V 966 [**125**]

MAMA III 273 → TAM V 966 [**125**]

MAMA III 335 → IEph 2212 [**126**]; JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [**153**]

- MAMA III 364 → Nigdelis II.12 [78]
 MAMA III 508 → TAM V 966 [125]
 MAMA III 607 → IEph 2212 [126]
 MAMA III 615 → TAM V 966 [125]
 MAMA III 732 → TAM V 966 [125]
 MAMA III 770 → JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153]
 MAMA III 771 → JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153]
 MAMA IV 230 → IKyme 17 [104]; Malay 2005 [112]; ILydiaHM 85 [119]
 MAMA IV 281 → ILydiaHM 85 [119]
 MAMA IV 299 → IJO II 223 [150]
 MAMA IV 301 → IJO II 196 [116]
 MAMA V 254 → SEG 39:649 [84]
 MAMA VI 11 → IJO II 196 [116]
 MAMA VI 21 → IJO II 196 [116]
 MAMA VI 47 → IJO II 196 [116]
 MAMA VI 176 → IGRR IV 791 [115]
 MAMA VI 177 → IAssos 20 [103]; IGRR IV 791 [115]
 MAMA VI 180 → IGRR IV 791 [115]
 MAMA VI 183 → IGRR IV 791 [115]
 MAMA VI 239 → MAMA VI List 164 [114]
 MAMA VI 263 → IJO II 168 [113]
 MAMA VI 265 → IJO II 168 [113]
 MAMA VI 372 → IAssos 20 [103]; MAMA VI List 164 [114]
 MAMA VI 390–399 → SEG 29:1205 [120]
 MAMA VI List 153* → IJO II 168 [113]
 MAMA VI List 164 [114] → IPessinous 18 [151]
 MAMA VI List 208 → IJO II 168 [113]
 MAMA VIII 297 → SEG 29:1205 [120]
 MAMA VIII 354 → SEG 41:1329 [148]
 MAMA VIII 396 → SEG 29:1205 [120]
 MAMA IX 37 → SEG 35:1327 [97]
 MAMA IX 49 → IApamBith 35 [99]; IMT 1539 [107]; Malay 2005 [112]; SEG 41:1329 [148]
 MAMA IX 66 → IMT 1539 [107]; SEG 41:1329 [148]
 MAMA X 304 → IApamBith 35 [99]; Malay 2005 [112]; ILydiaHM 85 [119]
 MAMA X 458 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; SEG 46:744 [65]
 MAMA XI 110 → Malay 2005 [112]; MAMA VI List 164 [114]
 MΘ 21381 → SEG 1:282 [62]
 Miranda 1999, nos. 1–23 → IJO II 196 [116]
- NewDocs I 1 → TAM II 910 [146]
 NewDocs I 5 → IApamBith 35 [99]
 NewDocs II 18 → IAssos 20 [103]

- NewDocs IV 17 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; CIG 2007f [66]
 NewDocs IV 22 → IEph 213 [128]
 Nigdelis II.2 → Philipp II 340/L589 [71]; IG X/2.1 506 [80]; IG X/2.1 260 [81]
 Nigdelis II.3 → IG X/2.1 480
 Nigdelis II.4 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; CIG 2007f [66]; SEG 42 625 [75]
 Nigdelis II.5 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; SEG 42 625 [75]
 Nigdelis II.6 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; CIG 2007f [66]
 Nigdelis II.8 → SEG 46:744 [65]; SEG 46:800 [72]; IG X/2.1 70 [74]
 Nigdelis II.9 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]
 Nigdelis II.10 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]
 Nigdelis II.11 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]
 Nigdelis II.13 → SEG 42 625 [75]
 Nigdelis II.14 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; SEG 42 625 [75]
 Nigdelis II.15 → EKM I.Beroia 372 [64]; CIG 2007f [66]
- O.Berl. 96, II–III CE → SEG 41:1638 [221] (Tebtynis, 54–62 CE)
 O.Bodl. I 134 → P.Ryl. IV 580 [287]
 O.Fay. 14 (Euhemeria, 1 CE) → SB VI 9112 [207]
 O.Fay. 17 (Euhemeria, 35 CE) → SB VI 9112 [207]
 O.Joach. 2 → P.Cair. 30606 [191]
 OGIS I 21 → I.Alex.imp. 46 [176]
 OGIS I 111 → I.Th.Sy. 303 [246] *Comment*
 OGIS I 305 → OGIS I 326 [141]
 OGIS I 325 → OGIS I 326 [141]
 OGIS I 326 [141] → ISmryna 765 [136]
 OGIS I 331 → SEG 29:1205 [120]
 OGIS II 458 → IPergamon 374 [111]
 OGIS II 483 → SEG 46:1519 [121]
 OGIS II 484 → IEph 20 [127]
 OGIS II 525 → IEph 20 [127]
 OGIS II 532 → IAssos 20 [103]
 OGIS II 544 → IJO II 168 [113]
 OGIS II 573 → IGRR I 1106 [165]
 OGIS II 595 → IAssos 20 [103]
 OGIS II 712 → TAM II 910 [146]
 OGIS II 738 → JIGRE 22 [154]
 OGIS II 756 → IByzantion 37 [91]
- Panayotou and Chrysostomou 1993 no. 6 → SEG 46:744 [65]; SEG 46:800 [72]
 Pandermalis 2003, 418 → SEG 46:744 [65]; SEG 46:800 [72]
 P.Cair. 30606 [191] → IG II² 1275 [8]; P.Enteux. 21 [190] *Comment* (Magdōla, 218 BCE)
 Pelekides 1923, no. 2 → SEG 46:744 [65]; SEG 46:800 [72]
 P.Amh. II 125v → SB XXIV 16224 [291]

- P.Cair. 30605 → P.Lille.dem. 29 [188] *Comment*
 P.Enteux. 30 → JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment*
 P.Fay. 106 → I.Alex.imp. 97 [175]
 P.Gen. II 91 → P.Mich. V 244 [212] *Comment*
 P.Giss. I 68 → SB XXIV 16224 [291]
 P.Grenf. I 31 → P.Ryl. IV 586.28 [248] *Comment*
 P.Grenf. II 33.1, 3 → IG II² 1368 [51] *Comment*
 P.Gurob 1 → IPergamon 485 [110]
 P.Ross.Georg. II 10 → P.Ryl. IV 580 [287]
 P.Köln I 57 → TAM II 910 [146]
 P.Köln V 228 → SB XVI 12695 [264] (Oxyrhynchus, 143 CE)
 P.Köln VI 260 → IJO II 36 [106]
 P.Köln XII 482 → JIGRE 22 [154]
 P.Laur. I 1 → PSI VIII 901 [218] *Comment*
 P.Lille II 35 → JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment*
 P.Lille.dem. 29 → P.Enteux. 20 [189]; P.Enteux. 21 [190] *Comment*
 P.Lille.dem. 31 → P.Enteux. 21 [190] *Comment*
 P.Lond. I 125 → IG X/2.1 255 [77]
 P.Lond. I 137 → IG II² 1368 [51]; IAph 12.719 [142]
 P.Lond. III 1177 → JIGRE 117 [186] *Comment*
 P.Lond. III 1178 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 P.Lond. VII 2193 → BGU XIV 2371.4 [253] (Herakleopolis, I CE); IG II² 1368 [51]; IG X/2.1 70 [74]; IGBulg III/2 1626 [85]; IKyme 17 [104]; JIGRE 9 [157]; SEG 46:744 [65]; SEG 46:800 [72]; TAM V 1539 [117]
 P.Meyer 6 → TAM II 910 [146]
 P.Mich V 233 → PSI VIII 901 [218] *Comment*
 P.Mich. V 243 → IG II² 1275 [8]; IG II² 1368 [51]; IGBulg III/2 1626 [85]; P.Enteux. 20 [189]
 P.Mich. V 244 → IEph 719 [129]
 P.Mich. V 246 [211] → P.Athen. 41 [290]
 P.Mich. V 258 → IG II² 1368 [51]
 P.Mich. V 246 [211] → P.Athen. 41 [290]
 P.Mich VIII 511 [240] → P.Athen. 41 [290]
 P.Mich X 582 → P.Mich. V 244 [212] *Comment*
 P.Ox.Griff. 68 → P.Enteux. 20 [189]
 P.Oxy. I 40 → I.Alex.imp. 97 [175]
 P.Oxy. I 110 → TAM II 910 [146]
 P.Oxy. II 294 → PSI VIII 901 [218] *Comment*
 P.Oxy. II 262 → Stud.Pal. IV pp. 58–83, cols. vii–x.379 [222]
 P.Oxy. III 523 → TAM II 910 [146]
 P.Oxy. XI 1380 → IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102]
 P.Oxy. XII 1484 → TAM II 910 [146]
 P.Oxy. XIV 1755 → TAM II 910 [146]

- P.Oxy. XVI 1997, 1998 → SEG 31:122 [**50**]
 P.Oxy. XIX 2234 → PSI VIII 901 [**218**] *Comment*
 P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 → IEph 22 [**144**]
 P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 → IEph 22 [**144**]
 P.Oxy. XXXI 2592 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
 P.Oxy. LII 3693 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
 P.Oxy. LXII 4339 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
 P.Oxy. LXIV 4440 → PSI VIII 901 [**218**] *Comment*
 P.Ross.Geog II 41 → P.Lund IV 11 [**237**] *Comment*.
 P.Ryl. II 92 → PSI VII 822.5 [**265**]
 P.Ryl. II 141 → P.Mich. V 244 [**212**] *Comment*
 P.Ryl. II 143 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
 P.Ryl. II 189 → P.Genova I 24 [**293**]
 P.Ryl. IV 580 [**287**] → P.Enteux. 20 [**189**]
 P.Tebt. I 33 → P.Cair. 30606 [**191**]
 P.Tebt. I 86r.14–31 → JIGRE 117 [**186**] *Comment*
 P.Tebt I 118 [**195**] → P.Bodl. I 65 [**289**]
 P.Tebt. I 287 → IG X/2.1 291 [**79**]
 P.Tebt. III/1 793 → P.Ryl. IV 580 [**287**]
 Philipp II 001/L027 → CIL 3.633 [**68**]
 Philipp II 029/G215 → Philipp II 133/G441 [**69**]
 Philipp II 045/L042 → IG X/2.1 259 [**76**]
 Philipp II 091/L360 → CIL 3.633 [**68**]
 Philipp II 094/L590 → Philipp II 340/L589 [**71**]
 Philipp II 095/L346 → Philipp II 142/G562 [**70**]
 Philipp II 143/G563 → Philipp II 142/G562 [**70**]
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 Philipp II 148/L682 → CIL 3.633 [**68**]
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 Philipp II 306/G409 → TAM II 910 [**146**]
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 Philipp II 487/L094 → CIL 3.633 [**68**]
 Philipp II 523/L105 → CIL 3.633 [**68**]
 Philipp II 524/L103 → Philipp II 340/L589 [**71**]
 Philipp II 525/L104 → Philipp II 340/L589 [**71**]
 Philipp II 529/L106 → Philipp II 340/L589 [**71**]
 Philipp II 646/L035 → IG X/2.1 291 [**79**]

- Philipp II 697/M580 → IG X/2.1 291 [79]
 Philipp II 734/G49 → Philipp II 133/G441 [69]
 PSI V 525.16 → IBosp 70 [95]

 RA 1956, no. 218 → SEG 1:282 [62]
 RC 55–61 → IPessinous 18 [151]
 RC 65–67 → OGIS I 326 [141]
 RC 67 → SEG 29:1205 [120]
 RECAM II 206 → IKyme 37 [105]
 RECAM II 417 → TAM II 910 [146]
 REG 65 (1952), no. 100 → IPergamon 485 [110]
 RICIS 104/0109 → IKios 22 [101]
 RICIS 113/0908 → IKios 22 [101]
 RICIS 306/0601 → TAM II 910 [146]
 RICIS 308/0401 → IPrusaOlymp 1054 + 1028 [102]
 RICIS 618/1001 → IKios 22 [101]

 Samsaris 35 → IG X/2.1 260 [81]
 Samsaris 39 → IG X/2.1 260 [81]
 Samsaris 165 → IG X/2.1 260 [81]
 SB I 996 [256] → IMiletos 935 [133]
 SB I 2076 → I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]
 SB I 4639 → PSI VII 822.5 [265]
 SB VIII 9904 → PSI VII 822.5 [265]
 SB XVI 12646 → P.Genova I 24 [293]
 SB XVIII 14009 → IGR I 1106 [165]
 SEG 1:282 [62] → TAM II 910 [146]
 SEG 2:10 → SEG 2:9 [21]
 SEG 2:580 → IDionysosJ 7 [60]
 SEG 2:609 → OGIS I 326 [141]
 SEG 3:674 → IJO II 223 [150]
 SEG 6:167 → MAMA VI List 164 [114]
 SEG 6:646 → IAssos 20 [103]
 SEG 7:825 → IEph 22 [144]
 SEG 13:496 → ISmryna 765 [136]
 SEG 14:745 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 SEG 15:1061 → IDionysosJ 7 [60]
 SEG 17:382B → IEph 2212 [126]
 SEG 17:499 → SEG 35:1327 [97]
 SEG 17:503 → IMiletos 798 [132]; IMagnMai 215 [143]
 SEG 18:304 → IOlbiaD 95 [92]
 SEG 19:483 → SEG 1:282 [62]
 SEG 19:501 → IBosp 70 [95]
 SEG 20:594 → IG X/2.1 260 [81]

- SEG 21:703 → TAM II 910 [146]
 SEG 22:122 → IG II² 1316 [16]
 SEG 25:1138 → TAM II 910 [146]
 SEG 26:614 [59] → IJO II 223 [150]; P.Enteux. 20 [189]
 SEG 26:1457 → JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153]
 SEG 26:1752 → I.Alex.imp. 92 [182]
 SEG 27:267 → IApamBith 35 [99]
 SEG 27:293 → SEG 46:800 [72]
 SEG 27:828 → BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no.184) [98]
 SEG 27:907 → SEG 58:1640 [149]
 SEG 27:910 → SEG 58:1640 [149]
 SEG 27:947 → JHS 11 (1890) 236 (no. 1) [153]
 SEG 28:421 → ISmryna 728 [140]
 SEG 28:659–661 → IOlbiaD 95 [92]
 SEG 28:841 → IAph 12.719 [142]
 SEG 28:953 [108] → IAssos 20 [103]; IGRR IV 791 [115]
 SEG 28:1186 → SEG 29:1205 [120]
 SEG 29:1198 → TAM V 85 [118]
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 SEG 29:1184 → MAMA VI List 164 [114]; TAM V 85 [118]
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 SEG 29:1186 → TAM V 85 [118]
 SEG 29:1188 → TAM V 85 [118]
 SEG 29:1191 → TAM V 85 [118]
 SEG 29:1205 [120] → SEG 41:1329 [148]
 SEG 29:1216 → OGIS I 326 [141]
 SEG 29:1264 → IPergamon 485 [110]
 SEG 30:1352 → IJO II 196 [116]
 SEG 30:1389 → LSAM 80 [152]
 SEG 30:1627 → TAM II 910 [146]
 SEG 31:122 [50] → IKyme 37 [105]; SEG 58:1640 [149]
 SEG 31:983 → IMagnMai 215 [143]; P.Athen. 41 [290]
 SEG 32:488 [58] → IDionysosJ 7 [60]; IJO II 223 [150]; P.Enteux. 20 [189]
 SEG 32:1149 → IJO II 196 [116]
 SEG 32:1236 → SEG 46:1519 [121]
 SEG 32:1256 → BCH 25 (1901) 36 (no.184) [98]
 SEG 33:147 → Agora 16:161 [14]
 SEG 33:1109 → IEph 728 [131]
 SEG 34:1067 → IAssos 20 [103]
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1.4.5 → SEG 29:1205 [**120**]

3.20.3 → ISmryna 652 [**137**]

5.16 → P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 [**274**]

5.27.5 → *Malay* 2005 [**112**]

7.4.1 → IKyme 37 [**105**]

7.21 → PSI VIII 901 [**218**]

8.4.3 → SEG 41:1329 [**148**]

8.15.4 → ISmryna 728 [**140**]

10.7.1 → IMagnMai 215 [**143**]

10.12.9 → LSAM 80 [**152**]

10.20.3 → IMagnMai 215 [**143**]

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