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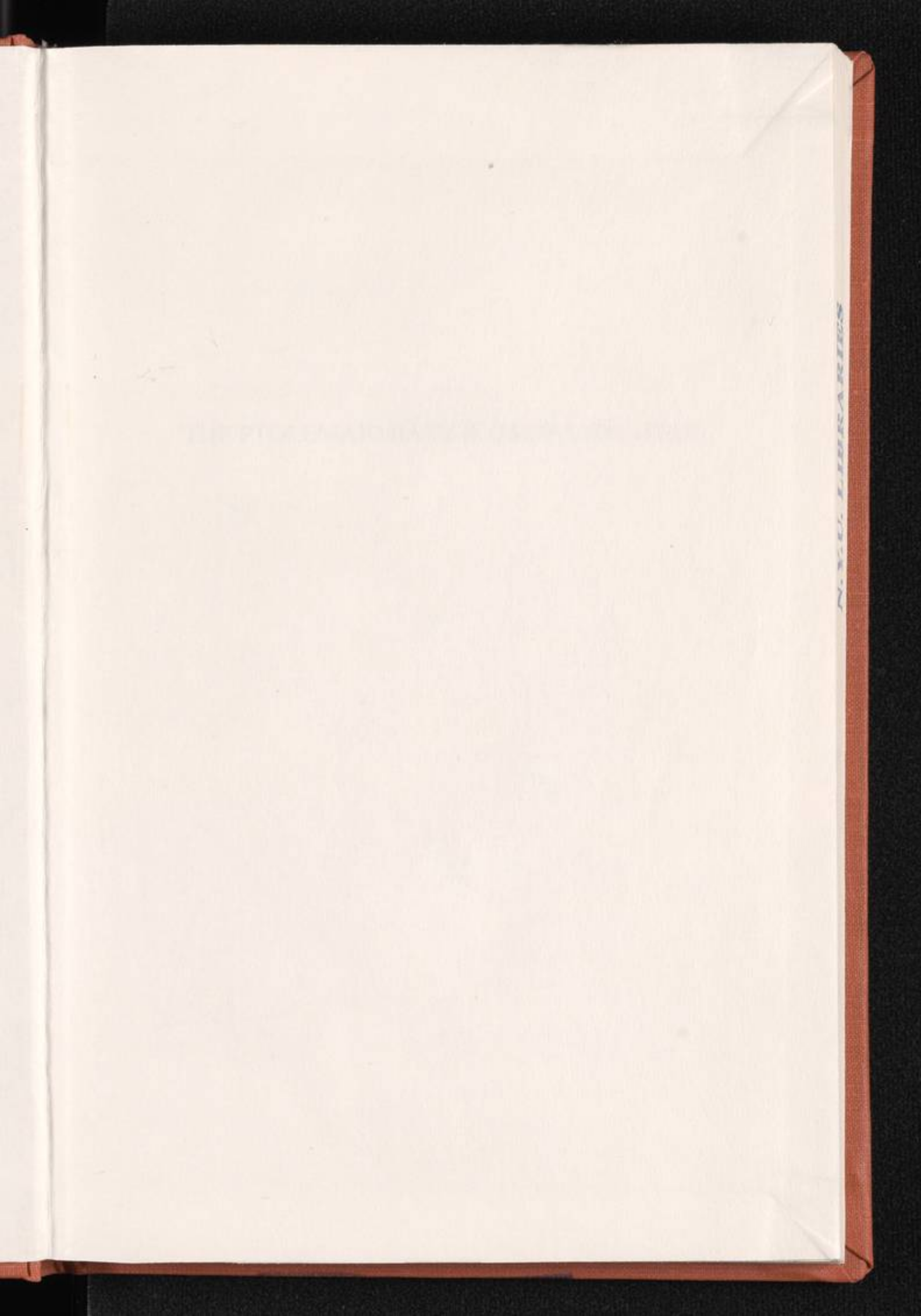
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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAEDAGOGISTS
BULLETIN OF THE

SUPPLEMENT

THE PTOLEMAIC BASILIKOS
THE PTOLEMAIC BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS

JOHN F. DAVIS

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JOHN F. DAVIS

NEW YORK

1912

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*BULLETIN OF THE
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Edited by
Ann Ellis Hanson

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THE PTOLEMAIC BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS
by
JOHN F. OATES

THE PTOLEMAIC BASILIKOS
GRAMMATEUS

JOHN F. OATES

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GRAMMATEUS

John F. Oates

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And finally thanks to all I have failed to mention and to all who remain anonymous who provided the essential support for this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

*Clist*⁴ = *A Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*⁴ ed. John F. Oates, William H. Willis, Roger S. Bagnall and Klaas A. Worp. Atlanta, Scholars Press 1992. (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 7). Papyrological editions are cited according to the abbreviations in this edition.

Congr. = One of the acts of a papyrological congress as cited in *Clist*⁴.

The following two items are listed for clarity; each can be found in *Clist*⁴ in the section "Corpora."

Hengstl = *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten als Zeugnisse des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens*, ed. J. Hengstl with G. Häge and H. Kühnert. Munich 1978

Pestman, *Prim.* = *The New Papyrological Primer*, being the 5th ed. of David and van Groningen's *Papyrological Primer*, by P.W. Pestman. Leiden 1990.

Note also the following work. Volumes I and VIII which contain the information on the basilikos grammateus have been of especial importance for this study.

Pros.Ptol. or in lists **PP** = *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* in 9 volumes by W. Peremans and E. van 't Dack and their associates in volumes of *Studia Hellenistica* as follows:

I = *Studia Hellenistica* VI (1950 reprint 1977)

II = *Studia Hellenistica* VIII (1952 reprint 1977)

III = *Studia Hellenistica* XI (1956 reprint 1977)

IV = *Studia Hellenistica* XII (1959 reprint 1977)

V = *Studia Hellenistica* XIII (1963 reprint 1977)

VI = *Studia Hellenistica* XVII (1968)

VII = *Studia Hellenistica* XX Index Nominum (1975)

VIII = *Studia Hellenistica* XXI Addenda and Corrigenda to Vols. I and II (1975)

IX = *Studia Hellenistica* XXV Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. III (1981)

Editions of demotic texts

Editions of demotic texts are cited with some minor modifications according to S.P. Vleeming and A.A. den Brinker, *Checklist of Demotic Text Editions and Re-Editions*, Leiden 1993 (Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut 14). Since this checklist is so new as I write and will be subject to some modification in subsequent editions, I list here those editions which I cite in this work.

Grammata Demotica = *Grammata Demotica*: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983, ed. H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich. Würzburg 1984.

O.dem.Med.Habu = M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. Chicago 1957. (The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications LXXX).

O.dem.Stras. is cited from *O.dem.Med.Habu*, page 7.

P.dem.Bürgsch. = *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgerschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit*, edd. K. Sethe and J. Partsch. Vienna 1920. (Sächsische Akad. Wiss., phil-hist. Kl. XXIII).

P.dem.Cairo = *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, ed. W. Spiegelberg. Vol. II. Strassburg 1908, Vol. III Nos. 50023-50165. Berlin 1932. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.

P.dem.Eheverträge = E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*. Wiesbaden 1960. (Ägyptische Abhandlungen I).

P.dem.Hausw. = *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt*, ed. W. Spiegelberg. Leipzig 1913.

P.dem.Lille =

I, ed. H. Sottas, Paris 1921 (Nos. 1-33)

II = *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque*, ed. F. de Cenival. Paris 1973. (Nos. 34-96)

III, ed. F. de Cenival. Cairo 1984. (L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Mémoires 110) (Nos. 99-108)

For Nos. 97 and 98, see F. de Cenival, "Deux papyrus inédits de Lille, avec une révision du *P.dém.Lille* 31," *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 1-49 with plates 1-8.

For No. 110, see F. de Cenival, "Compte de céréales de plusieurs villages du Fayoum: *P.dém.Lille* 110," *MIFAO* 104 (1980)193-203.

For Nos. 111-16. see F. de Cenival, "Fragments de lettres administratives du Fonds Jouguet," *FestLüddeckens (Grammata Demotica)*, ed. Th. Zauzich and H.-J. Thissen, Würzburg 1984) 15-23.

For No. 118, see F. de Cenival, "Lettre d'un garde à propos de la récolte à prévoir (*P.dém.Lille* 118)," *Fest.E.Bresciani* (1985) 153-160.

For No. 120, see F. de Cenival, "Répertoire journalier d'un bureau de notaire de l'époque ptolémaïque en démotique (*P.dém.Lille* 120)," *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 1-9.

P.dem.Ryl. = *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, ed. F.Ll. Griffith. 3 vols. Manchester 1909.

P.dem.Schreibertrad. = K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die Ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau. Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit*. Vol. I, Text; Vol. II, Anmerkungen, Indices, Tabellen der Anlage. Wiesbaden 1968. (Ägyptische Abhandlungen XIX).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Basilikos Grammateus was the highest ranking Egyptian in the Ptolemaic bureaucratic service and appears in the papyrological documentation from the middle of third century B.C. to the end of Ptolemaic rule. Under the Romans the office was institutionalized into the Augustan system in somewhat different guise. In spite of the importance of the basilikos grammateus to Ptolemaic governance, there has not been a study of the office and its holders since the very early days of papyrological research.¹ The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* does provide a list of all names, both Greek and demotic, of men who are attested as holding the office of βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς or *sh pr-ꜥ*;² the lists provided here extend these references to texts published since 1975 and include all references to the office of the basilikos grammateus even when no names are cited or known.

The compilation of these lists arose from my own attempts to grasp the significance of the basilikos grammateus in a number of unedited Duke texts in which he appears. I used a simple data base management program to store the basic data and generated the lists presented here from this base. I have for convenience, and because it is conventional, divided the lists and thus the sections of the work into one on the third century and one on the second and first centuries. There is no historiographical justification for this but the division does bring out some aspects of the change in the position of the basilikos grammateus. I have presented the material in three different arrangements, first a prosopography of the basilikos grammateus and his agents and then a list of the documents where the basilikos grammateus occurs. This list serves as an index of documents and will allow the reader to see if any given document is included in the

¹E. Biedermann, *Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit. Der βασιλικὸς Γραμματεὺς*. Berlin 1913. This study, a Berlin dissertation, covers both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

²*Pros.Ptol.* I, Nos. 422-513 including subordinates. Vol. VIII (1975) gives additions and corrections to date of publication. In vol. VIII the numbering of entries remains the same; addition of newly attested basilikoi grammateis is indicated by alphabetic means, e.g. 422a, 422b, etc.

study. The third list is arranged by place and within place by date. I have added a note to this rather mechanical list to discuss some indications that arise from it.

The prosopographical list is not intended to replace those in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, whose resources are much more comprehensive, but merely to provide a convenient reference list for this monograph. The list does include those references published since the updated lists in vol. VIII (1975). The list of documents cited is one generated from a data base and as indicated serves as an index of documents cited. The list of places and dates is an example of the kind of arrangement that can be generated from the data base, in this case one established using "Filemaker Pro." Other arrangements could be used; I would be glad to provide my data base to anyone sending a Macintosh disk.

Following the lists in both sections, I have presented a catalogue of the documents arranged chronologically with an interpretive statement of the function of the basilikos grammateus in that text. This catalogue is followed in turn by an analysis of the role of the basilikos grammateus in an attempt to define his function in Ptolemaic governance and to lay the groundwork for a history of the office. Although I have not attempted a definitive answer to them, two questions or areas of interest have been in mind throughout this study. First, the role of the Egyptians in the Ptolemaic governance system and the coherence of that system; and, second, the relations between the Greek speaking controllers and the Egyptian populace.

The "Additional Notes" ("Add.Notes") which follow the analysis in each section are discussions of problems or questions that arose from the examination of the evidence. In the section dealing with the evidence of the third century, I have added six of these notes. The first (I) attempts to account for the origin of the office of the basilikos grammateus in the Ptolemaic administration in the middle of the third century.

The second (II) on Axapes raises questions about the relationship of the basilikos grammateus to the nome and also to the control of the Egyptian population. A part of this note was included in a paper published in the acts of *Congr. XX* (1994) 588-92.

The third note (III) deals with the demotic sureties published in *P.dem.Lille II*. For the most part this section simply attempts to make order of the texts in their relationship to the basilikos grammateus as that official appears in them. For many of these texts there are Greek versions or abstracts that remain to be published. Further study will be profitable when this evidence is made available. Nonetheless the Lille demotic texts are the most extensive archive of demotic documentary material and the note here is simply an attempt to make that evidence more accessible.

The fourth note (IV) on "Entolai" brings together the directives to various groups of officials issued by the royal government or other high officials which include the basilikos grammateus among those addressed.

The number of documents of this type is small for the whole Ptolemaic period and the place of listing of the basilikos grammateus among the other officials addressed has no consistent pattern. In general this type of text does not give us any great insight into the rank or function of officials within the Ptolemaic bureaucracy.

"Imouthes and Horos," the fifth note (V), discusses and distinguishes between the basilikoi grammateis with these names. One Horos, basilikos grammateus during the time of Ptolemy IV, is the only basilikos grammateus who comes to life even a bit, and it is likely that he is the father of Imouthes, who, in turn, is basilikos grammateus in the Fayum late in the third century. Recent work has cleared up some of the chronological problems surrounding Horos and Imouthes, and these data are restated in this note with regard to the two men named Horos and Imouthes.

In the sixth note (VI), I have set out with some discussion the role of the basilikos grammateus in the tax farming scheme as directed in *P.Rev.* in 263 and 259 B.C. and as seen in *UPZ I 112* of the end of third century. *P.Rev.* has no role for the basilikos grammateus in the elaborate arrangements for leasing taxes and collecting them nor for controlling the various products with which it is concerned. The basilikos grammateus is only mentioned insofar as the tasks of registration of crops for the payment of apomoirā. Fifty years or so later, in *UPZ I 112*, at least in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the basilikos grammateus along with the oikonomos is the major government official involved in tax farming and control of production.

For the section on the second and first centuries, I have appended four "Additional Notes" after the analysis pages. The first (VII) concerns Harendotes, who appears in a number of documents early in the second century, including the original transaction involved in the tangled legal case known as a "Erbstreit" affair. New evidence has redated his career and this note puts this forth clearly. The second note in this section (VIII) on "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Ombite Nome" is a short statement on the peculiarities of this evidence and on the impossibility of fitting it into any rational account of the place of the basilikos grammateus elsewhere in Egypt.

The archive of Menches, the komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the late second century, dominates our evidence for knowledge of Egypt in this period. In the Add.Note (IX) "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Menches Archive," I have simply brought together all that can be learned of the role of the basilikos grammateus from these texts. We can also see from the arrangement the orderly succession in office of the basilikoi grammateis during the time Menches was active in Kerkeosiris.

In the final note (X), "Paniskos and Heliodoros: a Strategic Pair," I have dealt with two strategoi of the Herakleopolite nome, who, at the very end of the period of Ptolemaic governance in Egypt, also served as

basilikoi grammateis immediately prior to their tenure as strategos. Here I have made clear this fact and their proper chronology, particularly indicating that Heliodoros served as basilikos grammateus and did not serve two disconnected terms as strategos. It appears at this time in the mid-first century, 30 years before the arrival of Augustus, that the strategos and basilikos grammateus were the two chief officials of the nome, that they served regular terms, and that the basilikos grammateus succeeded directly to the strategeia. A version of this note will appear in the *Acts* of the Fifth International Congress of Demotists held in Pisa in 1993.

The overall conclusions to be drawn from this study are not earthshaking. In most cases they provide a background and substantiation for what most papyrologists have believed. In a number of cases, I have attempted to straighten up or to clarify aspects of the role and functioning of the basilikos grammateus. Most important, however, is the placing of the evidence for the basilikos grammateus on an organized and firm basis. His central and key position in the administration has been recognized, but I hope that we can now go beyond prosopographical consideration to consider his role in the larger questions I have mentioned above: the coherence of the Ptolemaic governance system and the nature of the relationships between Greek and Egyptian during this period. I do not consider this survey to be definitive: new evidence (e.g. the revised Petrie material and the Greek material in the Sorbonne related to the demotic Lille material) and further work may well alter or extend any general or particular conclusions put forth here.

THE THIRD CENTURY

INTRODUCTION TO THE LISTS

The following three lists arrange the material provided by the 119 references to the basilikos grammateus or to his office in the third century B.C. by three different significant categories. The first list is a prosopography which follows the form of the *Pros.Ptol.* The following two lists attempt to overcome the serious limitation that a prosopographical approach imposes on historical understanding of the development and functioning of the office of the basilikos grammateus. These lists, the first of the documents used, the second of the evidence arranged by date and by place, are repetitious and somewhat mechanical and have been generated from a data base management file. In spite of these characteristics they do make evident relationships in the evidence and have been helpful to me in the analytical sections which follow.

The notation **na** indicates that such information was not in the text or is otherwise unavailable; dots "....." indicate a lacuna in the text. Dates based on regnal years are given for the first part of the Julian year, i.e. 229 indicates the year 229/28 B.C. Parentheses around a date, e.g. (250) are used to denote a general range of years, roughly speaking up to 25 years before or after the year indicated. Place name abbreviations are those used in the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri and should be clear; they are mostly indications of nome, and any important village distinctions are clarified in the discussions that follow the lists. **PP** = *Pros.Ptol.*

For names, I trust the principles of alphabetization will be clear. The body of material is not great, so that the different principles of English, Greek, and demotic have been amalgamated into a reasonable order. I have left Greek names in Greek and used transliterations for the Egyptian names; these follow the use in *Pros.Ptol.* Their system is not entirely satisfactory, but the *Pros.Ptol.* provides the easiest entry for the material for the non-demotist. Transcriptions also vary from editor to editor. I have provided demotic versions for names taken from the *Demotisches Namenbuch* if the name was in that part of the *Namenbuch* published to date. For the others I have followed the editor of the text. In three cases (*P.dem.Lille*

II 41, 54, 96) where the editor was uncertain about the demotic reading, I have simply reproduced the demotic transcription of the editor. I have followed Preisigke, *Namenbuch* in accenting Greek forms of Egyptian names.

THE BASILIKOI GRAMMATEIS AND THEIR AGENTS

The following lists give citations for all mentions of the basilikos grammateus in the third century. List A gives the name of men who hold the office itself. List B is that of assistants or subordinates to the basilikos grammateus. The instances in which the name has been lost or mutilated are placed at the end of each name list, followed by the citation. In both lists the number in parenthesis following the name, e.g. (450), is that of the *Pros.Ptol.* found in volume I or volume VIII of that work. The second column gives the date of the text and the third the nome provenience if known. Lists A and B are an integrated update of the information in the *Pros.Ptol.* and of the few references published since 1975, the date of *Pros.Ptol.* VIII. The lemma on the next line gives the references to the papyrological evidence and to discussion elsewhere in this work. I have added an appendix of citations of the office of the basilikos grammateus.

LIST A³

Name (PP no.)	Date	Place
'Αξάπης (424) <i>P.Mich.</i> I 82. See Additional Note II, "Axapes."	250	Arsinoite
'Αρμάχορος (428) <i>P.Lille</i> I 3.3.52	215	Arsinoite
'Αρυώτης (431) <i>P.Hib.</i> I 72	242	Herakleopolite
'Αρυώτης (432) <i>BGU</i> VI 1232	(200)	Oxyrhynchite
'Ασκληπιάδης (434) <i>P.Petr.</i> II 23(2) [cf. <i>P.Petr.</i> III 33], <i>P.Petr.</i> III 128 (see pp. 316-7)	(250), 242	Arsinoite
Harmais (426a) Dem. <i>Hr-m-ḥb</i> (Horemheb) <i>P.dem.Schreibertrad.</i> 109	245	Thebaid
Harmais (427) Dem. <i>Hr-m-ḥb s3 Hr-nb-ḥḥ</i> (Horemheb son of Harnebonchis) <i>P.dem.Lille</i> I 6, 9, 10, 11, II 50, 51, 75, 76, 85, 90, 91, 94. See Additional Note III, "The <i>P.dem.Lille</i> Sureties."	224-220	Arsinoite

³There are two further basilikoi grammateis in volume II of the Lille Demotic texts, in no. 41 of 230 B.C. and in no. 54 of 226 B.C. The readings in each case are uncertain. See further the Add. Note III "Commentary on the *P.dem.Lille* Sureties."

Name (PP no.)	Date	Place
Harnebonchis (428a) Dem. <i>Hr-nb-ḥnh</i> <i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 68. See Additional Note III, "The <i>P.dem. Lille</i> Sureties."	226	Arsinoite
Harnouphis (428c) Dem. <i>Hr-nfr</i> <i>P.dem.Eheverträge</i> 22	220	Thebaid
Hartophnautes (430) Dem. <i>Hr-tʒj=f-nht</i> <i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 13. Probably a lengthened Horos name and represents the same person as the Horos (PP 478) of <i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 12. See the note d on page 66 of <i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i>	252	Memphite
Θῶνις (448) <i>P.Edfou</i> II 5	208	Oxyrhynchite
Imouthes son of Horos (450) Dem. <i>'Ij-m-htp sʒ Hr</i> <i>P.dem.Bürgsch.</i> 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. See Additional Note IV, Imouthes and Horos.	204, 203	Arsinoite
Imouthes son of Panouris (448a) Dem. <i>'Ij-m-htp sʒ Pn-wr.t</i> (Imhotep son of Penouret) <i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 35, 42, 53, 69, 72, 80	226	Arsinoite
Ἰμούθης (440) <i>Chrest.Wilck.</i> 222, 224b, 224c, <i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10295 and 10307 (on these two see <i>Archiv</i> 2 [1902] 84), <i>P.Lond.</i> VII 2189, <i>P.Petr.</i> III 72a. See Additional Note IV, Imouthes and Horos.	209	Arsinoite
[Μο]cχ(ῶν) (454a) <i>P.Bon.</i> I 12g verso	212?	.....
Πατβεῦς (459) <i>P.Hib.</i> I 153	246	Herakleopolite
Παυῆς Πανήσιος (461) <i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> V 59828	250	Arsinoite
Petechonsis son of Imouthes (463b) Dem. <i>Pʒ-dj-Hnw sʒ 'Ij-m-htp</i> <i>P.dem. Lille</i> II 49, 64, 71, 93, 95, 96. See Additional Note III, The <i>P.dem.Lille</i> Sureties.	229, 226, 225, 224	Arsinoite
Πετειμούθης (na) <i>P.Heid.</i> VI 362	226	Herakleopolite
Πετειμούθης (463a) <i>SB</i> XII 10869	243 (or 218 or 201)	Arsinoite

Name (PP no.)	Date	Place
ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΟΣ (na) <i>P.Genova</i> III 96	(200)	Arsinoite
ΠΕΤΕΟΪΡΙC (465) <i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> IV 59590, <i>P.Petr.</i> III 43, <i>PSI</i> VI 621	ca 250, 246	Arsinoite
ΠΕΤΟΪΡΙC (466) <i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> II 59236, III 59472	254, ca 250	Aphroditopolite
Phanesis son of Testauous (476) 233 Dem. <i>Pa-n-Is.t</i> (See note f on page 67 in <i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i>) <i>P.dem.Cair.</i> II 10262		Arsinoite
ϸ (μωv) (470) <i>SB</i> I 4309 questionable	229?	Arsinoite
ΤΕΩC (474) <i>P.Gur.</i> 8	210	Arsinoite
Teos (473) <i>P.dem Hausw.</i> 2, 8, 9	241, 240	Apollonopolite
Thotortaios son of Semtheus (446) 229 Dem. <i>Dḥwtj-rdj-s (s3) sm²-t3.wj</i> <i>P.dem.Cair.</i> III 50148		Herakleopolite
ΤΟΤΟῆC (475) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 705	209	Arsinoite?
ΦαμοῦνιC (na) <i>P.Genova</i> III 113	245	Arsinoite
ⲚϣοC (478) <i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 12	254	Memphite
[ⲚϣοC] (480) <i>P.Petr.</i> III 42F (a) An uncertain conjecture.	250	Arsinoite
ⲚϣοC (481) <i>P.Ent.</i> page lxxxviii, <i>P.Hamb.</i> I 24, <i>P.Sorb.</i> I 43, <i>P.Lille</i> I 4, <i>P.Princ. inv.</i> AM87-55 (<i>ZPE</i> 80 [1990] pages 274-5), See further <i>P.Lille</i> I 3. See Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."	222, 219, 218 217, 215	Arsinoite
ⲚϣοC (482) <i>BGU</i> III 1006	.....	.....
..... (na) <i>P.Petr.</i> III 28e verso	(250)	Arsinoite
..... (na) <i>P.Petr.</i> III 87 col. i verso	(250)	Arsinoite
..... (na)	249	Herakleopolite

Name (PP no.)	Date	Place
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 108 (472)	242	Arsinoite
Τεῶς ed. <i>P.Petr.</i> II 36(1)=III 45(1) (na)	225ca	Herakleopolite
Διο... τοced. <i>P.Heid.</i> VI 366 (na)	(200)	Oxyrhynchite
<i>BGU</i> XIV 2400 (na)	(200)	Arsinoite
<i>P.Gur.</i> 23 (na)	(200)	Hermopolite?
<i>P.Fuad I Univ.</i> 138 app. ii (na)	(200)	Thebaid
<i>SB</i> XVI 12528		

LIST B - AGENTS OF THE BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS

Name (PP no.)	Date	Place
Βῆς (492) <i>BGU</i> VI 1232	(200)	Oxyrhynchite
Ἰμούθης (496) <i>P.Petr.</i> III 43(2).2.10	246	Arsinoite
Λων... (497) <i>P.Petr.</i> III 43(2).3.17	245	Arsinoite
Νεχθεμβῆς (499) <i>P.Hib.</i> I 98	252	Herakleopolite
Poeris (504) Better perhaps Paeris, Dem. <i>Pa-iry</i> <i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 2, 8, 9	241, 240	Apollonopolite
Psenchonsis (511a) Dem. <i>P3-šr-Hnsw</i> <i>P.dem.Eheverträge</i> 22	220	Thebaid

Πτολεμαῖος (507)	215	Arsinoite
<i>P.Lille I 3</i>		
Σεμθεῦς (510)	242	Arsinoite
<i>P.Petr. II 36(1)=III 45(1)</i>		
Σικοῦχος (na)	245	Arsinoite
<i>P.Genova III 113</i>		
Χαιῶφισ (511)	254, 252	Memphite
<i>P.Zen.Pestm. 12, 13</i>		
..... (na)	252	Herakleopolite
<i>P.Hib. I 156</i>		
..... (na)	242	Herakleopolite
<i>P.Hib. I 72.8</i>		

APPENDIX: Citations of the office of the basilikos grammateus without name.

263	.....	<i>P.Rev.</i>
260ca	Ars	<i>P.Cair.Zen. III 59387</i>
259	Ars	<i>P.Zen.Pestm. A</i>
257	Ars	<i>PSI V 502</i>
257	Hera nome	<i>P.Köln VII 314</i>
256	Ars	<i>P.Cair.Zen. I 59132</i>
(250)	Ars	<i>P.Petr. II 42a</i>
(250)	.....	<i>P.Hib. II 198</i>
250	Oxy	<i>SB VI 9215</i>
250ca	Ars	<i>P.Cair.Zen. IV 59607</i>
(250)	Ars	<i>P.Zen.Pestm. 18</i>
243	Ars	<i>P.Col. IV 90</i>
242	Ars	<i>P.Cair.Zen. III 59361</i>
235	Ars	<i>P.Ryl. IV 575</i>
225ca	Eleph	<i>P.Eleph. 24</i>
(225)	na	<i>P.Rain.Cent. 45</i>
(225)	Ars	<i>P.Köln VII 315</i>
203	Oxy	<i>UPZ I 112</i>
(200)	Ars	<i>P.Tebt. III 708</i>

P.Rev., *P.Hib. II 198*, *P.Petr. II 42a* and *P.Tebt. III 708* are discussed in Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

The others are discussed in Add.Note I, "The Origin of the Office of the Basilikos Grammateus."

List by Document

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>BGU</i> III 1006	482	.....	ῥΩροϛ
<i>BGU</i> VI 1232 ⁴	432	(200)	Ἄρυώτης
<i>BGU</i> VI 1232	492	(200)	Βῆϛ (agent)
<i>BGU</i> XIV 2400	na	(200)	..... (agent)
<i>Chrest. Wilck.</i> 222	440	209	Ἰμούθης
<i>Chrest. Wilck.</i> 224b	440	209	Ἰμούθης
<i>Chrest. Wilck.</i> 224c	440	209	Ἰμούθης
<i>P. Bon.</i> I 12g verso	454a	212?	Μο]ϛχ[ωϛ
<i>P. Cair. Cat.</i> 10295	440	209	Ἰμούθης
<i>P. Cair. Cat.</i> 10307	440	209	Ἰμούθης
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> I 59132	na	256	na
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> II 59236	466	254	Πετοϛίριϛ
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> III 59361	na	242	na
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> III 59387	na	260ca	na
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> III 59472	466	250ca	Πετοϛίριϛ
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> IV 59590	465	250ca	Πετοϛίριϛ
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> IV 59607	na	250ca	na
<i>P. Cair. Zen.</i> V 59828	461	250	Παυῆϛ Πανῆϛιοϛ
<i>P. Col.</i> IV 90	na	243	na
<i>P. dem. Bürgsch.</i> 1	450	204	Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Bürgsch.</i> 2	450	204	Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Bürgsch.</i> 3	450	204	Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Bürgsch.</i> 4	450	203	Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Bürgsch.</i> 5	450	203	Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Cairo</i> II 10262	476	233	Phanesis
<i>P. dem. Cairo</i> III 50148	446	229	Thotortaios
<i>P. dem. Eheverträge</i> 22	428c	220	Harnouphis
<i>P. dem. Eheverträge</i> 22	511a	220	Psenchonsis (agent)
<i>P. dem. Hausw.</i> 2 ⁵	473	241	Teos
<i>P. dem. Hausw.</i> 2	504	241	Poeris (agent)

⁴ = *Sel. Pap.* II 366

⁵ Listed but not transcribed at *P. dem. Schreibertrad.* 84 and 143. Greek docket at *UPZ* I page 604.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P. dem. Hausw.</i> 8 ⁶	473	241	Teos
<i>P. dem. Hausw.</i> 8	504	241	Poeris (agent)
<i>P. dem. Hausw.</i> 9 ⁷	473	240	Teos
<i>P. dem. Hausw.</i> 9	504	240	Poeris (agent)
<i>P. dem. Lille I</i> 6	427	220ca.	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille I</i> 9	427	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille I</i> 10	427	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille I</i> 11	427	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 35	448a	226	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 41	na	230	<i>nh-hw.t-ntr(?)</i>
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 42	448a	226	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 49	463b	224	Petechonsis son of Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 50	427	223	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 51	427	223	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 53	448a	226	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 54	457a	226	<i>Pn-n-hr</i>
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 64	463b	226	Petechonsis son of Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 68	428a	220ca	Harnebonchis
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 69	448a	226	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 71	463b	224	Petechonsis son of Imouthes
<i>P. dem. Lille II</i> 72	448a	226	Imouthes son of Panouris

⁶Listed but not transcribed at *P. dem. Schreibertrad.* 85 and 144. Greek docket at UPZ I page 604 = SB I 5710.

⁷Listed but not transcribed at *P. dem. Schreibertrad.* 86 and 145. Greek docket at UPZ I page 604 = SB I 5711.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 75	427	222	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 76	427	222	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 80	448a	226	Imouthes son of Panouris
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 85	427	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 90	427	224	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 91	427	220ca	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 93	463b	224	Petechonsis son of Imouthes
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 94	427	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 95	463b	226	Petechonsis son of Imouthes
<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 96	463b	225	Petechonsis son of Imouthes
<i>P.dem.Schreibertrad.</i> 109 ⁸	426a	245	Harmais
<i>P.Edfou</i> II 5	448	208	Θῶνις
<i>P.Eleph.</i> 24	na	225ca	na
<i>P.Ent.</i> page lxxxviii	481	217	ῚΩρος
<i>P.Fuad I Univ.</i> 138 app. ii		na	(200)
<i>P.Genova</i> III 96	na	(200)	ΠΕΤΕCOΥΧOC
<i>P.Genova</i> III 113	na	245	CI COΥΧOC (agent)
<i>P.Genova</i> III 113	na	245	Φαμοῦνις
<i>P.Gur.</i> 8 ⁹	474	210	Τεῶς
<i>P.Gur.</i> 23	na	(200)	.....
<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 24	481	222	ῚΩρος
<i>P.Heid.</i> VI 362	na	226	Πετειμούθης
<i>P.Heid.</i> VI 366	na	225ca	.....
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 72	431	242	Ἄρυώτης
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 72	na	242	..... (agent)

⁸ = *P.Dem.Louvre* 2438

⁹ = *C.Pap.Jud.* I 21; *Sel.Pap* II 334

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 98 ¹⁰	499	252	Νεχθεμβῆς (agent)
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 108	na	249	.....
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 153	459	246	Πατβεῦς
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 156	na	252	..... (agent)
<i>P.Hib.</i> I 198 ¹¹	na	(250)	na
<i>P.Köln.</i> VII 314	na	257	na
<i>P.Köln.</i> VII 315	na	(225)	na
<i>P.Lille</i> I 3 ¹²	428	215	Ἄρμάχορος
<i>P.Lille</i> I 3	507	215	Πτολεμαῖος (agent)
<i>P.Lille</i> I 4 ¹³	481	218	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Lond.</i> VII 2189 ¹⁴	440	209	Ἰμούθης
<i>P.Mich.</i> I 82	424	250	Ἄξάπης
<i>P.Petr.</i> II 42a	na	(250)	.....
<i>P.Petr.</i> II 23(2)	434	(250)	Ἄσκληπιάδης
<i>P.Petr.</i> II 36(1)	510	242	Σεμθεύς (agent)
=III 45(10)			
<i>P.Petr.</i> II 36(1)	472	242	.....
=III 45(1)			
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 28e verso ¹⁵	na	(250)	.....
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 42F (a)	480	250	[ῥΩρος]?
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 43 ¹⁶	465	246	Πετοσίρις
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 43(2).2.10	496	246	Ἰμούθης (agent)
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 43(2).3.17	497	245	Λων..... (agent)
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 87	na	(250)	.....
<i>P.Petr.</i> III 128	434	242	Ἄσκληπιάδης
<i>P.Princ. inv. AM</i> 87-55 ¹⁷	481	217	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 45	na	(225)	na

¹⁰ = *Chrest.Wilck.* 441; ll. 6-21 = *Sel.Pap.* II 365

¹¹R ii 28 ff = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 3

¹²Col. iii.55-61 = *Chrest.Wilck.* 301

¹³ = *Chrest.Wilck.* 336

¹⁴ = *SB* VI 9599

¹⁵ = *Chrest.Mitt.* 45

¹⁶Col. iii 11-iv = *Chrest.Wilck.* 387; *Sel.Pap.* II 348

¹⁷*ZPE* 80 (1990) 274-5

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.Rev.</i> ¹⁸	na	263	na
<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 575	na	235	na
<i>PSI</i> V 502	na	257	na
<i>PSI</i> VI 621	465	250 ca.	Πετοσίρις
<i>P.Sorb.</i> I 43	481	219	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 705	475	209	Τοτοῆς
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 708	na	(200)	na
<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> A ¹⁹	na	259	na
<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 12	478	254	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 12	511	254	Χαιῶφις (agent)
<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 13	430	252	Hartophnautes
<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 13	511	252	Χαιῶφις (agent)
<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 18	na	(250)	na
<i>SB</i> I 4309	470	229?	Σίμων
<i>SB</i> VI 9215	na	250	na
<i>SB</i> XII 10869	463a	243	Πετειμούθης
<i>SB</i> XVI 12528	na	(200)	.....
<i>UPZ</i> I 112	na	203	na

¹⁸Col. 36 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 17; col. 37 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 18

¹⁹ = *P.Lille* I 1

List by Place and Date

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Aphro	254	Πετοσίρις	466	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> II 59236
Aphro	250ca	Πετοσίρις	466	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> III 59472
Apoll	241	Teos	473	<i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 2
Apoll	241	Poeris (agent)	504	<i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 2
Apoll	241	Teos	473	<i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 8
Apoll	241	Poeris (agent)	504	<i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 8
Apoll	240	Teos	473	<i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 9
Apoll	240	Poeris (agent)	504	<i>P.dem.Hausw.</i> 9
Ars	260ca	na	na	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> III 59387
Ars	259	na	na	<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> A
Ars	257	na	na	<i>PSI</i> V 502
Ars	256	na	na	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> I 59132
Ars	(250)	.....	na	<i>P.Petr.</i> II 42a
Ars	(250)	.....	na	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 28e
Ars	250	[᾽Ωρος]?	480	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 42F(a)
Ars	(250)	.....	na	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 87
Ars	250	᾽Αξάπης	424	<i>P.Mich.</i> I 82
Ars	250ca	᾽Ασκληπιάδης	434	<i>P.Petr.</i> II 23(2)
Ars	250ca	na	na	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> IV 59607
Ars	250ca	na	na	<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 18
Ars	250	na	na	<i>SB</i> VI 9215
Ars	250	Παυῆς Πανήσιος	461	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> V 59828
Ars	250ca	Πετοσίρις	465	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> IV 59590
Ars	250 ca	Πετοσίρις	465	<i>PSI</i> VI 621
Ars	246	Πετοσίρις	465	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 43
Ars	246	᾽Ιμούθης (agent)	496	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 43(2).2.10
Ars	245	Φαμοῦνις	na	<i>P.Genova</i> III 113
Ars	245	Σικοῦχος (agent)	na	<i>P.Genova</i> III 113
Ars	245	Λων..... (agent)	497	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 43(2).3.17
Ars	243	na	na	<i>P.Col.</i> IV 90
Ars	243	Πετειμούθης	463a	<i>SB</i> XII 10869
Ars	242	.....	472	<i>P.Petr.</i> II 36(1)= III 45(1)
Ars	242	᾽Ασκληπιάδης	434	<i>P.Petr.</i> III 128
Ars	242	Σεμθεῦς (agent)	510	<i>P.Petr.</i> II 36(1)= III 45(10)

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Ars	242	na	na	<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i> III 59361
Ars	235	na	na	<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 575
Ars	233	Phanesis	476	<i>P.dem.Cairo</i> II 10262
Ars	230	ḥnh-ḥw.t-ntr ?	na	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 41
Ars	229?	ϸιμων	470	<i>SB</i> I 4309
Ars	226	<i>Pn-ḥn-ḥr</i>	457a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 54
Ars	226	Imouthes son of Panouris	448a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 35
Ars	226	Imouthes son of Panouris	448a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 42
Ars	226	Imouthes son of Panouris	448a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 53
Ars	226	Imouthes son of Panouris	448a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 69
Ars	226	Imouthes son of Panouris	448a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 72
Ars	226	Imouthes son of Panouris	448a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 80
Ars	226	Petechonsis son of Imouthes	463b	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 64
Ars	226	Petechonsis son of Imouthes	463b	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 95
Ars	(225)	na	na	<i>P.Köln</i> VII 315
Ars	225	Petechonsis son of Imouthes	463b	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 96
Ars	224	Petechonsis son of Imouthes	463b	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 49
Ars	224	Petechonsis son of Imouthes	463b	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 71
Ars	224	Petechonsis son of Imouthes	463b	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 93
Ars	224	Harmais (son of Harnebonchis)	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 90
Ars	223	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 50
Ars	223	Harmais Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 51
Ars	222	ῚΩροϸ	481	<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 24
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> I 11

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> I 9
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> I 10
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 75
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 76
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 85
Ars	222	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 94
Ars	220ca	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> I 6
Ars	220ca.	Harmais son of Harnebonchis	427	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 91
Ars	220ca	Harnebonchis	428a	<i>P.dem.Lille</i> II 68
Ars	219	ῚΩροϋ	481	<i>P.Sorb.</i> I 43
Ars	218	ῚΩροϋ	481	<i>P.Lille</i> I 4
Ars	217	ῚΩροϋ	481	<i>P.Ent.</i> page lxxxviii
Ars	217	ῚΩροϋ	481	<i>P.Princ. inv.</i> AM 87-55
Ars	215	ῚΑρμάχοροϋ	428	<i>P.Lille</i> I 3
Ars	215	Πτολεμαῖοϋ (agent)	507	<i>P.Lille</i> I 3
Ars	210	ῚΕῶϋ	474	<i>P.Gur.</i> 8
Ars	209	ῚΙμούθηϋ	440	<i>Chrest.Wilck.</i> 222
Ars	209	ῚΙμούθηϋ	440	<i>Chrest.Wilck.</i> 224b
Ars	209	ῚΙμούθηϋ	440	<i>Chrest.Wilck.</i> 224c
Ars	209	ῚΙμούθηϋ	440	<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10295
Ars	209	ῚΙμούθηϋ	440	<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10307
Ars	209	ῚΙμούθηϋ	440	<i>P.Lond.</i> VII 2189
Ars?	209	ῚΟτοῖηϋ	475	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 705
Ars	204	Imouthes	450	<i>P.dem.Bürgsch.</i> 1
Ars	204	Imouthes	450	<i>P.dem.Bürgsch.</i> 2
Ars	204	Imouthes	450	<i>P.dem.Bürgsch.</i> 3
Ars	203	Imouthes	450	<i>P.dem.Bürgsch.</i> 4
Ars	203	Imouthes	450	<i>P.dem.Bürgsch.</i> 5
Ars	(200)	.....	na	<i>P.Gur.</i> 23
Ars	(200)	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 708

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Ars	(200)	ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΟΣ	na	<i>P.Genova</i> III 96
Eleph	225ca	na	na	<i>P.Eleph.</i> 24
Hera	257	na		<i>P.Köln</i> VII 314
Hera	252	..... (agent)	na	<i>P.Hib.</i> I 156
Hera	252	Νεχθεμβῆς (agent)	499	<i>P.Hib.</i> I 98
Hera	249	.....	na	<i>P.Hib.</i> I 108
Hera	246	ΠΑΤΒΕΥΣ	459	<i>P.Hib.</i> I 153
Hera	242	..... (agent)	na	<i>P.Hib.</i> I 72
Hera	242	Ἄρυσῶτης	431	<i>P.Hib.</i> I 72
Hera	229	Thotortaios son of Semtheus	446	<i>P.dem.Cairo</i> III 50148
Hera	226	Πετειμούθης	na	<i>P.Heid.</i> VI 362
Hera	225ca	.....	na	<i>P.Heid.</i> VI 366
Herm?	(200)	.....	na	<i>P.Fuad I Univ.</i> 138 app. ii
Memph	254	ῚΩρος	478	<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 12
Memph	254	Χαιῶφίς (agent)	511	<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 12
Memph	252	Hartophnautes (ῚΩρος)	430	<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 13
Memph	252	Χαιῶφίς (agent)	511	<i>P.Zen.Pestm.</i> 13
Oxy	208	Θῶνις	448	<i>P.Edfou</i> II 5
Oxy	203	na	na	<i>UPZ</i> I 112
Oxy	(200)	.....	na	<i>BGU</i> XIV 2400
Oxy	(200)	Ἄρυσῶτης	432	<i>BGU</i> VI 1232
Oxy	(200)	Βῆς (agent)	492	<i>BGU</i> VI 1232
Thebaid	245	Harmais	426a	<i>P.dem.Schreibertrad.</i> 109
Thebaid	220	Harnouphis	428a	<i>P.dem.Eheverträge</i> 22
Thebaid	220	Psenchonsis (agent)	511a	<i>P.dem.Eheverträge</i> 22
Thebaid	(200)	.....	na	<i>SB</i> XVI 12528
na	263	na	na	<i>P.Rev.</i>
na	212?	Μο]cχ[ων	454a	<i>P.Bon.</i> I 12g verso
na	.....	ῚΩρος	482	<i>BGU</i> III 1006
.....	(250)	na	na	<i>P.Hib.</i> II 198
.....	(225)	na	na	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 45

Note to Place and Date List

The above list was generated from my data base file; as printed it is not entirely mechanical, for I have made some manual adjustments. Despite its mechanical nature it seemed the most revealing of various modes which can be generated from the data base and can serve as the focus of several observations. The first of these is to note that when the basilikos grammateus is named, he always serves alone. The lists indeed bear out that there is no clear case where more than one basilikos grammateus serves in any given nome at the same time.²⁰ At least there is a plausible explanation for any apparent cases.

The most glaring example which the list brings out is that of Horos, basilikos grammateus in *P.Hamb.* I 24 of 222 B.C. who appears in quite startling fashion among the citations of Harmais the basilikos grammateus of this period in papyri published in *P.dem.Lille* II. Only when we realize that Harmais is a Horos name and is the Greek version of the demotic *Hr-m-ḥb*²¹ can we entertain the possibility that the Horos of *P.Hamb.* I 24 and the *Hr-m-ḥb* of the demotic Lille texts may be the same person. We do know of cases where ὄροϝ is used in Greek to replace a more complicated demotic name.²² If such is the case here then Horos' tenure as basilikos grammateus extends from July/August 224 until at least 217 B.C. It should be noted that Horos also appears in a Sorbonne papyrus, in a Greek Lille text and in an Enteuxis papyrus all of which come from the same cartonnage finds.²³ On Horos see Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."

Nonetheless, there is no specific example in the papyri where Horos does indeed stand for Harmais. Also the evidence of the Lille demotic texts is ambiguous. The basilikos grammateus always works with the oikonomos who is regularly identified as the oikonomos of the Themistos meris. It seems likely that there were oikonomoi of the separate areas, the merides, of the Fayum.²⁴ The basilikoi grammateis are not so designated and it seems more probable that there was only one for the Fayum, the Arsinoite nome.

²⁰For the mention of plural basilikoi grammateis, see Add.Note I, "The Origin of the Office of the Basilikos Grammateus."

²¹See particularly the bilingual, *P.dem.Zenon* 19 where the Greek text has Ἀρμάιϝ and the demotic *Hr-m-ḥb*.

²²See P. Pestman, *P.Zen.Pestm.* page 66 note d.

²³See F. de Cenival in the Introduction to *P.dem.Lille* III, esp. note 3 on page v.

²⁴F. de Cenival, *P.dem.Lille* II, pages 208-210

Totoes, who appears in *P.Tebt.* III 708 of 209, in the midst of the tenure of Imouthes as basilikos grammateus of the Arsinoite nome, probably belongs in another nome.²⁵ There is no definite assignation in the papyrus.

The evidence overall is too thinly scattered for any definitive proofs, but there is no provable case in any nome, even the Arsinoite, that two men held the office at the same time. In the period around 250 there are a number of names but too many uncertainties surround dating and location of the office mentioned to prove any joint tenure.

²⁵See T.C. Skeat in *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 45(1959) 75-8

FUNCTIONS OF THE BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS

THE THIRD CENTURY

The Functions of the Basilikos Grammateus

In the following list, I have tried to indicate, where it is ascertainable, what the basilikos grammateus does or is expected to do. The listings are chronological and include all the texts in the lists as well as others which have a bearing on this subject. Following the list I offer in the next section an analysis of the general range of functions and attempt to assess the scope of the office and its personnel during the third century.

P.Rev. coll. 33. 9-18

263 B.C.

36.3-11

37.2-20

These three texts are included in the regulations for the apomoira of Arsinoe Philadelphos and are royal orders which antedate the Revenue Laws themselves. They call for the basilikoi grammateis to register all vineyards and garden (παράδεισος) land, extent of area, the size of harvest and the tax payments. Klerouchs, and those holding land in dorea or those having any other vineyard or garden land must themselves report it to the basilikos grammateus. Temple land is excluded from the reporting system. Col. 36 undoubtedly sets forth the theoretical boundaries of the duties of the basilikos grammateus in terms of measurement and registration of land in all categories. Severe penalties are provided for misregistration.²⁶ It can be noted here that these are the only mentions of the basilikos grammateus in the Revenue Laws, while the oikonomos is

²⁶For more discussion of these important texts see Add.Note VI, "The Basilikos Grammateus and Tax Farming."

mentioned 88 times. The intent of the prostagmata is that the basilikos grammateus be concerned solely with the registration of property, not with the collection of revenue.

P.Cair.Zen. III 59387

ca 260 B.C.

An order addressed to Panakestor, Zenon's predecessor in Philadelphia, to arrange for the surveyors and the basilikoi grammateis to measure land, presumably Apollonios' estate in the Fayum. Probably to be associated with *PSI V 502* of 257 B.C. See Add.Note I, "Origin of the Office of the Basilikos Grammateus."

P.Zen.Pestm. A

259 B.C.

The description of the 10,000 aroura estate in the Fayum generally thought to belong to Apollonios.²⁷ The architects and the basilikoi grammateis are to oversee the work done on the dykes and canals. The basilikoi grammateis are to register the work.

P.Köln. VII 314

257 B.C.

An ἀπογραφή which registers a κῆπος of 3 3/8 arouras ὡς βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς ἀναφέρουσιν and states that the owner will pay the tax due on it.

PSI V 502

257 B.C.

Panakestor to Apollonios. The basilikoi grammateis have come to measure the land and he can now proceed with the farming as Apollonios wishes.

P.Cair.Zen. I 59132

256 B.C.

A complaint to Zenon about the measurement of a kleros. The basilikos grammateus does the measuring.

P.Cair.Zen. II 59236

254 B.C.

A petition which complains that tax on a vineyard has been miscalculated by the basilikos grammateus, that is, the registration of the crop is wrong.

P.Zen.Pestm. 12

254 B.C.

P.Zen.Pestm. 13

252 B.C.

The agents of Hermalaos and of Horos (basilikos grammateus) Korragos and Chaiophis receive castor seed (kroton) from an agent (χειριστής) of Zenon. It is unclear in what capacity either of them is doing business with Zenon, but it is an early attestation of the close relationship of the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus, and perhaps of the connection of the basilikos grammateus with taxes in kind.

²⁷But see L. Criscuola, "I miriaruri nell'Egitto tolemaico," *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 109-22, who thinks the text is general and theoretical and not specifically a description of Apollonios' estate.

Hermolaos had written to Zenon to expect Korragos and to have the krotos ready (*P.Lond.* VII 1982).

P.Hib. I 156

252 B.C.

Published in description only. A naukleros receipt for grain issued through an agent of the basilikos grammateus. For a complete list of naukleros receipts see *P.Erasm.* II appendices. See also W. Clarysse and H. Hauben, *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68. The great mass of naukleros receipts that have survived are of the mid second century. The agent or antigrapheus of the basilikos grammateus is a frequent issuer of the grain for which the naukleros writes the receipt. The agent of the oikonomos or the sitologos himself are equally likely to be named as the agent providing the grain. There are only eight extant receipts from the third century (see *P.Erasm.* II, app. iv.), and those that do survive seem to reflect the same situation as that found in the naukleros receipts of the second century. In addition to this text, *P.Hib.* I 156, there are two others of the third century which involve the agent of the basilikos grammateus: *P.Hib.* I 98 of 252 B.C. and *BGU* XIV 2400 of the late third century.

P.Hib. I 98

252 B.C.

A naukleros gives a receipt for grain which he has received through Nechthembes, agent of the basilikoi grammateis. See above *P.Hib.* I 156

P.Petr. II 42a

ca 250 B.C.

An entole, an order from the king or high official addressed to members of the bureaucracy concerned. See Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

P.Hib. II 198

ca 250 B.C.

Entole, an order from the king circulated to the various officials concerned with its implementation. See Add.Note IV, "Entolai." This section of the papyrus may be a copy of a much earlier document.

P.Cair.Zen. III 59472

ca 250 B.C.

A rope maker asks Zenon to order Hermolaos and the basilikos grammateus located in the metropolis of the Aphroditopolite nome (ὁ ἐν Ἀφροδιτοπόλει) to send his fellow workers, who have decamped, back to Philadelphia.

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590

ca 250 B.C.

See Add.Note II, "Axapes."

P.Mich. I 82

250 B.C.

See Add.Note II, "Axapes."

SB VI 9215

250 B.C.

Apollonios, the dioiketes, sends orders to a subordinate to provide wood for some ships that the king is building. The subordinate is to take the basilikoi grammateis and workmen (who may be prisoners of some sort) and get the work done quickly. The role of the basilikoi grammateis may be to point out where the wood is located, based on their land

registries, or to take charge of the work force. Not part of the Zenon archive. Found in cartonnage deriving from Oxyrhynchus.

P.Petr. III 42F(a) 250 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus Horos, the oikonomos and the architect are present at the letting of a contract for various construction projects. In the various contracts either the basilikos grammateus or his agent is present, undoubtedly to keep the records straight. Similar to *P.Petr.* III 43.

P.Cair.Zen. V 59828 250 B.C.

A survey of vineyards by the basilikos grammateus.

P.Hib. I 108 249 B.C.

Someone has paid the bath tax to the logeuterion through (διὰ) the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus to Theodorus the banker (τραπεζίτης).

P.Hib. I 153 (descripta) 246 B.C.

Small payments are made to the agent of the oikonomos and to the basilikos grammateus Patbeus.

P.Genova III 113 245 B.C.

A receipt for grain issued to a brewer addressed to Sisouchos, the agent of the basilikos grammateus. Similar to a naukleros receipt.

P.dem.Schreibertrad. 109 245 B.C.

Harmais, basilikos grammateus, has a house next to one that is being surveyed for the purpose of sale.

P.Petr. III 43 245 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus, the oikonomos and the architect are present at the letting of a contract for various construction projects. In the various contracts either the basilikos grammateus or his agent is present, undoubtedly to keep the records straight.

P.Col. IV 90 243 B.C.

A certain Zenodoros makes arrangements to pay for 15 missing hoes (δίκελλαι). They have been certified as missing from a delivery to Philadelphia by the basilikos grammateus and the komogrammateus. The oikonomos has deducted the payment from back wages and allowances owed Zenodoros. The basilikos grammateus may have had a list of all tools owned by the state, or he may, in this case, simply be checking a list. In either case it is a matter of registration of state property.

P.Petr. II 36(1) = III 45(1) 242 B.C.

Survey of property with certain measurements made in the presence of Teos, basilikos grammateus, and his team.

P.Cair.Zen. III 59361 242 B.C.

This document concerns payments for the apomoirā. At the beginning of col. iii it mentions a payment of uncertain nature to the basilikos

grammateus. The payment may represent a bribe or a payment due on a tax-farming account. The writer is giving an account of various payments but their exact nature is unclear.

P.Hib. I 72 242 B.C.

A seal has been stolen from a temple and incidentally reported to the agent of Haryotes, the basilikos grammateus. He did not find it.

P.dem.Hausw. 2 all 240 B.C.

P.dem.Hausw. 8

P.dem.Hausw. 9

Poeris, an agent of Teos, a basilikos grammateus, signs the demotic sale contract and the release contract that accompanies it under the statement of the scribe who attests that he wrote the documents. Poeris also says that he wrote the documents. Such secondary signing does not otherwise occur in the Hauswaldt sales documents. In these three cases, and nowhere else among these documents, is there is a Greek docket.

P.Ryl. IV 575 235 B.C.

A tax farmer, with the agreement of the agent of the oikonomos and of the basilikos grammateus, waives payment of the "one-sixth" on the orchards of three men.

P.dem.Lille 229 B.C. to 220 B.C

In chronological order these are II 41, 35, 42, 53, 69, 72, 80, 54, 64, 95, 93, 96, 90, 49, 71, 50, 51, I 11, 9, 10, II 75, 76, 94, 85, 91.

For these texts see Add.Note III, "Commentary on *P.dem.Lille* Sureties." We may point out here that the basilikos grammateus and the oikonomos are involved together as addressees of these guarantees of payment or of appearance.

SB I 4309 229 B.C.?

An enteuxis in which the petitioners complain of being wrongly imprisoned. One of those who wronged them in some way is Simon, a basilikos grammateus.

P.dem.Cairo III 50148 229 B.C.

A receipt is issued to a basilikos grammateus, Thotortaios son of Semitheus, who is probably so titled for identification purposes; he is not acting here in an official capacity.

P.Heid. VI 362 226 B.C.

The papyrus contains copies of official correspondence; in this there are two letters from Peteimouthes, the basilikos grammateus, to the oikonomos, pointing out the need to restrict the export of honey and calves out of the Herakleopolite nome.

P.Heid. VI 366 ca 225 B.C.

In a fragmentary official letter, the basilikos grammateus has given an order. The editors read Διφ...ος as the name of the basilikos grammateus, but the reading is far from certain.

P.Rain.Cent. 45 ca 225 B.C.

See Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

P.Eleph. 24 ca 225 B.C.

A certain Phatres agrees to pay charges on some temple offices just as the basilikoi grammateis have registered them to him and to a certain Psentaes. Ll.6-9 read καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶι ἐγγαίῳν, καθότι ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξωσι οἱ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς: "and his other possessions just as the basilikoi grammateis have registered them to us (Phratres and Psentaes)."

P.Hamb. I 24 224 B.C.

A formal agreement to a τοπάρχης and Horos, the basilikos grammateus, that the declarer has sown his land.

P.dem.Eheverträge 22 220 B.C.

One of the witnesses to a marriage contract identifies himself as an agent of the basilikos grammateus, Harnouphis, *sh n Pr- 3* which must be a personal identifier and not an official designation of status.

P.Sorb. 43 219 B.C.

Text contains a copy of a letter from Horos, the basilikos grammateus, concerning 10 arouras of land. See Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."

P.Princ. inv. AM 87-55 (*ZPE* 80 [1990] 274-5) 217 B.C.

Olympos, a Mysian, a cavalry man and a one hundred aroura holder, writes to Theogenes, the dioiketes, to complain of his tax assessment on a vineyard planted by his father, for which he believes some abatement of the tax was promised. He asks Theogenes to write to Horos, the basilikos grammateus of the Arsinoite nome (ὁ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου) to investigate.

P.Petr. II 38(b) 217 B.C.

Horos writes to someone elsewhere about the high price of oil that is being charged in the place where his correspondent is stationed. Horos does not here designate himself as a basilikos grammateus and is not in the lists above; nonetheless he is most likely to be identified with the basilikos grammateus who is active in the Arsinoite nome at this time. See Add. Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."

P.Lille 4 218 B.C.

P.Lille 3 215 B.C.

Files of Horos, a basilikos grammateus, concerning kleroi and klerouchic land and crops. The concern must be with registration and control of land and crops. See Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."

P.Bon. I 12(g) verso ca. 212 B.C.?

Fragmentary, but contains mention of a basilikos grammateus ([Mo]schion) and apomoira.

P.Gur. 8 210 B.C.

Komogrammateus reports to the basilikos grammateus Teos about a theft and vandalism in a vineyard which have caused the loss of 6 metretai of wine.

P.Cair.Cat. 10295 and 10307 all 209 B.C.

Chrest.Wilck. 222, 224(b) and 224(c)

Chrest.Wilck. 222 and 224 b and c are reports of declarations (ἀπογραφαί) to the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus Imouthes. *P.Cair.Cat. 10295 and 10307* are similar, as reported in *Archiv 2* (1903) 84. See Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."

P.Tebt. III 705 209 B.C.

A rather enigmatic order to Tothoes, the basilikos grammateus, telling him not to accept ἀπογραφαί from the holders of certain classifications of land.

P.Lond. VII 2189 209 B.C.

A receipt for tax paid on property as valued by the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus Imouthes.

P.Edfou II 5 208 B.C.

Theogenes, the dioiketes, writes to Thonis, the basilikos grammateus in the Oxyrhynchite nome (ὁ ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς), because Thonis is having difficulty in collecting and remitting tax payments. On the dates of Theogenes, see W.Clarysse and H.Hauben, *ZPE 89* (1991) 47-68, and especially with regard to Theogenes, note 25 on page 53.

Bürgsch. Nos. 1-5 204/203 B.C.

These are requests for lease of royal land addressed to the oikonomos and to Imouthes, the basilikos grammateus Imouthes.

UPZ I 112 204/3 B.C.

Tax farming regulations. See Add.Note VI, "Tax Farming and the Basilikos Grammateus."

P.Tebt. III 708

end iii

This is a circular to officials including the basilikos grammateus. It concerns amounts owed for wheat and thus concerns the registry of the basilikos grammateus. See Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

P.Gur. 23

(200)

The basilikos grammateus is mentioned in an account which lists large amounts of grain.

BGU VI 1232

(200)

Two receipts for grain payments from the grammateus of the "mail carriers?" (Βυβλιαφόρων) to Bes the agent of Haryotes the basilikos grammateus.

BGU XIV 2400

(200)

A naukleros gives a receipt for the grain he has received from a sitologos and the agent of the basilikos grammateus.

BGU III 1006

.....

Someone writes to the basilikos grammateus requesting him to evict a woman from his house. This is strikingly at odds with anything else a basilikos grammateus is asked to do in the papyri and something we would not expect to be within his sphere of competence. The editors dated the text to the end of the third century, but, given the unusual request, I would leave the question of date open.

Analysis of Functions

The first and most important observation to make about the basilikos grammateus in the third century is that each one is a native Egyptian who is bilingual in the two languages, Greek and Egyptian, and capable of writing in both languages. Papyrologists have known this from the beginning of papyrological studies, but the true import of the fact has not been adequately stressed. Striking also, with but two or three exceptions, no basilikos grammateus adopts a Greek name. They remain almost aggressively Egyptian.

A second feature to be noted is that βασιλικός γραμματεὺς is a translation of the Egyptian *sh pr-ꜣ*, scribe of Pharaoh. This title had a long history in pre-Greek Egypt and was an honored position. As with so many of the Egyptian institutions, we do not know much if anything of the office during the Persian or Saite periods of Egyptian history. Under the Ptolemies there are cases in demotic texts where an individual designated as *sh pr-ꜣ* seems to use the designation as personal identification.²⁸ In the Lille demotic texts, a certain Petechonsis is titled basilikos grammateus (*sh pr-ꜣ*) until March of 224 and then in the same month begins to be titled topogrammateus (*sh mꜣ*). He continues to fulfill exactly the same function along with the oikonomos in subsequent documents. It must be noted also that this change of title is also related to a different village, Apias.²⁹ It may be that the Egyptians saw no difference between these titles and simply knew that Petechonsis was a government official and a scribe. At other times in the demotic documents we find the *sh pr-ꜣ* behaving in similar fashion as the basilikos grammateus in Greek documents.³⁰

The earliest mention of the basilikos grammateus in *P.Rev.* in 263 B.C. sets out his duties as the measurement and recording of land, as well as its produce and the tax paid. This section of the Revenue Laws is concerned with the apomoirā and apparently with the establishment of that tax for the benefit of Arsinoe Philadelphos. The apomoirā, a tax of 1/6 or 1/10 on the

²⁸*P.dem.Louvre* 2438 (= *P.Schreibertrad.* 109); *P.dem.Cair.* II 50148; *Eheverträge* 22. See the remarks of P. Pestman, at *P.Zen.Pestm.* 12, note e (page 67); at *P.Batav.* 1, note i (page 10); and in his contribution to *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba* (Bologna 1989) 153-6. See also W. Clarysse, *Enchorion* 8 (1978) 7.

²⁹See Add.note III, "The *P.dem.Lille* Sureties."

³⁰Notably in *Bürgsch.* 1-5.

produce, was levied on vineyards and *paradeisoi*, orchards of other fruits, most notably olives and dates. The *basilikos grammateus* is not mentioned otherwise in *P.Rev.* In texts of subsequent date we do find the *basilikos grammateus* as a part of the administration of the *apomoira*.³¹

Measurement and registration do seem to be an essential part of the *basilikos grammateus*' duties. In 260 B.C. Apollonios the *dioiketes* writes in some heat to his agent in Philadelphia, presumably Panakestor, Zenon's predecessor as manager of the famous *dorea* in the Fayum, seeking to learn why he has not had the land surveyors and the *basilikoi grammateis* there to measure the land.³² That *PSI V 502* of 257 B.C. is a direct reply to this letter is probable, and Panakestor does write in this case to Zenon, still on Apollonios' staff, that he has obtained the services of the *basilikoi grammateis*, that the land has been measured and that the work of farming can now get under way. One gains two impressions from this exchange of correspondence. The first is that of the incompetence of Panakestor. Subordinates who spend much time explaining why they cannot accomplish their tasks do not long survive. The other impression is that of the power of the *basilikoi grammateis*; nothing can be done, even in Apollonios' name, without their approval. We see the same control in a letter from a certain Mys³³ to Zenon in 256 B.C. when Zenon has assumed his position in Philadelphia. Mys complains that a certain Symbotes is holding up the harvest with his claim that the *basilikos grammateus* is using the wrong measuring standard to measure his *kleros*, apparently a new royal grant. The measure used by the *basilikos grammateus* would result in a property smaller by ten percent for Symbotes. He, Symbotes, obviously cannot order the *basilikos grammateus* to his will. Mys, on the other hand, cannot give orders to either of them and thus seeks the higher authority of Zenon.

Otherwise we find a number of texts which attest the measurement and registration functions of the *basilikos grammateus*.³⁴ Some are simply surveys, others involve both survey and registration. One involves a further complaint against the *basilikos grammateus* and the *oikonomos*.³⁵ This letter to Zenon argues against the basis for taxation of a vineyard.

³¹*P.Köln VII 314*; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59236 and III 59361; *P.Ryl. IV 575*; *P.Princ. inv. AM 87-55*; *P.Bon. I 12(g)*; and, of course, the regulations in *UPZ I 112*.

³²*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387. See Add.Note I, "The Origins of the Office of the *Basilikos Grammateus*."

³³*P.Cair.Zen. I 59132*.

³⁴*P.Rev.*; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387; *P.Zen.Pestm. A*; *P.Köln VII 314*; *PSI V 502*; *P.Cair.Zen. I 59132*, II 59236; *P.Petr. III, 43*, III 42F(a), II 36(1) = III 45; *P.Ryl. IV 575*; *P.Eleph. 24*; *P.Hamb. I 24*; *P.Sorb. 43*; *P.Princ. inv. AM 87-55*; *P.Lille I 3 and 4*; *P.Bon. I 12(g)*; *P.Gur. 8*; *Chrest.Wilck. 222, 224(b), 224(c)*; *P.Cair.Cat. 10295 and 10307*; *P.Tebt. III.1 708 and 705*; *P.Edfou II 5*.

³⁵*P.Cair.Zen. II 59326*.

The role of the basilikos grammateus is in the registration of the produce of the vineyard. There is no question that knowledge is power and the keeping of the registers puts the basilikos grammateus in a strong position.

Several documents attest activities that we can quite easily see as extensions of the registration function of the basilikos grammateus, including registration of land and that of crops as evidenced in the prostagmata of *P.Rev.* Three documents attest the connection of the basilikos grammateus with the shipment of grain, the so-called naukleros receipts.³⁶ The great mass of naukleros receipts come from the second century, many of them recently published. The three from the third century involving the basilikos grammateus fit into the patterns established by the later examples. The naukleros, or ship captain, gives to the sitologos or his agent, to the agent of the basilikos grammateus and to the agent of the oikonomos, receipts for the grain which has been loaded on the ship of which he has charge and which is usually specified for delivery in Alexandria at the king's warehouses.³⁷ At each distribution point or port, there were the agents of the sitologos, the basilikos grammateus and the oikonomos, any one of whom or any combination of whom could issue the grain and receive the receipt. Similar to these naukleros receipts are two other texts, *P.Genova* III 113 of 245 B.C. and *BGU* VI 1232 of the late third century, which are likewise receipts for the issue of grain. In the former the grain is given to a brewer and in the latter to the secretary of the postal service, γραμματεὺς τῶν βιβλιαφόρων.

In a collection of official correspondence³⁸ there are two letters from Peteimouthes, the basilikos grammateus of the Herakleopolite nome in 226 B.C., to the oikonomos of the nome regarding the movement of honey and calves out of the nome. The involvement of the basilikos grammateus may arise from his role in registering property and agricultural products; his concern in these texts seems more to alert the oikonomos of possible shortages within the Herakleopolite nome.

Two additional texts³⁹ might well relate to the registration function of the basilikos grammateus or might simply reflect that as a person of importance those in some official or quasi-official trouble might have recourse to his expertise. In the Hibeh text of 240 B.C. an official seal has been stolen or maliciously mislaid. The seal is necessary for any official business and also might be used to counterfeit official business. This is

³⁶*P.Hib.* I 156 and 98; *BGU* XIV 2400.

³⁷See *P.Erasm.* II, where the introduction, commentary and lists by the editor P. Verdult offer the latest and fullest discussion of the naukleros receipts and the whole organization of the shipping of grain to Alexandria. See also the commentary to *P.Genova* III 114 and W. Clarysse and H. Hauben, "Ten Ptolemaic Granary Receipts from Pyrrheia," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68.

³⁸*P.Heid.* V 362

³⁹*P.Hib.* I 72; *P.Col.* IV 90.

reported to the basilikos grammateus. It does not appear that he was able to help. In the Columbia text, some hoes are missing; the responsible party is willing to pay for them and asks the basilikos grammateus to check how many are missing. Presumably the hoes are state, i.e. royal, property and the basilikos grammateus has them registered.

The most problematic of functions involves control of the Egyptian population which is evidenced in two cases.⁴⁰ One of these I have discussed elsewhere.⁴¹ In the other case a hemp worker asks Zenon to order the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus in the Aphroditopolite to send his fellow workers, who have decamped, back to Philadelphia. Braunert has discussed the movement of labor in Ptolemaic Egypt⁴² and shows that it was on a considerable scale. Here in this case, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59472, we can again see the role of Zenon as mediator between the Greek and Egyptian populations. We cannot, however, divine from his other activities why the basilikos grammateus should have this particular responsibility, other than that he was Egyptian and the work crews were made up of Egyptians.⁴³ In one further case⁴⁴ (250 B.C.) Apollonios, the dioiketes, writes to a certain Demetrios, ordering him to take the basilikoi grammateis and 500 workers (including perhaps some criminals) and to cut native wood for the construction of ships for the royal fleet. Once again the work crews would be Egyptians, but the exact role of the basilikoi grammateis in collecting and managing them is not clear.

While the prostagmata found in *P.Rev.* limit the basilikos grammateus to measurement and registration, we early on find him involved in the collection of taxes or at least payments. The earliest of these is the payments of castor seed (kroton) made to the agents of the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus on behalf of Zenon in 254 and 252 B.C.⁴⁵ There are a number of texts connecting the basilikos grammateus to the apomoira and to other taxes in kind,⁴⁶ but also as early as 249 and 246 B.C. the agents of the basilikos grammateus and the oikonomos receive small

⁴⁰For Axapes, see Add. Note II, "Axapes"; the other case is found in *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59472.

⁴¹In *Congr. XX*, (1994) 588-92; see also the Add.Note II, "Axapes."

⁴²*Die Binnenwanderung* 43-45.

⁴³See now the publication of *P.Vat.Gr.* 65. in R. Pintaudi, "Oxyrhyncha e Oxyrhynchites," *Tyche* 5 (1990) 101-104. Dionysodoros writes to his superior Asklepiades for permission to accompany his workmen in Oxyrhyncha to the Oxyrhynchite nome where they wish to go to worship (ιεραγῆραι). The god in question is undoubtedly Thoeris; see Pintaudi's note to line 2 on page 103.

⁴⁴*SB* VI 9215

⁴⁵*P.Zen.Pestm.* 12 and 13

⁴⁶*P.Köln* VII 314; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59236 and III 59361; *P.Ryl.* IV 575; *P.Princ.* inv. AM 87-55; *P.Gur.* 8.

monetary payments which are clearly or likely tax payments.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly these texts are also evidence of the close working relationship that develops between the *oikonomos* and the *basilikos grammateus*.

This relationship, attested as early as the documents cited in the note to the previous paragraph, is not foreseen by the bureaucratic organization in *P.Rev.* Outside of the prostagmata attached to the section on the *apomoira*, the *basilikos grammateus* is not mentioned. The *oikonomos* is cited 88 times in all the sections, but mostly in the tax farming arrangements involving the so-called oil monopoly. The *oikonomos* and his chief associate, the *antigraphus*, deal with financial management of the monopolies; they are the conduits through which payments go to and from the bank and the bankers. There is no role depicted here for the *basilikos grammateus*.

Nonetheless, as noted, the relationship between the two officials becomes almost as one and they appear together over and over again. It would be difficult to trace a diachronic development of this relationship given the random nature of the evidence. They are already working together in 254 B.C., and again in documents of 252 B.C., 249 B.C., 246 B.C.⁴⁸ In 235 B.C.⁴⁹ a registration (*ἀπογραφή*) of fruit trees is addressed to the agents of the *oikonomos* and the *basilikos grammateus*, and, while there are property documents which are addressed solely to the *basilikos grammateus* after this date,⁵⁰ by the last decade of the century, nearly all property documents are addressed to both. There are registrations (*ἀπογραφαί*), receipts for sales tax, and requests for lease of royal land.⁵¹

The culmination of this development can be seen in *UPZ I 112* of 204/3 B.C. This document stands as counterpart to *P.Rev.* setting forth regulations for letting the contracts for tax farming. Here the two officials jointly responsible for the management of the contracts and the system are the *oikonomos* and the *basilikos grammateus*. The contrast with the situation of nearly 60 years earlier is evident. The Egyptian *basilikos grammateus* has become the equal, if not the dominant partner, of the *oikonomos*, and on the shoulders of these basically rest the revenues of the Ptolemies. We will see further development in the later period when the *oikonomos* disappears and the *basilikos grammateus* assumes the functions of both offices.

⁴⁷*P.Hib.* I 108 and 153.

⁴⁸*P.Zen.Pestm.* 12 and 13; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59472; *P.Hib.* I 153.

⁴⁹*P.Ryl.* IV 575.

⁵⁰*P.Eleph.* 24; *P.Tebt.* III.1 705.

⁵¹*Απογραφαί*, *Chrest.Wilck.* 222, 224(b), 224(c); *P.Cair.Cat.* 10295 and 10307; tax receipt, *P.Lond.* VII 2189; requests for lease, *Bürgschafts.* 1-5.

As a concluding note, for the most part the basilikos grammateus appears in the texts of the third century only as a name with a function. We have no personal contact with him at all. The one exception is that Horos who served as basilikos grammateus in the Fayum at least between 222 and 215 B.C.⁵² and whom I have otherwise discussed below in Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos." In *P.Lille I 3* and 4 and *Chrest.Wilck. 300* we have more revealing documents. *P.Lille I 3* contains abstracts of correspondence sent by Horos to various persons, colleagues and including the dioiketes Theogenes. *P.Lille I 4* contains records or abstracts of incoming correspondence and *Chrest.Wilck. 300* is a letter from an untitled Horos who is very likely this same basilikos grammateus. This last is a letter inquiring whether oil is being sold above the prescribed prices. The same concern is reflected in one of the sections of *P.Lille I 3*. In both instances, any miscreant will be hauled off to Alexandria to the dioiketes for suitable punishment.

We cannot of course tell a great deal even from this evidence. We can, however, say that Horos' command of Greek is excellent. He appears as an efficient and confident administrator, particularly at ease in relationship to his superior, the dioiketes Theogenes. His correspondence and records have the same kind of authority and competence that characterize those of Zenon. Given his long tenure in office and his likely succession by his son Imouthes, we must see him as a powerful figure in the administration of the Fayum. All in all he is an impressive figure and another indication of how important the basilikos grammateus has become by the end of the third century.

⁵²As indicated above, p. 21, Horus may also be identified with the Harmais of the Lille demotic texts. These surety texts which cite the basilikos grammateus as part of the legal formality do not reveal anything of Horus' personality nor of the quality of his position.

ADDITIONAL NOTES
TO
THE BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS
IN THE THIRD CENTURY

I. Origins of the Office of Basilikos Grammateus

By examining the earliest papyri that have survived from the third century, we can see that before the middle of the century, the title of basilikos grammateus attached to the individual: Egyptians who were land surveyors and keepers of the records of these surveys, the extent and location of arable lands and the crops which grew on them. We can then, in a few texts, perhaps discern the evolution of role of the basilikos grammateus as a state functionary; finally we can see him, in the Greek texts certainly, as the official in the nome in charge of records which lay behind the control of land use and royal revenues.

There are first the cases which involve Apollonios the dioiketes. In *PSI V 502* of 257/6 B.C. Panakestor⁵³, Zenon's predecessor as manager of Apollonios' estate in the Fayum, writes to Zenon and sends him a copy of a letter he, Panakestor, has sent to Apollonios. Panakestor is seeking Zenon's favorable intercession with Apollonios to excuse or explain why he has been unable to get the crops planted. Apollonios has written to him in complaint and asking why he has not had the basilikoi grammateis

⁵³Panakestor's papers dealing with Apollonios' estate were preserved by Zenon. Panakestor deserves a study devoted to himself and his papers, particularly as they bear on the relations between Greeks and Egyptians. Here I am only interested in the mentions of the basilikoi grammateis. See Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* Madison 1922 (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 6) pages 73-9, T.C. Skeat ad *P.Lond.* VII 1954 and 1955 and P. Pestman in *P.Zen.Pestm.* the introduction and the commentaries to papyri 1-11.

measure the land. Panakestor writes that they have come after twelve days and the crop is planted. *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387 (undated but clearly of 258/7)⁵⁴ might well be Apollonios' original letter of complaint; in any case the preemptory letter concludes (lines 12-18):

ἀλλὰ γεγράφαμεν Ζω[ίλ]ωι πέμ[ψαι πρὸς σὲ τοὺς]
 [γ]εωμέτρας καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς [γραμματέας τοὺς]
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεωμετρήσαντας. ὅπως]
 γεωμετρήσῃτε σύμπασαν τὴν]
 καὶ κατὰσπείρον καὶ ὅπως πρὸς ἡμᾶ[ς]
 μηδὲ ἄσπορον μηδεμίαν.
 ἔρω[σο]

We have written to Zoilos to send to you the surveyors and the basilikoi grammateis who did the original surveying so that [] you may measure the whole [] and sow so that in regard to our [] and nothing be unplanted.

In these two cases, *PSI V 502* and *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387, the basilikoi grammateis are land surveyors, or perhaps keepers of the records of the land survey and are a class of officials, but do not hold an office. Similarly in *SB VI 9215* of 250 B.C. Apollonios writes to a certain Demetrios (This text concerns the Oxyrhynchite nome and is not connected to the Zenon archive.) to find wood to build ships for the king's navy. Demetrios is to take with him the basilikoi grammateis, certainly a group of functionaries, undoubtedly because they had records of where trees could be found.

In *P.Zen.Pestm.* A of 259 B.C. (= *P.Lille I 1*), the famous description and diagram of a ten thousand aroura estate in the Fayum which may well be Apollonios', the basilikoi grammateis are a group whose function is keeping a record of the dykes and canals on the estate. Likewise in *P.Rev.* in columns 33, 36 and 37, which date to 263 B.C., the function of the basilikoi grammateis is recording the vineyards for the purpose of imposing the apomoira. *P.Köln VII 314* of 257 B.C. also attests unnamed basilikoi grammateis who have measured and recorded vineyards for the assessment of the apomoira.

Clearly in these texts, the basilikoi grammateis are seen as a group whose function is to keep records of land and what is on the land. They do not have names and are always referred to in the plural. The writers of these texts, either Apollonios the dioiketes or another high official, do not, in

⁵⁴See the argument of Skeat, introduction to *P.Lond.* VII 1954. The same reasoning applies for *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387.

fact, know of an office of the basilikos grammateus nor of a fixed geography for them. Even *P.Rev.* which makes mention of the basilikoi grammateis in the nomes does not mean a single basilikos grammateus assigned to each nome. They are all early in date; *SB VI 9125* of 250 B.C. is the latest of the dated texts.

Another group of texts recognizes the basilikos grammateus as an official but does not give him a name. These texts of the mid third century seem to have some difficulty in naming an official who is an Egyptian. The most telling of these is *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59607* which is undated:

[ἐγράφη μ]ὲγ γὰρ παρὰ
 [τοῦ βασι]λικοῦ γραμμα-
 [τέως πρὸ]ς Λέοντα καὶ
 [παρὰ Λ]έοντος πρὸς Νικόβιον
 [καὶ παρὰ Νι]κοβίου πρὸς Ἀρίσταν-
 [δρον] lines 9-14

It was written from the basilikos grammateus to Leon and from Leon to Nikobios and from Nikobios to Aristander.

Here all the Greeks are cited by name, the Egyptian basilikos grammateus only by office. In *P.Cair.Zen. I 59132*, a certain Mys reports to Zenon that a klerouch is disputing with the basilikos grammateus over the standard used to measure his allotment. The basilikos grammateus here seems to be an official and one with some authority but for Mys he does not have a name. In *P.Col. IV 90*, a Greek official admits to responsibility for some missing agricultural implements; the basilikos grammateus and the komogrammateus assess the extent of loss, undoubtedly from their records. These are clearly officials but they are not named.⁵⁵ This text is dated to the second year of Euergetes, 243/42, and is probably somewhat later than the others, *P.Cair.Zen. I 59132* and *IV 59607*, and also somewhat later than other texts where the basilikos grammateus is actually named. Nonetheless the three reflect the same situation, the basilikos grammateus is an official in an official position; he, however, is an Egyptian and has not in the eyes of the writers acquired a personality.

The first named basilikos grammateus is Petosiris of *P.Cair.Zen. II 59236* of 254 B.C. Petosiris is acting with a certain Theokles, τοῦ οἰκονομήσαντος τὸν Ἀφροδιτοπολίτην νομόν. From this time on except in the cases mentioned above and in *entolai* the basilikos

⁵⁵The komogrammateus may be Anosis, who was for a long period komogrammateus of Philadelphia.

grammateus has a name and an office. We would naturally expect some crossover between cases where the Egyptian official is supplied with a name and where the Greeks had not yet accustomed themselves to the existence of this office.

Some consideration of the title "scribe of Pharaoh" (*sh n Pr-ꜣ*) may also help to clarify the development of the office of basilikos grammateus. Here I can best quote the remarks of Pieter Pestman in note i on page 10 of *P.Batav.* 1:

Le titre *sh, γραμματεύς*, ne signifie dans l'administration égyptienne souvent rien de plus que «fonctionnaire de l'administration»; et celui de *sh n Pr-ꜣ, βασιλικός γραμματεύς*, «fonctionnaire de l'administration royale»; ces titres ne nous fournissent, en principe, aucune indication quant à la place qu'occupait le fonctionnaire en question dans la hiérarchie administrative.

Pestman is speaking of the demotic evidence in particular although he cites some of the Greek texts mentioned above where the basilikos grammateus is not named and where I have argued that he is not yet an official with an office within the Ptolemaic system, e.g. *PSI* V 502, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387 and *P.Zen.Pestm.* A. Certainly in some of the demotic evidence of later Ptolemaic date the role of the basilikos grammateus seems to be similar to that found in these early Greek texts. The question then is what is the role of the basilikos grammateus, or scribe of Pharaoh, in the pre-Ptolemaic period. We have no evidence at this point⁵⁶ although it is fair to conjecture that they functioned as in some of the Ptolemaic demotic documents and in the early Greek texts; as Pestman says of their role later in the same note cited above, "s'agit de mesurer les champs, de déterminer le volume de la récolte, de constater l'importance de dégâts aux digues, etc."

It is certainly possible to see a pattern in the evidence cited here. Pestman's description of the use of "scribe" and "scribe of Pharaoh" probably well describes the situation before the conquest of Alexander and the rule of the Ptolemies. It is this situation we find in the early Greek texts and in the demotic material to a certain extent. The fact that the "scribes" were literate and skilled in surveying made them valuable to the Greeks involved in the Ptolemaic administration. Around 250 B.C. their value as intermediaries between the Greeks and Egyptians must have

⁵⁶The discussion by Jean Yoyotte, "Le Nom égyptien du «Ministre de l'Économie» - de Saïs à Méroé" *CRAI* 1989, pages 73-88, shows how a new office, that of the dioiketes, was handled in the Egyptian language by transliteration and by translation by assimilation. It is not quite the same process as that in which an Egyptian functionary is absorbed into the Ptolemaic system.

become apparent. At least the numbers of the class of "scribes" who had also become literate in Greek as well as in Egyptian were invaluable for keeping the records so necessary for the Ptolemies to realize the maximum benefits from the Egyptian chora. Thus an Egyptian from the class of scribes became the basilikos grammateus, the *sh n Pr-ꜥ*, in each nome.⁵⁷ Their widening functions and importance is detailed in the descriptions of their functions below in this work.

II. Axapes⁵⁸

A certain Axapes appears in two Zenon texts. *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59590 is a request from one Diokles to Zenon asking him to write to Themistokles and to Petosiris, basilikos grammateus, to ask them to write, on behalf of Paris from the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Axapes who is currently carrying out religious observances in Kaine (ιεραγῶν ἐν τῇ Καινῇ). *P.Mich.* I 82 is a draft or copy of a letter Zenon has sent to Themistokles in which Zenon introduces Paris and says that Diokles claims (Διοκλῆς φάσκει) that Axapes, a basilikos grammateus, has enrolled Paris in the machimoi. The text breaks off with the words οὐ ὄντα προτέρων; presumably Paris had not previously served in the machimoi. For convenience I give here the texts of these two documents.

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59590

Διοκλῆς Ζήνωνι χαίρειν.
 Πᾶρις ὁ ἀποδιδ[οῦς] σοι
 τὸ ἐπιστόλιον [.....]λοχου
 ἀνακεχώρηκε[ν ἐκ] τοῦ
 5 δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκ \καί[.]../[..]...

 [.....ἀπ]οστέλλειν.
 εὔ οὔμ ποιήσεις γράψας
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ Πετοσίρι

⁵⁷In *P.Zen.Pestm.* 13 of 252 B.C., one of the earliest texts where the basilikos grammateus has a name, Horos is identified as the basilikos grammateus of the Memphite. The geographical notation does not occur elsewhere and perhaps reflects the novelty of the office itself.

⁵⁸The analysis in this Add.Note is drawn in part from my article in *Cong.XX*, "Axapes, a Basilikos Grammateus and the Machimoi," pp. 588-92.

τῶι βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ
 10 γράψαι Ἀξάππῃ ἕως
 ἐπιδημεῖ [.....]
 \αὐτοῦ/ [ἐν τῆ[ι Κα]ινῆι] τυγχάνει
 γὰρ ἱεραγῶν ἐν τῆι
 Καινῆι. ἀναγκαῖον
 15 []καί...[]

Diokles to Zenon Greeting. Paris the one giving you this note... has come away (or "run away") from...

Please write to Themistokles and to Petosiris the basilikos grammateus to write to Axapes... while he happens to be in Kaine conducting religious observances.

P.Mich. I 82

Θεμιστοκλεῖ. Διοκλῆς τις τῶν
 ἐξ Ἀρσινόης κληρούχων ὦν
 ἡμῖν ἐν συνθείαι ἐπὶ πλεῖον
 σπεύδει \δὲ/ περὶ Αἰγυπτίου τινὸς
 5 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου
 ὦι ὄνομα Πᾶρις, ὃν φάσκει ἐπι-
 λελοχέναι Ἀξάππην τὸν βασι-
 λικὸν γραμματέα εἰς τοὺς
 10 μαχίμ[ου]ς οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον
 [.....]

To Themistokles. A certain Diokles, a klerouch from Arsinoe and one of our best friends, is concerned about a certain Egyptian from the Oxyrhynchite, Paris by name, whom, he says, Axapes the basilikos grammateus has enrolled in the machimoi although he had not formerly....

Obviously both papyri are in fragmentary condition and neither contains a complete text; as a result it is necessary to attempt any reconstruction of the situation from the information in the two texts together. For instance, Diokles' letter does not mention machimoi in what is preserved of the text nor does it call Axapes a basilikos grammateus. Diokles asks for letters to two officials, but we have only the one draft to Themistokles. Did Zenon write to Petosiris also? Why does Zenon call Axapes a basilikos grammateus? Finally, what does Zenon ask

Themistokles to do? In this last case, the answer, so far as the papyrus is preserved, is that, in typical bureaucratic fashion, he asks for no specific action on Themistokles' part.

First of all, we must look at the position of Axapes. An Axapes appears in one other papyrus, *P.Rain.Cent.* 43 of 237 B.C. An Axates who, given the rarity of these two names (each is an hapax legomenon), may be the same person who appears in two further documents. These in addition to the two texts given above are as follows:

P.Cair.Zen. III 59308 Sept./Oct. 250

Zenon writes to Axates ordering him to arrange payments to the priests of Thoeris in Philadelphia from the temple of Thoeris. The shrine is most likely the one in Oxyrhyncha in the Fayum and not the main temple in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The text is dated by mention of year 36 Mesore, Sept/Oct. 250. The address is a problem: that Zenon is the writer of the letter is not clear but it does seem likely. Axates is not clearly identified. I doubt Zenon would address a basilikos grammateus in the peremptory tones used here.

P.Rain.Cent. 43 1 Jan 236

Axapes writes to Horos that he has placed 2500 artabs of wheat on a ship. The text is dated 1 Jan. 236 and is firmly located in the Oxyrhynchite. No titles are given for Axapes or Horos. In later grain documents the basilikos grammateus is involved, as are the oikonomos and the sitologos and their agents.

P.Hamb. II 181 not dated

The totality of this text is:

Ἀξάτης Νικάνορι
[χαίρειν. καλῶ]c

Axates to Nikanor, greeting

There are a number of problems here. If these all refer to the same person we must deal with the range in date from the 250 B.C. of *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59308 and that of 236 B.C. in *P.Rain.Cent.* 43, as well as with the different spellings of the name which are not easily explicable except palaeographically. Edgar on the basis of 59308 thought that Axapes was the basilikos grammateus of the Oxyrhynchite. I doubt if this is confirmed by *P.Rain.Cent.* 43; they are simply too far apart in time. Edgar also thought the concern with Thoeris was evidence of a connection with the Oxyrhynchite. But the recent publication of *P.Vat.gr.* 65 by Pintaudi in *Tyche* 5 (1990) 101-4 shows that Thoeris was also worshipped in Oxyrhyncha of the Fayum. It equally shows the close connection between

Oxyrhyncha, the town in the Fayum, and the Oxyrhynchite nome, for the text is a request from an overseer to accompany his men from Oxyrhyncha to the Oxyrhynchite nome where they wish to go to worship (ἱεραγῆσαι). The god is undoubtedly Thoeris. Nonetheless, whatever connections we posit among these additional texts, they do not add to our understanding of *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59590 and *P.Mich.* I 82.

Turning to these two texts, we might consider first the bureaucratic and personal relationships among the parties and second the situation of poor Paris. Diokles writes to Zenon introducing Paris and explaining that he, Paris, has been enrolled in the machimoi by a certain Axapes, a basilikos grammateus.⁵⁹ Diokles asks Zenon to write to Themistokles and to Petosiris, also a basilikos grammateus. Diokles does not ask Zenon for any more specific action than to write the letters. Zenon, in turn, writes to Themistokles introducing Paris and explaining the situation. It is not clear what action if any Zenon requests of Themistokles. He does make very clear that Diokles is a very good friend (the significance of which cannot now be known by us) and he does explain Paris' situation. We do not have any copy or draft of a letter to Petosiris the basilikos grammateus and thus do not know if Zenon wrote also to him.

The tone of these communications is friendly and implies that this is correspondence among equals. Certainly Zenon indicates that Themistokles will be doing him and Diokles a favor by looking into the matter of Paris. Diokles is clearly worth pleasing. All of this is as expected and well within the framework of the way the small Greek ruling class did its business. There is no line drawn here between official and personal concerns. The matter is otherwise in dealing with the basilikoi grammateis. They are Egyptians and employed in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy precisely for their bilingual ability to mediate between rulers and ruled.

The chief historical problem that these texts present is the relationship between a basilikos grammateus⁶⁰ and the machimoi. Paris has come from the Oxyrhynchite nome to the Fayum. The verb ἀναχωρέω can mean simply "come" or it can be a technical term for defection. He claims that he has never been enrolled in the machimoi. He clearly does not think he is fleeing any legal obligations and apparently Diokles believes him. Diokles' interest is enough for Zenon. As a stray Egyptian away from his ἰδίαι, his place of official residence and registration, he was easy prey for Axapes.

⁵⁹Again, in the extant portion of his letter, Diokles does not give Axapes the title of basilikos grammateus; Zenon, however, does in his letter to Themistokles. I am, of course, using both texts to reconstruct the situation.

⁶⁰I am aware that Zenon's designation of Axapes as basilikos grammateus may be an error; but we will see that other evidence supports the probability that he was and it would be unlike Zenon to make such a slip.

What were the machimoi? Herodotus in book two of his *Histories* tells of an Egyptian caste of soldiers and calls them machimoi. The term is not used otherwise and does not fit the evidence of the papyri. The best known papyrus text of the mid third century B.C. which mentions them is *P.Yale* I 33 of 5 April 253. The latest discussion of the machimoi is by the editors of this text, but they did not take into consideration *P.Mich.* I 82. In the Yale text the machimoi are under the control of a toparch, Harimouthes, and are to be transported under the command of one Bithelminis. They are coupled with theristai and are clearly part of a work force under constraint. In *P.Zen.Pestm.* 49 of 244 B.C. Eukles, the successor to Zenon, writes a series of orders to his subordinate Apollonios and among other tasks mentions those of the machimoi with Lykophron (τῶν παρὰ Λυκόφρονος μαχιμῶν). These men are not soldiers;⁶¹ the context is private or at least civilian. In *P.Tebt.* III 703 runaway sailors and machimoi are mentioned as a concern of the addressee of this document. This long text is generally dated to the late third century; the detailed instructions from an official to a subordinate concern entirely the civil administration and not military matters.

Polybius tells us that Philopator was the first of the Ptolemies to enroll native Egyptians in his forces and that they fought at Raphia in 217 B.C. He does not, however, call them machimoi. The machimoi of the Menches archive with their seven aroura allotments clearly do have some connection to the military or the police, but these texts are more than 100 years later than the Zenon documents and are to be seen in an entirely different context. It seems most likely then on the slender evidence we have, that "machimoi" is an expression used to designate native Egyptians who were impressed into work gangs and this impressment is what Paris is trying to avoid at the hands of Axapes.⁶²

Besides this case of Paris there are other instances where a basilikos grammateus is mentioned in the case of impressed workers. In *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59472 (undated) Nektosiris, a rope manufacturer, writes to Zenon and asks him to write to Hermalaos and Petosiris the basilikos grammateus in the Aphroditopolite nome (Ἐρμάλαος καὶ Πετοσίρις βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς τῶι ἐν Ἀφροδίτης πόλι to send back his workers to him. They have evidently run out from Philadelphia across the

⁶¹A Lykophron is a commander in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59001 thirty years earlier. If this is the same man, he is not here functioning as a military officer and is part of Eukles' entourage. See *P.Col.* IV 88 of 243 B.C.

⁶²There are also two instances of archimachimoi (ἀρχιμάχιμοι) mentioned in papyri of the third century. *SB* XVI 12375 is an account of expenses, agricultural in nature, among which are payments to the archmachimos. *SB* XVI 12468 is a rather amusing petition to an official whose name and title are lost. The petitioner's donkey load of fodder has been "appropriated" by a policeman and he seeks relief from an archimachimos named Anchophis. Both texts have an agricultural context and in the second there is certainly a kind of police power that probably prefigures the status of the archimachimos in the papyri of the late second century.

Nile to Aphroditopolis. In *SB VI* 9215 of 250 B.C. Apollonios the dioiketes orders some officials in the Oxyrhynchite nome to provide wood for the royal fleet. They are to take the basilikoi grammateis and work crews (which may include prisoners) with them. The role of the basilikoi grammateis here may well be to supervise an Egyptian work force.⁶³ It may be that control of the Egyptian population involved keeping records of them and that this registration, too, fell to the basilikos grammateus. His bilingual ability and knowledge of the local population may have made him the logical candidate for this task.

We can thus describe the situation presented in *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59590 and *P.Mich.* I 82 in the following narrative. Paris, an Egyptian, left in whatever circumstances the Oxyrhynchite nome and came to the Arsinoite. As an unattached Egyptian, he was enrolled by Axapes, a basilikos grammateus, among Egyptians conscripted for labor of a rather menial sort, i.e., into the group called the machimoi. Paris sought protection from an influential Greek settler in the Fayum, one Diokles. Diokles in turn wrote to Zenon and asked him to write to Themistokles and Petosiris, the latter also called a basilikos grammateus.⁶⁴ Obviously Diokles feels that Zenon has influence with the Egyptian sector of the bureaucracy. Zenon in turn then writes to Themistokles about Paris' situation. All of this action takes place within the Fayum; there is no reason to introduce an Oxyrhynchite venue. Whether Petosiris and Axapes are basilikoi grammateis operating in the Arsinoite nome must remain undecided for the present, but resolution of the situation does not change the circumstances we have been examining. We have, then, been offered a glimpse into the working relationships among the Greek ruling class in Ptolemaic Egypt – something of the way in which the Greeks in turn dealt with the native Egyptian and some insight into Zenon's role in mediating between the groups, an obvious feature of his success, personal and official, during his residence at Philadelphia.

III. The *P.dem.Lille* Sureties

Among the demotic papyri of Lille, mostly now housed at the Sorbonne, are a group of surety contracts or pledges where one person

⁶³In *P.Vat.Gr.* 65 (*Tyche* 5 [1990] page 102) we find a Greek supervisor wishing to accompany his farmers (γεωργοί) to the Oxyrhynchite from the Fayum in order to insure that they return to complete the harvest. An analogous if not strictly parallel situation.

⁶⁴Themistokles is undoubtedly an Egyptian also. His name is similar to Paris, another name a Greek would be unlikely to use.

stands surety for another against his appearance or against his payment of a sum of money. In all cases the sureties are given to the oikonomos of the Themistos meris of the Arsinoite and to the basilikos grammateus or to the topogrammateus. These texts were recovered from cartonnage found in excavations at Ghoran, Magdola and Illahun conducted in 1901 and 1902 by Pierre Jouguet.⁶⁵ All date from the last quarter of the third century B.C.

There are both demotic and Greek texts which have been recovered from this cache, but the demotic texts have, to this point, proved to be the most interesting.⁶⁶ They are the only substantial set of Ptolemaic documentary and administrative texts in the Egyptian language which have yet been published. There are three volumes to date and a number of *disiecta membra*.⁶⁷ The editions of these texts have been full and very helpful, particularly to the non-demotist, but a great deal can still be done to integrate the texts into the history of Ptolemaic rule. In the case of the sureties, there remain to be published a substantial number of the Greek texts associated with them, some of which are the Greek versions of the demotic texts which have been published in the Lille series. There has not been the necessary cooperation between Hellenists and demotists in regard to this material.⁶⁸ Nonetheless the texts can provide some information on the interface between the Greek and Egyptian elements in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy and particularly on the situation in the third century B.C.

The sureties in the list given here are addressed by the guarantor to two officials, the oikonomos⁶⁹ and the basilikos grammateus (or in some of the cases involving Petchonsis son of Imouthes, the topogrammateus). The oikonomoi involved are one Apollonios who served in the office from 229 until at least August of 224 and another Greek, Aristokritos, who served from March of 223 until March of 222 or, of course, longer. By April of 216 another oikonomos is in place.⁷⁰ Both oikonomoi are Greek, or at least have good Greek names. The basilikoi grammateis, as we would

⁶⁵See *P.dem.Lille* III, introduction p. v and footnote 3.

⁶⁶Of the documentary texts; this cartonnage is also the source of the Lille Stesichorus and the commentary on the *Aitia* of Callimachus. For some general remarks on the material from this body of cartonnage, see E.G. Turner, "Ptolemaic Bookhands and the Lille Stesichorus," *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) 19-40.

⁶⁷See the entry for *P.dem.Lille* at pp. vii-viii in "Abbreviations."

⁶⁸See W. Clarysse, "Notes on Some Graeco-demotic Surety Contracts," *Enchoria* 8, part 2 (1978) 5-8. Clarysse provides some corrections to those Greek texts which were published in *P.Sorb.* and, for our purposes here, substantial revision of some dating of the surety contracts.

⁶⁹For the oikonomos, see the table in *P.dem.Lille* II pp. 208-9. Correct the first six dates for Apollonios to 224 B.C. See Clarysse, *op.cit.* note 4.

⁷⁰*P.dem.Lille* II 74 (224 B.C.)

expect, all have Egyptian names. The problems and anomalies in the list are discussed below.

The oikonomos in all these texts is identified as that of the Themistos meris; the basilikos grammateus is never identified by attachment to locality. The logical assumption might be that the basilikos grammateus is also that of the Themistos meris, but I do think that this is not necessarily so and it is at least not expressly so. The texts do, as far as can be ascertained, come from a group of villages in the northwest corner of the Fayum, from Euhemeria and those nearby, Apia and Philagris notably. There is no reason to think that the two government officials were actually present at any of these transactions; the texts are formulaic in character and seem to have been written in great numbers for routine transactions. The witnesses or signatories are never the officials involved. The texts were clearly forwarded to and kept preserved in government archives until they found use as mummy cartonnage.⁷¹

What precisely were the roles of the two officials is not entirely clear. Both are concerned with the government's revenue, the oikonomos with revenue and the basilikos grammateus with registration of people and property. Exactly how these concerns fit into the situation in these texts remains uncertain as does the reason for these sureties. Presumably the persons being insured had some connection with tax revenue, but no reasons are explicitly stated. In other texts we do find that the basilikos grammateus and the oikonomos frequently work together and in most cases there does not seem to be a clear distinction between their respective duties. The more important point seems to be that one is Greek and the other Egyptian.⁷²

⁷¹The cemeteries are located in the south of the Fayum in the Polemon meris.

⁷²Among the texts where the basilikos grammateus and the oikonomos are mentioned together in the third century B.C. are the following: *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59236, *P.Ryl.* IV 575, *P.Lille* I 3.51, 4.29, *P.Lond.* VII 2189, *Chrest.Wilck.* 220, 224b, 224c and *P.Cair.Cat.* 10295 and 10307 (see *Archiv* 2, p. 84), *Bürgsch.* 1-5, and *UPZ* I 112. See also above, pp. 34-35.

List of The Basilikos Grammateus in *P.dem.Lille*

The papyri give the dates by month and year or in the form year x which is year y. I have given the Julian dates and the stated regnal years. S. equals "son of". Bg stands for basilikos grammateus and tg for topogrammateus. The last column is the number of *P.dem.Lille*. Inv. 1238 is the Sorbonne inventory number, it is cited and its evidence given in *P.dem.Lille* II, page 255. I have entered names according the forms of the *Pros.Ptol.* as in the lists above; I have entered the editor's form and demotic transcription for the first entry of the individuals listed. The notes that follow are keyed to the *P.Lille* numbers.

Place names are those given for the locale of the individual who is being guaranteed; occasionally the guarantor is also identified by his locale which never differs from that of the one being guaranteed. There are numerous difficulties with the place names and with one exception, the relationship of Petechonsis to Apias, they do not provide significant information. To assess all the information presented concerning the place names, one must consult the transcription and the translation of each text, the philological commentary on pages 121-133, the index of toponyms and the catalogue on pages 247-262. The place names given in the list represent a synthesis of this information. In any case they are not indications of where the document was drawn up.

Month	Year, Regnal Year	Name, son of and PP No.	Office	Place	Lille No.
July/Aug	230 (18)	ḥḥ-ḥw.t-ntr (na)	bg	Apollonias	41
Feb/Mar	226 (21/2)	Pn-ḥn-ḥr (457a)	bg	Apias	54
Feb/Mar	226 (21/2)	Imouthes s. Panouris (448a)	bg	Philagris	35
		Imhotep s. Penouret 'lj-m-ḥtp sḥ Pn-wr.t			
Feb/Mar	226 (21/2)	Imouthes s. Panouris	bg	Themistos	42
Feb/Mar	226 (21/2)	Imouthes s. Panouris	bg	Themistos	53
Feb/Mar	226 (21/2)	Imouthes s. Panouris	bg	Philagris	69
Feb/Mar	226 (21/2)	Imouthes s. Panouris	bg	Philagris	72
.....	[226]	Imouthes s. Panouris	[bg]		80
July/Aug	226 (22/3)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes (463b)	bg	Philoteris	64
		Padikhonsou s. Imhotep Pḥ-dj-ḥnsw sḥ 'lj-m-ḥtp			
Feb/Mar	225 (22)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	bg	Philoteris	95

Month	Year, Regnal Year	Name, son of and PP No.	Office	Place	Lille No.
Feb/Mar	225 (22/3)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	bg	Arsinoe	96
Mar/Apr	224 (24)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	bg	Philagris	71
Mar/Apr	224 (24)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	bg	Philagris	49
.....	.....	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	bg	<i>P3-stjr3(?)</i> - <i>n-Pn-j3.t(?)</i>	93
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	Apias	34
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	Apias	36
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	Apias	37
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	Apias	38
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	Apias	55
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	Apias	inv. 1238
Mar/Apr	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	<i>P3-stjr3-</i> <i>n-Pn-j3.t(?)</i>	58
May/June	224 (23/4)	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg	<i>P3-^c-Brjnws</i>	66
.....	.....	Petechonsis s. Imouthes	tg		46
Aug/Sep	224 (24)	Harmais	bg	Philagris	90
Mar/Apr	223 (24/5)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis (427) Horemheb s. Harnbankh <i>Hr-m-hb s3 Hr-nb-^cnh</i>	bg	?	50
Mar/Apr	223 (24/5)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg	?	51
Feb/Mar	222 (25/6)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg	<i>Twmj[]</i>	9
.....	.....	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg		10
Feb/Mar	222 (25/6)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg		11
Feb/Mar	222 (25/6)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg	?	75
Feb/Mar	222 (25/6)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg	Philoteris	76
Feb/Mar	222 (25/6)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	[bg]		85
Apr/May	216 (6/7)	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	see note	Philagris	94
.....	220ca	Harmais s. Harnbonchis	bg		91
.....	.....	Harnbonchis	bg	Apollonias	68

Notes to the list

P.dem.Lille 6 and 91: Harmais is basilikos grammateus; the date is lost, but the texts must belong between 223 and 216.

P.dem.Lille 9-11: These three texts were published as one composite text in *P.dem.Lille* I. No. 9 was republished in *P.dem.Lille* II. The three texts are similar. No. 11 contains the name of Harmais as basilikos grammateus. No. 10 is apparently not so well preserved, but it is likely that Harmais should be restored here also.

P.dem.Lille 46: Petechonsis s. Imouthes is topogrammateus, but date and place are lost.

P.dem.Lille 61: Addressed to a topogrammateus; may be dated to 224 since it has the same scribe as 59 which is dated to that year.

P.dem.Lille 62: Dated to 224 (24) in Greek on verso. Pete[chonsis son of Imouthes], topogrammateus, is also found on the Greek verso, as is Euhemeria as the place.

P.dem.Lille 63: Addressed to a topogrammateus in Mar/Apr 225; his name and that of the village are lost.

P.dem.Lille 68: Harnebonchis is the basilikos grammateus; The date and the name of the village have been lost. Possibly the name is an error for Harmais son of Harnebonchis?

P.dem.Lille 74: The demotic name may represent Artemtous for Artemidoros. He is unlikely to be the Artemidoros attested as oikonomos in 203 B.C. What to make of his anomalous presence in Aristokritos' tenure remains unclear.

P.dem.Lille 80: Imouthes s. Panouris is basilikos grammmateus; the date and place are lost, but 226 is most likely.

P.dem.Lille 90: Undoubtedly this Harmais is the son of Harnebonchis, but his father's name has been omitted.

P.dem.Lille 93: Petechonsis son of Imouthes is basilikos grammateus; the village may be Sethrempais as in *P.dem.Lille* 58. The date is lost.

P.dem.Lille 94: The official title given is basilikos grammateus of the topoi.

P.dem.Lille 95: Redated to year 22 by Clarysse, *Enchoria* 8, part 2 (1978) 5-8.

P.dem.Lille 96: See Clarysse (note 4) for reading Petechonsis' name in this text. The village name, Arsinoe, comes from the Greek abstract on the verso.

Observations

The presentation of these lists based on the original publication in *P.dem.Lille* II and the corrections of W. Clarysse in *Enchoria* 8 part 2, pages 5-8, show clearly that in the period from February/March of 224 until April/May of 216 there are three basilikoi grammateis attested. Their tenure is successive. Imouthes son of Panouris is attested in February/March of 226. Petechonsis son of Imouthes appears in July/August of that same year. It is possible, indeed likely, that Imouthes' tenure extends back in time. The reading in *P.dem.Lille* II 54 is rather uncertain and perhaps further work will clarify the situation.

Petechonsis is last securely attested in May/June 224 and Harmais is in office by August/September of that Julian year. He is attested in March/April of 223 and in February/March of 222. He then occurs six year later in *P.dem.Lille* II 94. If we can identify Harmais with the Horos attested throughout this period in the Greek documentation, we find no surprise that he is still in office in 216. See my discussion at pages 21-22 and Add.Note V, "Imouthes and Horos."

There is an apparent anomaly in the titles given to Petechonis. He is called scribe of Pharaoh, i.e. basilikos grammateus (*sh pr- ʿ3*), and in other texts, scribe of the place, i.e. topogrammateus (*sh mʿ3*). The titles are chronologically divided; from July/August 226 until March/April 224 our documents uniformly use the title basilikos grammateus. Then in March/April 224 there are six documents from the village of Apias which use the designation topogrammateus. There are two other documents, one dated to May/June of 224 and one whose date has been lost, which use this title of topogrammateus. In all cases with both titles, Petechonsis performs the same function. There is no ready explanation for the titulature, but it does not seem likely that different titles are significant

IV. ENTOLAI

There are a number of orders addressed by the king or an official to a series of officials, which might be called "circulars" and which seem to have been termed ἐντολαί. They all appear to have a certain rationale, grouping officials by function and by rank within function. They provide some indication of the hierarchy of the bureaucracy in Ptolemaic Egypt, but they are few in number and come from documents with widely different purposes. I have listed and discussed here all those of the entire Ptolemaic period, which do mention the basilikos grammateus. The most recent discussion of the nature of these texts is that of J. Bingen in his

edition of *P.Rain.Cent.* 45 and 46. See also R. Bagnall's discussion of *P.Hib.* II 198 in *BASP VI* (1969) 83-5 and Wilcken's at *UPZ I* 106 with citation of earlier literature. I have attempted no further analysis of these texts in regard to the basilikos grammateus. They are too few, too widely separated in time, and each written for a specific purpose; they cannot by themselves support any conclusions other than to illustrate the continued presence of the basilikos grammateus in the Ptolemaic administration over this span of time.

1. *P.Rev.* col. 37 263 B.C.

[Βασιλε]ύς Πτολεμαῖος [τοῖς στ]ρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰππάρχαις]
[κα]ὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς νομάρχαις καὶ τοῖς το[πάρχαις καὶ το]ῖς
[οἰκ]ονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀντιγραφεῦσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλ[ικοῖς γραμμα]τεῦσι
[κα]ὶ τοῖς λιβυάρχαις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυλακίταις πᾶσι χαίρειν.

Three titles are military or civil/military, two are local and civil, two financial, the basilikoi grammateis, and two police categories. This text may represent the standard functionaries and the hierarchy of the higher level of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy in the Chora in 263 B.C.

2. *P.Hib.* II 198. ii.28-9. ca 250 B.C.

[βασιλε]ύς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς νομάρ[χαις κα]ὶ τοῖς τοπάρχαις]
[καὶ τοῖς κω]μάρχαις κ[α]ὶ βασιλικοῖς γραμμα[τεῦσι]

Here we are clearly dealing with nome officials in the nomes and the list probably reflects those in charge of their several offices in each nome in the middle of the third century.

3. *P.Petr.* II 42(a).1-4. ca 250 B.C.

[Κλέ]ανδρος οἰκο[νό]μοις νομάρχ[αις]
βασιλικοῖς γραμματεῦσι φυλα-
κί[ται]ς μυριαρούροις κωμάρχ[αις]
κωμογραμματεῦσι χαίρειν.

This list appears local although the plurals suggest it was addressed to more than one nome. The entole announces the appointment of one Theodorus as sub-architect under Kleon. Note that the strategos is not mentioned and the list is headed by the oikonomos; Kleandros may well be the strategos. One would guess that this list was made up for the occasion and does not represent some chancery format.

4. *P.Rain.Cent.* 46.1-7. ca 200 B.C.

τοῖς κα[τὰ κώμην ἐπιστάταις]

[]τόπων καὶ φρουράρχαις
[καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυλακίταις καὶ φυλακίταις καὶ
[τῶι]ι τραπεζίτη καὶ τοῖς σιτολόγοις
[καὶ τοπάρχαις καὶ γραμματεῦσι τῶν γεωργῶν
[καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑποτελέσι χαίρειν.

The *oikonomos* and the *basilikos grammateus* are missing from the addressees. J. Bingen, the editor, thinks that the sender was the *strategos*. I agree, based on the phrase τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκονόμου in line 13. The text concerns affairs regarding the bank and banker, apparently involving some surety matters, thus affairs in the area of responsibility of the *oikonomos* and the *basilikos grammateus*. They would have the *strategos* send the circular but would not be named since they were the parties actually carrying out the matter and the others were being asked for cooperation, a standard request in *entolai*. For the date, see *P.Hels.* I page 17. This text comes from the same mummy cartonnage as *P.Hels.* I 1-3, which are dated to the reign of Eriphanes.

5. *P.Tebt.*, III 708. 2-6.

ca 200

τοῖς νομάρχαις καὶ τοῖς οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς
βασιλικοῖς γραμματεῦσιν τ(ο)ῦ Ἀφροδιτο-
πολίτου καὶ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου καὶ Ὀξ(υ)-
ρυγχίτου καὶ Κυννοπολίτου καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυλακίταις
καὶ φυλακίταις).

There is room in line 1 to restore τοῖς στρατηγοῖς and this seems likely. The text seems to concern the collection of tax arrears.

The following four texts come from later in the Ptolemaic period. The most noteworthy feature is the precedence of the police officials. In all three cases they are mentioned first.

6. *P.Rain.Cent.* 45.1-10.

ca 190 B.C.

Ἀθηνόδωρος
τοῖς φρουράρχοις
οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γραμματεῦσι καὶ τοῖς
ἐπιστάταις
καὶ τοῖς σιτολόγοις καὶ τοῖς νομάρχαις καὶ τοῖς
τοπάρχαις καὶ τοῖς κωμάρχαις καὶ τοῖς τοπογραμ-
ματεῦσι καὶ τοῖς κωμογραμματεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τῇι
ὀθονηραῖ καθεστηκόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ βασιλικά]

πραγματε[υομένοις καὶ
λοιποῖς πᾶ[σι

I have emended the restorations of the editio princeps to place the basilikoi grammateis in line 3 after the oikonomoi and have entered the topogrammateis in line 6. For the date, different from that of the editio princeps, see *P.Köln* V 221 and the discussion on pp. 165-166.

If the strategoi were mentioned in line 1, then we might see the progression: military/civil, then financial (oikonomoi, basilikoi grammateis, sitologoi), then nome officials followed by reference to all on the king's business. The list appears to be comprehensive, but the text breaks off before the lines giving the purpose.

7. *P.Tebt.* I 6

140/39 B.C.

[Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασιλι]σα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ
βασιλι]σσα

[Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνὴ τοῖς στρατη]γοῖς καὶ τοῖς φρουράρχαις καὶ τοῖς
[ἐπιστάταις τῶν φυλακίτων κ]αὶ ἀρχιφυλακίταις καὶ ἐπιμεληταῖς
[καὶ οἰκονόμοις καὶ βασιλικοῖς γ]ραμματεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς
[τὰ βασιλικά πραγματευμένοις] χαιρῖν.

8. *P.Grenf.* II 37. 1-5

ca 100 B.C.

Ἐρμίας τῶι ἐπιστάτῃ Παθύρεως καὶ ἀρχιφυλακίτῃ
καὶ φυλακίτῃ καὶ βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ καὶ τοπογραμματεῖ
καὶ κωμογραμματεῖ καὶ σιτολόγῳ καὶ τραπεζίτῃ καὶ τοῖς
πρεσβυτέροις τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ βασιλικά
πραγματευομένοις χαιρῖν.

9. *UPZ* I 106

99 B.C.

[Β]ασιλεὺς [Π]τολεμαῖος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀλέξα[ν]δρος καὶ
βασ[ι]λι]σσα Βερεν[ι]κ[η]

[ἡ] ἀδελφὴ τῶι στρατη[γ]ῶι τοῦ Μεμφίτου κ[αὶ] τῶι φρουράρχῳ [καὶ
τῶι ἐπι]στ[ά]τῃ

[τ]ῶν φυλα[κιτ]ῶν καὶ ἀρχιφυλακίτῃ καὶ τῶι ἐπὶ [τ]ῶν προσόδ[ων]
καὶ βασιλι[κ]ῶι

[γρ]αμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστάταις τῶν ἱερ[ῶ]ν καὶ ἀρχιερεῦς[ι καὶ] τοῖς
ἄλλοις τοῖς

[τ]ὰ βασιλικά πραγματευμένοις χαιρῖν.

This text and No. 7 above are restored with reference to one another in *C.Ord.Ptol.*

There does not seem to be much of great significance in the particulars of the Ptolemaic administration to be derived from these texts. They certainly tell us nothing in particular of the duties of the basilikos grammateus. They do, of course, attest the continuing role of the basilikos grammateus in the Ptolemaic administration and something of his place as a nome official and one connected with the financial administration.

V. Imouthes and Horos

In a number of Greek and demotic documents of the latter part of the third century B.C. which come from the Arsinoite nome there are basilikoi grammateis named Horos (Greek Ὅρος, demotic *Hr*) and Imouthes or Imhotep (Greek Ἰμούθης, demotic *Ij-m-htp*). This note is an attempt to see what connections can be established among the men with these names. There are certainly two men named Horos who hold the office of basilikos grammateus; the cases where Imouthes is mentioned may all involve the same man. In any case, setting forth these documents will help to make clear their relationship or lack of relationship to one another, as well as the basis of the dating given these men in the lists.⁷³

Imouthes appears in two distinct groups of documents.

Group One

Bürgsch. nos. 1-5. These five texts belong to the same time, the first or second year of Epiphanes, 204 or 203 B.C. No. 2 is firmly dated by the Eponymous Priest of the royal cult. The provenience of all is the Fayum. They are each a request to rent royal land and are addressed to the oikonomos and to the basilikos grammateus. The name of the latter, Imouthes son of Horos, is preserved in the first four of these

⁷³Some of these documents have been the subject of controversy as to date and to relationships with other documents and officials of Ptolemaic Egypt. There is no point in rehearsing the past discussion here. The definitive statement can be found in W. Clarysse and H. Hauben, "Ten Ptolemaic Granary Receipts from Pyrrheia," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68 and especially note 25 on pp. 53-4. The Imouthes of the *P.dem.Lille* texts is not relevant to the discussion here.

texts and most likely would have occurred in the now lost portion of *Bürgsch.* 5.⁷⁴

No. 1. *Hr-s3-wsir* writes to *Sprs*, (Sopeiros) *3wknwns* (oikonomos), and to *Ij-m-htp s3 Hr* (Imhotep son of Horos) the *sh Pr-3*, (basilikos grammateus) asking to rent four arouras of royal land in Dikaiou Nesos, with the rent to be paid with the harvest of the second year. The date at the top is lost but must have been the first year.

No. 2. A fragment from the beginning of a document similar to No. 1, dated by the name of the eponymous priest of the royal cult, *3rystwmns* (Aristomenes), who was priest in 204/3. This is the only text in this group with a positive date preserved. The others are all dated by their connections with it and the mention of sowing or harvesting years. This text itself mentions the harvest of the second year and is addressed to an oikonomos, whose name is lost, and to Imhotep the son of Hor, basilikos grammateus.

No. 3. Dated to year 2, but the heading with the name of the eponymous priest was not used in this text. It is a request to lease royal land with the rent to be paid with the harvest of the third year.

The request is addressed to Sopeiros [oikonomos] and to Imhotep son of Hor, basilikos grammateus. The land is in Dikaiou Nesos.

No. 4. The top of the text is lost and there is no date. This is a request for lease of royal land to the oikonomos and to Imhotep, the basilikos grammateus. The name of the oikonomos is only partially preserved, and the demotic does not yield a clear name, but it is not Sopeiros. The rent is to be paid with the harvest of the third year.

No. 5. A request for lease clearly related to the four texts above, but the top of the papyrus has been lost with the date, as well as the names of the oikonomos and basilikos grammateus, and any mention of which harvest is involved.

Group Two

No. 1. *P.Lond.* VII 2189. Someone pays a tax called the enkyklion for the sale of a house in Philadelphia of the Fayum to Kallikrates the

⁷⁴All were first published by Spiegelberg in *P.dem.Cairo II: Bürgsch.* 1 = 30647; 2 = 30660; 3 = 30697+30780; 4 = 30689+30701+30782; 5 = 30781.

oikonomos and to Imouthes the basilikos grammateus (Καλλικρά[την] τὸν οἰκονόμον καὶ Ἰμούθην τὸν βα(σιλικὸν) γρ(αμματέα). The text is dated to year 14.

No. 2. *Chrest.Wilck.* 224b. Year 14 Phaophi. Property declaration to Apollonios the epimeletes that the declarer has listed his property with Kallikrates the oikonomos and [Imouth]es the basilikos grammateus. Property is in Mouchis of the Polemon meris.

No. 3. *Chrest.Wilck.* 224c. Date lost. A woman has registered her property in Mouchis of the Polemon meris with Kallikrates the <oikonomos> and Imouthes the basilikos grammateus.

Nos. 4 and 5. These are two further texts mentioning Kallikrates and Imouthes which belong with Nos. 2 and 3 above. They are also property returns and are cited but not published in full by Grenfell and Hunt in *Archiv* 2 (1902) 84. Grenfell and Hunt do, however, say (p. 82) that these two are of the same year as *Chrest.Wilck.* 224a-c.

All these texts belong together. The 14th year is that of Philopator, 209 B.C. In addition *Chrest.Wilck.* 222 = *P.Petr.* III.72(a), dated to the 14th year, is a declaration of property in Tamaus of the Herakleides division (meris) to Imouthes, the basilikos grammateus. Wilcken connected this text with those of *Chrest.Wilck.* 224 and this relationship is highly probable.⁷⁵

To sum up what we can say about the dating of the various documents in which an Imouthes (Imhotep) appears as a basilikos grammateus, we must admit to limited certainty. Certainly Group One is a unit belonging to the years 204 or 203 B.C. Group Two is a unit which in all likelihood dates to the reign of Philopator and specifically to the year 209 B.C. Both groups are from the Fayum and concern land, either registration or the leasing of royal domain. On the other hand, there is no definite evidence to connect them and to declare that the same basilikos grammateus is involved in each group.⁷⁶

Horos

⁷⁵The important bibliography for the fact that this text belongs to the reign of Epiphanes, and not to the reign of Euergetes, has been given in note 73.

⁷⁶In *P.Tebt.* III 705 the basilikos grammateus named by Theogenes is Tothoës. This text is from the Fayum. If the year 14 here is 209, then both Tothoës and Imouthes are functioning as basilikoi grammateis.

There are at least two men named Horos who serve as basilikos grammateus in the third century.

1. *P.Zen.Pestm.* 12 and 13, 12 September 254 and 14 April 252, are receipts for krotion issued to agents of Zenon by agents of Hermolaos, the oikonomos, and of Horos, the basilikos grammateus. This Horos cannot be identified with any other Horos in the papyri, but as Pestman⁷⁷ points out the name Ὅρος in Greek is often used for much longer and more complicated Horos names in Egyptian. He cites the example where Ὅρος = Ἡρ-τῆ-ἰ-φ-νῆτ (Hartephnactes, Ἀρτοφνᾶχθης).

2. In the following series of documents a Horos appears, or is presumed to appear, and is designated as basilikos grammateus or is presumed to be a basilikos grammateus.

a. *P.Hamb.* I 24, 222 B.C. Dated by the Eponymous Priest of the royal cult in the prescript to the contract. A klerouch acknowledges to a toparch and to Horos, basilikos grammateus, that he has been paid to produce a crop of sesame. The provenience is Hieria Nesos in the Fayum.

b. *P.Sorb.* 43, 1 March 219 B.C. Herakleides the oikonomos writes to Thesenouphis the topogrammateus of the Polemon meris, forwarding a copy of a letter from Horos the basilikos grammateus. *P.Sorb.* 38-55 constitute an archive of official letters received by Thesenouphis; Nos. 39-47 are written by Herakleides. The whole archive dates to the last years of Euergetes and the first years of Philopator. This text is dated year 3.

c. *P.Enteux.* page lxxxviii. Dated in year 5. Poseidion writes to Onesandros. Horos, the basilikos grammateus, has written him. The editor identified the Poseidion of this scrap with the strategos of that name who appears in *P.Enteux.* 4. He then took the fifth year of *P.Enteux.* 4 to be that of Euergetes. Since Onesander is the epistates in *P.Enteux.* 4 Guéraud then dated the other three texts in which he appears, nos. 80, 100 and 101, to the fourth and fifth years of Euergetes. These petitions (enteuxeis) and the scrap on page lxxxviii would thus be isolated by twenty years from the main group of these enteuxeis, all of which fall in the last years of Euergetes and the early years of Philopator. The only reason for this anomalous dating is the presence of Poseidion. Guéraud did not believe there could be two or more strategoi in the same area at the same time and so he moved Poseidion to the fifth year of Euergetes to take him away from the cluster of strategoi who

⁷⁷See note i to *P.Batav.* 1.

seemed to be active in the Arsinoite early in Philopator's reign. It is, however, not clear that the strategos has become a civil governor tied to one nome by the time of Philopator. *SB XVIII* 13304 shows Euphranor, a strategos, active militarily in the mid-second century and Mooren has commented on the continued military function of the strategos.⁷⁸ The anomaly of dating an enteuxis text as early as the fifth year of Euergetes is much more troublesome than the presence of a clutch of strategoi at the same time and in the same place. Thus this text should probably be dated to 217 and Horos should be identified with the Horos of a and b above and d-g below.

d. *P.Lille* 4. Dated to the 5th year. A register of official correspondence, some of which involves a Horos, the basilikos grammateus, and Herakleides (*Pros.Ptol.* I 1046), the oikonomos who appears in a number of texts and is clearly dated to the early years of Philopator. There seems no question that *P.Lille* 4 should be dated to 217 B.C. and this Horos identified with the Horos of a-c above. Theogenes, presumably the dioiketes, is mentioned in several places.

e. *P.Petr.* II.38(b) = *Chrest.Wilck.* 300. Dated in year 5. A letter from a Horos to an Harmachis, pointing out some problems in the sale price of oil. Horos has a son Imouthes who acts with him. The matter is one that will concern Theogenes the dioiketes.⁷⁹ The son Imouthes suggests a connection with that Imouthes discussed above. There is, then, a strong possibility that the Horos of this text should be identified with the Horos of a-d and the fifth year should be taken as that of Philopator, 217 B.C.

f. *P.Princ. inv.* AM 87-55 (*ZPE* 80 [1990] 274-5). Olympos, a Mysian, and a cavalry man, a one hundred aroura holder, write to Theogenes the dioiketes to complain of his tax assessment on a vineyard planted by his father, for which he believes some abatement of the tax was promised. He asks Theognis to write to Horos τῶι βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου to investigate. The papyrus is dated in the fifth year.

g. *P.Lille* I 3. There are several mentions of the 7th year. This is a register of official correspondence. The official is not named but he has duties comparable to those of a basilikos grammateus,

⁷⁸*BASP* 25 (1985) 243-247. L. Mooren, "On the Jurisdiction of the Nome Strategoi in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Congr.* XVII 1217-25.

⁷⁹The concern of Horos with prices makes him sound like an oikonomos more than a basilikos grammateus. He cannot, however, be connected to Horos, the oikonomos in the Herakleopolite nome, who appears in a number of texts of this period. So also W. Clarysse, "Harmachis, Agent of the Oikonomos: An Archive from the Time of Philopator," *AncSoc* 7 (1976) 185-207 with specific reference to a lack of connection with *P.Petr.* II 38(b) at p. 191 n. 7.

he asks for money to operate the grammateion, he has a son named Imouthes, and he is involved with Theogenes the dioiketes. All of these items create a strong presumption that chief actor in this register is Horos, a basilikos grammateus, that the text should be dated to 215 B.C., and that this Horos is to be identified with the Horos of a-f.

From the above arrangement of the evidence, it seems most likely that Horos (no. 2)⁸⁰ is attested as a basilikos grammateus in the Fayum from 222 B.C. until 215 B.C. and that his son Imouthes is attested in a similar capacity in the Fayum from 209 B.C. until 202 B.C. Until further evidence appears these conclusions are the most economical explanation of the evidence as we have it. Incidentally such identifications and dating firmly anchor the dioiketes, Theogenes, in the reign of Philopator.⁸¹

⁸⁰As discussed earlier, pp. 21-22, it is very likely that the Harmais of the *P. dem. Lille* texts is to be identified with this Horos.

⁸¹So Clarysse and Hauben, *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68.

VI. The Basilikos Grammateus and Tax Farming

The two major documents from the Ptolemaic period which treat of the system of farming the revenues are those known as *P.Rev.* and *UPZI 112*. In the former the basilikos grammateus plays virtually no role and in the latter he is a central figure in the operation of the system. This evidence reveals the changing nature of the role of the basilikos grammateus in the Ptolemaic administration during the third century. As I have observed elsewhere, the basilikos grammateus assumed more responsibility for fiscal and tax matters over the course of Ptolemaic rule.

The basilikos grammateus is mentioned in three sections of *P.Rev.* at 33.9, 36.3 and in 37.3 and 9. The two royal decrees were issued in year 23 of Philadelphus (263 B.C.) and thus four years earlier than the major portions of the collection which seem to be dated to the 27th year of Philadelphus (259). Also, in col. 33 the basilikos grammateus is ordered to prepare lists of vineyard holdings of the 19th to the 21st year; thus this section too seems to be concerned with the period before the main body of the collection. Nonetheless, these sections were intended to be part of the papyrus, coll. 23-37, which deal with apomoira of Arsinoe Philadelphus.⁸²

Col. 33. 9-18

Οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς ἀπογραψά[τ]ωσαν τοῖς τὴν
 10 ὠνήν πριαμένοις ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας τὸ ἔ[κθε]μα πο[ιή]σων]-
 ται ἐν ἡμέραις ἰ ὄσοι ἀμπελῶνες ἢ [π]αράδεισοι ἐν ἐ-
 κάστῳ νομῶι εἰσὶν καὶ τῶν ἀρουρῶν τ[ὸ] πλη[θος] καὶ ὄ-
 σοι ἀμπελῶνες ἢ παράδεισοι τῶν ἐμ φ[ορολ]ογ[ῆ]σαι ὄντων]
 ὑποτελεῖς ἦσαν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ πρὸ τοῦ κ[β] (ἔτους).

⁸²It is now generally agreed that *P.Rev.* represents a collection of documents for a personal or administrative purpose. The most comprehensive statement of the nature of the document is that of J. Bingen, *Le Papyrus Revenue Laws - Tradition grecque et adaptation hellénistique*, Opladen 1978 (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vorträge G231). In dissenting from the earlier views of Rostovtzeff and Préaux who saw the "Revenue Laws" as a single document and as a law code forwarding a planned economy in Egypt, Bingen may have gone too far in arguing that the "Revenue Laws" was never one text and merely reflects ad hoc regulations which were randomly put together. Nonetheless this Düsseldorf lecture has been and is seminal for study of this material. The notes also provide an excellent bibliography.

-
- 15 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπογράψωσιν ἢ μὴ δικάως φα[ι]νω[ν]τα[ι ἀπο]-
 [γ]εγραφεκότες, δίκη νικηθέντες ἀποτινέτωσ[αν τ]οῖς
 τὴν ὠνὴν πριαμένοις καθ' ἑκάστον ὧν ἂν ἐλεγχθῶ[σι],
 (δραχμάς) ἑ
 καὶ τ[ὸ β]λάβος διπλοῦν.

Let the basilikoi grammateis register those buying the tax-farming contract within ten days of the day on which they announce the auction how many vineyards and orchards there are in each nome, what is the size in arouras, and what vineyards and orchards of those in the phorologia were subject to pay taxes to the temples before the 22nd year.

If they do not register them or if they seem to have given wrong information, having been convicted in court, let them pay to those buying the contract for each instance on which they have been convicted, 6000 drachmas and double damages.

It does seem anomalous that the register of land should be made available after the contract has been bought, but it is clear that the role of the basilikoi grammateis is limited to measurement and registration. The penalty for dereliction or malfeasance seems excessive and may reflect a mistrust of Egyptian participation in matters concerning the royal revenue, but throughout *P.Rev.* and *UPZ I 112* fines are assessed on government officials and not on tax contractors or their sureties. For these latter their guarantees provided sufficient recourse for the state.

Note also that the records the basilikoi grammateis are to provide are those regarding status of the land prior to the 22nd year, perhaps five years before this collection of documents was put together. Col. 24, the beginning of the section on the apomoira, opens with a dating of the 27th year. The activities of the basilikos grammateus in these cases are intended to provide the requisite basis for knowledge of the tax revenues as the apomoira is switched from the benefit of the Egyptian temples to the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus.

Col. 36. 3-11

- Τοῦς κατὰ τὴν χ[ώ]ραν βασιλικούς γραμματεῖς
 τῶ[ν νομῶν ἀπ]ογράφειν ἑκάστον οὗ νομοῦ γραμ-
 5 μα[τεύει] τ[ὸ τ]ε πλῆθος τῶν ἀρουρῶν τῆς ἀμπέ-
 λου [καὶ] παρα[δ]είξων καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων γενήματα

κα[τά] γεωρ[ό]ν ἀπὸ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους), διαστέλλοντα
 τή[ν] ἰερὰν γ[ῆ]ν καὶ {ταυ}τὰ ἐκ ταύτης γενήνατα,
 ἵνα [ἡ] λοιπὴ [....]ῆ, ἐξ ἧς δεῖ τὴν ἕκτην συνάγεσθαι
 10 τῆι [Φι]λα[δέλφωι, κ]αὶ τ[ο]ύτων δίδοναι χειρογραφίαν
 τοῖ[ς] πα[ρὰ] Σατύρου πραγματευομένοις.

The basilikoi grammateis of the nomes throughout the chora to register, each one for the nome in which he is grammateus, the extent of arouras of vineyard and orchard and the produce of these, farmer by farmer, from the 22nd year, placing in a separate list the temple land and its produce in order that, from which it is necessary to bring the sixth to Arsinoe Philadelphos. And to give accounts to the agents of Satyros.

The duties of the basilikoi grammateis are specifically set out in regard to the registration of vineyard and garden land. Each basilikos grammateus in each nome is to record all the vineyards and gardens, their farmers and the crops for the 22nd year. They are to distinguish temple land and its crops. Then, for all of this they are to submit reports (χειρογραφία) to the agents of Satyros. In lines 12-19 it is stated that klerouchs, those holding land in dorea from the king, and all those not otherwise covered, are to submit each his own report. Once again the duties of the basilikos grammateus are limited to the registration of land and crops.

Col. 37. 2-5

[Βασιλε]ύς Πτολεμαῖος [τοῖς στ]ρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖ[ς] ἰππάρχοις]
 [κα]ὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖ[ς] νομάρχαις καὶ τοῖς το[πάρ]χαις καὶ τοῖς
 [οἰκ]ονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀντιγραφεῦσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλ[ικοῖς] γραμματεῦσι
 [κα]ὶ τοῖς λιβυάρχαις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυλακίται[ις] πᾶσι χαίρειν.

18-19

ὁμοίως δὲ διδ[ό]τωσα[ν]

καὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς [κα]ὶ οἱ [

Ll. 2-9 contain an entole or circular of the king of the 23rd year (263 B.C.) concerning the apomoira. The circular (see Add.Note IV, "Entolai") addresses various officials including the basilikos grammateus, urging them to heed the programma attached.

The programma (ll. 10-20) orders everyone who has any kind of vineyard or garden land to give a report to the agents of Satyros or to the eklogistai of Dionysodoros of their land – who managed or farmed it, the size of the crop and to what temple they gave the sixth from the 18th to the 21st year. Likewise the priests are to report from whom they received wine

or money and how much. The basilikoi grammateis are to give something, but here the text breaks off; undoubtedly some type of report was required of them also.

The two prostagmata in columns 36 and 37 are clearly separate documents appended to the section on the apomoira. They are dated in the 23rd year; col. 36 was written in Daisios, six months earlier than col. 37, dated in Dios. The section on apomoira is dated to year 27 in the opening column 24. The two royal edicts seem slightly contradictory. Col. 36 requires the basilikoi grammateis to report on all vineyards and gardens except for those possessed by the privileged (i.e. Greeks). Col. 37 on the other hand, seems to require that everyone report his own holdings. Col. 37 in so far as it is preserved seems more concerned with payments made and the text breaks off before the duties of the basilikoi grammateis are specified. Col. 36 is concerned solely with registration, and registration over a period of years. Col. 33 looks to the past and provides evidence of the change of payment of the 1/6 tax to the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus.

These then are the only mentions of the basilikos grammateus in *P.Rev.*, and these sections and the role of basilikos grammateus are very peripheral to the whole conception of the collection of revenue and the management of taxation, as seen in this collection of documents. We have already noted that the oikonomos is mentioned 88 times in *P.Rev.* and his associate the antigrapheus 71 times. These two officials are those concerned with taxes and revenue, as are the documents collected in this dossier. These texts are among the earliest papyrological texts preserved from Ptolemaic Egypt; nonetheless from other texts of this period or shortly thereafter, we would assign the basilikos grammateus a much more important role in governance.

Coll. 23-37, the section dealing with the revenues of vineyards and gardens, have not received nearly the attention afforded the "oil monopoly" of coll. 38-72, and, while they do not present nearly so complex a subject, they are deserving of some study for themselves.

UPZ I 112

This document, after *P.Rev.*, provides the most pertinent information on the Ptolemaic system of guaranteeing the royal revenue. After an opening (ll.12) statement, pious and hortatory, urging tax collectors and guarantors to honesty and diligence in their work, it goes on to detail the mode of "farming" the revenue from taxes. The document states in the opening line that it concerns the Oxyrhynchite nome and it mentions a first to second year as the period of the contracts under discussion. There is no reason to doubt Wilcken's attribution of the years to Epiphanes and thus to the years 204 or 203 B.C. The hand apparently favors such a date. The papyrus was acquired for Paris along with the famous archives of Ptolemy son of Glaukias, the long time resident of Sarapieion at Memphis. It was

probably only kept for its blank verso, eventually to receive a copy of a literary text or the like.

UPZ I 112 is a much simpler document than *P.Rev.* and is largely concerned with the letting of the contracts to the tax guarantors and the arrangements for their sureties as well as with various financial arrangements involved. Outside of the beer tax, no specific tax areas are mentioned and there is no concern here with the distribution of produce, as in the oil sections of *P.Rev.* What concerns us here is the role of the basilikos grammateus in this process and clearly it is of much greater importance.

The basilikos grammateus or the basilikoi grammateis are mentioned at five points in this text, four times in connection with the oikonomos.

1. col. 1.14. The tax farmers are to arrange their sureties with the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus.

2. col. 2.15. The epimeletes, the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus will bring the contracts (σύμβολα) of the sureties to the bankers or be subject to a heavy fine.

3. col. 3.18. The farmers, [οἱ δ'] ἐγλαβόντες τὰς ὠνάς, will make their "sub-sales" or "sub-leases" (ἀποπράματα) with the oikonomos and the basilikos grammateus. The apopramata involve their relations with their sureties or partners and so either "sub-sales" or "sub-leases" might indicate the activity.

4. col. 4.16. In the matter of taxes in kind, the register will be kept by the agents of the basilikoi grammateis. They will, however, coordinate their register with the agents of the oikonomoi and the tax farmers. There is no apparent reason for the use of the plural here. Adaptation of a programma intended for wide use to one nome, the Oxyrhynchite, may account for the usage.

5. col. 5.8 The basilikoi grammateis are in charge of assessing the results of the tax collection. There is no mention of the oikonomos in this provision.

In this document, the whole process of tax farming is in the charge of the oikonomos, who is never mentioned without the basilikos grammateus, and the basilikos grammateus himself. The latter replaces the antigrapheus so prominent and so closely related to the oikonomos in *P.Rev.* The epimeletes is mentioned and the bank and the trapezites play a large role. The document gives evidence of the increasingly important involvement of the basilikos grammateus in the functioning of the Ptolemaic system of governance. We have noticed elsewhere the growth of the role of the basilikos grammateus in the last half of the third century B.C.

THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION TO THE LISTS

The following three sections arrange the material provided by the 172 references to the basilikos grammateus or to his office in the second and first centuries B.C. up to the end of the Ptolemaic regime by the different categories as outlined in the introduction to the lists for the third century, above page 5. The same conventions are followed here.

LISTS OF MENTIONS OF THE BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS

The following lists give citations for all mentions of the basilikos grammateus in the third century. List A gives the name of men who hold the office itself. List B is that of assistants or subordinates to the basilikos grammateus. In each list the names are followed by citations where the name has been lost. In both lists the number in parenthesis following the name, e.g. (450), is that of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* found in volume I or volume VIII of that work. The second column gives the date of the text and the third the nome provenience if known. Lists A and B are an integrated update of the information in the *Pros.Ptol.* and of the few references published since 1975, the date of *Pros.Ptol.* VIII. The lemma on the next line gives the references to the papyrological evidence and to discussion elsewhere in this work. I have added an appendix of citations of the office of the basilikos grammateus.

LIST A

Name (PP no.)	Date	Provenience
'Αμεννεῦς(422)	118	Arsinoite
	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 12, 40, 43. See Add.Note IX, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Menches Archive."	
Amurtaios (423)	120	Pathyrite
	<i>P.dem.Cairo</i> II 30798	
'Απολλώνιος(425)	115	Arsinoite
	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 30, IV 1100. See Add.Note IX, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Menches Archive."	
'Αρενδότης(426)	188, 187	Thebaid
	<i>BGU</i> III 992, <i>SB</i> VI 9367. See Add.Note VII, "Harendotes."	
'Αρνεμγώτης(491) agent	113	Arsinoite
	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 27	
'Αροννώφρις(429)	(150), 144	Arsinoite
	<i>P.Tebt</i> III 876, 956	
'Αρσῦτιμις (na)	76?	Phthemphouth
	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 55	
'Αρχῆβις (433)	49	Herakleopolite
	<i>SB</i> V 8754, 8755, 8756	
'Ασκληπιάδης (434)	119, 118	Arsinoite
	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 10, <i>P.Cair.Goods.</i> 7. See Add.Note IX, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Menches Archive."	

Name (PP no.)	Date	Provenience
Δίδυμος (435a) <i>P.Alex.</i> 260 page 19	(100)	Arsinoite
Διονύσιος(436) <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 248, <i>P.Lond.</i> III 1201, 1202	163 to 160	Hermonthis
Διονύσιος(437) <i>P.Berl.Zill.</i> 1, 2, <i>P.Hels.</i> I 42	155	Herakleopolite
Διονύσιος(438) <i>BGU</i> VI 1219	145	Hermopolite
Δωρών (439=1780) <i>UPZ</i> I 117	85ca	Memphite
Ἐπιφάνης (441) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 811	165	Arsinoite
Ἐρακυχίς (442) <i>P.Hels.</i> I 6, 7, <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 857	165 to 163	Herakleopolite
Ἐριμοῦνις (na) <i>P.Mil.Congr.</i> xvii page 5	142	Arsinoite
Ἐρμίας (443) <i>SB</i> III 6028, 6029, 6030. See Add.Note VIII, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Ombite Nome."	78 to 53	Ombite
Ἡλιόδωρος(444) <i>UPZ</i> II, 198, 200, 202, 203, 207, 208, 2218, 219, 220, 221, 224, 225.	133 to 130	Thebaid
Ἡλιόδωρος(na) <i>BGU</i> VIII 1755, 1772, 1788, 1871, XIV 2369. See Add.Note X, "Paniskos and Heliodoros: a Strategic Pair."	61 to 57	Herakleopolite
Ἡρακλειδης(na) <i>BGU</i> XIV 2376	36	Herakleopolite
Θέων (445) <i>P.Haun.</i> I 11	183	Thebaid
Θοῶνις (447) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 857	162	Herakleopolite
Ἰμούθης (451) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 726, 871, 1071	158, (150)	Arsinoite
Ἰσίδωρος (452) <i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10341	(150)	Latopolite?
Ἰσχυρών(453) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 700	125	Arsinoite
Ὀννώφρις (456) <i>P.Dion.</i> 12	108	Hermopolite

Name (PP no.)	Date	Provenience
'Οσοροῆρις (457) <i>P.Tebt.</i> I 61(b), 72, III 730	170, 167	Arsinoite
Πανίσκος (458) <i>BGU</i> VIII 1741, 1742, 1743+XIV 2368, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754. See Add.Note X, "Paniskos and Heliodoros: a Strategic Pair."	64, 60ca	Herakleopolite
Patseo (460) <i>P.dem.Ryl.</i> III 17	118	Thebaid
Πβίχις (462a) <i>P.Dion.</i> 12	118	Hermopolite
Πεπυνοῆσις (na) <i>P.Stras.</i> VII 624	150	Hermopolite
Πετε.... (464) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 738	136	Arsinoite
Πεταρψενῆσις (463) <i>P.Amh.</i> II 33	157	Arsinoite
Πτολεμαῖος (468) <i>P.Tebt.</i> I 99	148	Arsinoite
Πτολεμαῖος (469) <i>BGU</i> VI 1222	145	Hermopolite
Τεεφραῖος (471) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 895	177	Arsinoite
Theomnestos (444a) <i>O.dem.Stras.</i> D1611	156	Thebaid
Φῖβις (477) <i>P.Amh.</i> II 31, <i>P.Grenf.</i> II 23	112, 108	Pathyrite
Ψεναμοῦνις (477a) <i>SB</i> VI 9367	188	Thebaid
Ὶωρος (483) <i>P.Tebt.</i> I 14, 15, 16, 26, 27, 31, 33, 38, 75, 78, 157, IV 1099, 1100, 1101. See Add.Note IX, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Menches Archive."	115 to 110	Arsinoite
..... (484) <i>P.Tebt.</i> I 32	146	Arsinoite
..... (485) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 825	176?	Arsinoite
..... (486) <i>P.Tebt.</i> III 917	134?	Arsinoite
..... (487)	145	.....

Name (PP no.)	Date	Provenience
<i>BGU VI 1233</i>		
..... (488)	139	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt. III 806</i>		
..... (na)	(180)	Arsinoite
<i>P.Mil.Vogl. IV 207</i>		
..... (na)	165	Arsinoite
<i>P.Genova III 92A</i>		
..... (na)	163	Herakleopolite
<i>P.Hels. I 23</i>		
..... (na)	(150)	Oxyrhynchite
<i>SB XVI 12541</i>		
..... (na)	149	Pathyrite
<i>P.Lond. VII 2188</i>		
..... (na)	132	Arsinoite
<i>SB XIV 11968</i>		
..... (na)	115	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt. IV 1112</i>		
..... (na)	(100)	.....
<i>SB XVI 12528</i>		
..... (na)	(50)	Arsinoite
<i>PSI XIII 1314</i>		

B. AGENTS

'Αμμώνιος (490)	118	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt. I 12</i>		
'Απολλώνιος (1758)	176?	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt. III 825</i>		
'Αρνεμγώστης (491)	113	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt. I 27</i>		
Ζμίης (493, 493a)	163 to 156	Hermonthis
<i>P.Ryl. II 248, P.Lond. III 1201, 1202, O.dem.Stras. D1611</i>		
'Ηρακλεόδωρος (1788)	156, 155	Arsinoite
<i>P.Lille 19, 21, 22, 23, SB XIV 11868, P.Sorb. inv. 689</i>		
Θεογένης (494)	145	Hermopolite
<i>BGU VI 1222</i>		
Θέων (495)	112	Arsinoite

Name (PP no.)	Date	Provenience
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 112		
Μουσαῖος (498)	112	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 112		
Νουμήνιος (500)	(150)	Herakleopolite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 876		
Ὁσαρνάχθις (500a)	188	Thebaid
<i>SB</i> VI 9367		
Πακοῖβις (501)	163 to 160	Hermonthis
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 248, <i>P.Lond.</i> III 1201, 1202		
Παχνου.... (502)	170	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 850		
Ποσειδώνιος (505)	131, 130	Thebaid
<i>UPZ</i> II 200, 202, 203, 207, 218, 219, 220, 221, 224, 225		
Πρώταρχος (506)	161	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 985		
Πτολεμαῖος (508)	(100)	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 81		
ῚΩρος (na)	165	Herakleopolite
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 6		
..... (512)	162?	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 839		
..... (513)	(150)	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 890		
..... (na)	156	Arsinoite
<i>SB</i> XIV 11867		
.....(na)	142	Arsinoite
<i>P.Mil.Congr.</i> pages 21-2		
..... (na)	118ca	Arsinoite
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 927		

APPENDIX: Citations of the office of the basilikos grammateus without name.

190ca	.....	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 45
186	.....	<i>P.Köln</i> VII 313
183	.....	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 793
180ca	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 918
175ca	Arsinoite	<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 572
168ca	Herakleopolite	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 4
165	Arsinoite	<i>P.Genova</i> III 92A and B
164?	.....	<i>UPZ</i> I 110
148	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 79
140	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 6
139	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 991
120ca	Thebaid	<i>OGIS</i> I 139
118	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 5
118	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 61
117	Thebaid	<i>P.Tor.Choach.</i> 12
116	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 64(a)
114	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 72
111	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 58
(100)	Pathyrite	<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 37
99	Memphis	<i>UPZ</i> I 106 and 107
94	Arsinoite	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 121
50ca	Herakleopolite	<i>BGU</i> XIV 12433

List of Documents

Reference	PP	Date	Name
BGU II 992 ⁸³	426	187	'Αρενδώτης
BGU VI 1219	438	145	Διονύσιος
BGU VI 1222	469	145	Πτολεμαῖος
BGU VI 1222	494	145	Θεογένης (agent)
BGU VI 1233	na	145	.....
BGU VIII 1741 ⁸⁴	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1742	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1743+XIV 2368	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1745	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1746	458	60ca	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1747	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1748	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1749 ⁸⁵	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1750	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1751	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1752	458	64	Πανίσκος
BGU VIII 1755	na	58	'Ηλιόδωρος
BGU VIII 1772	na	61	'Ηλιόδωρος
BGU VIII 1788	na	60ca	'Ηλιόδωρος
BGU VIII 1871	na	61	'Ηλιόδωρος
BGU XIV 2369	na	57	'Ηλιόδωρος
BGU XIV 2376	na	36	'Ηρακλείδης
BGU XIV 2433	na	50ca	.....
<i>O. dem. Stras.</i> D1611 ⁸⁶	444a	156	Theomnestos
<i>O. dem. Stras.</i> D1611	493a	156	Zminis (agent)
OGIS I 139 ⁸⁷	na	120ca	na
<i>P. Alex.</i> 260 p.19	435a	.....	Δίδυμος

⁸³=*Chrest. Wilck.* 162. *SB* I 4215 is a duplicate.

⁸⁴BGU VIII 1741-1755 were originally published in *Archiv* 8 (1927) 169-217 and taken up in *SB* IV 7405-7418.

⁸⁵=*Sel. Pap.* II 393.

⁸⁶See the translation at *O. Med. Habu* page 7

⁸⁷=*C. Ord. Ptol.* 51-52; *I. G. Philae* I 19.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.Amh.</i> II 31 ⁸⁸	477	112	Φῖβις
<i>P.Amh.</i> II 33 ⁸⁹	463	157	Πεταρψενῆσις
<i>P.Berl.Zill.</i> 1 and 2 ⁹⁰	437	155	Διονύσιος
<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10341	452	(150)	Ἰσιδωρος
<i>P.Cair.Goodsp.</i> 7	434	118	Ἀσκληπιάδης
<i>P.dem.Cairo</i> II 30798	423	120	Amurtaios
<i>P.dem.Ryl.</i> III 17	460	118	Patseo
<i>P.Dion.</i> 12 ⁹¹	456	108	Ὀννώφρις
<i>P.Dion.</i> 12	462a	108	Πβῖχις
<i>P.Genova</i> III 92A	na	165	na
<i>P.Genova</i> III 92B	na	165	na
<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 23 ⁹²	477	108	Φῖβις
<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 37	na	(100)	na
<i>P.Haun.</i> I 11 ⁹³	445	183	Θέων
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 4	na	168ca	.....
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 6	na	165	ῚΩρος (agent)
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 6	442	165	Ἐρακυχις
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 7	442	164	Ἐρακυχις
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 23	na	163	.....
<i>P.Hels.</i> I 42	na	155ca	Διονύσιος
<i>P.Köln</i> VII 313	na	186	na
<i>P.Lille</i> I 19 ⁹⁴	1788	156	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)
<i>P.Lille</i> I 21	1788	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)
<i>P.Lille</i> I 22	1788	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)
<i>P.Lille</i> I 23 ⁹⁵	1788	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)

⁸⁸=*Chrest.Wilck.* 161; *Sel.Pap.* II 367.

⁸⁹Lines 28-37 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 23; Hengstl 27.

⁹⁰Line 33 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 39; line 79 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 40; lines 80-95 = Hengstl 158.

⁹¹=*Chrest.Mitt.* 27 (= *P.Rein.* 19).

⁹²=*Chrest.Wilck.* 159.

⁹³=*SB* VI 9424; Col. ii.4-iii.1 = *C.Pap.Jud.* I 27.

⁹⁴=*Chrest.Wilck.* 164. For the date see W.Clarysse and H.Hauben, *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68.

⁹⁵=*Chrest.Wilck.* 189, Hengstl 138.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1201(page 3) ⁹⁶	436	162	Διονύσιος
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1201(page 3)	493	162	Ζμῖνις (agent)
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1201(page 3)	501	162	Πακοῖβις
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1202 (page 5)	436	160	Διονύσιος
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1202 (page 5)	493	160	Ζμῖνις (agent)
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1202 (page 5)	501	160	Πακοῖβις (agent)
<i>P.Lond.</i> VII 2188	na	149	.....
<i>P.Mil.Congr.</i> xvii, p.5	na	142	Ἐριεμοῦνις
<i>P.Mil.Congr.</i> xvii, p. 21-22	na	142	..... (agent)
<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV 207	na	(180)	.....
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 45	na	190ca ⁹⁷	na
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 55	na	76?	Ἄρσιτιμις (agent)
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 248	436	163	Διονύσιος
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 248	493	163	Ζμῖνις (agent)
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 248	501	163	Πακοῖβις (agent)
<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 572	na	(150)	na
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1314	na	(50)	.....
<i>P.Sorb.</i> inv. 689 ⁹⁸	1788	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)
<i>P.Stras.</i> VII 624	na	150	Πεπυνοῆσις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 5 ⁹⁹	na	118	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 6 ¹⁰⁰	na	140	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 10 ¹⁰¹	na	119	Ἄσκληπιάδης
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 12	422	118	Ἄμεννεύς
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 12	490	118	Ἄμμώνιος (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 14 ¹⁰²	483	114	ῚΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 15 ¹⁰³	483	114	ῚΩρος

⁹⁶=*Chrest.Mitt.* 180.

⁹⁷For the date see *P.Köln* V 221.

⁹⁸*P.Sorb.* inv. 689 is published by W.Clarysse and H.Hauben, *ZPE* 89 (1991) on pp. 61-2.

⁹⁹=*C.Ord.Ptol.* 53; lines 207-220=Pestman, *Primer* 8.

¹⁰⁰Lines 12-50=*C.Ord.Ptol.* 47.

¹⁰¹=*Chrest.Wilck.* 160; *Sel.Pap.* II 339.

¹⁰²=*Chrest.Mitt.* 42.

¹⁰³=*Chrest.Mitt.* 43.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 16 ¹⁰⁴	483	114	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 26 ¹⁰⁵	483	114	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 27 ¹⁰⁶	483	113	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 27	491	113	Ἄρνεμγώτης (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 30 ¹⁰⁷	425	116	Ἄπολλώνιος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 31	483	113	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 32 ¹⁰⁸	484	146	.....
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 33 ¹⁰⁹	483	112	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 38 ¹¹⁰	483	113	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 40	422	118	Ἄμεννεύς
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 43 ¹¹¹	422	118	Ἄμεννεύς
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 58 ¹¹²	na	111	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 61	na	118	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 61 (b)	457	170	Ἄσοροῆρις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 64 (a)	na	116	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 72	na	114	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 72	457	170	Ἄσοροῆρις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 75	483	112	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 78	483	110	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 79	na	148	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 81	508	(100)	Πτολεμαῖος (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 99	468	148	Πτολεμαῖος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 112	495	112	Θέων (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 112	498	112	Μουσαῖος (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 121	na	94	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 157	483	113	ῥΩρος

¹⁰⁴=*Chrest.Mitt.* 44.

¹⁰⁵Lines 11-24=*Chrest.Wilck.* 330.

¹⁰⁶Coll. i-iii = *Chrest.Wilck.* 331.

¹⁰⁷=*Chrest.Mitt.* 233.

¹⁰⁸=*Chrest.Wilck.* 448.

¹⁰⁹=*Chrest.Wilck.* 3; *Sel.Pap.* II 416.

¹¹⁰=*Chrest.Wilck.* 303.

¹¹¹=*Chrest.Mitt.* 46; lines 43-4= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 56.

¹¹²=*Chrest.Wilck.* 287.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 700 ¹¹³	453	125	Ἰσχυρίων
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 726	451	(150)	Ἰμούθης
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 730	457	167	Ὀσοροῆρις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 738	464	136	Πετε.....
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 793	na	183	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 806	488	139	.....
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 811	441	165	Ἐπιφάνης
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 825	485	176?	..... (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 825	1758	176?	Ἀπολλώνιος (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 850	502	170	Παχνου.... (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 839 ¹¹⁴	512	162?	..... (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 850	502	170	Παχνου.... (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 857	442	163	Ἐρακυῆς
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 857	447	162	Θοῶνις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 871	451	158	Ἰμούθης
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 876	429	(150)	Ἀροννώφρις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 876	500	(150)	Νουμήνιος (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 890	513	(150)	..... (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 895	471	177	Τεεφραῖος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 917	486	134?	.....
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 918	na	180	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 927	na	118ca	.....
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 956	429	144	Ἀροννώφρις
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 985	506	161	Πρώταρχος (agent)
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 991	na	139	na
<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 1071	451	158	Ἰμούθης
<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1099	483	114	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1100	425	115	Ἀπολλώνιος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1100	483	115	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1101	483	113	ῥΩρος
<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1112	na	115	.....
<i>P.Tor.Choach.</i> 12 ¹¹⁵	na	117	na
<i>SB</i> III 6028	443	78	Ἐρμίας
<i>SB</i> III 6030	443	75	Ἐρμίας

¹¹³Lines 22-55=*C.Ord.Ptol.* 50.

¹¹⁴=Hengstl 136.

¹¹⁵=*UPZ* II 162.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
<i>SB</i> III 6929	443	53	Ἐρμίας
<i>SB</i> V 8754	433	49	Ἀρχῆβις
<i>SB</i> V 8755	433	49	Ἀρχῆβις
<i>SB</i> V 8756	433	49	Ἀρχῆβις
<i>SB</i> VI 9367	426	188	Ἀρενδότης
<i>SB</i> VI 9367	477a	188	Ψεναμοῦνις
<i>SB</i> VI 9367	500a	188	Ὁσαρνάχθις (agent)
<i>SB</i> XIV11867	na	156	..... (agent)
<i>SB</i> XIV11868	na	156	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)
<i>SB</i> XIV11968	na	132	.....
<i>SB</i> XVI 12528	na	(100)	.....
<i>SB</i> XV12541	na	(150)	.....
<i>UPZ</i> I 106 ¹¹⁶	na	99	na
<i>UPZ</i> I 107	na	99	na
<i>UPZ</i> I 110 ¹¹⁷	na	164	na
<i>UPZ</i> I 117	439= 1780	85ca	Δωρίων
<i>UPZ</i> II 198	444	133	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 200	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 200	505	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 202	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 202	505	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 203	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 203	505	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 207	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 207	505	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 208	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 218	444	131	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 218	505	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 219	444	131	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 219	505	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 220	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 220	505	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
<i>UPZ</i> II 221	444	130	Ἡλιόδωρος
<i>UPZ</i> II 221	505	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)

¹¹⁶=*C.Ord.Ptol.* 62.

¹¹⁷Lines 1-19 = *C.Pap.Jud.* I 132.

Reference	PP	Date	Name
UPZ II 224	444	131	'Ηλιόδωρος
UPZ II 224	505	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)
UPZ II 225	444	131	'Ηλιόδωρος
UPZ II 225	505	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)

List by Place and Date

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Ars	183	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 793
Ars	(180)	.....	na	<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV 207
Ars	180ca	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 918
Ars	177	Τεεφραῖος	471	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 895
Ars	176?	..... (agent)	485	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 825
Ars	176?	Ἀπολλώνιος (agent)	1758	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 825
Ars	170	Ἄσοροῆρις	457	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 61 (b)
Ars	170	Ἄσοροῆρις	457	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 72
Ars	170	Παχνου..... (agent)	502	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 850
Ars	168	Ἄσοροῆρις	457	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 730
Ars	165	.....	na	<i>P.Genova</i> III 92A
Ars	165	Ἐπιφάνης	441	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 811
Ars	165	na	na	<i>P.Genova</i> III 92B
Ars	162?	..... (agent)	512	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 839
Ars	161	Πρώταρχος (agent)	506	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 985
Ars	158	Ἰμούθης	451	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 871
Ars	158	Ἰμούθης	451	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 1071
Ars	157	Πεταρψενῆσις	463	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 33
Ars	156	..... (agent)	na	<i>SB XIV</i> 11867
Ars	156	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)	1788	<i>P.Lille</i> I 19
Ars	156	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)	1788	<i>SB XIV</i> 11868
Ars	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)	1788	<i>P.Lille</i> I 21
Ars	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)	1788	<i>P.Lille</i> I 22
Ars	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)	1788	<i>P.Lille</i> I 23
Ars	155	Ἡρακλεόδωρος (agent)	1788	<i>P.Sorb.</i> inv.689
Ars	(150)	..... (agent)	513	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 890
Ars	(150)	Ἰμούθης	451	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 726
Ars	(150)	na	na	<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 572
Ars	148	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 79
Ars	148	Πτολεμαῖος	468	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 99
Ars	146	.....	484	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 32
Ars	142	Ἐριεμοῦνις	na	<i>P.Mil.Congr.</i> xvii p.5
Ars	142	na	na	<i>P.Mil.Congr.</i> xvii p. 21-22
Ars	140	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 6

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Ars	139	.....	488	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 806
Ars	139	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 991
Ars	136	ΠΕΤΕ.....	464	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 738
Ars	134?	.....	486	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 917
Ars	132	.....	na	<i>SB XIV</i> 11968
Ars	125	Ἰσχυρίων	453	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 700
Ars	119	Ἀσκληπιάδης	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 10
Ars	118	Ἀσκληπιάδης	434	<i>P.Cair.Goods.</i> 7
Ars	118ca	..... (agent)	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 927
Ars	118	Ἀμεννεύς	422	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 12
Ars	118	Ἀμεννεύς	422	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 40
Ars	118	Ἀμεννεύς	422	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 43
Ars	118	Ἀμμώνιος (agent)	490	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 12
Ars	118	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 5
Ars	118	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 61
Ars	116	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 64 (a)
Ars	115	.....	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1112
Ars	115	Ἀπολλώνιος	425	<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1100
Ars	115	Ἀπολλώνιος	425	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 30
Ars	114	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1100
Ars	114	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 14
Ars	114	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 15
Ars	114	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 16
Ars	114	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 26
Ars	114	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1099
Ars	114	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 72
Ars	113	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 27
Ars	113	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 31
Ars	113	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 38
Ars	113	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 157
Ars	113	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> IV 1101
Ars	113	Ἀρνεμγώτης (agent)	491	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 27
Ars	112	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 33
Ars	112	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 75
Ars	112	Μουσαῖος (agent)	498	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 112
Ars	112	Θέων (agent)	495	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 112
Ars	111	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 58
Ars	110	ῚΩρος	483	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 78

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Ars	(100)	Πτολεμαῖος (agent)	508	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 81
Ars	94	na	na	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 121
Ars	50ca	.....	na	<i>PSI</i> XIII 1314
Ars	Ptol	Δίδυμος	435a	<i>P.Alex.</i> 260 p.19
Hera	168ca	na	na	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 4
Hera	165	Ἔρωτος (agent)	na	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 6
Hera	165	Ἐρασῦχος	na	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 6
Hera	164	Ἐρασῦχος	na	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 77
Hera	163	.....	na	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 23
Hera	163	Ἐρασῦχος	442	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 857
Hera	163	Θοῶνις	447	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 857
Hera	163	Διονύσιος	na	<i>P.Hels.</i> I 42
Hera	155	Διονύσιος	437	<i>P.Berl.Zill.</i> 1 and 2
Hera	(150)	Ἄροννῶφρις	429	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 876
Hera	(150)	Νουμήνιος (agent)	500	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 876
Hera	144	Ἄροννῶφρις	429	<i>P.Tebt.</i> III 956
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1741
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1742
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1745
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1747
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1748
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1749
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1750
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1751
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1752
Hera	64	Πανίσκος	458	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1743 +XIV 2368
Hera	61	Ἡλιόδωρος	na	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1772
Hera	61	Ἡλιόδωρος	na	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1871
Hera	58	Ἡλιόδωρος	na	<i>BGU</i> VIII 1755
Hera	57	Ἡλιόδωρος	na	<i>BGU</i> XIV 2369
Hera	50ca	.....	na	<i>BGU</i> XIV 2433
Hera	49	Ἀρχῆβις	433	<i>SB</i> V 8754
Hera	49	Ἀρχῆβις	433	<i>SB</i> V 8756
Hera	49	Ἀρχῆβις	433	<i>SB</i> V 8755
Hera	36	Ἡρακλείδης	na	<i>BGU</i> XIV 2376
Herm	150	Πεπυνοῆσις	na	<i>P.Stras.</i> VII 624
Herm	145	Πτολεμαῖος	469	<i>BGU</i> VI 1222

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Herm	145	Θεογένης (agent)	494	BGU VI 1222
Herm	108	Ὀννώφρις	456	P.Dion. 12
Herm	108	Πβίχις	462a	P.Dion. 12
Hermonth	163	Διονύσιος	436	P.Ryl. II 248
Hermonth	163	Πακοῖβις (agent)	501	P.Ryl. II 248
Hermonth	163	Ζμῖνις (agent)	493	P.Ryl. II 248
Hermonth	162	Διονύσιος	436	P.Lond. III 1201 (p.3)
Hermonth	162	Ζμῖνις (agent)	493	P.Lond. III 1201 (p.3)
Hermonth	162	Παχοῖβις (agent)	501	P.Lond. III 1201 (p.3)
Hermonth	160	Διονύσιος	436	P.Lond. III 1202 (p.5)
Hermonth	160	Πακοῖβις (agent)	501	P.Lond. III 1202 (p.5)
Hermonth	160	Ζμῖνις (agent)	493	P.Lond. III 1202 (p.5)
Hermonth	112	Φῖβις	477	P.Amh. II 31
Lato Mag?	(150)	Ἰσιδωρος	452	P.Cair.Cat. 10341
Memph	99	.....	na	UPZ I 107
Memph	99	na	na	UPZ I 106
Memph	85ca	Δωρίων	439	UPZ I 117 =1780
Ombite	78	Ἐρμίας	443	SB III 6028
Ombite	77	Ἐρμίας	443	SB III 6929
Ombite	75	Ἐρμίας	443	SB III 6030
Oxy?	(150)	.....	na	SB XVI 12541
Path?	149	.....	na	P.Lond. VII 2188
Path	120	Amurtaios	423	P.dem.Cairo II 30798
Path	108	Φῖβις	477	P.Grenf. II 23
Path	(100)	na	na	P.Grenf. II 37
Phthem phouth	76??	Ἄρκεῦτις (agent)	na	P.Rain.Cent. 55
Thebaid	188	Ψεναμοῦνις	477a	SB VI 9367
Thebaid	188	Ὁσαριάχθης (agent)	500	SB VI 9367
Thebaid	188	Ἄρενδώτης	426	BGU III 992
Thebaid	187	Ἄρενδώτης	426	SB VI 9367

Place	Date	Name	PP	Reference
Thebaid	183	Θέων	445	<i>P.Haun.</i> I 11
Thebaid	156	Theomnestos	444a	<i>O.dem.Stras.</i> D1611
Thebaid	156	Zminis (agent)	493a	<i>O.dem.Stras.</i> D1611
Thebaid	133	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 198
Thebaid	131	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 218
Thebaid	131	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 219
Thebaid	131	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 224
Thebaid	131	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 225
Thebaid	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 218
Thebaid	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 219
Thebaid	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 224
Thebaid	131	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 225
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 200
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 202
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 203
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 207
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 208
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 220
Thebaid	130	'Ηλιόδωρος	444	<i>UPZ</i> II 221
Thebaid	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 200
Thebaid	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 202
Thebaid	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 203
Thebaid	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 207
Thebaid	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 220
Thebaid	130	Ποσειδώνιος (agent)	505	<i>UPZ</i> II 221
Thebaid	120ca	.....	na	<i>OGIS</i> I 139
Thebaid	118	Patseo	460	<i>P.dem.Ryl.</i> 17
Thebaid	117	na	na	<i>P.Tor.Choach.</i> 12
.....	186	na	na	<i>P.Köln</i> VII 313
.....	164	na	na	<i>UPZ</i> I 110
.....	(150)	.....	487	<i>BGU</i> VI 1233
.....	(100)	.....	na	<i>SB</i> XVI 12528

FUNCTIONS OF THE BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS

THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES

The Functions of the Basilikos Grammateus: the Second and First Centuries

The following section considers the functions performed by the basilikos grammateus in the last two centuries of Ptolemaic rule. Once again the arrangement is chronological and considers each document in chronological order. The following section will provide a narrative analysis of the role of the basilikos grammateus from ca. 200 B.C. to the assumption of control by the Romans in 31 B.C.

SB VI 9367

188 B.C.

This *SB* number contains a number of texts attesting the loading of grain for shipment to army units in Syene. The basilikos grammateus is the responsible official in texts 1-4. In no. 1 the basilikos grammateus is Psenamounis, in nos. 2 and 4 and most likely in no. 3, Harendotes. In nos. 2 and 3 the attestation is signed by the agent of the basilikos grammateus, Osarnachthes. For the dates and other comment see Add. Note VII "Harendotes."

SB I 4512

187 B.C.

BGU III 992

This text (*BGU* III 992 is a copy of *SB* I 4512) is the centerpiece of the "Erbstreit" process; this document records the sale of confiscated land which begins the events that end up in the court of Boethios, the epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, in 134 B.C. Harendotes as

basilikos grammateus is the central figure in the process. See the Add.Note VII "Harendotes," for the date and the relationship to *SB VI 9367*.

P.Köln VII 313 186 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus is mentioned in a very tattered part of the text which has something to do with the registration of property. This is a republication of *P.Kroll* with the additional Barcelona fragments.

P.Tebt. III 793 183 B.C.

A very fragmentary abstract of a petition; the petitioner asks at the end (col. ii.31) that the petition be given to the basilikos grammateus, the oikonomos, and to Argeios the epimeletes.

P.Haun. I 11 = SB VI 9424 183 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus is involved in the sale of confiscated land with the proceeds going to the idios logos of the king. Part of the "Erbstreit" process. On the date see L. Mooren, *La Hiérarchie de Cour ptolémaïque* (Studia Hellenistica 23) Louvain 1977, page 79, note 1.

P.Tebt. III 918 180 B.C.

This very fragmentary text involves a dispute over land. The basilikos grammateus apparently testifies concerning the records.

P.Tebt. III 895 177 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus Teephraios is present at a hearing on embezzled wheat. The text is fairly fragmentary and it is not clear whether he is present because of his knowledge of the records or because of his office.

P.Tebt. III 825 176? B.C.

This text includes three naukleros receipts, one to the antigrapheus of the basilikos grammateus (a), one to the agent of the oikonomos, (b) and a third to the sitologos (c), which also includes the attestation of the agent of the basilikos grammateus. All are for the same load of grain. They are discussed by Verdult in *P.Erasm. II*.

P.Tebt. I 61(b) 170 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus, Osoroeris, is cited (line 196) as having declared some lands unproductive in 170 B.C. or earlier. This land survey, *P.Tebt. I 61(b)*, was drawn up in 118 B.C., but has frequent references to the earlier status of the land.

P.Tebt. I 72 170 B.C.

This part of the land survey was drawn up in 114 B.C. The exact same wording as that used in *P.Tebt. I 61(b)* is used here (line 113) to describe land declared unproductive by Osoroeris in 170 B.C. or earlier.

P.Hels. I 4 ca. 168 B.C.

Official correspondence concerning boats and the shipment of grain. The basilikos grammateus is mentioned but his exact actions are lost.

P.Tebt. III 730 167 B.C.

A report to the basilikos grammateus, Osoroeris, that blood stains have been reported and a man is missing from the village. There is no clear reason why this should be the concern of the basilikos grammateus. Osoroeris is mentioned in the land surveys, *P.Tebt.* I 61(b) and 72, as basilikos grammateus in 170 B.C., and the 4th year mentioned in this text is probably to be interpreted as 167 B.C.

P.Genova III 92A 165 B.C.

This text number represents a collection of prostagmata relating to farming, perhaps during a crisis in the agricultural sector. Fragment A contains an order to the komogrammateis. The writer attaches a copy of a letter from a basilikos grammateus. At issue seems to be the posting of a prostagma in Greek and Egyptian in every village.

P.Genova III 92B 165 B.C.

In two of the prostagmata in this fragment, the basilikoi grammateis are mentioned. It is difficult to reconstruct the context other than to say it is agricultural. In each mention here the basilikos grammateus is associated with other officials; in col. i.15ff he is associated with the strategos, the oikonomos and the epimeletes. In col. ii.17ff he is mentioned along with the topogrammateus and the komogrammateus.

P.Hels. I 6 165 B.C.

A complaint that Horos, the agent of the basilikos grammateus Erasychis, has not supplied grain provisions for soldiers manning a citadel near Herakleopolis.

P.Hels. I 7 164 B.C.

Erasychis the basilikos grammateus has approved or attested the amount of a shipment of textiles to Alexandria.

UPZ I 110 164 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus is mentioned as part of a tribunal in cases concerning the machimoi of various classes and their obligations to farm the land according to a prostagma. Other members of the tribunal are the strategoi, the epistates of the police and the oikonomoi.

P.Ryl. II 248 163 B.C.

P.Lond. III 1201 162 B.C.

1202 160 B.C.

Zminis the subordinate of Pakoibis, agent of Dionysios, the basilikos grammateus in the Hermonthite, attests the mortgage of property and the enkyklion tax on it. All three texts are Greek subscriptions to demotic mortgage documents. *P.Ryl.* II 248 = *P.dem.Ryl.* 1.

P.Tebt. III 839 162? B.C.

An agent of the basilikos grammateus and an agent of the oikonomos attest payment into the royal bank for the tax on dove cotes.

P.Tebt. III 857 162 B.C.

Report of the theft of olyra from a thesauros in the Herakleopolite nome. The theft was first reported to Erasychis who was basilikos grammateus at the time. Now the current basilikos grammateus, Thoonis, along with the agent of the epimeletes and the chief of police, has come and ascertained that 970 artabs of olyra have been stolen.

P.Tebt. III 985 161 B.C.

Protarchos, an agent of the basilikos grammateus, along with an agent of the oikonomos, attests payment to the bank. Object of the payment is lost; form is similar to *P.Tebt.* III 839.

P.Tebt. III 871 158 B.C.

P.Tebt. III 1071

The two numbers are part of the same roll which is a registration of sales by auction. The basilikos grammateus, Imouthes, is present along with the usual others at such sales. Not enough is preserved to ascertain whether these were sales of confiscated property with proceeds to the idios logos, but such is likely.

P.Amh. II 33 157 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus sits on a tribunal with the chrematistai to judge a case involving the royal revenues.

P.dem.Stras. D1611 156 B.C.

Zminis son of Pabai (*Ns-Mn s3 Pa-b3y*) is agent of the basilikos grammateus, Theomenstos, in attesting the collection of the linen tax. Zminis appears in a number of other demotic ostraca in the Strasburg collection. These are cited by Lichtheim in *O.dem.Med.Habu* on page 7 and the text of *O.dem.Stras.* D1611 is also given there in translation. Zminis also appears attesting payments in *O.dem.Med.Habu* 3,4 and 5. In these texts Zminis is given no title; it is unclear from Lichtheim's remarks whether he is given a title in the other demotic ostraca of the Strasbourg collection in which he appears.

P.Berl.Zill. 1 and 2 156 B.C.

The texts assembled here concern the building of fortifications at Herakleopolis. Dionysios, the basilikos grammateus, is involved in overseeing the provision and use of some of the equipment.

1. *P.Lille* I 19 = *Chrest.Wilck.* 164 156 or 145 B.C.
2. *P.Lille* I 21
3. *P.Sorb.* inv. 112
4. *P.Lille* I 22
5. *P.Lille* 23 = *Chrest.Wilck.* 189 = Hengstl 138
6. *P.Sorb.* inv. 689
7. *P.Sorb.* inv. 690
8. *SB XIV* 11868 = *P.Sorb.* inv. 111
9. *SB XIV* 11866 = *P.Sorb.* inv. 110a
10. *SB XIV* 11867 = *P.Sorb.* inv. 110b

These ten texts have been republished and redated by W.Clarysse and H.Hauben, "Ten Ptolemaic Granary Receipts from Pyrrheia," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68. All but no. 9 are dated to the 26th year of a monarch and can be assigned either to the reign of Ptolemy VI or that of Ptolemy VIII, to either 155/4 or 145/4. -- No. 9, which is dated to year 34, is not really part of the group formed by the other nine.-- All but nos. 3 and 7 are receipts issued by Herakleodoros the agent of the basilikos grammateus; these two are duplicates of nos. 2 and 6 signed by the sitologos.

P.Tebt. III 726 (150) B.C.

Imouthes, the basilikos grammateus, is informed that a policeman, a phylakites, has been granted illegally a piece of land not to be used for this purpose.

P.Ryl. IV 572 (150) B.C.

This text contains an order to fix the price of writing demotic contracts. The basilikos grammateus is among those to be consulted. Others to be consulted are the epistates, the epistates of the police, the oikonomos, the epistatai of the temples, the chief priests and the laokritai.

P.Tebt. III 876 (150) B.C.

In a long account, perhaps of a banker, the first entry is a payment of 2 talents 3450 drachmai as a fee for a survey of vineyards to Noumenios, the agent of Haronnophris, basilikos grammateus.

P.Lond. VII 2188 149 B.C.

In this lengthy dossier concerning land disputed between priests in the Hermonthite nome and others in the Pathyrite nome, the basilikos grammateus is mentioned once in an unclear context.

P.Tebt. I 99 148 B.C.

Ptolemaios, the basilikos grammateus, is involved in various large payments of tax on property some of which may be confiscated. His exact role is unclear.

P.Tebt. I 32 146 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus (name lost) is to register a newly promoted klerouch into his klerouchy, status, and ethnicity (Kretan).

BGU VI 1222 145 B.C.

Ptolemaios, the basilikos grammateus, registers the sale of confiscated land. His agent, Theogenes, appears at the time of the auction sale of the property.

P.Mil.Congr. xvii page 5 142 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus, Eriemounis, registers some klerouchic property that has been transferred by inheritance.

P.Tebt. I 6 140 B.C.

An order of the king and queen. See the Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

P.Tebt. III 806 139 B.C.

A property return (ἀπογραφή) to the basilikos grammateus; rather fragmentary.

P.Tebt. III 738 136 B.C.

A letter from Pete.... a basilikos grammateus is cited, but the nature of the letter and of the issue here is lost. The recto of the papyrus contains *P.Tebt.* III 737, which is obviously related and concerns the request of some priests to cultivate unwatered land.

UPZ II 198-229 133-130 B.C.

These texts comprise a dossier involving bank transactions carried out through a bank at Thebes (the so-called "Bankakten"). Heliodoros and his agent or antigraphus, Poseidonios, appear in nos. 198, 200, 202, 203, 207, 208, 218, 219, 220, 221, 224, and 225. In most cases the individual is Poseidonios, who is identified as agent of Heliodoros; mentions of either and their role derive from the function of the office of the basilikos grammateus and I have considered them as one, whichever acts in these texts. In all these cases they are not primary actors but are mentioned as having some subsidiary role. In no. 225 Heliodoros does write to another official, but it is merely a covering letter passing on instructions.

In nos. 198, 200, 202, 203, 207, and 208 they endorse payments to or from the bank. In nos. 218, 219, 221, 224 and probably in no. 220 Poseidonios, the agent of Heliodoros, is the herald in public auctions of property or taxes.

P.Tebt. III 700 125 B.C.

Ischyron, the basilikos grammateus, countersigns approval of a payment to the bank for the purchase of property bought at state auction.

OGIS I 139 ca 120 B.C.

Petition to the king and the two queens from the priests of Isis at Philae asking that the strategoi, the epistatai, the Thebarchai, the epistatai

of the police and the other government officials stop harassing them. See Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

P.Cair.Goodsp. 7 119 B.C.

Asklepiades, the basilikos grammateus of the Themistos and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome, reports on the arrears of grain payments.

P.Tebt. I 10 119 B.C.

Asklepiades informs Marres, the topogrammateus, that Menches has been appointed komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. He is undoubtedly the basilikos grammateus and is to be identified with the Asklepiades of *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7 of the same year.

P.Tebt. I 12 118 B.C.

Menches writes to one of his brothers that Ammonios, also his brother, has written him that Ammeneus, the basilikos grammateus, wants to do something about the land survey. Ammeneus must have come into office recently, succeeding Asklepiades. This text is dated to Mesore of the 52nd year and Asklepiades in *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7 renders accounts εἰς Φαμενώθ of that year.

P.Tebt. I 40 118 B.C.

A petition to Ammeneus the basilikos grammateus from a tax collector asking for his protection in Kerkeosiris so that he can collect the royal revenues.

P.Tebt. I 43 118 B.C.

A petition to the king and queen from Menches stating that he has been acquitted of poisoning a certain Haryotes but fears further trouble and seeks royal protection. He stresses that Ammeneus the basilikos grammateus was part of the tribunal that "acquitted" him or dismissed the case because of the non-appearance of the wronged party.

P.Tebt. I 5 118 B.C.

In one of the prostagmata in this lengthy text (ll. 88-92) the basilikos grammateus along with the strategos and those ἐπὶ τῶν προκόδων are to see that proper measures are used to measure grain.

P.Tebt. 61 118 B.C.

All references are to the role of the basilikos grammateus in registering land in various categories. This is one of the land survey papyri.

P.Tor.Choach. 12 118 B.C.

The basilikos grammateus is mentioned as providing records for some part of Hermias' case against the Choachytai.

P.Tebt. I 64(a) 116 B.C.

The records of former basilikoi grammateis are cited to confirm ownership and status of some land. The same lemma is cited in *P.Tebt.* I 61(a).

P.Tebt. IV 1112

115 B.C.

A basilikos grammateus (name lost) has conducted an episkepsis of the land.

For the basilikoi grammateis in the texts from the Menches' archive, see the Add.Note IX, "The Basilikoi Grammateis in the Menches Archive." The following texts are included and discussed there: *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7; *P.Tebt.* I 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 26, 27, 30, 33, 38, 40, 43, 75, 78, 157; *P.Tebt.* IV 10099, 1100, and 1101. These texts date from 119 to ca 110 B.C. See also the analysis section, pp. 97-99.

P.Dion. 12

108 B.C.

Dionysios, the son of Kephalas, styling himself a basilikos georgos, writes a petition to Onnophris and Pbichis, the basilikoi grammateis of the Hermopolite. He has borrowed 150 artabs of grain and his creditor is pressing for the overdue payment. This pressure is interfering, he says, with his sowing of the crop for the coming agricultural year. He asks the basilikoi grammateis to write to the praktores xenikoi that they not confiscate his property given on mortgage as security for the loan. Two weeks earlier (*P.Dion.* 11) Dionysios had written to the strategos on the same matter.

P.Grenf. II 23

108 B.C.

Order for payment of grain from the bank which the basilikos grammateus must endorse. The order has been passed from Ptolemy the dioiketes of the Pathyrite, to Hermonax, the hypodioiketes, to Hermais, the sitologos apparently, who makes the payment and adds in his own hand the endorsement of Phibis, the basilikos grammateus.

P.Grenf. II 37

end IInd

See Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

P.Tebt. I 81

end IInd

The editors in the introduction cite a fragmentary line which mentions an episkepsis by Ptolemaios, the agent of the basilikos grammateus.

UPZ I 106 and 107

99 B.C.

Entolai. No. 107 is a copy of 106; see Add.Note IV, "Entolai."

UPZ I 117

85ca

The agent of the basilikos grammateus is mentioned in connection with measuring land.

SB III 6028

78 B.C.

6030

75 B.C.

6929

53 B.C.

All from the Ombite nome. See Add.Note VIII, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Ombite Nome."

BGU VIII 1741-1755; 1772, 1788, 1871, XIV 2369

The archive of Paniskos and Heliodoros 64-57 B.C.

See Add.Note X, "Paniskos and Heliodorus, a Strategic Pair."

SB V 8755 and 8756 49 B.C.

Orders for seed loans to be paid with the endorsement of the basilikos grammateus.

SB V 8754 48 B.C.

Order for the shipment of grain to Alexandria which is to be loaded with the endorsement (συνεπιτελλοντος) of the basilikos grammateus. An important document in the process of grain shipment to the capitol. See the discussions in *P.Erasm. II*.

BGU XIV 2376 36 B.C.

Herakleides the agent of the basilikos grammateus is present at the public sale of confiscated property.

Analysis of Functions

The basilikos grammateus continues to be an important figure in the Ptolemaic administration during the last two centuries of Ptolemaic rule; in fact the range and importance of his office increase over this period. Presumably the basilikos grammateus remains a bilingual official although the clearly Egyptian nomenclature does not dominate as it did in the third century. We are without any documentation for the 190's of the second century, but the first Greek name that appears on our lists is that of an Apollonios who is the antigrapheus of an unnamed basilikos grammateus in a naukleros receipt which most likely dates to 176 B.C. There is an Epiphanes in *P.Tebt.* III 811 of 165 B.C. who may be a basilikos grammateus. In *P.Ryl.* II 248 of 163 B.C. the agent of the agent of Dionysios the basilikos grammateus collects the enkyklion on the mortgage of a piece of property conveyed in a demotic contract to which *P.Ryl.* II 248 is the subscription. Dionysios also appears in the same situation in Greek subscripts to demotic mortgage contracts in *P.Lond.* III 1201 of 162 B.C. and in *P.Lond.* III 1202 of 160 B.C. There are roughly 46 different basilikoi grammateis whose names are preserved for this period; 24 of these names are Egyptian and 22 Greek.¹¹⁸

The evidence regarding the geographical situation of the basilikos grammateus does not give a clear indication if the basilikos grammateus was assigned a specific region, i.e. nome, as his jurisdiction. Only in one case do we get specific identification with an area; in *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7 of 119 B.C. we find "from Asklepiades basilikos grammateus of the Themistos and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome" (παρ' Ἀσκληπιάδου βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως τῶν Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου). As to the number of basilikoi grammateis at one time in one place there is no clear evidence. In *P.Dion.* 12 of 108 B.C., a petition from the Hermopolite, Onnophis and Pbichis are addressed as basilikoi grammateis. They are not identified as belonging to the nome. As an isolated case, only conjecture is possible as an explanation. Certainly by the time we come to the middle of the first century, as evidenced in the cases of Paniskos and Heliodoros in the Herakleopolite nome, the regularization of the positions of the strategos

¹¹⁸It will be noted that far fewer demotic texts are cited in the lists for the second and first centuries. I suspect that this results more from the scarcity of editors than from the scarcity of material.

and the basilikos grammateus as the chief civil authorities in each nome has been established.

The chief concerns of the basilikoi grammateis are still clearly the registration and control of land and the crops grown on it. They have charge of the registration of land¹¹⁹ and all the activities that go with that. Thus we find them concerned with wrongful registration,¹²⁰ with registration of new klerouchic holdings,¹²¹ registration of mortgage liens,¹²² and taxes on land.¹²³ The basilikos grammateus or his agent is always present and involved in the auction sales of land, particularly the auction sales of confiscated land.¹²⁴ Although the evidence on measuring and surveying is less in this period, we can be sure that such activity was a major function of the basilikos grammateus.¹²⁵ The basilikos grammateus is also called upon to testify at trials regarding ownership of land.¹²⁶

Another major sphere of activity for the basilikos grammateus was oversight of the grain crops or at least of the grain which came into the royal granaries. The chief (or at least chief documented) aspect of this activity concerns the loading of grain onto ships bound for Alexandria. These activities are largely evidenced by the so-called naukleros receipts and other shipping documents. These have recently been studied by Verdult in connection with his publication of the Rotterdam University papyri.¹²⁷ Every amount of grain loaded on a ship required a receipt from the naukleros to the agents of the basilikos grammateus, the oikonomos and the sitologos. The amount of paper work involved in shipping the king's rents to Alexandria is astounding. It is no wonder that so many (relatively speaking) naukleros receipts have survived. The proximity of Ptolemaiou Hormos, the chief port of the Fayum for river traffic to

¹¹⁹*P.Köln* VII 313; in the land surveys, e.g. *P.Tebt.* I 61 or 72, there are frequent references to actions of the basilikos grammateus in regard to classification of land in the surveys; *P.Tebt.* I 12; *UPZ* I 117.

¹²⁰*P.Tebt.* III 726.

¹²¹*P.Tebt.* I 32; *P.Mil.Cong.* xviii, page 5.

¹²²*P.Ryl.* II 248; *P.Lond.* III 1201 and 1202.

¹²³The texts cited in note 122 concern the enkyklion tax; See also *P.Tebt.* I 99.

¹²⁴*SB* I 4512; *BGU* III 992; *P.Haun.* I 11 (all related to the "Erbstreit" affair); *BGU* VI 1222; *BGU* XIV 2376; *P.Tebt.* III 871 and 1071.

¹²⁵See note 119 and *P.Tebt.* I 78; III 876; IV 1112.

¹²⁶*P.Tebt.* III 918; *P.Lond.* VII 2188.

¹²⁷*P.Erasm.* II; cf. the discussion of the relevant texts, pp. 67-176 and the charts, appendices I-IV. See also W.Clarysse and H.Hauben, "Ten Ptolemaic Granary Receipts from Pyrrheia," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68. See also the texts discussed in Add.Note X, "Paniskos and Heliodoros."

Alexandria, to the cemetery where so much mummy cartonnage has been recovered, must also be a factor in the rate of recovery of these texts.

The basilikos grammateus was also in charge of other disbursements from the royal granaries, particularly to the military.¹²⁸ He issues seed loans,¹²⁹ is concerned in cases of grain embezzlement and of theft,¹³⁰ and countersigns all payments out of the royal storehouses.¹³¹

The basilikos grammateus is also concerned with tax payments; in some cases these are taxes such as the enkyklion on mortgages or transfers¹³² or other taxes related to land.¹³³ There are, however, cases where taxes other than those on land are involved.¹³⁴

During this period, and particularly if not entirely in the "Bankakten" of the Thebaid,¹³⁵ the basilikos grammateus works with the bankers and is involved in money deposits and disbursements from the state bank. All the "Bankakten" texts published in *UPZ II* are from one archive, they all originate in the Thebaid and date from 133 to 130 B.C. Payment to temples and to the military are recorded. Receipts from sales of land belonging to the state and from state monopolies are also attested. Such intensive monetary and banking activity is not attested elsewhere for the basilikoi grammateis. Other evidence for association of the basilikos grammateus with the money system is not great and its character is miscellaneous.¹³⁶ Certainly the chief concern in these few documents is the royal revenue.

There are other cases which do not seem to fit any pattern of "job description," but do give some indication of the position of the basilikos grammateus in terms of unofficial status.¹³⁷ Many of the documents in the Menches archive published in the Tebtunis series in volumes I and IV give good indications of the role of the basilikos grammateus apart from and beyond his strictly official capacities. First of all we find that the

¹²⁸*SB VI* 9367; *P.Hels. I* 6; *P.Ber.Zill.* 1 and 2; *BGU VIII* 1747, 1748 and 1749.

¹²⁹*SB V* 8755 and 8756.

¹³⁰*P.Tebt.* III 895 and 857.

¹³¹*P.Lille I* 19; *P.Sorb.inv.* 111; *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7; *P.Grenf.* II 23; also texts not in the lists: *P.Sorb. inv* 111 of 156 B.C. (*ZPE* 89[1991]page 64) and *BGU VIII* 1752 where the title basilikos grammateus is almost surely to be restored and *BGU VIII* 1753 and 1754 (64 B.C.) which were attached to the roll containing the archives of Paniskos and Heliodoros.

¹³²*P.Ryl.* II 248; *P.Lond.* III 1202 and 1202.

¹³³*P.Tebt.* I 99; III 985.

¹³⁴*O.dem.Stras.* D1611 (taxes on linen); *P.Tebt.* III 839 (taxes on dove-cotes).

¹³⁵*UPZ II* 198-229.

¹³⁶*P.Amh.* II 33; *P.Tebt.* I 99; III 985; *BGU VIII* 1750.

¹³⁷Just as do some of the cases in the third century; see above page 36.

appointment of the komogrammateus is made through him,¹³⁸ and that certain payments are required for the appointment, particularly rent for unproductive land assigned to the appointee.¹³⁹ We do find that regular business matters concerning registration of property and control of the crops are conducted between the basilikos grammateus and his direct subordinate the komogrammateus.¹⁴⁰ In one instance, *P.Tebt.* 14, Menches reports his dealing with the confiscation registration of property belonging to a man accused or convicted of murder. Menches' concern - and that of the basilikos grammateus - is not with the man, who is apparently allowed to go loose, but with the proper registration of his property.

Other cases seem less connected to official duties. In *P.Tebt.* I 15 and 16 Menches reports the affair of Apollodoros and Maron who have attacked the epistates of the village. Apollodoros was arrested but Maron is still at large. Subsequently an armed attack was made on the house of the epistates and eight drachmas stolen. Menches writes to the basilikos grammateus for his information: "We thought it best to inform you that you might be cognizant of the situation" (καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάβομεν διασαφεῖσαι ἴ[ν] εἰ]δῆς). *P.Tebt.* I 26 contains a request from the basilikos grammateus that Menches among others accompany him on a voyage down river and a report from Menches that the basilikoi georgoi have fled to the asylum of a temple at Narmouthis. A copy of the latter report is also found in *P.Tebt.* IV 1099. Of course the basilikos grammateus would be interested if the men in anachoresis had fled their sowing responsibilities, but one must ask whether the connection of the two documents in *P.Tebt.* I 26 is coincidence, or a request and the excuse for not honoring it. Certainly there is no evidence that the crops of this year suffered. See the introduction to *P.Tebt.* IV 1099.

Sometimes the basilikos grammateus lets Menches know of certain events and attitudes for his own sake. Thus among Menches' papers is a copy of a notice to the basilikos grammateus that a certain L. Memmius, a Roman senator, will be touring the Fayum shortly and that he is to be shown every courtesy (*P.Tebt.* I 33). The long document in *P.Tebt.* I 27 addressed as chastisement to one Hermias has been passed around, including a copy to the basilikos grammateus who in turn apparently made it available to his subordinates. *P.Tebt.* I 40 is a petition to the basilikos grammateus from a farmer of the tax on beer and natron asking the basilikos grammateus for his protection in the same manner as the rest of the villagers. He asks the basilikos grammateus to write to the epistates, the chief of police, the elders of the cultivators and to Menches to inform

¹³⁸*P.Tebt.* I 10.

¹³⁹*P.Tebt.* I 75, where unproductive land assigned to the basilikos grammateus is listed.

¹⁴⁰*P.Tebt.* I 12; 27; 30; 78; IV 1100 and 1101.

them of his, the basilikos grammateus', protection. This text has the note to Menches from his superior ordering him to take care of the tax collector. This may not have been the basilikos grammateus' sphere of function but clearly his influence carried weight.

That the protection and favor of the basilikos grammateus was important can be seen in the petition that Menches writes to the king and queens.¹⁴¹ Menches and some friends had been accused of attempted murder by poison and had been acquitted by default since the accusers failed to appear. Now Menches is afraid his enemies will continue to harass him and he asks the protection of the government. He stresses twice that the basilikos grammateus was on the tribunal which acquitted him. Obviously the connection is important. The Royal Chancery responds by writing to the strategos to defend Menches if the facts are as he stated.

In *P.Tebt.* III 730 a report is made to the basilikos grammateus that a villager is missing and that blood stains have been found. Just what the basilikos grammateus is to do about this police matter is unclear. In *P.Ryl.* IV 572 the basilikos grammateus is consulted on the price of writing demotic contracts.

P.Dion. 11 and 12 present good insight into the role of the basilikos grammateus in the functioning of Ptolemaic governance at the end of the second century. In no. 11 Dionysios, the son of Kephalas, styling himself a royal cultivator (βασιλικὸς γεωργός), a privileged status among farmers, writes to the strategos of the Hermopolite asking him to write to the epistates of the village. He wishes to prevent his creditor from interfering with his sowing his land, clearly royal land (βασιλική γῆ). The strategos does write to the epistates and asks the epistates, Bias, to ascertain if Dionysios is a basilikos georgos and, if so, to do as he requests. In no. 12 the basilikoi grammateis¹⁴² write to the praktores xenikoi (enforcers of state confiscations) ordering them to let Dionysios plant his land without interference from his creditor. They enclose a copy of Dionysios' petition to them which is the same one he wrote to the strategos except that here he requests the order be given to the praktores xenikon. The two requests may represent necessary appeals to officials who had authority over the two different offices in the village. They may also represent Dionysios' manipulation of the system to draw two powerful offices to his side in a case of debt which seems rather murky and in which it appears Dionysios is not exactly straight forward.

In general the situation of the office of basilikos grammateus is similar to that at the end of the third century B.C. The involvement with bankers and taxation, although not widespread, is new, but the concern with land and royal grain continues as the major concern of the office. What evidence we have suggests that these areas were of considerable extent

¹⁴¹*P.Tebt.* I 43.

¹⁴²Two named basilikoi grammateis occur only in this document.

and must have involved a large staff and consumed a great deal of time and energy. It is not surprising that the basilikos grammateus remains an important figure nor surprising that he and the strategos become the two top officers of the civil administration by the end of the Ptolemaic period.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES
TO
THE BASILIKOS GRAMMATEUS
IN THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES

VII. Harendotes

Harendotes as basilikos grammateus plays the major role in the sale of confiscated property that is the opening act in a case of disputed inheritance (sometimes called the "Erbstreit" affair to recall the original publication of the primary text); the case was heard and tried before Boethius, strategos and epistrategos of the Thebaid, in 134 B.C. *SB I 4512*¹⁴³ records the proceeding of a court case before Boethius on 30 September 134 B.C. It includes as documentation the record of sale of confiscated land to one Proitos in 10 January 186. *P.dem.Schreibertrad.* 30 and 115 are the demotic sale and renunciation documents recording the sale of this same land to an Egyptian woman on 20 May 184 B.C. These are part of the records belonging to the same case. The dates of all these documents depend on the demotic texts which give the names of the eponymous priests and thus firmly establish the earliest documents in the reign of Epiphanes.¹⁴⁴ The most recent addition to this "archive" has been

¹⁴³From the original publication, O. Gradenwitz, F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg, *Ein Erbstreit aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Strassburg 1912. *BGU III 992* (=Chrest.Wilck. 162) is a copy.

¹⁴⁴For the revision of dating see *P.Batav.* page 64, note 2. For discussions of various aspects of the case see P.R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (Am.Stud.Pap. VIII) pp. 7-10, J.D. Thomas, *The Ptolemaic Epistrategos* (Pap.Colon. VI.1) passim, see index, and Robert Ritner in *Fest.Lüddeckens* (note 145 below).

published by R. Ritner;¹⁴⁵ this text records a property transfer of some of the same property within the family in 161 B.C. As Ritner points out, the archive as a whole needs a full study in light of the more recently published evidence. Ritner provides a list of all the people involved in the archive and the many other texts associated with them in the so-called Dryton archive. Unfortunately Ritner does not seem to take account of the redating arising from the publication of the demotic Mainz texts, *P.dem.Schreibertrad.* 30 and 115.

The role of the basilikos grammateus, Harendotes, is clear. He certifies that the property is registered as offered for sale and certifies its status as confiscated land. Of the many officials involved in this sale of confiscated property, the proceeds of which were deposited to the idios logos of the king, he seems to be in charge. The sale was conducted by public auction and as always was to be taken very seriously. Listed as present at the sale are Ptolemy, successor to the office of strategos (διαδόχου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγείᾳ), Megasthenes the garrison commander (phourarch), Harendotes, Lysimachos, collector of grain (sitologos) and banker, Ptolemy the oikonomos, Horos and Psenamounis the topogrammateis, Imouthes komogrammateus of the Diospolis and "many others".

Harendotes appears in one other set of documents, a group dealing with the transport of grain and originally published in *Cd'É* 27 (1952) 149-195 and taken up in *SB* VI 9367. He is cited in Nos. 2 and 4 along with Protarchos, Chief of Theban Matters (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα). Harendotes' name is probably also to be restored in No. 3. All of these documents were dated to Philometor and must now be redated to Epiphanes on the new evidence of *P.dem.Schreibertrad.* 30 and 115 and the presence of Harendotes in both sets of documents. These texts all concern shipments of grain to the army in Syene and the shipments are sent at the order of Protarchos and the basilikos grammateus or his agent.

The dates of the these texts are as follows:

No. 1	year 18	Pharmouthi 29	4 June 187
No. 2	year 18	Pachons	6 June to 5 July 187
No. 3	year 18	Pachons 18	24 June 187
No. 4	year 18	Payni	6 July to 5 August 187
No. 5	year 18	Pachons 11	16 June 187
No. 6	year 18	Pachons	6 June to 5 July 187
No. 7	year 18	Payni 24	25 July 187

¹⁴⁵ Publication of *P.OI* 10551, *Fest.Lüddeckens* pp. 171-187.

The redating relieves van 't Dack's concern in the original publication about Dionysius the "other" basilikos grammateus in the Thebaid in the 18th year of Philometor. However, note that in No. 1 Psenamounis is basilikos grammateus on 4 June, 187. Harendotes in No. 3 is designated as basilikos grammateus on 24 June. No. 2, where Harendotes' name is almost certainly to be restored may date as early as 6 June 187. This Psenamounis is surely the same man designated as topogrammateus in *SB I* 4512 in 186 B.C. Various explanations are possible, including joint tenure or confusion in the actual titles and roles of the basilikos grammateus and the topogrammateus.

VIII. The Basilikos Grammateus in the Ombite Nome

O. Joach. contains a series of ostraca from the Ombite nome which are concerned with the burial of the sacred ibis and falcon over a period of approximately 25 years from 79 B.C. to 53 B.C. There are 29 ostraka, 22 in Greek and 7 in demotic. These present a number of problems which were discussed by Preisigke in the original edition of *O. Joach.* The Greek texts, 1-8, were reedited from photographs in *SB III* 6027-6034 by Bilabel; Nos. 9-22 were reprinted as *SB III* 6920-6933. H. Sottas took up some of the religious aspects of these texts and proposed further readings in *Rev. Arch.* 5 (1921) 24-36. Peremans and van 't Dack, in *Prosopographica (Stud. Hell.* 9, 1953) 105-112, provide a synthesis of the evidence of these texts taking account of the work of Bilabel and Sottas as well as their own expertise.

Still many problems remain. The texts are written in pidgin Greek with a style of nomenclature unlike that of any other area of Egypt. The Ombite nome centered on Elephantine is the southernmost outpost of Ptolemaic control and how secure and attached it was in the first century may be questioned. The persons involved in the texts are Egyptian priests within a temple context and their knowledge of official terminology may have been slight. In any case there is no consistency in the titles given to individuals as can be seen from the lists in the discussion of Peremans and Van 't Dack's. Pelaias is called strategos (and other things) in 79 and through to 53 with one interruption by Thotoes in 73. Peremans' argument that he was a hypostrategos or some such is totally unconvincing. There are no valid parallels. That Pelaias should be strategos for 25 years is astounding and at the least calls for comment and indeed for explanation. Hermias' career extends over the same period and he is called various things but never basilikos grammateus. He seems to be called "the one in charge of the office of the basilikos grammateus" (ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν

γραμματέων). He is variously otherwise called topogrammateus, oikonomos, and "the one in charge of revenues." The names and filiations also present various problems.

I believe all these titles are better explained by demotic usage and by plain arbitrary usage by these Egyptian priests than by any attempt to align them with standard Greek bureaucratic usage elsewhere. Such an explanation, however, does not do away with the problems outlined above. All in all I feel it is necessary to put this evidence aside until better understanding of the situations in them appears.

IX. The Basilikoi Grammateis in the Menches Archive

There are four basilikoi grammateis mentioned in the Menches archive: Asklepiades attested in 119 and 118 B.C., Ammeneus attested in 118 and 117 B.C., Apollonios attested in 116 to 114 B.C., and Horos who was in office by Mecheir of the second year of Kleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II (114 B.C.). Horos is attested in documents dated until Feb 112 B.C. and is mentioned in *P.Tebt.* I 78 which must date after September 111 and before October 107. Horos is not called basilikos grammateus in all the texts from the Menches archive published in the Tebtunis volumes, but his identity is virtually certain from his rank and role. Nowhere is Horos called basilikos grammateus of a geographical area. We would assume that he operated in the Polemon or the Polemon and Themistos divisions, but no geographical indicators are used. One of his predecessors, however, Asklepiades, is called basilikos grammateus of the Themistos and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome (τῶν Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου) in *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7 of 118 B.C. The following are the texts which name the basilikos grammateus in the Menches archive.

20 Aug 119 year 51 Mesore 3 *P.Tebt.* I 10

Asklepiades reappoints Menches komogrammateus. Asklepiades is undoubtedly the basilikos grammateus.

21 Mar 118 year 52 Phamenoth *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 7

Asklepiades is basilikos grammateus of the Themistos and Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome.

4 Sept 118 year 52 Mesore 18 *P.Tebt.* I 12

Ammeneus is basilikos grammateus.

3 Feb 117 year 53 Tybi 15 *P.Tebt.* I 40

Ammeneus is basilikos grammateus.

22 May 117 year 53 Pachons 4 *P.Tebt.* I 43

A petition to the Queen and King. Ammeneus is mentioned within it. All the action takes place in the 53rd year and the docket records the date of Pachon 4.

21 Feb 115 year 2 Tybi 29 *P.Tebt.* I 30

Apollonios is basilikos grammateus. The text contains copies of documents relating to a cession of land. The latest date is year 2 Tybi 29; the earliest is 26 Apr 116, year 54 Pharmouthi 8, when Apollonios was already in office.

8 Mar 114 year 3 Mecheir 19 *P.Tebt.* IV 1100

Horos is basilikos grammateus. This is a series of documents relating to a cession of land and, in one of the earlier documents, Apollonios is mentioned.

Horos is basilikos grammateus in the Menches archive until at least 110 B.C. into the period when Petesouchos becomes komogrammateus in Kerkeosiris. The following documents mention Horos and, while some of them do not indicate his title, there is no question we are dealing with Horos the basilikos grammateus.

18 Aug 114 year 3 Mesore 2 *P.Tebt.* I 15

A draft of a letter to Horos from Menches concerning some unrest in Kerkeosiris. The papyrus also contains another draft presumably on the same subject, which breaks off as it obviously continues onto another column.

Late Aug 114 year 3 Mesore *P.Tebt.* I 16

Menches to Horos again, telling him of the unrest in Kerkeosiris related to that reported in *P.Tebt.* I 15.

3 Nov 114 year 4 Phaophi 14 *P.Tebt.* I 14

Menches writes to Horos that he has followed orders in regard to the property of a man arraigned on murder charges.

8 and 9 Nov 114 year 4 Phaophi 19 and 20 *P.Tebt.* I 26 and IV 1099

1099 is a copy of the second part of no. 26. *P.Tebt.* I 26 contains an order from Horos to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis ordering them to take part in a voyage. Menches' response is to report that the crown cultivators of Kerkeosiris have fled to a temple in Narmouthis, apparently for asylum.

27 Feb 113 year 4 Mecheir 10 *P.Tebt.* I 27

A long official letter sent to Horos, who passes it on to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis on Mecheir 10 of year 4.

2 Mar 113 year 4 Mecheir 14 *P.Tebt.* I 38

A letter and report from Menches to Horos reporting the smuggling and illegal sale of oil in Kerkeosiris.

5 Mar 112 year 5 Mecheir 17 *P.Tebt.* I 33

A letter to Horos announcing the famous visit of L. Memmius to the Fayum.

17 Mar 112 year 5 Mecheir 29 *P.Tebt.* I 75

Report of unproductive land for the fifth year. Reports on small holdings of such land at Kerkeosiris by Horos.

After 20 Sept 111 and before 30 Oct 107 *P.Tebt.* I 78

An episkepsis conducted by Horos is cited. Petesouchos is the komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. Petesouchos succeeded Menches in the 7th year of Kleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II (111/110 B.C.). Menches is in office in *P.Tebt.* I 70 and Petesouchos in I 77. This declaration by Petesouchos is sealed by an oath by Kleopatra III and Ptolemy IX. The latter was exiled for good by Oct 30, 107 B.C.

Horos is mentioned in *P.Tebt.* I 157, which is mentioned among the descripta of that volume and dated by the editors to 113 B.C. *P.Tebt.* IV 1101 has lost any dates but Horos is mentioned along with other officials in correspondence concerning the sale of ὑπόλογος land.¹⁴⁶ All of these officials are active ca 113 B.C. In *P.Tebt.* I 112, an account dated year 5 Mecheir 6 (22 Feb 112), two agents of the basilikos grammateus (undoubtedly Horos), Mousaios and Theon, are mentioned.

No other dated and named basilikos grammateus is known for the Fayum for the rest of the Ptolemaic period. In *P.Tebt.* I 121, in a lacunose section of the text dated to 94 B.C., the phrase τοῖς μαχίμοις τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως¹⁴⁷ can be read.

X. Paniskos and Heliodoros: A Strategic Pair¹⁴⁸

Paniskos and Heliodoros are relatively well known figures, each of whom served successively as basilikos grammateus and as strategos of the Herakleopolite nome between 63 and 51 B.C. They are documented by their archives which have been recovered from mummy cartonnage found at Abusir-el-Meleq in the early part of the twentieth century. The texts were all recovered from the same cartonnage and many were pasted one to the other. Those from 63 B.C. are clearly the papers of Paniskos while he served as basilikos grammateus. Another large group consists of petitions

¹⁴⁶On hypologos land see J.C. Shelton in the introduction to *P.Tebt.* IV, pages 3-5.

¹⁴⁷Quoted in the introduction to the text, *P.Tebt.* I page 502.

¹⁴⁸A version of this note will appear in the Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Demotists held at Pisa in September of 1993.

to Paniskos while he was serving as strategos of the nome. The papers of Heliodoros are fewer in number but some are later in time than any of those of Paniskos, including the prostagma (*BGU VIII 1730 = C.Ord.Ptol. 73*) which is a palimpsest over a document which may have been originally written to Heliodoros when he was serving as strategos. The archive is that of the office of the strategos, for we have not only the papers of Paniskos and Heliodoros but also those of their immediate successors in the office, Seleukos, Soteles and Eurylochos. The archive and its documents provide a rare insight into the governance of the Egyptian chora in the last years before explicit Roman control and indeed shed light on one aspect of Augustus' reforms in Egypt in regard to nome governance, the Roman system of strategoi and basilikoi grammateis as the chief officers of each nome.

The first fifteen texts from this cartonnage were published by Kunkel in 1927¹⁴⁹ and then the greater part of them in 1933 in *BGU VIII*. A few pieces overlooked at that time were published in 1980 in *BGU XIV*. Although the documents are for the most part dated, these dates are given only by regnal year, month and day and there was originally some marginal doubt as to which reign they belonged. Even when it was clear that they belonged to the last years of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos (Auletes) and the first of his daughter Kleopatra VII, there were various chronological problems to be solved, not least of which was the brief reign of Berenice IV, which interrupted Auletes' reign in 57 and 56 B.C. These problems have been largely resolved.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless Heliodoros is still listed as strategos before and after Paniskos which is not correct.¹⁵¹ It has not been explicitly realized that Paniskos served first as basilikos grammateus and then as strategos and that Heliodoros served as basilikos grammateus under Paniskos and succeeded him as strategos of the Herakleopolite nome. This note will clear away the chronological difficulty in Heliodoros' career and set forth in order the careers of the two men in this period.

Paniskos is listed as strategos at *Pros.Ptol.* 295 and as basilikos grammateus at 458; he is No. 0103 on page 111 and No. 00319 on page

¹⁴⁹*Archiv* 8 (1927) 169-215, republished in *SB IV* 7405-7419.

¹⁵⁰Chiefly by T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 39 [1969]) esp. pp. 37-42. See now for emendations and bibliography, *Konkordanz und Supplement zu Berichtigungsliste Band I-VII*, ed. W. Clarysse, R.W. Daniel, F.A.J. Hoogendijk, P. van Minnen. (Louvain 1989) and L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography*, Brussels 1975 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Nr. 78). See also L.M. Ricketts, *The Administration of Ptolemaic Egypt under Cleopatra VII*. Diss. Minnesota 1980.

¹⁵¹So Mooren; see note 152 below.

242 in Mooren.¹⁵² No connection is made between the two entries in *Pros.Ptol.*, although the editors of *BGU* VIII make the connection clear in their introduction to the volume. Heliodoros is listed as strategos at *Pros.Ptol.* 258. There is no listing for him as basilikos grammateus in *Pros.Ptol.* I or VIII since his holding of that position was not known until the publication of *BGU* XIV 2369, which establishes him as basilikos grammateus in 57 B.C.¹⁵³ Use of this evidence will allow us to reexamine the material that allegedly show a split tenure of the strategeia preceding and following Paniskos¹⁵⁴ and to describe his career in a way consistent with usual practice. The following lists give the documentary evidence for these two officials.

Paniskos as Basilikos Grammateus

This group of texts attesting Paniskos as basilikos grammateus covers a period of less than two months, from Epeiph 9 to Mecheir 20 of the 18th year of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes). They are all clearly from the office of Paniskos. The hands, the fact that many of these documents were pasted together, and the subject matter make this certain. In cases where Paniskos' name does not appear, the texts are drafts or abstracts of orders he himself sent. As published they are grouped by category of subject matter or by recipient. The following is a list with a short characterization of each text.¹⁵⁵

1. *BGU* VIII 1741

Year 18 Epeiph [] = July 63

A copy to Paniskos of an order of the strategos Dionysios to the sitologos to issue 1200 artabs of grain for shipment to the naukleroi Ἴπποδρομίται of Memphis.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵²Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature*.

¹⁵³The editor of 2369 recognizes that Heliodoros later became strategos, but fails to note that the same is also true of Paniskos, who as strategos is the originator of this document.

¹⁵⁴So most recently in Mooren, *Aulic Titulature*, No. 0102. The chronology of the *BGU* texts had been confused because they cover the period of Ptolemy Auletes' exile and the brief reigns of Berenice and of Berenice and Archelaus which can be confused with that of Kleopatra following Auletes' death a few years after his return from exile. See note 150 above.

¹⁵⁵There are discussions of this set of papers in the *editio princeps* (see note 149 above) and in the introduction to *BGU* VIII.

¹⁵⁶On naukleroi and the grain supply see P. Verdult in *P.Eras.* II; see also W. Clarysse and H. Hauben, "Ten Ptolemaic Granary Receipts from Pyrrheia," *ZPE* 89 (1991) 47-68.

2. *BGU VIII 1742* Year 18 Epeiph 14 = 18 July 63

An order from Paniskos to the antigrapheus of the thesauros at Tilothis to send the grain mentioned in 1741.

3. *BGU VIII 1743+BGU XIV 2368* Year 18 Mesore 20 = 23 Aug. 63

This text contains another order to dispense grain, 1800 artabas on this occasion, to the Hippodromitai at Memphis.

4. *BGU VIII 1744* Year 18 64/63

A copy to Paniskos of an order of Athenaios the dioiketes sent to Dionysios the strategos and relayed by him to the sitologos. A total of 4240 artabs of grain are to be dispensed to various boats of the fleet. A list of individual allotments is given.

5. *BGU VIII 1745* Year 18 Epeiph 10 = 14 July 63

A copy to Paniskos of an order sent by the dioiketes Athenaios to the strategos Dionysios ordering payments similar to those in 1744.

6. *BGU VIII 1746* No date

A fragment of a text similar to 1744 and 1745 above.

7. *BGU VIII 1747* Year 18 Epeiph 9 = 13 July 63

Copy to Paniskos from Dionysios the strategos of an order from Athenaios the dioiketes to dispense to the cavalry men of the Herakleopolite nome 780 artabs of barley per month for their horses. The allotment is backdated to Phamenoth 1 (7 March 63 B.C.) and is to run for 12 months for a total of 9360 artabs of barley.

8. *BGU VIII 1748* Year 18 Epeiph 19 = 23 July 63

An order from Paniskos to Semtheus, the antigrapheus of the thesauros in Phebichis, to dispense the barley as ordered in 1747.

9. *BGU VIII 1749* Year 18 Mesore 5 = 8 Aug 63

Copy to Paniskos of an order from Athenaios the dioiketes to Dionysios the strategos to dispense to the 408 five-aroura Thebans, 2 artabs of grain and three drachmas each.

10. *BGU VIII 1750* Year 18 Mesore 14 = 17 Aug 63

Order to the bank from Paniskos to pay out the three drachmas as ordered in 1749 above.

11. *BGU VIII 1751* Year 18 Epeiph 12-14 = 16-18 July 63

Copy to Paniskos of an order by Dionysios to Phames (antigrapheus of the bank) to pay a sum of drachmas, 1190 or 1010, το τοῖς περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν παρατρέχουσιν.

12. *BGU VIII 1752* Year 18 Epeiph 9 = 13 July 63

Copy to Paniskos of an order by Dionysios to dispense 150 artabs of grain to the priests of Tilothis.

13. *BGU VIII 1753* Year 18 Epeiph 10 = 14 July 63

Two orders from Paniskos to Ebreis the antigrapheus of the thesauros of Peri Polin to pay 13 artabas to one cult and 48 to another.

14. *BGU VIII 1754*

No date

Two documents, one an undated scrap and the other an order to pay to a priest 50 artabs of grain.

Paniskos as Strategos

From at least May of 60 B.C. until sometime between April and September of 55 B.C., Paniskos served as strategos of the Herakleopolite nome with the title *συγγενής καὶ στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων*. The evidence is collected and listed in Mooren, *Aulic Titulature*, page 111. The earliest fixed date may be that of *BGU VIII 1815*, if the date "year 21 Epeiph 28" (31 July 60) is the reading at the head of the text and the wrong complained of took place in Pharmouthi of the same year which began on 5 May. The petition of *BGU VIII 1813* mentions events of the 20th year which would provide a terminus post quem of the year 62/61. *BGU VIII 1820* complains of events on the 19th of Pharmouthi of the present 26th year, which provides a terminus ante quem of 5 September 55 B.C., i.e. the 19th of Phamenoth is 22 April and the next year began on September 5.¹⁵⁷

Most of the texts concerning Paniskos' tenure as strategos are petitions to him. *BGU VIII 1813-1823* are petitions concerning current matters; *BGU IV 1192* (undated) is a case where Paniskos is mentioned as a former strategos. There are also some administrative texts. *BGU VIII 1755* and 1788 are letters from Heliodoros; 1755 is dated 5 Oct. 58 while 1788 is undated. Both probably are official and Heliodoros writes as basilikos grammateus. Other texts of official nature are *BGU VIII 1756, 1757, 1758, 1753* and 1781. 1756 is dated to 17 May 58; 1757 is dated to year 1 Epeiph 9, 11 July 58, the earliest date we have for the reign of Berenice IV. 1756 is dated to year 23 Pachon 13 = 17 May 58. 1781 mentions events of the 21st year (61/60) in a very fragmentary official text. 1758 is undated.

Heliodoros

Until the publication of *BGU XIV 2369* dated 13 December 57 B.C., it was not known that Heliodoros had held the office of basilikos

¹⁵⁷Again the dates of Paniskos and Heliodoros have not always been clear, nor has the sequence of strategoi in the Herakleopolite nome been as clear as it is now. See note 150 above. Some Paniskos texts are dated to the first year, now clearly that of Berenice IV.

grammateus. As strategos Heliodoros is listed at *Pros.Ptol.* 258 and in Mooren *Aulic Titulature* at No. 0102 on page 110 and at No. 00317 on page 242. Thus all texts mentioning Heliodoros were assigned to him as strategos. This led to the anomaly of a career that showed him holding the strategeia in 61/60 and again ca. 52 B.C. With the new evidence of *BGU* XIV 2369, we can look again at the texts attributed to the year 61/60. The chief text is *BGU* VIII 1772 to which I will return just below. There are two other texts of this year. *BGU* VIII 1871 is a private letter to Helidoros dated to year 21 Hathyr, 6 November 61; there is no mention of any office. *BGU* VIII 1880 is a short letter to Heliodoros which seems to be dated to the 21st year, 61/60, and again there is no office mentioned in what appears to be a private communication.

BGU VIII 1772 is, however, an official text, the record of confiscated property and its sale with payments to the account of the Idios Logos. The text is actually the proceedings of a court case involving title to some confiscated property purchased from the state some time in the past. Epeiph 7 is mentioned in the text, which would place the request for action around 10 July 60 B.C. The petition itself cannot be addressed to Heliodoros. He is, however, mentioned several times and he appears to be verifying the records concerning the property in dispute. Such activity is the province of the basilikos grammateus, as has been shown repeatedly in this monograph, and most notably Heliodoros' role here parallels that of the basilikos grammateus Harendotes in *BGU* III 992.¹⁵⁸ He does not have the title strategos in this text, and, now that we know he also served as basilikos grammateus, this text and his role in the case make much more sense when attributed to that office.

To *BGU* VIII 1772 and XIV 2369 we can add VIII 1755 of 5 Oct 58 B.C., VIII 1871 of 6 Nov 61 and *BGU* VIII 1788, undated, all of which must attest Heliodoros as basilikos grammateus. Also 1883 of 62/61, a fragmentary account, mentions at one point a Heliodoros and at another, a basilikos grammateus; it too is probably connected to Heliodoros, the basilikos grammateus.

Locating the strategeia of Heliodoros is somewhat more difficult since there is no text which provides him both with the title and a date at the same time. Two texts clearly refer to him as strategos, *BGU* VIII 1782 and 1825 but neither is dated. None of the other texts provides a title and their dates if given are irrelevant to locating his strategeia. 1872 is a letter addressed to Heliodoros dated year 2 Pachon, which could be either 4 May 56 or 3 May 50. 1873 and 1878 are undated letters which could be considered private, or the concern of the basilikos grammateus or the strategos. Lastly there is the prostagma, *BGU* VIII 1730. It is dated year 3 Phaophi 23, 27 October 50 B.C. It is a matter of dispute whether Heliodoros' name and title can be read in the text erased for the reception

¹⁵⁸See the Add.Note VII, "Harendotes."

of the prostagma, but it does not matter for the date of his *strategiea*, for by year 3 a certain Seleukos was in office. This text can provide a *terminus ante quem* for his tenure.

In spite of these difficulties and the lack of positive evidence, we can place the *strategiea* of Heliodoros with reasonable certainty between that of Paniskos and that of Seleukos, between the years 55 B.C. and 51 B.C. We know that Seleukos was in office by the year 30 which is the year 1, a formula in use for a short period in last year of Ptolemy Auletes and the first of Kleopatra VII.¹⁵⁹ Thus, roughly, Seleukos was *strategos* by June of 51; Paniskos is last attested as *strategos* between April and September of 55. A Soteles and a Eurylochos follow Seleukos seemingly without break, leaving no room for Heliodoros. We know that Heliodoros was active in the 50's of the first century B.C., and it seems only logical to place his tenure as *strategos* in the period between 55 and 51, the only uncovered years in this *BGU* archive from the mid sixties to the mid forties of the century in the Herakleopolite nome. We might in conclusion point out that Paniskos appears to have gone directly from the office of *basilikos grammateus* to that of *strategos* and it is natural to assume that Heliodoros followed the same career path.

Thus in Paniskos and Heliodoros we have two men who serve as *basilikos grammateus* and then as *strategos*, presaging the Roman practice of career succession.¹⁶⁰ By the end of the Ptolemaic period we see that the offices of *strategos* and *basilikos grammateus* had become all powerful in the administration of the nomes. In the case of the *basilikos grammateus*, the lowly Egyptian called on to keep the records and measure the land, has gathered all the local power into his hands and after service as second in command succeeds to the office of governor. It appears too that the career ladder had been regularized. Augustus took over these offices and made them part of his system, but instead of locals and native Egyptians, he staffed the offices with Alexandrian residents, either Alexandrian citizens or those Alexandrians who had attained Roman citizenship.

¹⁵⁹A.E. Samuel, *Cd'É* 40 (1965) 391-395.

¹⁶⁰Thomas Kruse, who is writing a dissertation on the Roman *basilikos grammateus* under the direction of Dieter Hagedorn at Heidelberg, points out to me that the Roman *basilikos grammateus* never serves in the same nome when he succeeds to the *strategiea*.

Conclusions

This work has set out in tabular fashion various arrangements of information on the basilikos grammateus and his office as these could be generated from a data base of information. The tables have been followed by analyses of the function of the office of the basilikos grammateus divided into conventional chronological groupings of the third century on the one hand and the second and third centuries on the other. Finally various problems or items of interest have been addressed in the Additional Notes. This body of work has been intended primarily to establish the basic data on the basilike grammateia beyond mere prosopographical matters, to make this data available to editors of texts and students of the Hellenistic, particularly Ptolemaic world, and to foster further and substantive study into the nature of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy and Ptolemaic rule in Egypt in their three centuries of hegemony.

I began looking at the role of the basilikos grammateus in Ptolemaic Egypt as an element in two large problems concerning the governance of Egypt from the arrival of Ptolemy Soter to the death of Kleopatra VII. These problems may be stated as follows:

1. The nature of the relationship in terms of political and economic power and in social relations between the governing Greek elite and the Egyptian inhabitants.
2. The coherence of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy and its internal organization.

After presenting a summary of observations that we can make from the tables and excurses, I will discuss these two factors in connection with the role of the basilikos grammateus; we must always keep in mind the limitations imposed on general conclusions by evidence so scattered and so lacking in homogeneity in time and in place.

We can see from our earliest documentation, from the middle of the third century and 60 to 70 years after the establishment of Ptolemaic rule, that there was still not an office of "basilikos grammateus." There was in 323 B.C. a status of basilikos grammateus, presumably dating well back into Pharaonic times; the men so designated and others called "scribe" of one sort or another had an honored position in the Egyptian order. Somehow the men of this class became the bilingual intermediaries between the Greek speaking intruders and the Egyptian speaking population. The prosthagmata of *P.Rev.* conceives of an administration with a basilikos grammateus in each nome measuring and keeping a record of

all land and crops. The evidence of the mid-third century Zenon material, however, does not show this to be yet the case, for Apollonios thinks of the basilikoi grammateis as teams of measurers of land and crops.

From the middle of the third century we find the basilikos grammateus in individual documents involved with registration and measurement, but now he is an individual holding an office. From this time forward we also find him involved in a host of other activities including management of Egyptian labor, tax collection, and finally at the end of the century in *UPZ* I 112 of 203/2 B.C. as active supervisor equally with the oikonomos of the whole tax-farming system. In short, during the last fifty years of the third century, the basileus grammateus takes on more and more responsibility. Noting also that no basilikos grammateus in the third century uses a Greek name, we can posit a growing influence of the Egyptians in the functioning of the Ptolemaic government.

The influence of the basilikos grammateus continues into the second and first centuries as does the regularization of his position. This chronological division is, of course, arbitrary and these trends are obviously continuous throughout the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. First, all of the activities and areas of responsibility of the basilikos grammateus continue. We can note much more involvement in the shipping of grain to Alexandria where the basilikos grammateus, the oikonomos and the sitologos all work together and where each, or the agent of each, must sign off on each boat load of grain that leaves the harbor with produce from the royal thesaurus. In part, this activity may be more prominent because of recent finds and publications, such as *P.Erasm.* II. There is evidence of the basilikos grammateus' involvement in the third century, but only in the early second century do we find his role regularized and his office provided with a staff of assistants who do the actual inspection and issue the receipts to the ship captains.

In the Menches archive of the Tebtunis papyri (See Add.Note IX, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Menches Archive") the basilikos grammateus appoints the komogrammateus and presumably other nome (or in the case of the Fayum, the Arsinoite nome, meris) officers. He has a regular position in the nome governance and oversees all the activities of the komogrammateis.

In the texts published as *UPZ* II 198-229, all from the Thebaid and dating from 133-130 B.C., we find the basilikos grammateus closely involved with the royal bank to the extent that all disbursements (and deposits) must be countersigned by the basilikos grammateus or his staff. These documents indeed seem to be more the archive of the agent of the basilikos grammateus, Poseidonios, than of the basilikos grammateus, Heliodoros. This type of activity on the part of the office of the basilikos grammateus is not attested for other areas of Egypt; this situation might well be the accident of evidence.

As we have discussed in Add.Note X, "Paniskos and Heliodoros: a Strategic Pair," in the Herakleopolite nome at the end of the reign of Ptolemy Auletes and continuing into the time of his daughter, Kleopatra VII, there is a regular succession of basilikoi grammateis to the position of strategos, each position having a tenure of three years. It is clear that the strategos is the governor of the nome and the basilikos grammateus is his lieutenant. We have this clear evidence only for the Herakleopolite nome, but confirmation of its systematic use on a wider basis is provided by its adoption by Augustus. For the Roman period of domination, from Augustus to the third century, the nomes were governed by strategoi with the basilikoi grammateis as their lieutenants. Augustus' reform consisted of appointing Alexandrian citizens (sometimes they were also Roman citizens) to these posts. Thus Augustus preserved the form of the nome administration as it had developed in Ptolemaic times, and, at the same time, radically altered its substance by putting control of the provinces in the hands of the propertied and hellenized Alexandrian elite.

In the Ombite nome, (See Add.Note VIII, "The Basilikos Grammateus in the Ombite Nome") on the other hand, it appears that the Ptolemaic system, if there was one, never took hold. The Ombite is at the far reaches of Ptolemaic control in the south of Egypt and may well have only sporadically, and then tenuously, been part of the Ptolemies' suzerainty. It does provide caution as to how much local evidence from anywhere in Egypt can be generalized over geographical space and historical time.

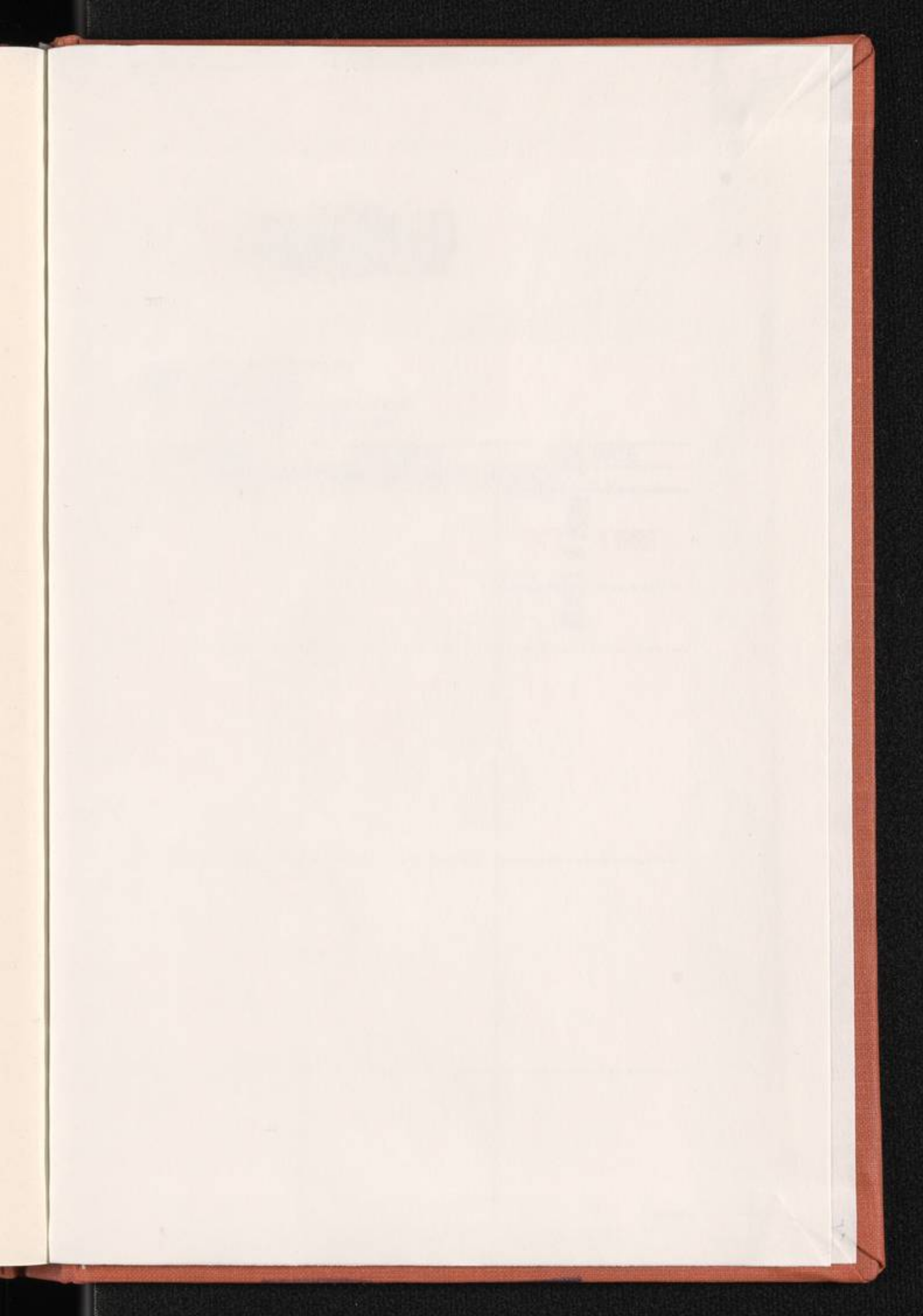
Finally we must note that during the second and into the first century, the names of the basilikoi grammateis become a mix of Greek, Graeco-Egyptian and Egyptian names. The office must have remained bilingual until Roman times and if so, then its holders were Egyptians. Many Egyptians (and perhaps some Greeks) had double names and used the Egyptian or Greek name as the circumstances dictated or as function dictated. An oikonomos always had a Greek name and a basilikos grammateus an Egyptian one until the prestige of the basilikos grammateus became such that it was possible for the holder of that office to use his Greek name.

To return to the two large questions posed above, the nature of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy and the nature of relations between Greeks and Egyptians, we cannot use the evidence to provide definitive statements. The material gathered here can only point in suggestive directions. We can note the progressive regularization of the bureaucracy over time as it became more settled and secure in the roles of individual offices and their holders. We can note that, as the bureaucracy became more rigid, the Egyptian element, the basilikos grammateus and those village and nome officials under him, became more and more important. We might well, from the evidence of this one office, speak of the Egyptianization of the Ptolemaic governance system.

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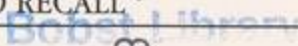

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