

AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY



AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY  
VOLUME THREE

*INVENTORY  
OF  
COMPULSORY SERVICES  
IN PTOLEMAIC  
AND ROMAN EGYPT*

NAPHTALI LEWIS

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## PREFACE

It is exactly fifty years since the publication of Friedrich Oertel's *Die Liturgie*, and no comprehensive review of the subject has been attempted since then. The present monograph has, therefore, two aims: to bring the list of liturgical offices and services up to date, and through a schematic analysis of the extant data to provide a conspectus of the subject. Citations have been regularly included for dating purposes; otherwise they are given only where they are scanty or have some special significance. Complete citations for individual items are, as members of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues know, available on request from the office of the *Wörterbuch*.

It is planned that changes, corrections and additions will be published as often as necessary with the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*. To that end readers are invited to call the writer's attention to errors and to relevant information in unpublished documents. Thanks in this respect are already due to Professor Herbert C. Youtie, who has supplied the data and citations from the as yet unpublished *P. Petrus*.

As a further means of keeping the list continually up to date this volume is being issued in a loose-leaf binder, so that new pages can be added and obsolete pages replaced by revised versions; these will be issued as required by new data.

Naphtali Lewis

New York, July 1, 1967



## THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

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## PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

The analysis of the compulsory services and offices attested in the Egypt of the Ptolemies reveals in striking fashion the dual politico-economic heritage of an Oriental land with a Greek-speaking ruling class.

In Section I are listed the types of conscripted labor and service mentioned in the documents. *Not one of these is found in any Greek polis*, either in Classical or in Hellenistic times. They are clearly forms of service owed to a monarch by his populace. The fact that such services are sometimes remunerated does not alter their compulsory character.

In Section II are listed the few liturgic offices mentioned in the documents. It is apparent at once from this list that (a) these liturgies existed only in the poleis and in the communities of Greek military settlers, and (b) *these were the same offices that existed in any autonomous Greek polis*, anywhere in the Classical or Hellenistic world. There is no evidence in Ptolemaic Egypt of the proliferation of local liturgies that characterized the administration of Egypt under the Romans.

The history of the village presbyteroi may seem at first sight to contradict the principles just enunciated. In his *Etude sur les πρεσβύτεροι des villages de la χώρα égyptienne*, Brussels, 1953, A. Tomsin has skilfully shown how in Ptolemaic times the responsibilities of the village elders evolved in the direction of those of the πρεσβύτεροι κώμης of the Roman period. But this development does not warrant the conclusion that the function of presbyteros was ever formally established as a liturgy under the Ptolemies. There has developed in recent years a regrettable tendency to confuse fiscal responsibility with liturgy, to take the first as evidence of the second (e.g. Tomsin p. 18; C. Kunderewicz, *Eos* 48, 1956, II, pp. 101-15). This is obviously an error, for tax-farmers and salaried officials were similarly responsible. The touchstone of liturgy is not responsibility, but compulsory service. Put another way, all liturgic officials were financially responsible for the satisfactory discharge of their offices, but not all financially responsible officials were liturgic.

Others have already demonstrated that the administrative structure of Ptolemaic Egypt was not fundamentally different from that of the other Hellenistic monarchies: cf. e.g. B.A. van Groningen, *Museum Helveticum* 10, 1953, pp. 178-91. This parallelism, we now see, is reflected also in the institution of *leitourgia*: Ptolemaic liturgy is Hellenistic liturgy.

## I: Requisitioned Labor and Services

### IRRIGATION

#### A. Labor

documents (255/4–118 B.C.): *P. Petr.* II 4 (11), III 37, 40, 43(3), 45, 109, *P. Teb.* 5, UPZ 157.

work – moving earth (measured in ἀωτία or ναύβια), bringing reinforcement materials (καλαμεία, κουφεία, *P. Teb.* 5).  
*adaeratio* possible.

no evidence of πενθήμερος before Roman times: cf. *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* XII, p. 5.

laborers –

paid in some (all?) cases.  
sailors also used.

*Notes.* 1. Repairs were also carried out under contract with the crown: *P. Petr.* III 43(2), cf. *P. Teb.* 703, 29-40n.

2. The ἀωτιασταί in PCZ 137, 138, and 745 are engaged in private, not public, work.

#### B. Surveillance

PCZ 296 (250 B.C.): 75 dr. paid εἰς χωματοφύλακας σ τοὺς τεταγμένους [ἐπὶ τῇ δια]τηρήσει [τῶ]ν χωμάτων ... [εἰς ἔκαστον τὸν οὐ] μηνὸς (δρ.) β (ἥμ.). Since other guards were paid 6 dr. a month, these "were probably impressed from among the peasants" (ed. in intr.).

*Note.* In *P. Teb.* 703 (late third cent. B.C.), 203-5, guarding of trees planted on embankments is stated to be the responsibility of the contractors of the work.

### CULTIVATION

#### A. Labor

documents (164–50/49 B.C. or later), with vocabulary of compulsion:

UPZ 110,

13 and 149, μήτε τῶν ἀδυνατούντων γεωργεῖν περισπᾶται μηθεὶς μήτε τῶν δυναμένων σκεπάζηται.

28 and 32, δεῖν ... γεωργῆσειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλασσον κε(φάλαιον).

47, ἔκαστοις κατὰ δύναμιν μερισθῆ: τὰ γεώργια (cf. also 66 and 152).

89, ἀδυνατοῦντας ἀναγκάζειν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὰ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ... περισπᾶν.

- 109, ούδε βουλομένοις προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν.  
 112, εἰ συναναγκάζειν ἐπιχειροί προσδέχεσθαι.  
 135, ἐπιγράφειν τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἐπιβεβλημένους.  
 169, οἱ διὰ τοῦ προστάγματος προσκαλούμενοι.  
 179, διαταχθῆι πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς γεωργίαν ἀκολούθως τῷ προστάγματι  
 194, τῶν περισπωμένων εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν.  
 199, ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ... ἐπιγεγράφθαι γῆν.  
 203, ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ ἐλκεσθαι εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ ὧν <οὐ> δεῖ πάντως περισπᾶσθαι.  
*P. Teb.* 734. 8, τῇ προσαγομένῃ ... γῆι.  
*P. Teb.* 6 = *WCbr.* 332.31, τινὰς ... βιαζομένους ἄνευ συναλλάξεων.  
*P. Teb.* 787.12, ἐπισπᾶσθαι... ἐπὶ τὴν καταλειμένην γῆν.  
*P. Teb.* 10 = *WCbr.* 160.2, ἐφ' ὧν κατεργάται τοῖς ιδίοις ἀναλόμασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ... ἐν ὑπολόγῳ γῆς (ἀρ.) δέκα.  
*BGU* 1842. 7, ἀρου(ρῶν) γ ἐσπαρμέγων ... καὶ τῆς προστηγμένης ἐν συκοφαντίᾳ ἀρού(ρας) α (ήμ.).  
*BGU* 1862. 5, γεωργίαν βασιλικῆς γῆς ... ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.

In *P. Teb.* 99, 10 and 51 (c. 148 B.C.), ἐπιβολή is a separate classification (=already in, or a forerunner of, the sense in which it was used in the Roman period, i.e. compulsory addition?). Cf. also *BGU* 1813. 7 (62/1 B.C.) τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ... ἀρού(ρας) οι καὶ τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν [βασιλικὴν] γῆν.

- Notes.* 1. Cf. *PCZ* 451 = *PSI* 440. 7 (260-45 B.C.), ἡμᾶς βιασάμενος ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὸν θερισμόν.  
 2. Cf. σκεπάω in *PCZ* 451 = *PSI* 440, ἀπο- and περισπάω in *BGU* 1243, *UPZ* 15 and 16, *P. Teb.* 124.

Bibl. M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées* pp. 268 and 270.

#### B. Surveillance

*P. Teb.* 27 = *WCbr.* 331. 48 (113 B.C.), τῶν δυναμένων ἐπισπασθῆναι εἰς τὰς γενηματοφυλακίας ἀπό τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τόπους κατοικούντων (cf. lines 4 and 13). These were additional guards κατὰ θερίαν (line 60).

For additional citations cf. *Wörterbuch* III, p. 100.

- Notes.* 1. Guarding crops was among the normal duties of regular φυλακῆται: cf. *P. Teb.* 731 (153/2 or 142/1 B.C.) and 27 = *WCbr.* 331. 53 (113 B.C.).  
 2. *P. Oxy.* 1465 (first century B.C.) mentions an ἀλωνοφύλακ[ε]ς, but with no indication whether compulsory service is involved.

Bibl. F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 27.

C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, pp. 126-28, 505-9.

A. Tomsin, *Etude sur les præsbytères ...*, p. 18.

U. Wilcken, *UPZ I*, pp. 475-79.

#### TRANSPORT

documents (c. 257-47 - 118 B.C.):

*PCZ* 509. 5, ?δ]νον ἀγγαρεύων.

*P. Petr.* II 20, col. IV. 5, λέμβου ἀγγαρευθέντος (cf. line 14).

*P. Teb.* 704. 20, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ νομῷ πορε[ῖα ...] ἐπισυναχθέν[τ]α γίνηται πρὸς τῇ ἔξι[αγωγῇ τοῦ] σίτου.

*P. Teb.* 750. 6, τοῖς κεχειρογραφηκόσι παραστήσειν πορεῖα.

*P. Strassb.* 93. 5, ἀλωτικὰ ὑποζύγια.

*P. Teb.* 5. 181, μηδὲ κτήνηι αὐτῶν ἔγγαρεύειν ἐπί τι τῶν ιδίων.

*P. Teb.* 5. 252 = *PSI* 1401. 9, μηθένα ἔγγαρεύειν (ἀγγ-) πλοῖα ... εἰς τὰς ιδίας χρείας.

Note the revealing remark, οὔτε γὰρ πλοῖον ἔστιν εὔπορησαι πάντων εἰλκυσμένων πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας (*var. lect.* οὔτε γὰρ πλοῖον ἔστινεύρειν, πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας εἰλκυσμένων ἀπάντων), which occurs in no. 16 of the τύποι ἐπιστολικοί attributed in the manuscripts to Demetrius Phalereus (who lived his last years in Egypt under Ptolemies I and II), but now commonly dated c. 200 B.C. - 50 A.D.

#### PROVISION FOR TRAVELING OFFICIALS

documents (257 - first century B.C.): see Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, pp. 392-94; add *P. Teb.* 116. 56-58.

vocabulary: visit = παρουσία.

provisions = κοίτη, ξένια, σιτώνιον (for ἐφόδιον cf. *Wörterbuch* s.v.).

#### BILLETING

documents (276 - first century B.C.): *BGU* 1285, *PCZ* 341 (b) (c), *P. Enteux*. 11-14, *P. Hal.* 1 (lines 166-85) = *Pap. Primer* 5, *P. Petr.* II 12 (1) = *WCbr.* 449, *P. Petr.* III 6, [III 12], III 14, III 15 = *P. Lond* 492, *P. Petr.* III 20 = *WCbr.* 450, *P. Petr.* III 29a = II 12 (1), III 42F, III 43 (2), III 46(2) = II 14 (2), *P. Ryl.* 562 = *SB* 7645, *P. Teb.* 5 (lines 99-101 and 168-77), 793, 820, 933, *UPZ* 151 = *P. Lond.* 106, *P. Yale* 46.

vocabulary: ἐπισταθμεύειν, -μία, -μος.

σταθμός, -μοδοσία, -μοδοτεῖν, -μοῦχος.

Bibl. C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, pp. 388-92 and 477-79.  
M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*, pp. 9-19 and 50-54.

#### BRICKMAKING

documents: PCZ 451 • PSI 440 (260-45 B.C.).

#### II: Liturgic Offices

Listed in this section are the offices for which compulsory service is in evidence or implied.

In addition to the offices listed here, the titles τριηράρχος and ὑποτριηράρχος occur in papyri of the Ptolemaic era. From PCZ 036 = SB 6773 (257 B.C.) it would appear that the trierarchy remained a liturgy in some Greek cities of the Ptolemaic empire, at least under the early Ptolemies: cf. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* p. 41; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Hell. World*, p. 1399 n. 130. For the rest – P. Petr. III 43(3) and 64b, BGU 1744-46 (240 - 64/3 B.C.) – the indications are that the trierarch was a regular officer in the Ptolemaic armed forces. In P. Grad. 6 (233/2? B.C.) there is mention of a τριηράρχημα, which has been interpreted as a tax (paid by cleruchs?) for the upkeep of the navy: cf. PCZ I, p. 22. In BGU 1744-46 a trierarch is listed among naval leitourgoi receiving rations; on the meaning of leitourgoi and related terms see *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 3, pp. 175-84, and 6, pp. 227-30.

#### KEY

The data below are tabulated according to the following scheme:

- 1 = Earliest and latest dates attested.
- 2 = Earliest evidence of compulsory service.
- 3 = Qualifications for the liturgy.
- 4 = Area of responsibility.
- 5 = Term of office.
- 6 = Remarks.
- [ ] = by implication.
- = evidence lacking.



ἀγωνοθέτης

1. Third/second century B.C. – Principate.
2. Presumption of liturgy based on parallel with other Hellenistic cities.
3. ---
4. [City].
5. ---
6. Only Ptolemaic occurrence: *SB* 7286 (fragmentary inscription).



γυμναστίαρχος, -χία

1. 294/3? B.C. (*SEG* II, 864 = *SB* 6665) – Dominate.
2. 57/6 B.C. (*SB* 7746 = *SEG* VIII, 531) αὐθαιρέτως ἐπιδεξ[άμενος ... τὴν γυμνα]-σιαρχίαν (cf. *SB* 8031 = *SEG* VIII, 641).
3. ---
4. City or local community (cf. 5 and 6 below).
5. One year (*Archiv* 5, p. 162, no. 7; *BGU* 1772; *P. Par.* 69 = *UPZ* 162 \* *WCbr.* 41; *SB* 6157, 6158; *SEG* II, 864 = *SB* 6665, *SEG* VIII, 357, 504 = *SB* 8118).
6. Gymnasia in villages: list in *Aegyptus* 11, pp. 485-96, to which add *BGU* 1767 (Heracleopolite).

Documents (in addition to those already cited): *Archiv* 2, pp. 542-66, nos. 18, 26, 128; *BGU* 1256, 1849; *P. Enteux.* 8; *PSI* 391; *SB* 1106, 1569, 2000, 2264, 7456-57, and 8313, 8334, 8389 = *CIG* III, 4707, 4717 (= *OGIS* 194), *CIG* III, 4860; *SEG* VIII, 694 and 811 = *SB* 7246 and 8234; *P. Teb.* 700; *UPZ* 162; *WCbr.* 163 intr. Cf. Dio Cassius 50.5.1 and Plutarch, *Ant.* 33.4.



έξηγητής

1. Third/second century B.C. – Dominate.
2. ...
3. ...
4. Alexandria, nome.
5. ...
6. Only three Ptolemaic occurrences: *OGIS* 104, *SB* 2100, and 7789 = *SEG* VIII, 532.



κοσμητής

1. Third/second century B.C. – Dominate.
2. ---
3. ---
4. Local community, on analogy with gymnasiarch.
5. ---
6. Only two Ptolemaic occurrences: *SB* 1569 and 7246 + *SEG* VIII, 694.



λαμπαδάρχης

1. Early first century B.C.
2. Early first century B.C.
3. ...
4. Local community (cf. also *gymnasiarch*, *kosmetes*).
5. ...
6. Only Ptolemaic occurrence: *BGU* 1256 (Philadelphia), where an unwilling nominee (*έλκύειν*) asks to be released (*ἀπολύειν*).



σίτου ἐγδοχεύς, -χεία

1. 257 B.C.

2. 257 B.C.

3. Age mentioned but not specified.

4. Polis (=Alexandria?).

5. ---

6. Only Ptolemaic occurrence: *P. Mich. Zen 23*, where ed. asks whether σίτ.  
ἐγδ. = σιτώνης of Hellenistic cities.

Bibl.: Koester, *Aegyptus* 19, pp. 301-4.



## THE ROMAN PERIOD

Quality Control and

## ROMAN EGYPT

The pages that follow reveal at a glance the quantitative expansion of compulsory service in Roman Egypt and the qualitative difference from the situation that prevailed under Ptolemaic rule.

The compulsory offices and services of Roman Egypt are arranged in a single alphabetical sequence. The evidence for the first four centuries of Roman rule is presented in a schematic analysis. The decision not to include later information is dictated by the nature of the extant evidence. For one thing, the evidence for the later centuries is much scantier. For another, the later centuries brought important changes in governmental relations and administrative organization. Therefore, although we find many of the same terms and titles in the late Byzantine and even in the early Arab period (cf. e.g. R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô*), we cannot assume a priori that they have the same import.

### KEY

- 1 = Earliest and latest dates attested.
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- 3 = Qualifications for the liturgy.
- 4 = Area of responsibility.
- 5 = Term of office.
- 6 = Remarks.
- [ ] = by implication.
- = evidence lacking.



ἀγορανομία, ἀγορανόμος

1. Ptolemaic – 307 A.D. (*P. Thead.* 32).
2. c. 200 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1185); perhaps already in 161-80 (*SB* 176) or 189 (*BGU* 578 = *MCbr.* 227).
3. [Bouleutic class] Wealth is evident: e.g. *PSI* 315, *P. Strasb.* 143 = *SB* 8258.
4. Metropolis; polis
5. [One year]
6. Still unclear is the relationship of the ἀσχολούμενοι ὡνὴν ἀγορανομίου, before whom some third-century sales and transfers were drawn up at Oxyrhynchus: *P. Oxy.* 1208 (ἀγ. καὶ μνημονίου) and 1709, *PSI* 182, *P. Strasb.* 264 (all 224-91 A.D.). Cf. ἐπιτηρητής.



ἀγωνοθέτης

1. Ptolemaic — third century.
2. [Third century].
3. Bouleutic class.
4. Metropolis; polis.
5. [One year].
6. Occurrences: *BGU* 1074, *P. Oxy.* 1284, 1416, 2105 and 2144, *P. Ryl.* 117, *SB* 8915 (= *OGIS* 713) and 9421.



αίγιαλοφυλακία, αίγιαλοφύλαξ

1. c. 104 A.D. (*P. Ryl.* 81) – third-fourth century (*PSI* 460).

2-5. ---

6. See *P. Wis.* 31 and 34. *SB* 9314 is republished as *P. Mil. Vogl.* 129.



άλιαδίτης

See δρόμος.



ἀλωνοφυλακία, ἀλωνοφύλαξ

1. Ptolemaic - third century.
2. c. 185 A.D.
3. Poros = 600 dr. Age = 25.
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Occurrences: *P. Petaus* 70, *P. Ryl.* 90, cf. *P. Oxy.* 2121. 33-37n. Two of the village pediophylakes are designated as halonophylakes.



ἀμφοδογραμματεία, ἀμφοδογραμματεύς

1. 207 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 2131) – 244 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1119 = *WCbr.* 397).
2. 216 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 935).
3. ---
4. Metropolis, or section thereof; village.
5. One year.
6. Bibl.: P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil...*, Bruxelles, 1958.



ἀνάδοσις σπερμάτων

1. Third century.
2. 228 A.D.
3. Bouleutic class.
4. Toparchy.
5. One year.

6. Occurrences: *P. Oxy.* 1031 (=WChr. 343), addressed αἱρεθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς ἐπὶ ἀναδόσεως σπερμάτων, and *P. Lund* VI 8-9 (=SB 9358), addressed αἱρε[θ]έντι ἐπὶ καταγ(ωγῆς) καὶ ἀναδόσεως σπερμ(άτων).

*P. Flor.* 21 and Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 194-95 should be restored accordingly.  
*P. Oxy.* 1262 (197 A.D.) has αἱρεθ(έντων) ἐπὶ παραλήμψεω(ς) καὶ παραδόσεως σπερμάτ(ων).



ἀναπομπός

See under ἐπιμελητής.



ἀναψησμὸς διωρύχων

1. Early third century.
2. Early third century.
3. Poros = 600 dr. Age = 46.
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Only occurrence: *P. Ryl.* 90. Cf. χωματεπείκτης, -εκβολεύς, -επιμελητής.



άνοδος

See παρουσία.



ἀντεξηγητής

"Acting exegetes"

Occurrences: *P. Berl. Leibg.* 24, *BGU* 362, *P. Meyer* 6, *P. Ryl.* 397 (125-215 A.D.).

See under ἔξηγητής.



ἀπαίτησις, ἀπαιτητής

1. 129 A.D. (*P. Rein.* 135; cf. 6, below) – 385 A.D. (*Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* XIV 10).
2. Late third century (*P. Corn.* 52), by implication earlier.
3. Bouleutes in *SB* 9131. Illiterates eligible (*P. Oxy.* 2124, *P. Cair. Isidor.* 42, cf. p. 4). Age = 20-32.
4. Village; horiodiktia; section of metropolis; toparchy.
5. One year. In *P. Oxy.* 2124 one of three apaitetai nominates himself for the following year.
6. The presumed occurrence in *O. Strash.* 241 (62 A.D.) is to be deleted: cf. *Berichtigungsliste* II.  
Apaitetai occur mostly in receipts issued by them.

*Principate*

In most instances apaitetai appear to have been general collectors, not limited to a single tax: e.g. *BGU* 342 records payments ὀφιθ(μήσεως) κοι(νῆς) made to apaitetai in 181 A.D. and to praktores in 184. To the end of the second century their collections were exclusively in money, thereafter increasingly in kind. Occasionally the title of the apaitetes specifies the object of collection; the following occur:

ἀπ. ἀννώνης  
γράστεως  
διδρ(άχμου) γερδίων  
ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ  
κρ(ιθῆς) καὶ λαχά(νου)  
μερισμοῦ followed by various specifications  
οἴνου  
σιτικῶν φόρων  
στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων  
τελ( )  
τιμῆς οἴ(νου) καὶ φοι(νίκων)  
τι(μῆς) πυροῦ  
τιρῶνων  
φόρων πολιτικῆς ούσιας

(OVER)

In 246 A.D. an apaitetes was acting-strategos of the Hermopolite nome: *P. Amb.* 72, and *P. Lond.* 1157V (=WChr. 375).

*Dominate*

Continuing the practice of the Principate, the responsibility of apaitetai was primarily defined by geographical area (cf. apodektes). Apaitetai designated by the tax collected are:

ἀπ. ἀννώνης  
ἀχύρου  
κρέως  
κριθῆς  
ναύλων  
οίνου  
πλίνθου  
σίτου  
στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων  
στιχαρίων λινῶν  
τιμῆς κρέως  
χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου  
ἀπ. ἥτοι ἐπιμεληταὶ φοινίκων ἀποστελλομένων  
εἰς τὴν Μεμφιτῶν πό[λιν]  
ἀπ. ἥτοι ἐπ. τῆς μητροπόλεως

The following designations also occur: ἀπ. καὶ παραλημπτής, ἀπ. καὶ σιτολόγος.

On a speculator as apaitetes cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 127. 1-3nn.

ἀπογραφή

1. 188-216 A.D.

2. 188 A.D.

3. ---

4. District of Antinoopolis.

5. ---

6. Census returns addressed to three officials αἱρεθεῖσι πρὸς τῇ κατ' οἰκίαν  
ἀπογραφῆ: *P. Oxy.* 1110, *P. Rein.* 49 (=: *WChr.* 207), *PSI* 1227.  
Cf. λαογράφος.



ἀποδέκτης

1. 295 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 43R) – 320 or 324? A.D. (*P. Thead.* 31 and 34).
2. 298 A.D. (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1).
3. ...
4. Village; municipality; river port.
5. ...
6. In addition to regional designations (cf. *apaитетes*), the following titles occur:

ἀπ. ἀννώνης  
ἀχύρου  
ἐσθῆτος  
κρέως  
κριθῆς  
λίνου τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ  
ξύλων ἀρτοκο(πίας)  
οἴνου  
πιστικίου  
στιχ(αρίων)  
χρημάτων Πανοπολίτου  
ἀπ. ἥτοι διαδότης  
ἀπ. καὶ ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν συνωνούμενων...

1. *What is the best way to increase sales?*

2. *What is the best way to increase profits?*

3. *What is the best way to increase market share?*

4. *What is the best way to increase customer satisfaction?*

5. *What is the best way to increase employee engagement?*

6. *What is the best way to increase product quality?*

7. *What is the best way to increase efficiency?*

8. *What is the best way to increase innovation?*

9. *What is the best way to increase sustainability?*

10. *What is the best way to increase resilience?*

ἀρχεφοδεία, ἀρχέφοδος

1. Ptolemaic - 359 A.D. (*BGU* 909).
2. 158 A.D. (*BGU* 6, cf. *P. Fay.* 24).
3. Poros = 600 dr. (*P. Lond.* 199). Age = 30(?) - 40. A lame man eligible (*P. Oxy.* 2240).
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Usually one archephodos in a village, but sometimes more (e.g. three in Theadelphia in 166/7 A.D., *P. Berl. Leibg* 6).

Cf. s.v. νομοφύλαξ.



ἀρχιερεύς, ἀρχιερωσύνη

1. Ptolemaic – 303 or 305-23 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 71 = *MCbr.* 62, *P. Princet.* 133, *P. Oxy.* 1415 intr.).
2. 237 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1114, ἀποδεδειγμένος; cf. *Mnemosyne* 1, 1948, p. 32); 161-180 A.D. if restoration ἀρχιερέως is correct in *SB* 176.
3. Bouleutic class (third century); freedmen eligible (*SB* 7634, 249 A.D.); literacy not essential (*P. Amb.* 82, cf. *Chron. d'Egypte* 29, 1954, p. 288f).
4. Metropolis.
5. [One year]. Division of year's duty among more than one: ἐγ μέρους ἀρχιερατεύσας *P. Flor.* 21 (239 A.D.).
6. The title was used in a variety of designations. Under the Ptolemies it generally designated the head of a temple. Under the Principate the Roman civil official who headed the religious administration of the province bore the title of archiereus, as did the high priests of the imperial cult in Alexandria and the nome capitals: e.g. ἀρχιερεύς τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν at Alexandria (*SB* 8780 = *IGRR* I, 1060; 170 A.D.), sim. καὶ θεῶν ἀπάντων at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Merton* 18; 161 A.D.); of individual emperors *P. Merton* 11, *P. Amb.* 124 (• *WChr.* 152), cf. ἀρχιερεύς Ἀδριανείου at Memphis and Oxyrhynchus (*P. Ross-Georg.* II, 21, c. 155 A.D.; *P. Oxy.* 1113, 203 A.D.). It is presumably the highpriesthood of the nome capitals that was transformed into the municipal liturgy, ἀρχιερεύς τῆς πόλεως.



ἀρχινυκτοφύλαξ

Occurs only in *P. Achmim.* 7 (Panopolite, 196 A.D.).

See νυκτοφύλαξ.



ἀρχιπεδιοφύλαξ

See πεδιοφύλαξ.



ἀρχιφύλαξ

1. Ptolemaic - 293 A.D. (*P. Bod.* 26) or 342 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1627).
2. c. 185 A.D. (*P. Petous* 66).
3. Poros + 200 dr. Age - 36.
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Other occurrences: *P. Achmim* 7, *P. Petous* 67 and 71.



ἀφεσιοφύλαξ

1. 25 A.D. — second century.
2. Second century (see 6, below).
3. ---
4. Village or portion thereof.
5. ---
6. Only occurrences: *P. Mich.* 233 (= *SB* 7174), *P. Strasb.* 55. Cf. *P. Fuad* 18 and 19, *P. Brem.* 14.

The office may have been liturgic already in 25 A.D., as asserted by the editor of *P. Mich.* 233, but proof is still wanting; cf. *BASP* 4, 1967, pp. 19-21.



ἀχυράρι(ο)ς, ἀχυροπράκτωρ

1. 129 - 215 A.D.

2. See 6, below.

3. ---

4. Village; metropolis or section thereof.

5. ---

6. Presumably liturgic in view of the title praktor. These titles are found only in ostracaon receipts issued at Thebes: *O. Aberd.* 80, *O. Bodl.* 1651-1679 passim, *O. Meyer* 19, *O. Strasb.* 454, *O. Theb.* 106, 107, 111, *O. Wilbour* 72, 73. Therefore in *P. Herm. Rees* 36, a fourth-century papyrus presumably from the Hermopolite nome, the resolution ἀχυ(ράριος) must be regarded as doubtful.



βιβλιοθήκη, βιβλιοφυλάκιον, βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων

1. 67 A.D. (*BGU* 379 = *MChr.* 219) – 319 or 324 A.D. (*SB* 9219, *P. Rend. Harr.* 131).

2. 112 A.D. (*P. Giss.* 58).

3. Arsinoite nome: normally ex-gymnasiarchs to Marcus Aurelius; thereafter also ex-exegetai; in the third century, bouleutic class generally. See also 6, below.

4. Nome

5. One year? (*Proc. IX Int'l Congr. Papyrology*, pp. 242-45).

6. Usually two colleagues in office, three in Oxyrhynchus in *P. Oxy.* 713 (= *MChr.* 314) and *P. Rend. Harr.* 74, 97 and 99 A.D. *P. Strasb.* 34 (180-92 A.D.) is addressed τοῖν δεῖνα βουλευταῖς [βιβλιοφύλαξι] ἐγκτήσεων καὶ δημοσίων λόγων Ἀντινόου πόλ(εως). (For βιβλ. δημ. λόγων *P. Giss.* 58 mentions a poros of more than a talent.) Two Antinoite epikrisis records, *SB* 7427 and 7605 (= *P. Fam. Teb.* 32), 168/9 and 145/6 A.D., are signed, respectively, by a βουλευτής βιβλιοφύλ(αξ) πόλεως and a βουλευτής καὶ βιβλιοφύλ(αξ) πολειτικ(ῶν, sc. λόγων, ἀρχείων, aut sim.); for these titles cf. also *P. Beatty. Panop.* 1 and 2.



γενηματοφυλακία, γενηματοφύλαξ

1. Ptolemaic - third century.

2. c. 185 A.D.

3. Poros = 1,000 dr. Age = 30.

4. Village.

5. One year.

6. Occurrences: *P. Petaus* 70, *P. Ryl.* 90.

Two of the village pediophylakes are designated as genematophylakes.



γεωργία

See under ἐπιβολή.



γραμματεία, γραμματεύς (μητρο)πόλεως

1. 72 A.D. (*Stud. Pal.* IV, p. 69-71) – 261 or 270-75 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 57; *P. Oxy.* 1413, cf. 6, below).
2. 192 A.D. (*BGU* 820); already 141? (*BGU* 1573).
3. ---
4. Metropolis or section thereof.
5. One year.
6. Sometimes more than one gr. pol. in office.  
γρ. πολιτικῶν (sc. χρημάτων? edd.; sc. rather λόγων?) *P. Oxy.* 1413 = same office?  
ὑπογραμ. πόλεως *BGU* 1573  
γραμ. πατρίδος *PSI* 1076 (third century).

Bibl.: P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil...*, Bruxelles, 1958.



γραμματηφόρος

See δρόμος.



γυμνασιαρχία, γυμνασίαρχος

1. Ptolemaic – 370 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 2110).

2. 144 A.D. (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 54, ἀποδεδειγμένος; cf. *Mnemosyne* 1, 1948, p. 32).

3. Bouleutic class in third century; minors eligible. No poros specified but wealth is evident.

4. Nome (*PSI* 1323, cf. Oertel p. 318).

Latest mention of a village gymnasiarch is in 2 A.D., *BGU* 1201.

5. One year.

Division of the year among more than one:

δι' ὅλου ἔτους emphasized by one of four ex-g's, *PSI* 1263 (=SB 7816), 166/7 A.D.

two g's alternating monthly (so the general interpretation, but cf. two months' service in *P. Mich.* inv. no. 6630 ined., 215 A.D.), *BGU* 760 (=WChr. 150), second century.

mention of five days, offer to serve four months, *P. Oxy.* 1418, 247 A.D.

rotation by lot-

three days: *Stud. Pal.* V 53-59 (= in part WChr. 39 and 151), 267 A.D.

single days: *Stud. Pal.* V 62, 268 A.D.; *P. Oxy.* 1413, 270-75 A.D.

τάγμα τῶν γ. *P. Oxy.* 2130 and 1252, 267 and c. 290 A.D.

6. Bibl.: B.A. Van Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles...*, Groningen, 1924.

Notabilia:

SB 7473, ὑπογυμν[ασί]αρχία,

*P. Amb.* 64, γυμνασιαρχίς (cf. Van Groningen).

*P. Oxy.* 473 (=WChr. 33, ἐκούσιος γυμνασιαρχία).

G.-designate = μελλογυμνασίαρχος in *P. Lond.* 1166, 42 A.D., later (when liturgic) γ. ἀποδεδειγμένος, e.g. *BGU* 1893 line 607 (149 A.D.). ἀποδεδειγμένος γ. on Thoth 13: *P. Lips.* 4+5 (=MChr. 171), Hermopolis, 293 A.D.

An ex-g. named Ioannes – i.e. a Jew or Christian – appears in *P. Cair. Isidor.* 114 (cf. 2n.) and 115 (304 and 306 A.D.).



δειγματοάρτης

1. 113-20 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 14) — 188 A.D. or later (*P. Oxy.* 708 = *WCbr.* 432; *P. Oxy.* 63).
2. 145-47 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 1159 = *WCbr.* 415).
- 3-5. ---
6. All occurrences listed above.



δειγματοκαταγωγία, δειγματοκαταγωγός

1. 113-20 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 14) – 260 A.D. or later (*P. Oxy.* 1254; *P. Strasb.* 31).

2. c. 185 A.D. (*P. Petrus* 55 and 56, cf. 57).

3-5. ---

6. All occurrences listed above. Successors to the epiplooi of the second century?  
Cf. καταγωγή σπερμάτων.



δεκαπρωτεία, δεκάπρωτος

1. 226 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 1157) – 304 or 306 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 84, *O. Mich.* 908).
2. Third century (*BGU* 96), by implication from the institution of the office. A κράτιστος claims exemption: *P. Oxy.* 1204 (299 A.D.).
3. Bouleutic class; minors and women liable (*PSI* 303).
4. One or two toparchies.
5. One year (*PSI* 807). Renewable? (cf. Oertel p. 212); a katholikos orders that the office be held only once: *P. Oxy.* 1410, cf. intr. Division of duty: ἐν] μέρεσι δ., *P. Thead.* 18.
6. Usually two colleagues in office.  
ἀλπαιτητής δεκαπρώτου: *P. Ryl.* 206(b), meaning? βοηθοί employed by d.: e.g. *PSI* 945, *P. Flor.* 338, *P. Göt.* 4, χειριστής in *P. Lond.* 1157.
- δ. involved in γῆς ἀναμέτρησις: *P. Leit.* 16.
- δ. involved in choosing supervisors of dyke-and-canal repairs: *P. Oxy.* 1409.
- Three d. for two toparchies: *P. Thead.* 27 (298 A.D.).
- Father and son serve simultaneously: *O. Fay.* 23 (298 A.D.).
- δ.=λειτουργία πολιτική, *P. Oxy.* 1204.



δεσμοφυλακεία, δεσμοφύλαξ

1. 19/18 B.C. (*BGU 1138=MCbr. 100*)—265 A.D. (*P. Flor. 2*).
2. 265 A.D. (*P. Flor. 2*), presumably earlier.
3. Villagers. Poros=800 and 1,000 dr. Age=35-50.
4. Service in prison of metropolis.
5. Six months.
6. Cf. ἐπιτηρητής δεσμίων.



διάδοσις, διαδότης

1. 284-338 A.D. or later (*P. Lips.* 97, *P. Giss.* 54, *BGU J025*).

2-3. ...

4. Toparchy.

5. ...

6. The following designations (other than geographic) occur:

δ. ἥτοι (καὶ) ἀποδέκτης

δ. ἥτοι ἐπιμελητής

δ. ἀννώνης

ἄρτου

ἀχύρου

κρέως

κριθῆς

οίνου

Two d. per toparchy.



διακριτής ἐκθέσεων

1. 112—third century A.D.
2. 112 A.D.
3. Poros=3 tal. 5500 dr.
4. Nome.
5. Three years.
6. Only occurrences: *P. Giss.* 58, *BGU* 734.



διεραματίτης, διέρασις

1. c. 72 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* ined.) – 264 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 2568).
2. 190 A.D. (*P. Teb.* 328).
3. ---
4. Village; metropolis; Arsinoite meris
5. One year? (*P. Teb.* 328).
6. Only other occurrences: *P. Bad.* 85a, *P. Berl. Leibg.* 2, *P. Hib.* 216, *P. Mil. Vogl.* 189, *P. Oxy.* 1197, *PSI* 1103.



δρόμος (δημόσιος, ὁξύς)

1. 300 A.D. (*P. Beatty Panop.* 2)—396 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 39=*WCbr.* 405).

2. 381 A.D. (*PSI* 1108).

3-4. ---

5. One year.

6. See also *P. Oxy.* 900 (=*WCbr* 437) and 2115.



ειρήνη, ειρηνάρχης, ειρήναρχος

1. 196 A.D. (*P. Achmim* 7)–340 A.D. or later (*P. Vind. Sijp.* 5, *BGU* 1044, *P. Oxy.* 1505, *P. Strasb.* 149).
2. 196 A.D. (οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης).
3. Poros=200-400 dr. Age=24-48.
4. Village; toparchy; pagus; nome?—see 6, below.
5. One year.

6. The history of these titles is still far from clear.

In the earliest mentions (*P. Achmim* 7, *P. Oxy.* 2122, *SB* 9421) the village liturgists are called οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης.

Throughout the third century ειρηνάρχης (earliest occurrence 238-44 A.D.) is the title of a nome official, who is surely not a liturgist (*BGU* 1568, *P. Oxy.* 80 (=WCbr. 473), *P. Oxy.* 118, 1507, 1662, 2107, 2343, 2568 (cf. 1-3n.), *SB* 8199 (=SEG VIII 704), *P. Strasb.* 5). Eirenarchs of toparchies appear in *P. Oxy.* 2108 (259 A.D.)=eirenarchs of pagi under the Dominate (*P. Thead.* 24 and 25). An eirenarch of a unit larger than a village—therefore of a pagus or nome—appears in *P. Thead.* 16 (after 307 A.D.).

Under the Dominate a reversal of titles appears to have taken place. A δεκάδαρχος ἐπὶ εἰρήνης Ἡρακλεοπολίτου appears in *PSI* 184 and 222. In *P. Cair. Isidor.* 130 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης gives orders to village officials, and is himself therefore a nome or pagus official. On the other hand, ειρηνάρχης is now the title of a village liturgist.

—Are these village ειρηνάρχαι the successors of οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης? It would seem so.

—Is ειρηνάρχης as a village official in evidence before the Dominate? *P. Flor.* 76. 52, from the Heroninos archive, suggests it, and *SB* 4422 would prove it if we could be sure that it antedates the Dominate.

—And what of ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης κώμης in two contemporary but undated documents, *P. Oxy.* 64 (= WCbr 475), and *P. Oxy.* 1507? Both are orders for arrest—the first from a military decurion, the second from nome eirenarchs—addressed κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάτη εἰρήνης of the village. Was ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης an official or unofficial designation during a transitional period between ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης and ειρηνάρχης (cf. *P. Thead.* p. 111, Oertel p. 279)? This explanation seems doubtful at best, and must be completely abandoned if the documents belong under the Dominate. That they are to be so dated may be suggested by *P. Thead.* 17 (332 A.D.), which has ὁ τὰ ειρηνικὰ ἐπιστατούμενος (=ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης?).



είρηνοφύλαξ

1. c. 115 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 14 and 26) – 210 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 2121).
2. 166 A.D. (*P. Berl. Leibg.* 6).
3. Poros = 200-600 dr. Age = 35, 40.
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. One or more e. in a village. At least one village in *P. Achmim* 7 has three ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης and two είρηνοφύλακες in the same year.  
Other occurrences: *Chron. d' Egypte* 24, 1949, 301 (=SB 9105).  
*P. Lond.* 199  
*P. Ryl.* 89.



Έκθεσις (έχ-)

See διακριτής.



έκστρωστης

1. 298 A.D.
2. 298 A.D.
- 3-5. ---
6. Only occurrence: *P. Beatty Panop.* 1.



έμβολαρχία

1. c. 310 A.D.
2. c. 310 A.D.
3. [Bouleutic class]
- 4-5. ---
6. Only occurrence: *P. Merton* 90; cf. note ad loc. Two men in office, chosen by  
by the boule.



έξαριθμησις θρεμμάτων

1. 136 A.D. (*P. Grenf.* II 45) – 216 A.D. (*BGU* 266 = *WCbr.* 245).

2. 159 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 376).

3. ---

4. Meris; toparchy; nome.

5. ---

6. Other occurrences: *BGU* 358, *P. Grenf.* II 45a, *P. Lond.* 309 and 328, *P. Oxy.* 2117 and 2118.

It would seem that this activity was normally supervised by a non-liturgic designee of the epistrategos, sent from another nome; the nome strategos could name liturgists to replace that official and himself in this activity.



ἐξέτασις, ἐξεταστής

1. 113 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 1177 = *WCbr.* 193) – 292 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 59).

2. c. 150 A.D.? (*P. Princet.* 126).

3. Bouleutic class.

4-5. ---

6. Other occurrences: *P. Lund* III 4 (cf. *Archiv* 13, p. 233).

*PSI* 1236

*Stud. Pal.* V 98 (\*XX 66, cf. V 99 = XX 59), V 101.

*P. Strasb.* inv. graec. 1168 II (*Archiv* 4, p. 117).

Oertel (p. 260 and 308-9, following Jouguet and Wilcken) separates exetastai into two separate offices, but recognizes that the regular municipal office of the third century may have been an outgrowth of the occasional appointments of the second century; cf. esp. *Stud. Pal* V 101.



έξηγητεία, έξηγητής

1. Ptolemaic—314 A.D. (*PSI* 820).
2. 136 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1472).
3. Bouleutic class; minors eligible. Wealth is evident from contracts, tax records, etc.
4. Metropolis; polis; nome.
5. One year.  
Division of year's duty among more than one:  
ἡμιχωρίον, *P. Oxy.* 1413, 270-75 A.D.  
έξηγ( )έν ἄλλοι[ι]ς ἡμέραις, *P. Oxy.* 1416, c. 299 A.D.
6. ἀντεξηγητής=replacement, i.e. acting-exegetes:  
*P. Berl. Leihg.* 24, *BGU* 362, *P. Meyer* 6, *P. Ryl.* 397 (all 125-215 A.D.).



ἐπείκτης, ἐπειξις

1. c. 250 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 62V=WCbr 278)—338 A.D. (*P. Vind. Sijp.* 1).

2. 270-75 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1413).

3. ...

4. Nome.

5. ...

6. The following epektai are specified:

επ. ἄνθρακος  
ἀννώνης  
δημοσίου σίτου  
ἐπισκευῆς ... ἀρτοκοπείου  
όθόνης  
πλοιοποιίας  
(ἐπισκευῆς) πλοίων  
χρυσοῦ στεφάνου

πρωτεπείκτης occurs in *PSI* 1231.

Cf. χωματεπείκτης.



ἐπιβάλλειν, ἐπιβολή

1. 29 A.D. (*P. Mich.* 256)–275 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1633).

2. 29 A.D. (cf. 6, below).

3-5. ---

6. Assignment of land for compulsory cultivation is expressed also by the following technical terms (*citations exempli gratia*):

βασιλικῆς γεωργίας (καθαρ. ἀπὸ) *P. Brem.* 68, *P. Oxy.* 2236.

γεωργία (οր εἰς - αὐ) καθέλκεσθαι *WChr.* 360, 361, cf. *SB* 9224.

διατάσσομαι (βασ., δημ. γῆ) *P. Flor.* 91, *P. Leit.* 5, cf. *P. Princet.* 128.

ἐπιμερίζειν δημ. γῆς *P. Phil.* 1.

ἐπιμερισμός *P. Col.* V pp.160-62.

House property as well as land was liable to epibole: *P. Oslo.* 40, *P. Oxy.* 577 and 2236, *PSI* 1035 + *P. Oxy.* 505.

Correlation between extent of property and amount of epibole is lacking: cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* p. 118.

On possible Ptolemaic antecedents see above under *CULTIVATION*.



έπιδημία

See παρουσία.



ἐπιδρομὴ μητροπόλεως

1. Second century.
2. Second century.
3. Poros = 3,000 dr.
- 4-5. ---
6. Only occurrence: *P. Fay.* 23.



έπικρισις, έπικριτής, πρὸς τῇ έπικρίσει

1. 11 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 288) – 276 A.D. (*PSI* 457).
2. 134 A.D. (*P. Ryl.* 103).
3. Bouleutic class; minors liable for service (*P. Ryl.* 103, *BGU* 324 = *WC Chr.* 219).
4. Metropolis or district thereof.
5. ...
6. Epikrites simultaneously: kosmetes, *PSI* 457.

pompagogos, *P. Erlang.* 31, cf. *Chron. d'Egypte* 31, 1956  
112 (= *SB* 9162).



έπιμέλεια, έπιμελητής

1. Ptolemaic – 375-79 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 55).
2. 215 A.D. (*BGU* 362 = *WCbr.* 96).
3. Bouleutic class; illiterates eligible.
4. Village; metropolis; pagus?; nome.
5. [One year]. Division into periods of six months? cf. *BGU* 362 = *WCbr.* 96.
6. Komarchai serving as epimeletai: *O. Mich.* 234.

*Principate*

Under the Principate the following epimeletai are specified:

I. TAXES – ἐπ., ἀννώνης

δῆμ. ἴματίων (ἐπ. καὶ κατοσκευὴ καὶ κατακομιδή)  
ἱεροῦ  
λιμνασμοῦ, λ. καὶ ἐπαντλησμοῦ  
τῶν προσηκόντων ... Διὶ Καπιτωλίῳ  
στιχαρίων καὶ παλλίων  
χόρτου

In *P. Oxy.* 1115 epimeletai call themselves ἀναπ[ο]μποὶ ἄρτου.

II. PUBLIC WORKS – see *P. Amh.* 64, *Archiv* 4 pp. 115-22, *P. Bad.* 74, *P. Brem* 38, *P. Fuad Univ.* 14, *P. Oxy.* 54 (= *WCbr.* 34), *P. Oxy.* 1117, 1409, 2128, 2563, *Stud. Pal.* V 66-67, 82, 83, 86 (= *WCbr.* 195), 94 (= *WCbr.* 194), 127 = XX 68.

*Dominate*

Under the Dominate category II seems to have disappeared.

The following designations occur:

ἀπαιτηταὶ ἡτοι ἐπιμεληταὶ  
ἀποδέκτης καὶ ἐπ.  
διαδότης ἡτοι ἐπ.  
ἐπ., ἡτοι καταπομπός  
ἡτοι ὑποκαταστάτης  
ἀννώνης, ἀννωνῶν  
ἄρτου (ἐπ. καὶ διαδότης)  
ἄρτου ἀννωνικοῦ  
ἀσήμου  
ἀχύρου

(OVER)

δημοσίων ἀρτοκοπείων  
εἰδῶν  
έργατῶν ἀρτοκοπείων Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μέμφεως  
έργατῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀλαβαστρίνην μεγάλην  
έσθῆτος  
ζώων  
μησαυροῦ Λευκογίου  
καλιγῖτων  
κρέως  
κριθῆς  
λαχάνων  
μητροπόλεως  
ξύλων  
οῖνου, ἐπ., καὶ ἀγ[ακο]μιδῆς οῖνου ἀννώνης  
ὅρμου Λευκογίου  
πόλεως (Πανὸς (π.) )  
πλοίων ταμιακῶν  
σίτου  
τεχνιτῶν ἀποστελλομένων ἐν ἀλαβαστρίῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας  
τῶν συνωνουμένων φακοῦ καὶ ὅξους  
φοινίκων (cf. ἀπαιτητής)  
χρυσοῦ  
χρυσοῦ τιρώνων

έπιμερισμός

See under *έπιβολή*.



ἐπίπλοος, ἐπίπλους

1. 138-61 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 301 = *MChr.* 340) – 185 A.D. or later (*P. Lond.* 342; *P. Amb.* 123).

2. 139 A.D. (*P. Phil.* 10).

3. ...

4. Village.

5. ...

6. Two and four epiplooi cited per village.

These civilian liturgists must be distinguished from military escorts, also designated epiplooi, who accompanied the cargoes in the first century A.D. (e.g. *WChr.* 443, *F. Oxy.* 276).

Cf. δειγματοκαταγωγός.



έπισκεπτης, έπισκεψις

1. 8 B.C. (*P. Lond.* 1171R) – 244 A.D. (*P. Oslo* 27).
2. 113-20 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 2).
3. Euschemones, chosen from other nomes (*P. Brem.* 2).
4. Nome (*P. Brem.* 3); ousia (*P. Strasb.* 78); topos (*PSI* 448, *P. Oxy.* 589).
5. ---
6. The following episkeptai are specified:  
    έπι. γῆς (διαμισθουμένης)  
    έλαικῶν καρπῶν *SB* 4416  
    χωμάτων καὶ διωρύχων *P. Oxy.* 57, *BGU* 12 (= *WChr.* 389).

Two third-century documents mention higher, non-liturgic officials in charge of regional or provincial episkepses: *PSI* 1066 ὁ κράτιστος πρὸς ταῖς έπισκέψεσι and *CIL* V 7870 (= *ILS* 6762) ducenarius episcepseos chorae inferioris.



έπιστολαφορία, έπιστολαφόρος

1. 185-217 A.D.

2. 185 A.D.

3. Poros = 400 dr.

4. Komogrammateia; [metropolis].

5. ---

6. Only occurrences: *P. Oxy.* ined., *P. Petrus* 84.

The villages and phylai furnished one epistolaphoros in rotation. Periods of five and twelve years are cited in *P. Petrus*.



ἐπιτήρησις, ἐπιτηρητής

1. 88 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 174) – 270-75 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1413).
2. c. 136 A.D. (*P. Leit.* 11).
3. *Poros* = 600 - 2,000 dr. (*P. Fay.* 23). *Age* = c.22 - 45. Village presbyteros eligible (*P. Fay.* 304); ex-archontes, bouleutai eligible (*P. Oxy.* 1413, 2116).
4. One or more villages; metropolis; toparchy or portion thereof; nome.
5. One year (*BGU* 1062 = *WCbr.* 276); three years (*PSI* 1245, cf. *P. Amb.* 77 = *WCbr.* 277); renewable? (cf. *O. Heid.* 274-75, 284-85, *O. Wilb.* 40-42).
6. Epiteretai appear to have been appointed usually in collegia of two, three or four persons; twelve occur in *BGU* 277.

Assistants of epiteretai: βοηθοί, χειρισταί, but ἐπ. καὶ χ. καταλοχισμῶν.

The following epiteretai are specified (citations are given for single occurrences):

- (τέλους) ἀγορανομίας, -ου (cf. ἀσχολούμενος ὡνήν ἀγ-ίου)  
ἀδεσπότου *P. Oslo.* 92  
τῆς Ἀδριανῆς βιβλιοθήκης *P. Oxy.* 34  
ἀπρά(των) ὑπαρχ(όντων) *P. Ryl.* 217  
βαλανείου *P. Amb.* 64  
γενηματογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων (cf. κτημάτων)  
γενῶν ζωγραφικῶν (cf. εἰδῶν)  
γερδιακοῦ, τέλ(ους) γερδ(ίων) (cf. ἐγλήμπτωρ, τελώνης γερδ.)  
γραφείου καὶ χαρτηρᾶς, γρ. μητροπόλεως  
δεσμίων *P. Oxy.* 580  
διαμισθουμένης γῆς *P. Ryl.* 77  
διαψυγμάτων καὶ διαψιλῶν *BGU* 277 (cf. ψυγμοῦ)  
διώρυχος Βουβ(άστου) *BGU* 10  
δρυμοῦ, δρυμῶν (cf. ἐγλήμπτωρ δρ., cf. ἰχθυηρᾶς, νομῶν)  
(τέλους) ἔγκυκλιον, ἐ. καὶ κομακτορίας (cf. μισθωτής, τελώνης ἔγκ.)  
εἰδῶν γενῶν ζωγραφικῶν (cf. γενῶν)  
ἐκστάσεως καὶ δεκάτης ἀγορᾶς *P. Lond.* 305  
ἔλαιικοῦ, ἔλαικής καὶ ἄλλων πιασμάτ(ων)  
ἔξαγωγῆς! *PSI* 870  
Ἐξωπύλης καὶ ὁχανοδέσμου *SB* 7342  
τέλους ἐπιξένων *O. Theb.* 87  
τῶν ἐπιστολῶν *Archiv* 4, p. 123  
(τέλους) ἐρμηνίας  
ἡγεμονικῶν ... πηλο[ι]ῶν καὶ δλλων *P. Oxy.* 2116

(OVER)

τέλ(ους) ἡπητῶν (cf. τελώνης ἡπ.)  
τέλ(ους) θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν (cf. τελώνης θ. ἰ.)  
θυιῶν καὶ τελωνικῆς ἀτελείας *BGU* 199V  
ἱερατικῶν ὠνῶν (cf. νομῶν) (cf. *JJP* 15, p. 163 ff.)  
ἴχθυστρᾶς δρυμῶν, ἵ. δρ. καὶ νομῶν θερινῶν (cf. νομῶν)  
(τελῶν) καταλοχισμῶν (cf. ἀσχολ., δημοσιώνης, τελώνης, ὁ πρὸς τοῖς κ.)  
κατακομιδῆς καὶ παραπομπῆς βιβλίων  
ὑπέρ καταπομπῆς μηνιαίου? *BGU* 362 (= *WCbr.* 96)  
καταφράκτων *Stud. Pal.* V 97  
κιαρβασσίς (*sic*) *BGU* 10  
κομακτορίας καὶ φόρου κ[ηρ]υκίας *P. Strasb.* 135 (= *SB* 8017) (cf. ἔγκυκ.)  
κοπ(ῆς) τριχ(ὸς) καὶ χειρ[ι] ωναξ(ίου)  
κτημάτων γενηματογραφουμένων (cf. γενημ.)  
μισθοῦ βαφικῆς *P. Ryl.* 98  
τοῦ μνημονείου *P. Fuad* 36  
τοῦ Ναναίου *P. Oxy.* 34  
ѡνῆς ναύλου γναφέων *P. Merton* 70  
νέας ἀμπ(ελίτιδος) ἐπὶ Νήσου (Thebes) *WO* 1574-76  
νομαρχίας *P. Amb.* 77 (= *WCbr* 277)  
νομῶν  
" αἰγιαλοῦ  
" (θερινῶν) ... ούσιας  
" καὶ δρυμοῦ, δρυμῶν  
" " ... καὶ ἱερατικῶν ὠνῶν ἐν ούσιακοῖς μισ-  
θωταῖς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑδατικῆς προσόδου...καὶ θήρας ἴχθύας  
ξενικῆς πρακτορείας  
ούσιας, ούσιακῶν (κτημάτων), ούσιακῆς (-ῶν) μισθώσεως (-ων) (cf. νομῶν)  
τέλος (ѡνῆς) πελωχικοῦ *BGU* 1062 (= *WCbr.* 276)  
πεντηκοστῆς  
πλίνθου *P. Fay.* 36 (= *WCbr.* 316)  
πλοίων ἀλιευτικῶν *BGU* 10  
ποταμοφυλακίδων? *P. Flor.* 91  
προσόδων *BGU* 388 (= *MCbr.* 91)  
προθιμείου *WCbr.* 392  
(ἱερᾶς) πύλης (cf. μισθωτής, ὁ πρὸς τὴν π.)  
σταθμοῦ *P. Fay.* 23  
στε(φανικῶν?) *P. Strasb.* 23  
στυπτηρίας  
συναλλ(αγμάτων?) *BGU* 989 (= *MCbr.* 136)  
τιμῆς οἴνου καὶ φοινίκων  
τραπέζης  
ὑπαρχόντων (cf. ἀπράτ., γενημ., κτημ.)  
ὑποδοχίων  
φόρου φραγμοῦ *P. Oxy.* 580  
(ἀσχολήματος) χειρωναξίου  
ψυγμοῦ καὶ διαψίλ(ων) *BGU* 10 (cf. διαψυγ.)

έπιτρέχων

1. 133 - 210 A.D.
2. 166 A.D.
3. Age = 31, 35
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Occurrences: *P. Fay.* 107, *P. Berl. Leibg.* 6, *P. Oxy.* 2121 (also *P. Lond* 189?).



έπιτροπή, έπιτροπος (ἀφηλίκων)

1. 113-20 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 39) — 287 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 888 = *MChr.* 329).

2. 147 A.D. (*Archiv* 3, p. 368), perhaps already 113-20 (*P. Brem.* 39).

3-5. ---

6. This epitropos, who served as guardian (*tutor*) of minors, must not be confused with epitropos = *procurator*. On the use of the term κηδεμών, cf. notes to *P. Oxy.* 888 (= *MChr.* 329), 3, and 2474, 20.



έργασία, έργάτης

1. 317 A.D. (*P. Cair. Isidor.* 123) – 335 A.D. (*P. Hib.* 220).

2-3. ---

4. See 6, below.

5. ---

6. Villages were responsible for supplying workmen, or their pay, for various public works and services. Cf. ναύτης, ὀνηλάτης.



εύθηνία, εύθηνιάρχης, εύθηνιαρχία

1. First century (*IGRR* I 1044) or 111 A.D. (*Stud. Pal.* XXII 94) – early fourth century (*P. Oxy.* 1417).

2. 199 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 908 = *WCbr.* 426).

3. Bouleutic class, wealth evident.

4. Metropolis.

5. One year.

Division of the year among more than one:

one or more months, *P. Oxy.* 908 (= *WCbr.* 426), *P. Leit.* 7, *P. Erlang.* 18.

five days, *P. Oxy.* 1418, 28.

sixteen(?) days, *P. Erlang.* 18.

6. The title eutheniarch first appears in *P. Oxy.* 908 (= *WCbr.* 426), of 199 A.D. Documents prior to that date mention a non-liturgical official, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εύθηνίας, ὁ πρὸς τῇ εύθηνίᾳ. *P. Teb.* 397 (= *MCbr.* 321) speaks of προστασία εύθηνίας in 153 A.D., but *Stud. Pal.* V 7 = XX 58, of c. 265 A.D., has προστασία τῆς εύθηνιαρχίας.



θυσίαι

1. 250 A.D.
2. 250 A.D.
3. ...
4. Village; metropolis.
5. ...
6. Libelli of the Decian persecution are addressed τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἡρημένοις  
(αἱρεθεῖσι).



Ιουράτωρ

1. 299 A.D.

2-5. ---

6. Three iuratores are included in the land-survey party: *P. Cair. Isidor.* 3-5,  
*P. New York* 1, *P. Thibad.* 54-55.



καμηλασία

1. 161-69 A.D. (*P. Wurz.* 9) – 217 A.D. (*BGU* 266 = *WCbr.* 245), cf. 6, below.
2. 161-69 A.D.
3. ---
4. Meris.
5. Ad hoc? cf. *P. Wurz.* 9, intr.
6. See also *P. Leit.* 6, *Digest* 50.4.1.2 (late third century?) Cf. also *P. Petrus* 85 (quoted under Untitled Liturgies, *infra*).



καρπώνης

1. 306 A.D.
2. 306 A.D.
3. ---
4. Metropolis.
5. ---
6. Only occurrence: *P. Lond.* 974 (= *WCbr.* 429).



καταγωγή

See: άνδοσις.  
δειγματοκαταγωγή.



καταπάτησις

1. Third century.

2. Third century.

3. Bouleutic class.

4-5. ---

6. Occurrences: *Stud. Pal.*, V 7 (=XX 58) and 10, c. 266 A.D., ἡρέθημεν ... κατα-  
πάτησιν ποιήσασθαι χωρίων καὶ παραδείσων, καὶ ἀναγγραφὴν φυτῶν τῶν κατα-  
λαμβανομέν[ων δη]λῶσαι.



καταπομπός

See ἐπιμελητής.  
ὑποδέκτης.



κατασπορεία, κατασπορεύς

1. 92 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 2185) – third century (*P. Bour.* 39, *P. Grenf.* II 66).
2. 114 A.D. (*SB* 9050).
3. Poros = 5,000 dr. Age = 34.
4. Topos; meris; polis(? *P. Erlang.* 89).
5. One year.
6. Katasporeis as supervisors of
  - (a) sowing: *P. Oxy.* 2185, *P. Iand.* 27.
  - (b) irrigation and penthemeros: *P. Ryl.* 81, *P. Mil. Vogl.* 92 and 167, *SB* 5124 and 7361, *P. Bour.* 39.  
Cf. λιμναστής  
συμβροχισμός.



κεφαλαιωτής, κεφαλαιωτία

1. 299 A.D. (*P. Cair. Isidor.* 40) – 372 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 47-53).
2. 299 A.D.
3. ...
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. ...



κοσμητεία, κοσμητής

1. Ptolemaic - 347 A.D. (*P. Ant.* 31).
2. 132 A.D. (*PSI* 1159).
3. Bouleutic class; minors eligible; wealth is evident (e.g. *P. Princet.* 37, *PSI* 1255).
4. Metropolis; polis.
5. One year  
Division of the year among more than one:  
one or more months, *P. Ant.* 31, *P. Lond.* 1177 (= *WCbr.* 193)  
one or more days, *P. Oxy.* 1416  
έγ μέρους κοσ(μητεύσας), *P. Flor.* 21.
6. Bibl.: E.L. de Kock, Die Kosmeet in Egipte, Leiden, 1948.



κουαδράριος

1. 314-331 A.D.

2. 314 A.D.

3. Villagers.

4-5. ---

6. Occurrences: *P. Cair. Isidor* 71, 73, 129; *P. Strasb.* 129, 149.



κτηναρχία

1. Late third/early fourth century.

2. Late third/early fourth century.

3-5.---

6. Only occurrence: *P. Leit.* 10.



κωμάρχης, κωμαρχία, κώμαρχος

1. Ptolemaic - 346 A.D. (*P. Herm. Rees* 21).
2. 298 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1469); by implication 202-7 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 1220).
3. Poros = 1,000 and 2,000 dr. Age = 32-59. Literacy not required (*P. Got.* 5 and 6).
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Usually two komarchs per village; but four, e.g., in *PSI* 1106 and 1107.  
τὸ κωμαρχικόν occurs in *SB* 9135.



κωμογράμματεία, κωμογράμματεύς

1. Ptolemaic - 240 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1549)
2. c. 136 A.D. (*P. Leit.* 11).
3. Age = 30-50. A minor as k.: *P. Ross-Georg.* II 11. Literacy not required.
4. One or more villages.
5. [One year].
6. In *P. Strash.* 57 and the Petaus archive the komogrammateus serves in a village other than the one in which he resides. Whether or not this was the normal practice is not yet clear.  
The village presbyteroi frequently served as temporary komogrammateis (διαδεχόμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν κ.).



λαογράφος

1. 34 A.D. (*SB* 5661) – c. 258 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1468).
2. 201 A.D. (*BGU* 484).
3. ---
4. Village; amphodon of metropolis.
5. ---
6. ---



ληστοπιαστής

1. 265 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 2) — 307 A.D. or a little later (*Stud. Pal.* 76 = *SB* 2267, *P. Cair. Isidor.* 79, *P. Cair. Preis.* 6, *O. Mich.* 102).
2. 265 A.D.
3. Poros = 2,000 dr. Age = 38, 45.
4. Village.
5. [One year].
6. Occurrences in addition to the above-noted: *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, pp. 39-40, *BGU* 325 (= *WCbr.* 472), *P. Oslo* 20, *P. Ryl.* 289.



λιμνασμός, λιμναστεία, λιμναστής

1. 113 A.D. (*P. Ryl.* 82) – 239 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 21).

2. 170 A.D. (*BGU* 91).

3. *Poros* = 700 – 5,000 dr. *Age* = 34, 40.

4. *Meris; toparchy.*

5. *One year.*

6. λιμναστής καὶ κατασπορεύς *WChr.* 392, cf. *P. Flor.* 21.

λιμνασμοῦ καὶ ἀρδείας καὶ κατασπορᾶς (καὶ συνκομιδῆς) *P. Ryl.* 90, *P. Oxy.* 2121.

Cf. also ἐπιμελητής λιμνασμοῦ

πληρωτής

συμβροχισμός



λογιστεία, λογιστής

1. Ptolemaic — fourth century.
2. 325 A.D. (*SB* 9558).
3. ...
4. Metropolis.
5. ...
6. Is the logisteia of the nome the same or a different office? Cf. gymnasiorachy.



λογογραφία, λογογράφος

1. 298 A.D. — fourth century.
2. 298 A.D.
3. Literacy required.
- 4-5. ---
6. Occurrences: *P. Amb.* 82, *P. Ant.* 40, *P. Beatty Panop.* 1, *P. Oxy.* 53.



λύσις διαθηκῶν

1. 181 A.D.

2. 181 A.D.

3-5. ---

6. Only occurrence: *P. Merton* 75, addressed αἱρεθεῖσι πρὸς τῇ λύσει τῶν διαθηκῶν.



μαγδωλοφυλακία, μαγδωλοφύλαξ

1. 144-49 A.D. (*SB* 9237) — 174 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 884) or later (*P. Flor.* 375).
2. 166 A.D. (*P. Berl. Leigh.* 6).
3. ...
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. ...



ναύτης

1. c. 307 A.D. (*P. Tbead.* 16) — 338 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 97, *P. Oxy.* 86).

2-5. ---

6. Villages (sometimes pooling resources, *P. Michael.* 21) and municipal phylai were responsible for furnishing nautai — or their pay — for the public vessels.  
Cf. ἔργάτης, ὀνηλάτης.



νομάρχης

1. 188 A.D. (*PSI* 1227) – 247 A.D. (*BGU* 8).
2. 247 A.D.
3. Bouleutic class.
4. Metropolis.
5. ---
6. This is a relatively rarely mentioned municipal official, to be distinguished from the more prominent nome official bearing the title of nomarch.



νομοφύλαξ

1. Ptolemaic - 186 A.D. (*P. Amb.* 108).
2. 166 A.D. (*P. Berl. Leibg.* 6); cf. No. 6, below.
3. ...
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Three nomophylakes in addition to other kinds of guards at Theadelphia, *P. Berl. Leibg.* 6.  
In *BGU* 759, of 125 A.D., a man is referred to as νομοφύλαξ καὶ ἀρχέφοδος (= liturgy?).



νικτοστράτηγος

1. 176 A.D. (*P. Fam. Teb.* 41) – 392 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1033 = *WCbr.* 476).
2. 176 A.D. (*P. Fam. Teb.* 41).
3. Age = 34.
4. Section of metropolis.
5. One year [or less].
6. Liturgic assistants? cf. *P. Lips.* 65 = *WCbr.* 404.



νυκτοφυλακία, νυκτοφύλαξ

1. Ptolemaic — fourth(?) century (*PSI* 1232).
2. 166 A.D. (*P. Berl. Leihg.* 6).
3. Age = 30 to over 40.
4. Village.
5. One year; rotation by months, *O. Theb.* 139.
6. Number of nyktophylakes varies: e.g. eighteen in addition to several other kinds of guards at Theadelphia, *P. Berl. Leihg.* 6; three at Busiris, *P. Iand.* 33. ἀρχινυκτοφύλαξ occurs in *P. Achmim* 7.

1. *What is the problem?*  
2. *What is the solution?*  
3. *What is the problem?*  
4. *What is the solution?*  
5. *What is the problem?*  
6. *What is the solution?*  
7. *What is the problem?*  
8. *What is the solution?*

δνηλασία, δνηλάτης

1. Ptolemaic - 318 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1425).
  2. 166 A.D. (*Oxy* 2182), perhaps already 136 A.D. (*BGU* 136 = *MChr.* 86).
  3. Poros = 1,200 dr.
- 4-6. ---



δρεοφύλαξ

1. 196 A.D. — third century.
2. 196 A.D.
3. ...
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Occurrences: *P. Achmim* 7, SB 4636.



ὁρμοφυλακία, ὁρμοφύλαξ

1. Second – third century.
2. Second century (*P. Fay.* 23).
3. ---
4. Village; harbor.
5. One year.
6. ---



παραλημπτής, παράλημψις

1. Ptolemaic – 304 A.D. (*SB* 5272) or later (*P. Cair. Preis* 45).
2. Second(?) century (*BGU* 425).
3. ---
4. Village; metropolis; meris.
5. One year
6. The following are specified:  
ιματιοπ(αραλημπτής)  
π. ἀχύρου  
δημοσίου ιματισμοῦ  
οίνου  
συναγοραστικῆς κριθῆς  
[ τῆς Ἐρ]υθρᾶς θαλάσσης  
σίτου  
σιτοπαραλήμπτης  
έπι παραλήμψεως καὶ παραδόσεως σπερμάτων  
( cf. ἀνάδοσις, *supra*).



παραφυλακή

1. 116 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 23). — late third or early fourth century (*P. Fay.* 38).
2. 116 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 23).
3. ---
4. Village; metropolis or section thereof.
5. One year.
6. An epidosis of 199/200 A.D. created a fund to relieve financial distress caused by fiscal liturgies and paraphylake: *P. Oxy.* 705 III (= *WCbr.* 407). Cf. *P. Petrus* 53 and 54 (quoted under Untitled Liturgies *infra*).



παρουσία

1. Ptolemaic – 325 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1261, 1626).
2. 129 A.D. (*SB* 9617).
3. ...
4. One or more villages; metropolis or section thereof.
5. As needed (contra *WChr* 415, intr.)
6. Other expressions for this liturgy:

ἀνοδος τοῦ δεῖνα  
ἐπιδημία τοῦ δεῖνα  
παροχή τοῦ δεῖνα  
παροχή ἐπιτηδείων  
προστῆναι ἐπιτηδείων

In the discharge of this liturgy the following functions are specified:

ἐπὶ ἀναγραφῆς τῶν ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ  
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρτοπωλῶν  
ἐπὶ ἀρτοῦ (καθαροῦ καὶ) κιβαρίου  
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλαιοπωλῶν  
ἐπὶ ἐλαίου καὶ φακῶν  
ἐπὶ ἐλαιῶν καὶ ταρίχων καὶ τύρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
τῶν ἐκ παντοπωλ(είων)  
ἐπὶ ἑσσεδ(ων) καὶ ὅνων βαδιστῶν  
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτοιμασίας γάρου τε καὶ ταρίχου λεπτοῦ καὶ ἵχθυος  
ἐπιμελητής ζώων ἀποστελλομένων εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα  
ἐπὶ τῆς κριθῆς  
ἐπὶ κτηνῶν  
... κτήνη καὶ ἀμάξις  
ἐπὶ (τῶν) λαχάνων (καὶ ἵχθ(ύων))  
ἐπὶ τῶν ξενίων  
ἐπὶ (τῶν) ξύλων (καὶ ἀνθράκων καὶ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων)  
ἐπὶ οἴνου καὶ ὅξου  
ἐπὶ ὄρνιθων καὶ ἀγριμαίων  
ἐπὶ πλοιών ἀλιευτικῶν (cf. ἐπιτηρητής)  
ἐπὶ χηνῶν  
ἐπὶ χοιραδίων καὶ μόσχων καὶ κρεῶν μοσχίων καὶ κρεῶν χοιρείων

(OVER)

έπι χόρτου (καὶ ἀχύρου καὶ κριθῆς)

Do the following belong in the above list?

έπι τῶν ἀνγήων (=ἀγγείων?), έπι τῆς ἀγορᾶς (*P. Petrus* 86)

έπι τῶν παρολκημάτων (Oertel p. 262).

παροχὴ ἐπιτηδείων

See παρουσία.



πεδιοφύλαξ

1. 100 A.D. (*P. Fay* 113, 114) – 300 A.D. (*P. Merton* 89).
2. 166 A.D. (*P. Berl. Leibg.* 6); already c. 160? (*P. Hamb.* 35).
3. Poros = 300-400 dr. Age = 30-35.
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Number varies; e.g. eleven pediophylakes in addition to several other kinds of guards at Theadelphia, *P. Berl. Leibg.* 6; ten in *P. Lond* 189, place name lost; eight at Ptolemais Hormou, *P. Petrus* 70.  
ἀρχιπεδιοφύλαξ occurs in *SB* 4525.



πρενθήμερος

See χωματά.



πληρωτής

1. 138 A.D. — late second century.
2. Second century.
3. ---
4. Village.
5. ---
6. Occurrences: *P. Fay.* 23, *P. Hamb.* 59, *P. Princet.* 128.



πραιτόσιτος τοῦ πάγου

1. 308 A.D. (*P. Cair. Isidor.* 125) – 365 A.D. (*C. Theod.* 12.6.8).

2. 308 A.D.

3. Bouleutic class.

4. Pagus.

5. ---

6. Bibl.: N. Lewis, *JJP* 2, 1948, 53-57.  
Two pr. in one pagus: *P. Oxy.* 1190.



πρακτορεία, πράκτωρ

1. Ptolemaic – 265 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1419).

2. 106 A.D. (*PSI* 56).

3. Poros = 700 and 800 dr. – 3 tal. 3,000 dr. (*P. Gen.* 37 = *WCbr.* 400, *P. Giss.* 59). Age = 24-33. Romans, Alexandrians, veterans liable as well as Egyptians (*BGU* 747 = *WCbr.* 35). Literacy required in *SB* 7375.

4. One or more villages; metropolis or section thereof; toparchy.

5. Three years.

6. The following are specified:

πρ. ἀργυρικῶν (κατοίκων, κωμητικῶν, μητροπολιτικῶν)  
βαλανείου

δερμάτων *BGU* 655

δημοσίας *BGU* 72

κατακριμάτων *WCbr.* 28

λαογραφίας

νομαρχικῶν ἀσχολημάτων *SB* 5982

ξενικῶν

ούσιακῶν *P. Gen.* 38 (= *WCbr.* 366)

ούσίας

πολιτικῶν *P. Oxy.* 1419

πύλης *SB* 7577 (Syene; cf. ἐπιτηρητής)

σιτικῶν (διὰ δημοσίων γεωργῶν, διὰ κατοίκων, μητροπολιτικῶν λημμάτων)

στεφανικῶν (-κοῦ) (μητροπολιτικῶν λημμάτων) )

ταμίᾳ αἰκῶν *Stud. Pal.* XXII 1

τοκ ( ) *O. Strash.* 227

χειρωναξίου γερδίων

σιτολογοπράκτωρ, -τορεία *WCbr.* 367, Dai *PSI* (1965) 8.



πρεσβυτέρεια, πρεσβύτερος

1. Ptolemaic - 382 A.D. (*P. Gen.* 68).
2. 118 A.D. (*P. Brem.* 38), perhaps earlier (*SB* 7331, *P. Amb.* 134).
3. Poros = 400 or 500 - 1,200 dr. Age = 20 - 65. Illiterates eligible.
4. Village.
5. One year.
6. Bibl.: A. Tomsin, Etude sur les πρεσβύτεροι des villages..., Bruxelles, 1953.  
Cf. the use of the term ἡγούμενος in some documents, e.g. *P. Bad.* 170, *P. Bon* 20, *P. Ryl.* 196, *P. Lond.* 849.  
The number of presbyteroi per village varied, presumably with the size of the village as well as at different times, e.g.:

No. =>10	Karanis	136 A.D.	<i>P. Lond.</i> 255 (= <i>WCbr.</i> 272)
3	Ibion Eikosipentar.	136	<i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> 98
12(?)	Mouchis	158	<i>BGU</i> 6
12	Theadelphia	166	<i>P. Berl. Leibg.</i> 6
2-4	Panopolite villages	196	<i>P. Achmim</i> 7
4	Soknopaiou Nesos	191	<i>P. Ryl.</i> 89
5	Soknopaiou Nesos	III c.	<i>Stud. Pal</i> XXII 52
30	Philadelphia	224	<i>P. Gen.</i> 42

*Note:* The number of presbyteroi named in a document is not necessarily the total number; frequently one or more appear acting for the whole body.



προνοητής ούσιας ταμιακῆς

1. 241/2 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 77) – 298 A.D. (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1).
  2. 298 A.D. (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1); or 288 A.D.? (*P. Oxy* 58 = *WChr.* 378 - cf. 6, below).
  3. Bouleutic class.
- 4-5. ---
6. προνοητής = φροντιστής? cf. Oertel, *Liturgie* pp. 231-33.



προφυλακία, προφύλαξ

1. 340 A.D.
2. 340 A.D.
3. ---
4. Village.
5. ---
6. Only occurrence; *P. Vind. Sijp.* 5.



πρωτεπείκτης

See ἐπείκτης.



ραβδουχίσ, ραβδοῦχος

1. Ptolemaic - 373 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 86).
2. 260-68 A.D. (*BGU* 244).
3. ---
4. One or more villages.
5. ---
6. Cf. esp. *P. Oxy.* 1626, 9n, and *PSI* 1037.



πιπάριος

1. Dominate.
2. 346 A.D. (*P. Oxy* 897).
3. Bouleutic class.
4. Nome.
5. ...
6. Successor of nome eirenarch? (so Oertel p. 284).



σιτολογία, σιτολόγος

1. Ptolemaic - 350 A.D. (*P. Amb.* 139 = *WCbr.* 406).
2. 101 A.D. (*BGU* 908).
3. Age = 20-52.
4. One or more villages; metropolis or section thereof; toparchy or section thereof.
5. One year.
6. Bibl.: Z. Aly, *Akten VIII Kongr. Papyrologie* 1955, pp. 17-22.  
Cf. ἀπαιτητής ἀννώνης, ἀπαιτητής σιτικῶν, πράκτωρ σιτικῶν, σιτοπαραλήμπτης.  
Under the Dominate: σ. κωμητῶν, πολιτῶν.  
There is great variation in the number of incumbents.



συλλογὴ (καλάμης)

1. Third century – 301 A.D.
2. Third century.
- 3-4. ---
5. Five days.
6. Occurrences: *PSI* 219 and 804.  
Cf. χωμάτικα ἔργα.



συμβροχισμός

1. Late second century.
2. Late second century.
3. Poros = 3,000 - 6,000 dr. Age = 22-59.
4. Toparchy.
5. [One year].
6. Only occurrence: *P Leit.2*, a nomination of men εἰς προστῆναι τοῦ σ.  
Cf. λιμνασμός.



συμμαχία, σύμμαχος

1. 296 A.D. — late fourth century.

2. 296 A.D.

3-5. ---

6. Occurrences: *P. Cair. Isidor.* 80, *P. Oxy.* 1223.



συνοψιστής

1. 298, 300 A.D.

2. 298 A.D.

3. [Bouleutic class].

4-5. ---

6. Only occurrences: *P. Beatty Panop.* 1 (ship repair) and 2 (irrigation or agriculture).



συστάτης

1. 287 A.D. (*PSI* 164) – 396 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 39 = *WCbr.* 405).
2. [287 A.D.].
3. ---
4. Metropolis or section thereof.
5. One year.
6. The systates was the successor of the phylarches.  
Bibl.: P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil...*, Bruxelles, 1958.



ταμίας

1. Ptolemaic – 286-93 A.D. (*P. Oslo* 135).
2. Presumably 260-68 A.D. (*Stud. Pal.* V III; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1501).
3. Bouleutic class.
4. Metropolis; polis.
5. ---
6. The following specifications occur:  
ἀργυροταμίας  
τ. βουλ(ευτικῶν) χρη(μάτων)  
πολιτικῶν λημμάτων, χρημάτων  
πολιτικῶν καὶ ἱερατικῶν λημμάτων  
πολιτικοῦ λόγου

This municipal office (=quaestor municipii) must be distinguished from ταμεῖον =fiscus.



ΤΕΣΣΕΡΆΡΙΟΣ

1. 314 A.D. (*P. Cair. Isidor.* 54) – 324 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1430).
2. 314 A.D.
3. Villagers; illiterates eligible.
4. Village.
5. Less than a year (*P. Got.* 6, cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* p. 285).
6. A confusing variety of duties is attested in the documents: *P. Cair. Isidor.* 54, 71, 73, 128, 131, *P. Got.* 6, *P. Oxy.* 1425, 1430.



τοπάρχης, τοπαρχία

1. Ptolemaic - 307 A.D. or later (*SB* 5679, *PSI* 187).
2. 265 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 2).
3. Poros = 2,000 dr. Age = 45.
4. Toparchy.
5. One year.
6. ---



τραπεζίτεια, τραπεζίτης

1. Ptolemaic - c. 345 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 71).
2. 113 A.D. (*P. Giss.* 58).
3. Poros = 3 tal. 1,000 dr. - 8 tal. 2,600 dr.
4. Nome; pagus.
5. Three years?
6. This public office (βασ., δημ., πολιτικός τρ.), with responsibility for a whole nome or pagus, must be distinguished from the many local and private banks encountered in the papyri.  
ἀσχολούμενος ὡνὴν τῆς ... τραπέζης, *P. Oxy.* 513 (= *WChr.* 183) and 2584.  
Cf. also ἐπιτηρητής.



ύδροφυλακία, ύδροφύλαξ

1. First century (*P. Lond.* 131)—fourth century (*P. Cair. Preis.* 15).
2. 345 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 1246).
3. ---
4. Village or locality.
5. Five days in *PSI* 219.
6. See also χωματικά έργα.



ἀποδέκτης

1. 319 A.D. (*P. Flor.* 60, *P. Thead.* 31) — 385 A.D. (*P. Lips.* 62).

2. 319 A.D.

3. ...

4. Municipality.

5. ...

6. The following are specified:

ἀπ. (σίτου) ἀρτοποιίας  
έσθῆτος  
οἴνου  
σίτου  
χρυσοῦ  
(βουρδώνων, τιρώνων)  
ἀπ. ἥγοι καταπομπός

See also ἀπαιτητής

ἀποδέκτης

διαδότης.



ὑποστράτηγος

1. 192 A.D.

2. 192 A.D.

3. ---

4. Alexandria.

5. ---

6. Only occurrence: *P. Oxy.* 2340.

In contradistinction to the nomes of Egypt, the office of strategos was liturgic in the Greek cities of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire: cf. e.g. *CIG* II 2927.



φροντιστής

See προνοητής.



φυλακία, φύλαξ

1. Ptolemaic – 342 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1627).
2. 158 A.D. (*BGU* 6).
3. Poros = 200-600 dr. Age = 20-50.
4. Village; metropolis.
5. One year; later, also less (*P. Oxy.* 1627).
6. Number varies: e.g. twelve phylakes in addition to several other kinds of guards at Theadelphia, *P. Berl. Leibg.* 6; at Soknopaiou Nesos, four plus other guards in *P. Lond.* 199, *P. Ryl.* 89, five in *Stud. Pal.* XXII 52.

φ. ἑκατοντάρχου *P. Flor.* 97 intr.

ἱεροῦ Θοηρίου *P. Oxy.* 1627

ἐπὶ τοῦ πραιτωρίου *P. Petrus* 48.

τῆς πρυτανείας *CPR* 20 (= *WChr.* 402)

τῆς στρατηγίας *P. Ryl.* 90, *P. Bad.* 223 (*Archiv* 16, p. 166)

See also: ἀλωνοφύλαξ, ἀρχιφύλαξ, ἀφεσιοφύλαξ, γενηματοφύλαξ, δεσμοφύλαξ, είρηνοφύλαξ, μαγδωλοφύλαξ, νομοφύλαξ, νυκτοφύλαξ, ὄρεοφύλαξ, ὄρμοφύλαξ, πεδιοφύλαξ, ὑδροφύλαξ.



φυλάρχης, φύλαρχος

1. Ptolemaic - 370 A.D. (*SB* 4513).
2. 253 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1119 = *WChr.* 397).
3. --
4. Metropolis or section thereof.
5. One year.
6. The phylarch was the successor of the amphodogrammateus.

Bibl.: P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil...*, Bruxelles, 1958.



χωματεκβολεύς, -ία

1. c. 185 A.D. – third century.

2. c. 185 A.D.

3. Poros = 600 dr.

4. Village.

5. One year.

6. Occurrences: *P. Petaus* 49, 86, 88, *P. Ryl.* 90, *Stud Pal* XXII 178V; perhaps  
*P. Oxy.* 1301.

On the function of the chomatekboleus see *P. Petaus* 88 and cf. *P. Ryl.* 90.



χωματεπείκτης

1. 298 A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 1469) – 346 A.D. (*P. Lond.* 1248).
- 2-3. ...
4. Section of a nome.
5. ...
6. ὁ τῇ ἐπίξει τῶν χωμάτων ἐπικείμενος *P. Oxy* 1469. Cf. ἐπείκτης.



χώματεπιμελητής

1. 67 A.D. (WO 1399) – 182 A.D. (BGU 12 = WChr. 389).
2. 114 A.D. (P. Giss. 58).
3. Poros = 1 tal. 4,000 dr. – 2 tal. 5,000 dr. (P. Giss 58 and 59).
4. Topos.
5. Three years.
6. Bibl.: P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 44, 1964, 9-16.  
έπιμελητής χώματος P. Brem. 38.



χωματικά έργα (χωμάτων έργασία)

1. 45 A.D. (*P. Bon.* 31) – fourth century (*BGU* 519).
2. 45 A.D.
3. Male Egyptian adults.
4. ---
5. Five days.
6. Bibl.: P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Leiden, 1964 (= *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XII).  
χωμάτων ἀπεργασίας καὶ τῆς τῶν διωρύχων ἀνακαθάρσεως *P. Oxy.* 1409.  
ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὑδροφυλακίας δημοσίων χωμάτων *P. Wis.* 9 and *Wörterbuch* III, p. 175.  
πενθήμερος ὅνων *P. Ryl.* 195, cf. *BGU* 969 and 1634.  
ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς καλάμης τοῦ χώματος *P. Petrus* 50 and 51  
Labor measured in naubia is attested from the Ptolemaic era to the fourth century.



## UNTITLED LITURGIES

In the following instances compulsory services are described without indication of the official title of the liturgy.

169 A.D. Arsinoite nome. *BGU* 18 (= *WChr.* 398).

Programma of a strategos appointing, on nomination by the grammateus poleos, six men (poros = 4,000 - 6,000 dr.) εἰς τὸ συντιμήσασθαι τὰ ἐν ἀπράτοις ὑπάρχοντα ἀντὶ ... τῶν δὲ πεπληρωκότων τὸν ὡρισμένον χρόνον καὶ ... τῶν δύο δηλωθέντων τετελευτηκέναι. Cf. ἐπιτηρητής.

184/5 A.D. Arsinoite nome. *P. Pettau* 53 and 54.

Komogrammateus nominates sixteen men from three villages εἰς τὸ παραφυλάξαι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀναφερόμενα γενῆματα καὶ ἐπαὐγκάζειν εἰς τὰς ἄλλω παραφύρεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτηρεῖν αὐτά ἐπί τῶν ἀλώνων δύτα ἔως ἂν τὰ ὀφιλόμενα τῷ ταμείῳ μετρηθῇ καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ κριθοῦ[λογηθῆναι τὸν πυρὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λικὴ[μήσεως καὶ τῆς ἵστραξεως τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ ἐπισφρακτῆειν τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ ἐπίγειν τὰς ἐμβολὰς καὶ ἐπακολούθηειν τῇ καταγωγῇ. Cf. καταγωγή, παραφυλακή.

185 A.D. Arsinoite nome. *P. Pettau* 85.

Komogrammateus nominates one man εἰς τὸ καταστῆσαι καμῆλους ἀρσένους σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κωμῶν. Cf. καμηλασία.

185/6 A.D. Hermopolite nome. *P. Amb.* 109 (= *WChr.* 418), and *BGU* 842.

Village presbyteroi notify the strategos that they have received payment from two men αἱρεθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ προστρατηγήσαντος ... τιμὴ[η]ν κριθῆς ἀνελέσθα[ι ἀπὸ] τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης καὶ ἐξοδιάσαι τοῖς παρασχοῦσι τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐπιβληθεισῶν τῇ κώμῃ ἡμῶν] ... κριθῆς ἀρτα[βῶν].

(OVER)

191/2 A.D. Oxyrhynchus *P. Princet.* 27V.

Oath addressed to a strategos, promising to carry out παράδ(οσιν) καὶ συντείμ(ησιν) τῶν κατασκευασθε[ντων]... ἔτι δὲ καταπλε(ύσεσθαι) εἰς Ἀλεξ(άνδρειαν) ... καὶ παραμενεῖν ἄχρι ...

Early third century. Arsinoite nome. *P. Ryl.* 90.

Annual liturgies, two men per village

a) εἰς τὸ πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀδωλον τοῦ μετρουμένου δημοσίου πυροῦ, poros = 600 dr.

b) εἰς τὸ προστῆναι τοῖς δημοσίοις θησαυροῖς καὶ συνσφραγίζειν ἅμα τοῖς σιτολόγοις, poros = 1000 dr.

209/10 A.D. Arsinoite nome. *P. Oxy.* 2121.

Each of two villages has among its officials two men appointed εἰς τὸ φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην διάγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς τῆς προκει(μένης) κώ(μης) δημοσίους καὶ προνοεῖν τῆς παραφυλακῆς τοῦ μετρου(μένου) δημοσίου πυροῦ τε καὶ γενῶν, poros = 800 dr., age = 35-40. Cf. παραφυλακή, and *P. Petrus* 53 and 54 (above).

212-17 A.D. Arsinoite nome. *P. Teb.* 403

An account from αἱρεθέν[των] ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστη[ς βουλῆς] ἐπὶ δῖους ἀννών[ης]. Oertel, *Liturgie* pp. 217ff., assumes these to be epimeletai.

222 A.D. Arsinoe. *BGU* 1588.

A receipt issued by an assistant of men αἱρεθέντων ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν καταλοχισμῶν εἰσπράξεως. This is the only such occurrence. In earlier documents — the latest of which, *Stud. Pal.* XXII 50, dates from 204 A.D. — this tax is collected by τελῶναι or δημοσιῶναι.

227-31 A.D. Arsinoite nome. *P. Strasb.* 58-64.

Receipts from αἱρεθέντων ἵς τὸ προστῆναι τῶν τῆς νομαρχίας διαφερόντων. Oertel, *Liturgie* p. 166, treats these as if they were nomarchai.

c. 299 A.D. Oxyrhynchus. *P. Oxy.* 1416.

The boule acts π(ερὶ) τοῦ ἡρῆ[σ]θ(αί) [εἰ]ς τὸ καλέσαι τὸν ἐπιστρά(τηγον) εἰς τὸν πανήγυριν.

KEY

- 1 = Earliest and latest dates attested.
- 2 = Earliest evidence of compulsory service.
- 3 = Qualifications for the liturgy.
- 4 = Area of responsibility.
- 5 = Term of office.
- 6 = Remarks.
- [ ] = by implication.
- = evidence lacking.

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