THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME
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THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME
by
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THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

A Catalogue of the Toponyms with Introduction and Commentary
by MARIA ROSARIA FALIVENE

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To my Parents
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Acknowledgements

The Herakleopolite Nome is a thoroughly revised version of the second part of a doctoral dissertation approved in 1987. It is a pleasure to remember the occasion on which Professor Herwig Maehler first suggested that I could do research on this topic. In the final year of my stay in London my research was made possible by a British Council scholarship. Dr. Dorothy J. Thompson, FBA, and Professor Ludwig Koenen were among the first readers of my work; I wish to thank them for their comments and encouragement at that very early stage. I also wish to thank an anonymous reader who more or less at the same time contributed stimulating criticism. When my work began, volume XIV of the Berliner Griechische Urkunden had only just come out: its editor, Dr. William M. Brasshear, was the first of many colleagues to whom I have written asking to check readings on the originals, or to procure photographs for me. They have been invariably helpful, and their contribution is gratefully acknowledged at the appropriate places. Dr. Katelijn Vergote gave expert advice on the etymologies of Egyptian toponyms. In the final stages of my work, comments and criticism from Professor Ann Ellis Hanson, Professor Willy Clarysse, Professor Roger Bagnall, and the anonymous readers of the American Society of Papyrology offered me the opportunity to clarify several points.

The excellent library of the Istituto Papirologico Vitelli, in Florence, has been essential for the completion of the present work: my thanks are due to the colleagues and members of staff there. Finally, I wish to thank all my colleagues and members of staff at the Istituto di Filologia Classica, Università di Urbino, for their support and friendship during all these years.

Precious help has also been provided by Valentina Calderai (whenever I had a problem with computers), Riccardo Lucignani (in drawing the map at the end of the volume), Kathleen Cann and Patrick Downey (in revising my English style), Massimo Saltarelli (in preparing the camera-ready copy), Maria Gabriella Colantonio (in checking the final details).
Preface

No book is ever finished, only abandoned\(^1\) - and I must now finally abandon this book. It has accompanied me for a sizeable part of my life, since I was a part-time PhD student in Classics at the University of London (Birkbeck College), with a job in cataloguing the manuscripts of the British and Foreign Bible Society, an interest in Alexandrian poetry, and a fascination with Alexandria. At the time, it was not yet fashionable to call a city like Alexandria (or London) «multicultural», but I can now see very clearly that that was what attracted me to Alexandria (and London): cosmopolitan places where so many different ways of life co-existed, often ignorant of each other, often in the same individual.

I turned to papyrology when I began wondering what happened south of Alexandria, in the χώρας whence the city drew the wealth that made it possible for such a wonderfully complex capital to exist. The abundance of material was astonishing, indeed disorientating for a young would-be scholar with little experience of documentary papyri. Following a suggestion of Herwig Maehler, I selected the Herakleopolite nome as the special subject for my research: new material from that district had just been published by William Brashear\(^2\). I had only recently read Dorothy Crawford's *Kerkoeris\(^3\)*, so I gave my PhD thesis the provisional title: «Life in the Herakleopolite nome, a district in Middle Egypt during the Ptolemaic period»\(^4\).

The present book is one result of that decision of many years ago. It is essentially based on the Greek papyri, dating from the third century B.C. to the eighth century A.D., which mention Herakleopolite place-names. It aims both at mapping the nome territory, and at investigating the provenance of these papyri, the vast majority of which can be traced back to a limited number of sites. These two aims, which have required analysing and evaluating each papyrus that appears in the Catalogue, are not pursued in the standard work of reference for geographical names in Graeco-Roman Egypt\(^5\).

The Greek language was adopted and kept in use, long after the end of the Macedonian dynasty in Egypt, by the administrators of a country whose mother-tongue was very much alive, and prestigious, throughout the so-called Graeco-Roman millennium. For the Ptolemaic period, in particular, Demotic papyri have often been found together with Greek ones at the same Herakleopolite sites\(^6\): Demotic (and Coptic) sources may in any case be expected to provide important, indeed essential information on the historical geography of the Herakleopolite nome in the long period of time that interests us here. Much work remains to be done on this part of the evidence: I have done my best to take into account those sources

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\(^4\) My PhD thesis (The Herakleopolite Nome in the Ptolemaic Period) was approved in May 1987.

\(^5\) ARISTIDE CALDERINI-SERGIO DARIS, Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’Egitto greco-romano, Cairo-Madrid-Milano 1935-1987; Supplemento 1, Milano 1988; Supplemento 2, Bonn 1996.

\(^6\) Cf. P.Hib. I, Introduction, p.11: «... the proportion of Greek to demotic in the Hibe cartonnage is distinctly smaller than in that discovered by Flinders Petrie at Gurob and Hawara, and apparently smaller than that found by Jouguet and Lefebvre at Magdala, though it is larger than in the cartonnage found by us at Tebtunis, the demotic papyri from which outnumber the Greek by two to one».

I wish to thank Willy Clarysse and Mark Depauw, for information on published Demotic papyri originating from the Herakleopolite nome.
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that are referred to in the secondary literature 1, but first-hand work will need an Egyptologist.

There are, of course, many more documents (Greek, Demotic and Coptic) from the Herakleopolites,
dating from the third B.C. to the eighth A.D., than those actually mentioning Herakleopolite toponyms; a
«Guide to the documents from the Herakleopolite nome», compiled along the lines of the Guide to the
Zenon Archive 2, is conceivable, though this goes far beyond my present purposes.

Greek and Latin literary sources referring to Herakleopolite localities are few; I have listed 3, but only occasionally discussed them; they would in fact require an altogether different approach from that adopted for documentary papyri. A thorough inspection of the volumes of the Patrologia Graeca could prove fruitful here 4.

Before the third century B.C., the history of Egypt is intimidatingly long, and richly documented. The Wilbour Papyrus, dating from the twelfth century B.C., is a survey of the land granted to temples in an area largely coinciding with the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes of a later age: some of the many toponyms mentioned in it can be recognized in the Greek documents of one or two thousand years later. 5 Throughout the Graeco-Roman millennium, the apparently insignificant village of Πικέρ is attested by a single document dating from the sixth century A.D. (Stud. Pal. X 228): it does however recur in the Wilbour Papyrus, which proves its continuing existence, under the same name (Pr-Jqr: «Pi-Oker» 6), since the twelfth century B.C. at least.

The case of Πικέρ should inspire prudence when attempting to draw conclusions on the basis of the number and time-distribution of sources relating to any single toponym, and to the toponyms of a district as a whole. The cases of Tilothitis and Τασοντοφούβα are equally instructive. Tilothitis, the main centre of its own toparchy in the Ptolemaic period, received a new, or rather a second name (Νείλου πόλις) in the Roman period, as it increased in importance, eventually becoming the metropolis of an independent nome. But it is its Egyptian name that we find in the Suda, and that still survives in modern Dali 7. Νείλου πόλις obviously existed primarily in the documents of the Roman administration. The Egyptian place-name Τασοντοφούβα was translated into Greek: it is Ἡτῶν Πικέρ in a document of 131 A.D., presumably an indication of the interest, on the part of the new settlers, in the Egyptian ibis-cult.

A good number of place-names found in the Greek papyri can be identified, one or two thousand years later, in the modern Arabic names of the same localities. These can be traced on the Egypt Survey Map of 1917, thus making it possible to locate a number of Herakleopolite villages on the Map which is found at the end of this volume 8.

The capital of the nome was called Χρακλέους πόλις by the Greeks, who equated the Egyptian Ramgod Harsaphes (Hrj ūf), the chief divinity of the nome, with the Greek hero. For the native Egyptian, however, the town had always been Hw.t-nn-nsw, the «Mansion of the Royal Child»: Nn-nsw, «the Royal

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1 For Coptic sources, STEFAN TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, Wiesbaden 1984-1994, is a mine of information.


3 See Catalogue, s.vv. ΑΓΚΥΡΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ, ΘΜΟΙΝΕΨΙ, ΠΠΟΝΩΝ ΚΩΜΗ, ΣΙΩΝ, ΚΑΙΝΗ, ΚΟΜΑ, ΠΕΝΑΝΕΨΙ, ΣΙΝΑΓΡΙ, ΧΟΡΤΟΣΩ.

4 The starting point here must be the Einleitung to TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten (vol.I, pp.1-33); see also the discussion of the literary sources relating to the Hermopolite nome by MARIE DREW-BEAN, Le nyme Hermopolite. Toponymes et sies, Ann Arbor 1979, pp.4-10. The book by JOHN BALL, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Cairo 1942, though somewhat confused, may still be of some use.

5 See Catalogue, s.vv. ΘΜΟΙΜΟΥΝΕΨΙ and ΠΙΑΚΕΡ. The geographical information contained in the P.Wilbour has been thoroughly exploited by FAROUK GOMMA, RENATE MÜLLER-WOLLMANN, WOLFGANG SCHENKEL, Mittelägypten zwischen Samalait und dem Gabal Abī Șīr, Wiesbaden 1991.

6 See Catalogue s.v. ΠΙΑΚΕΡ.

7 See Catalogue, s.v. ΤΙΑΛΘΕΣ.

8 Cf. Introduction, pp.4-10.
PREFACE

Child», being one name of Hrjt-sf. Another name was Somtous, Sm3-t3.wj, «he who unites the two countries» ¹, well suited to the god of a city that had twice been the capital of Egypt. The Coptic sources preserve the Egyptian name (Hnrs), which actually survives to this day (Imnasya al-Madina) for us to ponder on the limits of reciprocal understanding between Greeks and the natives in Egypt. Even at the time when the Greeks called it Herakleopolis, this was an important town, deserving a special study which cannot be attempted here.

«Egyptian names always have a meaning» ², which can often be recovered; in the case of Egyptian toponyms known from Greek documents, this can only be done once the Egyptian spelling has been retrieved through (or at times in spite of) the Greek transliteration. A sound methodological basis for this kind of work has been provided by Jean Yoyotte and Jan Quaegebeur (often in cooperation with Willy Clarysse) ³; more ground-breaking work is being done by Katelijn Vandorpe ⁴. Once interpreted, Egyptian toponyms tell us of gods to whom places were once sacred, of important persons to whom they once belonged, of features in the natural landscape after which they were called, of the work and life of people who lived there. The same is true of the Greek and Latin names given to places that were either newly founded, or re-named by the Greek (and Roman) new-comers. Much work also remains to be done in this field.

¹ The child-god of Hw.t-nn-nsw/Herakleopolis has been recognized in a bronze statuette of a Belgian private collection, and in several other statuettes (one of them from Al-Hiba / Αγκυρόν πόλις) by JAN QUÆGEBEUR, «Somtous l’Enfant sur le lotus», CRIPEL 13, 1991, pp.113-121. Somtous was «l’avatar juvenile d’Hérîshf» (JEAN YOYOTTE - PIERRE CHUVIN, «Le Zeus Casios de Péluse à Tivoli. Une hypothèse», BIFAO 88, 1988, p.176).


⁴ She was so kind as to put a copy of her unpublished thesis on Egytische geografische elementen in Griekse transcriptie (Leuven 1988) at my disposal. I am most grateful to Willy Clarysse, who read through the (almost) final version of the present work, and certainly succeeded in making me feel less a stranger to Demotic studies.
Note on Conventions and Abbreviations

The Catalogue lists all toponyms of the Herakleopolite nome as attested in the Greek (and Latin) literary sources and in the Greek (and Latin) papyri published up to 1997, to the exclusion of the metropolis (Herakleopolis Magna).

Toponyms are listed in alphabetical order: those whose beginning is lost or damaged are found at the end of the catalogue. The main entries consist of the toponyms in the nominative case; if this is attested in, or may be unambiguously deduced from one or more sources: otherwise, the toponym is given as it appears in the source(s). In indicating dates, I have basically followed the criteria adopted in Eric G. Turner’s Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World.

As a rule, I have refrained from imparting accents (and breathings) to Egyptian toponyms transliterated into Greek. This is a risky, and perhaps superfluous undertaking: the criteria adopted by Preissigke in his Namenbuch were aimed, by the author’s own admission, at internal consistency rather than scientific accuracy, while a quite bewildering variety prevails in the editions of Greek documentary papyri. Willy Clarysse has convincingly argued that toponyms with an –ες ending should be proparoxytonous, where possible (following the declension of δοῦμις, genitive δοῦμαις; thus, Φεβίχις, not Φεβίης as in Preissigke, followed by all later editors of Greek documents) and that toponyms ending in –εὐς should be oxytonous (as in Ἰπεῖος or Ἀχιλλεῦς, gen. –είως). These two are indeed among the most common endings in hellenised Egyptian place-names, but there are many other less straightforward instances, and establishing a new set of rules for Greek accents on Egyptian names could by no means be my task here.

Under each main entry, the relevant sources are listed in chronological order: abbreviations are those adopted in John F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, 4th ed. (BASP Suppl. 7, 1992); dates are as in the editio princeps, unless otherwise indicated. For each source, the toponym is quoted as given in the editio princeps, unless the reading has been later improved: in

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1 ERIC G. TURNER, Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World. Second Edition revised and enlarged. Edited by PETER J. PARSONS, University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, BICS Supplement 46, 1987, p.VII: «When a precise date cannot be offered, the date suggested is usually a century, indicated by a ... roman figure preceding the abbreviation B.C. or A.D. Thus II B.C. means second century before Christ; III/II B.C. means third to second century B.C. (i.e. about 225-175 B.C.)».

2 Cf. Friedrich Preissigke, Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschenamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschilder usw.) Ägyptens sich finden, Heidelberg 1922, p.4: «Was die Akzentfrage anbetrifft, so sind vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkte aus diejenige Lehren zweifellos im Rechte, welche die Akzente für griechisch geschriebene ägyptische und semitische Namen überhaupt ablehnen; aber die griechischen Urkunden Ägyptens werden nicht bloß von Orientalisten, sondern auch, und zwar in überwiegendem Maße, von Gräzisten benutzt, welche der orientalischen Sprachen unkundig sind, und diese sind gewohnt, beim Aussprechen eines Namens den Ton auf irgend eine Silbe zu legen. Aus rein praktischem Grunde hat sich daher, wie viele Papyrusausgaben zeigen, die Gepflogenheit herausgebildet, Akzente zu setzen. Auch in diesem Namenbuch wollen die Akzente der nichtgriechischen Namen nur als Notbehelf angesesehen werden; der Gegner möge sie als nicht vorhanden betrachten, die übrigen Akzente aber mögen sie als Andeutung dafür annehmen, welche Silbe von den ägyptischen Griechen vermutlich betont worden sein wird, und wie wir heute praktisch das Wort aussprechen wollen. Daß ich dabei immer das Richtige getroffen habe, darf ich keinesfalls behaupten».

3 It is sometimes impossible to decide whether a toponym (attested e.g. in the genitive only) had an –ες, or an –εὐς ending in Greek. When in doubt, I have indicated an (–ες) ending.

4 A paper by Willy Clarysse on this topic has been kindly made available to me by its author in March 1996: see now his article on «Greek Accents on Egyptian Names», ZPE 119, 1997, pp.177-184.
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the latter case, reference is made to the Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten (BL), volumes 1-9, or (in a footnote) to the relevant publication (the abbreviations adopted are those of the Bibliographie Papyrologique). The contributions of colleagues who kindly checked the readings for me against the originals are also acknowledged in the footnotes. I have myself suggested a number of new readings, which I have checked against the originals or from photographs. New readings are signaled by an asterisk marking the relevant entries in the Reverse Index (see below).

When it seemed appropriate, I have quoted more than just the place-name: e.g. when reference is made to the status of a locality (κόμη, ἐποίκιον, χωρίον, τόπος, etc.1), or when officials, trades, other place-names and the like are mentioned in connection with the toponym under consideration. I have not repeated the toponym when it is given in the source as it appears in the main entry. A question mark preceding the reference to a source indicates that this may not refer to a Herakleopolite village.

The list of sources is followed by secondary entries for the toparchy of the village under consideration, the etymology of its name, and the modern Arabic name (whenever the identification with an ancient locality is possible). One or other, or indeed all of these secondary entries may be missing, when no relevant information is available.

A short comment usually follows, mainly discussing the nature of the sources and the location of the village under consideration.

A list of Fossil Kleroi and a list of Other Kleroi in the Herakleopolite Nome are appended at the end of the Catalogue.

There follow a list of Villages arranged by Toparchies, a Chronological Index of the papyri referred to in the Catalogue (arranged by centuries), a Reverse Index of the papyri referred to in the Catalogue (which is organized according to the papyrus edition in which each text mentioned appears) and an Index of Variant Spellings.

A Map is also appended.

The following Abbreviations are employed:


PREISIGKE, Namenbuch = FRIEDRICH PREISIGKE, Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienchilder usw.) Ägyptens sich finden, Heidelberg 1922.

PPt = WILLY PEREMANS - EDMOND VAN’T DACK, Prosopographia ptolemaica, vol.I-VII, Louvain-

1 On these denominations, see MARIE DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite. Toponymes et sites, Ann Arbor 1979, pp.41-42; PAOLA PRUNETTI, I centri abitati dell’Ossirrinchite. Repertorio toponomastico, Firenze 1981, pp.10-12.
NOTE ON CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS


SEM = Survey of Egypt Map (1917 and 1930; scale 1:100,000).


Abbreviations for periodicals are those adopted in SB and LÄ.
PART ONE

Introduction
1 In insula Nili

At the time of the Pharaohs, the Herakleopolites was called the Nome of the tree naret (nfr.t): its main
divinity was the Ram-god Harsaphes (Hrj-śf, originally meaning «the who is upon his lake»)\(^1\), whom the
Greeks identified with Herakles\(^2\). The Greek re-naming of the district and of its capital Herakleopolis
Magna evidently took place via this identification; the Egyptian name was Hw.t-(n-)nn-nsw or, in its
compressed form, Hw.t.nsw, sometimes abbreviated as Nn-nsw, «Mansion of the Royal Child». Herakleopolis, about
80 kms south of Memphis, was an important town in Pharaonic Egypt\(^3\): its site, one of the
largest in Egypt, was first excavated by Naville\(^4\) then by Petrie\(^5\) and, with different (papyrological)
interests, by Wilcken\(^6\); there followed members of the Beni Suef Antiquities Service and, since 1966, the
Spanish Archaeological Mission, who have been digging at Herakleopolis until the present day\(^7\). The city
where the Nile valley was at its widest (about 25 km) in southern Egypt: it is no more than 10 km
wide near Dahmarī/Ταξιμορού, in the border-area between the Herakleopolite and the Oxyrhynchite
nomes (approx. 46 km south of Herakleopolis). The ancient Herakleopolites extended over the modern
province of Beni Suef and beyond, its southermost toparchy (the Koites) corresponding roughly to the
northern part of the modern province of Al-Minya.

During their 1981 survey of the region comprised between Samalūt and the Gabal Abū Sir, the authors

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\(^1\) See HERMANN KEEES, Ancient Egypt. A Cultural Topography (Edited by T.G.H. James. Translated by Ian F.D.
Morrow), London-Chicago 1977 (1961\(^1\); original title: Das alte Aegypten), pp.212-230 («Herakleopolis and the Fayum»). See
also LĂ. II 1015-1018; JOŽEF VERGOTE, «Note sur ΣΕΗΦ», JIP 11/12, 1957/58, pp.93-96; more recently: JAN
QUAEJEBEUG, «Une statue égyptienne représentant Héraclès-Melqart?», in Phoenixia and the east Mediterraneum in the First
Casios de Péluse à Tivoli. Une hypothèse», BIFAO 88, 1988, pp.172-176. The dissertation by KATELIN VANDORPE,
Egyptische Geografische Elementen in Griekse Transcriptie, Leuven 1988 (unpublished), has also been of great use to me, here
and elsewhere.

\(^2\) The identification might rest upon a later interpretation of Harsaphes' name, apparently implying a reference to
(Harsaphes') virile courage (τὸ ὑψόπτης; cf. PLUT. Is. et Os. 37): a quality the Greeks would certainly see as Herakles'
own. See VERGOTE, «Note sur ΣΕΗΦ», cit., p.94 f.

\(^3\) MOHAMED GAMAL EL-DIN MOHTAR, Idrīsa El-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna). Its Importance and its Role in
Pharaonic History (BÉE 40), Cairo 1983.

\(^4\) EDOUARD NAVILLE, Ahnas El Medineh (Herakleopolis Magna), in Eleventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund,
London 1894.

\(^5\) WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE, Ehnasya, London 1905; cf. also WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE-GUY
BRUNTON, Sedment, London 1924.

\(^6\) See below, p.27.

\(^7\) For a brief history of the Spanish excavations see MARIA DEL CARMEN PEREZ DIE - PASCAL VERNUS, Excavaciones en
Ehnasya El Medina (El Medina Herakleopolis Magna), Madrid 1992 (vol.I); 1995 (vol.II). See also EADEM, «Discoveries at
Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasya el-Medina)», Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society, No.6,
of supplement (Beiheft) B 69 to the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients were able to detect the remains of nine ancient dykes in what used to be the territory of the Herakleopolite nome. Parts of these dykes are to this day in use as roads, or paths, and the modern names of some villages in their proximity can be identified with ancient toponyms appearing in the documents of the Greek, Roman and Byzantine periods. In at least some cases the dykes may also have functioned as land-marks, defining the boundaries between toparchies within the nome. All dykes but one extended from the Nile to the Old Bahr Yusuf, crossing the Nile valley at a distance of approximately 8-11 kms from each other: the one dyke built at right angles to the others ran roughly parallel to, and midway between the Nile and the Old Bahr Yusuf; its remains are recognisable to the east of Saft Raśin. In what follows, these dykes will occasionally serve as reference points in locating villages and toparchies.

Strabo, Ptolemy and Pliny the Elder agree in stating that the Herakleopolite nome was an island, and if Pliny’s assertion is bound to be second-hand, Strabo declares that he travelled «as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia», while Ptolemy, an inhabitant of Egypt and a geographer, is on both grounds likely to give an accurate description of a district in Middle Egypt.

Strabo concentrates upon the northern part of the island:

«... the Herakleote (sic) nome, on a large island where, on the right, is the canal which leads into Libya to the Arsinoite nome, so that the canal has two mouths, a part of the island intervening between the two».

Further on, he describes how

«... locks have been placed at both mouths of the canal, by which the engineers (οἱ ἄρχοντες) regulate both the inflow and the outflow of the water. ... Near the first entrance to the canal, and on proceeding thence about thirty or forty stadia, one comes to a flat, trapezium-shaped place, which has a village, and also a great palace composed of many palaces - as many in number as there were nomes in earlier times ...».

Important water-control works at Πτολεμείας Ὀρμοὺ (modern Al-Lahün) are repeatedly referred to in the Petrie Papyri: these should perhaps be identified with a six-gate sluice mentioned in some documents

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1 The region described in TAVO B 69 corresponds to that surveyed by the P. Wilbour; on the dyke and basin system, see esp. pp.49-52. The survey was based on the maps drawn by Schouani, Martin and Linant de Bellefonds (see pp.29-44, with the Tables at the end of the volume, especially Tables XXIII-XXV), as well as those published by the Survey Department of Egypt, at various stages in the course of the 20th century (cf. the Verzeichnis der benutzten Landkarten, pp.XIX-XX).


2 See below, p.10.

3 STRAB. Geogr. 17,1,35; PTOL. Geogr. IV, 5, 55-59; PLIN. H.N. 5,9,50 (Heracleopolites est in insula Nilis longa passuum quinquaginta M, in qua et oppidum Herculis appellatum).

4 STRAB. 2,5,11: ἐπιλήθεμεν ... ἔπι μεσαμπρακ ... μέχρι τῶν τῆς Ἀλκιπόσας ἄρχων.

5 Any number of papyri prove that this region was easily reached from Alexandria, where Ptolemy lived: «De la vie de Ptolémée, nous ne savons presque rien, mais nous connaissons grâce à la Syntaxe Mathematique le lieu de ses observations, Alexandrie, et leur date: la plus ancienne, portant sur une éclipse de lune, remonte à la neuvième année du règne d’Hadrien (141)» (GERMAINE AUJAC, Claude Ptolémée astronome, astrologue, géographe. Connaissance et représentation du monde habité, Paris 1993, p.9). Ptolemy may well have visited the region himself.

6 STRAB. 17,1,35. Translations by H.L. Jones (in the Loeb edition, Cambridge Mass.-London 1959). The «part of the island intervening between the two (mouths of the canal leading to the Arsinoite nome)» may correspond to the Mēτη toparchy of the Herakleopolites: see below, p.9 f.

7 STRAB. 17,1,37.
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of the Roman period; it is likely that the same were meant by Strabo, too.

Ptolemy’s «coordonnées ... sont là pour permettre à quiconque de dresser une carte qui soit imitation très approximative, mais utile, de la réalité» 3. Here is his description 4:

«The country south of the Great Delta and of the Northern Land is called Ἐπτὸς Νομοί (or Ἐπτανομικά); and the first nome, west of the river, is the Memphites, with its metropolis Memphis. Also west of the river (inland) is Akanthom Polis.

Then the river divides into two separate branches, forming an island, the Herakleopolite nome, and in the island (inland) is Nilopolis, at 62° (long.), 29° 30/60'} (lat.). The metropolis is near the western branch of the river: Herakleopolis, a large town: 61° 50/60 (long.), 29° 10/60 (lat.). And within the island there is Nilopolis (inland) 5.

West of the island is the Arsinoite nome, with its metropolis Arsinoe (inland) and the port of Ptolemais 6.

East of the island is the Aphroditopolite nome, with the metropolis bearing the same name, Aphroditopolis.

There follows, again east of the island, Ankyron Polis 7. The river-branches forming the island flow together again at 62° (long.), 29° 45/60 (lat.).

West of the river lies the Oxyrhynchite nome with its metropolis Oxyrynhchos. There follows, on the same side of the river, the Kynopolites with its metropolis, west of the river, Ko 8. And facing it, on the island, there is Kynon Polis».

The course of the Bahr Yūsuf, and of the Nile, have altered over the centuries, as a result of the combined work of nature and man. Thus, a 2.5 km shift eastwards of the Nile in the post-Roman period certainly occurred in the Memphite region 9. The hydro-geographical reality described by Strabo and Ptolemy for the Herakleopolite nome clearly differs from that shown on the 1917 Survey of Egypt Map 10:


2 Strabo also reports (17,1,39) that the inhabitants of Herakleopolis worshipped the ichneumon; cf. also AELIAN., N.A.

3 GERMAINNE AUJAC, op.cit., p.155. Ptolemy himself (Geogr. II,1,2) warned his reader about possible inaccuracies. Cf.

also JOHN BALL, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Cairo 1942, pp.117-119: «Out of the total of a hundred and sixty-seven places in Egypt of which the sites or probable sites have been identified in the foregoing lists, the positions given by Ptolemy prove to be correct to within half a degree in both latitude and longitude in seventy-nine cases, or 47%, and to within one degree of both latitude and longitude in 126 cases, or 75% of the total of places identified ... As was only to be expected from the circumstance that there existed in those days no satisfactory method for determining latitudes by astronomical observations, Ptolemy’s errors in longitude are larger both in number and in magnitude than his errors in latitude ...». Furthermore, Ptolemy’s figures will have been liable to incorrect transcription on the part of the scribes in the course of manuscript transmission.


5 Different figures are apparently given in locating Nilopolis: I take the first (62° long.; 29° 30/60 lat.) to refer to the point at which the Nile divided into two branches (i.e. the northern extreme of the Herakleopolite island); and the second (62° long.; 29° 45/60 lat.) to refer to the actual location of Nilopolis.

6 This is of course Πτολεμαίας Ὀρμος/Al-Lahūn.

7 The measurements (62° 15/60 long.; 29° 20/60 lat.) given for Ἀγυρρόν πόλις (to be identified with Al-Hiba: see Catalogue, s.v.) locate it too far north (c.g. in relation to Herakleopolis) in the nome.

8 On the relation between Ko and Κυνὸν πόλις, and of both with the Koites, see Catalogue, s.v. KO.


10 From now on: SEM.
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Indeed, SEM records the traces of a "Bahr Yusuf Old", near Al-Gafadīn and immediately west of Saft Rašīn¹. These continuous, if slow, alterations in the course of the Nile, and of its branches, were caused by the "new land" formations: fluvial deposits accumulated to form what was called in Egyptian m3j, a term which was either transliterated as (Θ)µουλφ(νν), or translated as νήσος in Greek². The high incidence of toponyms compounded with the prefix m3j = (Θ)µουλφ(νν), or translated into Greek as Νήσιου, Τεχθο Νήσιου, Τεράν Νήσιου, shows that such formations were typical of the Herakleopolite nome³.

Perhaps the «Bahr Yusuf Old» silted up, entirely or in part(s), while the Nile made its progress eastwards; at the same time, the new Bahr Yusuf was formed. In the process, the Herakleopolite island, as known to some ancient authors, disappeared. If so, the fact that the region of the Herakleopolite nome is no longer in insula Nili need not mean that our literary sources were mistaken, or not telling the truth. Rather, it would mean that the hydro-geographical setting of this district has altered over the centuries.


² Cf. VANDORPE, «The Dockyard Workshop», p.160: «Newly-gained or alluvial land (m3j) came into being by the deposit of silt on a bank in the Nile, thus creating an island which could be attached to the main land later on, or by the deposit of silt on the shore, thus creating a peninsula. The term m3j could also be used outside the agrarian environment to denote a real and lasting island...». Much the same process can be observed in the formation of an Altwasser, in the Bavarian Altmühltal (Germany): a branch of the river slowly silts up at its downstream end, so as to be cut out from the main stream (initially in the low-ebb periods only); this allows for vegetation to grow thicker both under water and on the banks, which in turn makes further silting up easier etc. This process can be artificially accelerated, in order to obtain more cultivable (and very fertile) land.

³ Cf. TAVO B 69, pp.118-119 (with special regard to the so-called Zone II, around Ψυχις/Absūg).
2. Toparchies and Pagi

«Audit the revenue accounts, if possible, village by village (κατὰ κώμην) - and we think it not to be impossible, if you devote yourself zealously to the business - if not, by toparchies (κατὰ τοπάρχαιν)...» (P.Tebt. III 703,117-123).

The wording of this instruction (addressed by the dioiketes to an oikonomos in the late third century B.C.) suggests that an oikonomos would be inclined to adopt the toparchy (or τόπος), rather than the village, as the smallest unit, when assessing taxes for the nome he was in charge of, no matter what the preferences of his superiors were. The obvious counter-move on the part of his superiors, aiming at ensuring a more pervading, village-by-village administrative control, was to make the toparchies smaller by increasing their number. Thus, the "Αγιμα toparchy was divided into a Northern, a Central and a Southern "Αγιμα already in the Ptolemaic period, while the Neiopolites (probably coinciding with the northern part of the nome) was given the status of independent district from the middle of the second century A.D. - a time at which the Koites, at the other end of the Herakleopolites, was split into Κάτω and "Ενο Κοίτης.3

In the later Ptolemaic period, which is also the time for which we have the largest amount of evidence on this subject, the following toparchies (in alphabetical order) are attested in the Herakleopolite nome: "Αγιμα, "Αγιμα, Κάτω, περί Κώμα. Μέση, Πέραν, περί Πόλιν, περί Τεκμι, Τεχθω Νήσος, περὶ Τίλωθιν, περὶ Φεβιχίν/Κοίτης.6

Some villages can be identified with their modern namesakes7 on the basis of (1) phonetic similarity8,

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1 See the Map at the end of the volume.
2 P.Tebt. III 703 comes from the Herakleopolites, being among the papyri obtained from the cartonnage of mummies found at Umm Al-Baragat (see below, p.17 f.). This passage was quoted by EDMOND VANT DACK, «La Toparchie dans l’Égypte piélonémaque», Chr.Eg. 23, 1948, p.158; he also remarked that the larger villages only are likely to have had their own administrators, who must have been in charge of the smaller nearby villages, too (e.g. the komogrammatae of the main village in a τόπος may well have acted as the komogrammatae of the smaller surrounding villages, too, thereby coinciding in effect with the topogrammatae).
3 See Catalogue, s.vv. Koίτης and Νείλου πόλις.
4 In BGU VIII 1827, ἐν θοπαρχίας Φεβιμετ is an uncertain reading: in any case, the toparchy of Φεβιμετ (see s.v.) should coincide with the Μέση.
5 BGU VIII 1780 does probably not refer to the ἄμοιστρόφιτος Artemidoros as based at Τάγχας (see s.v.): this village was in fact in the Tilithis toparchy, and is nowhere else referred to as the main centre in a toparchy of its own.
7 The specific reasons for assigning a village to a particular toparchy, or for identifying it with a modern one, are discussed in the Catalogue, under the relevant entry.
8 The modern toponym must be «meaningless» in Arabic, this being an important countercheck against arbitrary identifications based solely on phonetical similarity; cf. MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN, «Zur Lokalisierung von Orten», p.713: «Der heutige Ortsname ist nicht genuin arabisch, könnte also auf einen allägyptische griechischen oder koptischen zurückgehen». On the criteria for reliable identification between ancient and modern toponyms see also JEANNE and LOUIS ROBERT, «La persistance de la toponymie antique dans l’Anatolie», in La toponymie antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (12-14 Juin 1975), Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg. Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques, 4, pp.11-63.
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in combination with (2) archaeological evidence and/or (3) information regarding the location of villages in a particular topanarchy, as provided by (a) Greek and Latin papyri or (b) literary sources, or (c) similar information offered by ancient Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic and Arabic sources. These identifications of the sites of ancient villages also enable us to locate the different topanarchies in relation to each other.

The identification of Abū Sir al-Malaq (where most first-century B.C. documents from the Herakleopolite nome were found) with Bousiris shows that the Koma topanarchy, to which Bousiris is assigned in the first-century B.C. sources, is the northernmost topanarchy in the district. Just over 9 km NE of Abū Sir al-Malaq, Qimans al-'Arus should be ancient Koma itself; modern Al-Maimūn must be ancient Thmoiamoun(is): this is near the Nile, 10 km away from Abū Sir al-Malaq, and slightly to the south of it.

Tilothos (modern Dalās, approx. 7 km south of Al-Maimūn, and again not far from the Nile) was the main centre of the next topanarchy (peript Tilothos). In the Roman period, Tilothos had its name changed to Neilou polis, as it became the capital of an independent district, the Nειλουπολιτεία, which must have comprised the whole of the northern Herakleopolites. About 4 km south of Tilothos/Neilou polis/Dalās, Būs should be ancient Pois, often connected to Tilothos in the documents; Tansa Al-Malaq, less than 4 km NW of Dalās/Tilothos, and Imshtam, less than 5 km NE of it, can be identified with the ancient Tanchais and Ρεχμοίνθας, respectively, both in the Tilothos topanarchy.

Πρεκλέλους polis (modern Ilnāsiya al-Madīna), the nome capital, was at the western extreme of dyke no.14, running over Noris (modern An-Nuwaira) to Banī Suwaid. Its topanarchy was called Πρεκλέλους polis: it may have comprised Πεση = modern Bāba (9 km NE of the capital) and Τιντηρίς = Dandil (less than 4 km further NE).

Dimāwīya (about 8 km east of Herakleopolis; immediately south of dyke no.14) has been convincingly identified with Μούχις, a well attested village in the Tekmi topanarchy; less than 7 km SW of it, Tuwas could be the modern equivalent of Toaus, in the same topanarchy. North of Dimāwīya, other identifications may be suggested for villages of the Tekmi topanarchy: the second part of the place-name Banī Biklīft (a little more than 3 km to the north) may preserve the ancient toponym Bythwos. About 8 km north of Banī Biklīft, by the Gabal Abū Sir, Al-Barqī = Προγοτός is also a possibility. Neighbourhood relationships between the Koma, Tekmi and Tilothos topanarchies are revealed by the fact that quite a few of their villages are repeatedly listed together in documents such as P.Lille I 59, P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782 (b) and BGU XIV 23708.

The northernmost village in the "Aghiū topanarchy which can be identified with a modern one is Πεση = modern Bāba, in the first century B.C., to the Μέση
in the third century A.D. 1. The modern village is on the Bahr Yūsuf, but the Coptic Life of the Apa Epima suggests that in ancient times it was the village of Πενενμεων that functioned as its port; this in turn can be identified with modern Al-Bahsamun (about 4.5 km SW of Πενενμεων/Bahnamuh) or, more precisely, with the nearby Al Kôm Al Ahmar. The modern Bahr skirts this village, which the documents assigned to the Πέραν topararchy, <on the other (i.e. western) side> of the ancient canal: Peensamoi must have been near the northern limit of this topararchy, which extended to Σιναρα/Sinara, almost 30 km south of Al-Bahsamun (just east of the Old Bahr Yūsuf, as shown on SEM) a border-line village between the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes. 3

We may assume that the Old Bahr Yūsuf, running near Peensamoi, separated the Πέραν topararchy from the northern (κότω) "Ἀγγέλας topararchy, while the (shifting) boundary between "Ἀγγέλα κότω and Μέση must have been near Peenameus. The links between Πέραν and "Ἀγγέλα were close: both topararchies extended in a north-south direction, along the opposite sides of the Old Bahr Yūsuf. The "Ἀγγέλα topararchy (on the eastern side) was divided into a Northern (κότω) and a Southern (ἀνω) "Ἀγγέλας; dyke no.12 5 may have marked the boundary between the two. The southernmost "Ἀγγέλας village should be Κολόφον/Al-Gafadyn, about 27 km south of Πενενμεων/Bahnamuh, east of the ancient course of the Bahr Yūsuf (though modern Al-Gafadyn is west of the present course of the Bahr). 6 Other identifications are possible, with varying degrees of certainty: Νυνια (in the κότω "Ἀγγέλας topararchy is Nuna, 6 km SE of Πενενμεων/Bahnamuh; the best preserved dyke (dyke no.13) ran about one km north of it 7. Alliai (in the ανω "Ἀγγέλας) could be Hiliya, a now dismantled archaeological site 9 km south of Νυνια/Nina; 3.5 km west of Hiliya, Badahl could be ancient Πεταχορ. In the first century B.C., the village of Alliai is assigned to the "Ἀγγέλας κότω in BGU XIV 2437, but to the Μέση topararchy in CPR I 64 and Stud. Pal. XX 28 (which date from about three centuries later): while this is an indication that the topararchy called the Μέση bordered on the "Ἀγγέλας κότω, it seems difficult to conclude that the name Μέση actually stood for ("Ἀγγέλας Μέση. For one thing, the full name "Ἀγγέλας Μέση is not attested in any document to those published to this date; furthermore, there is very little space left for the "Ἀγγέλας κότω north of Peenameus/Bahnamuh and south of Heracleopolis/Inhassiyah al-Madina. I think we may safely conclude that the "Ἀγγέλας topararchy was divided into Northern (Κότω) and Southern (Ἀνω) "Ἀγγέλας, while the Μέση was probably east of the "Ἀγγέλας κότω, and bordered on the Arsinoite nome. In fact, one or more villages of the Μέση topararchy may have been identical with those bearing the same names, and appearing elsewhere in an Arsinoite setting: in such cases we should assume that these villages changed loyalties, as they were, at different times, or even just in different documents, but under different circumstances. 8. Φερμιδος, for example, is well attested as the main centre of the Μέση topararchy in

1 A similar "shifting" (from "Ἀγγέλας to Μέση) occurs in the case of Sinne (see Catalogue, s.v. ΣΙΣΙΝΗ).
2 See Catalogue, s.v. ΠΕΝΕΝΜΕΩΝ.
3 Only documents of the Ptolemaic period assign this village to the Herakleopolites; in later times, Sinary is invariably recorded for the Oxyrhynchites.
4 See Catalogue, s.vv. ΝΙΣΕΥΣ, ΤΕΡΓΩΝΙΤΕΙΤΕΧΩΝ, ΠΕΤΑΧΟΡ.
5 "Verläuft über Abu Surbān weiter südlich von Saft Rašīn nach Santur. In Westteil noch einigermaßen zu erkennen" (TAVO B 69, pp.49-52).
6 Cf. TAVO B 69, pp.44-45: "Die Description de l’Égypte zeigt offensichtlich in diesem Bereich, wie dies sonst im ganzen Untersuchungsbereich der Fall war und ist, einen Verlauf des Bahr Yūsuf nahe am Wüstenrand. Dieser ältere Bahr Yūsuf ist noch heute gut zu verfolgen ».
8 For instance: it appears that the nomarchy of Achosapises «did not coincide with nome boundaries, but included parts of
various documents of the first century B.C.: the same place-name, however, first appears in two Petrie Papyri (Petrie III 43 (2); Petrie III 62 b) in association with a number of Arsinoite villages, all of them involved in the work of canal-maintenance, under the supervision of the nomarch Achaos. And the place-name Thmoinois, attested for the Μέση toparchy in the Herakleopolites 1, may perhaps also be detected in Petrie III 43 (2). The Petrie Papyri were extracted from mummy-cases found by Sir Flinders Petrie at Sidmat al-Gebel, 10 km SW of Hwawrah ‘Adlan. In the same area, Πιοτελεμάχος ‘Ορμώ (modern Al-Lahān, east of dyke no. 17) is invariably assigned to the Arsinoites, but Hwawrah ‘Adlan and Kām Madi nat Gūrāb (both west of the same dyke) could be identified with the Herakleopolite Αὖντης (which a document assigns to the Μέση toparchy) and Magdola, respectively 2. As for Thmoinois, this could be modern Mayyāna, about 7 km south of Sidmant. Another place mentioned in the Petrie Papyri is Ίερά Νήσος τῆς Πολεμίου μερίδος (Petrie III 66, col. III, 15): this is distinguished, in the same document, from the homonymous village in the Herakleides division of the same (Arsinoite) nome, but may well have been the Ίερά Νήσος which some documents connect to Herakleopolite villages 3. P. Tebt. III 828 (about 139 B.C.) shows the Ίερα Νήσος in the Ptolemaic phase to be known by the Μοντάλα Ποταμός, possibly the name of the canal flowing from the Old Bahr Yūsuf towards the Arsinoites. It could be that Pneibius and Θωμαῖος Μαγδολα in this canal, which was still within the territory of the Herakleopolite nome, while Ίερά Νήσος was further down, therefore administratively belonging to the Ptolemaic meris of the Arsinoites. If so, these villages would have common obligations, regardless of nome boundaries, with respect to canal-maintenance. The documents do not tell us which toparchy Τρίκωμίς, Λευκότας, and Δικοιμίτης belonged to, but the contexts in which they are mentioned make it clear that they, too, must have been in the area we are dealing with. These all are homonymous with Arsinoite localities: likewise, Tebtuny of the Πέραν toparchy certainly was a different village from its Arsinoite namesake (modern Dafadīnu) 5.

The well-attested links between the Πέραν toparchy, particularly Πεννοσιού/Al-‘Bahsamān, and Τεχθο (main centre of its own toparchy) support the phonetically likely identification Τεχθο = Daštū (6 km south of Al-‘Bahsamān, almost in direct line). The full name of this toparchy was Τεχθο Νήσος, denoting a "new land" formation: the traces of a dried-up canal (the Old Bahr Yūsuf, presumably) 6 are still to be seen, midway between Daštū and Saft Raṣāin; parallel to the canal, an ancient dyke ran in a north-south direction 7. Saft Raṣāin (an important archaeological site, about 4 km east of Daštū/Techhō, and about 5 km south of Nīn.getOrder(Nīn, Nīn) was built on slightly raised ground, like Nīn/‘Ain and all other villages that

1 CPR 164 attests a connection between Thmoinois and Peteanum.

2 Homonymous villages are very well attested for the Arsinoites, and identified with modern localities in the Fayyūm: the Arsinoite Αὖντης is now called Hawwārah Al-Makta; Magdola of the same name is Madinat Nehas.

3 See Catalogue, s.v. See CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v. IEPA ΝΗΣΟΣ, for a complete list of papyri mentioning this place-name.

4 Trikomia occurs once with Hiera Nesos and several Herakleopolite villages in the same document (BGU VIII 1808); see Catalogue, s.v.

5 In general, the frequent occurrence of homonyms among Egyptian place-names can be explained by their referring to recurring features in the natural and human landscape.

6 Cf. TAVO B 69, p. 50: "... nicht der heutige Fluslauf [of the Bahr Yūsuf] ... sondern ein noch bei Linant de Belfond an Deichen erkenbaren älterer Fluslauf westlich Saft Raṣāin".

7 Cf. TAVO B 69, pp. 49-52: "... bedeutender Deich ... ein Stück weit östlich Saft Raṣāin in südöstlicher Richtung verlaufend - nach Linant de Belfond zum vor-neuzeitlichen Bestand gehören muß."
were situated halfway between the Nile and the Bahr Yūsuf. Like several other places in Egypt that bear the name Saft, it should be identified with an ancient Σωθοζία; one is in fact well attested in the περί Πόλιν toparchy, and could be made to coincide with Saft Rašin by assuming that the περί Πόλιν toparchy was long and narrow, like the Πέρσαν and "Αγίας toparchies.

Πέτα = Bibā is the northernmost identifiable village in the περί Φέβιχιν toparchy, which was also called Koaττίς. The area north of Papa was probably split between the Tekmi and Phebicis toparchies: the villages of Peentechy and Tanaso (both in the Tekmi toparchy) and that of Tosachmis (Phebicis toparchy), which were apparently a short distance from each other, must have been in this part of the nome. Τύμβολις seems to have been in a similar location: it was in the Tekmi toparchy and associated with Τοκκοντων, but also connected with Ψελέμψις, which was in the Phebicis toparchy. Given the proximity of Τοκκοντων to Tou (the two villages share the same homograph in BCU X VI 2597), and provided that the identification Tou/Tuwa is accepted, it follows that the border between περί Τεχμίο and περί Φέβιχιν was not too far from here. Phebicis itself should in my opinion be identified with Al-Faşn, to this day the main centre in this area. Modern Tašān, in a central location 7.5 km NW of Al-Faşn/Φέβιχιν, could be identified with ancient Τολάς, also in the Phebicis toparchy, which the documents connect with Ψύχας (modern Absūg, about 4 km SE of Tašān); but an identification Tašān = Tālāwā (in the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites) has also been suggested, in view of the equation Talt war-Quša (3.5 km SW of Tašān) = Tōlāwā. Thus this is the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites, like Tašān and a few other villages, Σεξσάς and one of the three Oxyrhynchte localities called Ψυπβής among them. The identification of Saft al-Hira with this Ψυπβής also seems safe, while Saft al-'Urafa (2.5 km east of Saft al-Hira/Ψυπβής, and 5 km SW of Absūg/Ψύχας) could be equated with Ψεβδόνεμπη, but also with Ψεβδόνεμπη. These two villages were in the Phebicis.

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1 These are the «leichte Höhenrücken im Bassingebiet die in Nord-Südrichtung verlaufen und die Deiche querenz» (TAVO B 69, p.69).

2 The identification of Saft Rašin with Σωθοζία (in the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome) has been tentatively suggested in TAVO B 69 § 4.3, p.92 (M 91), and dubiously accepted by JANE ROWLANDSON, Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt. The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, Oxford 1996, p.13 and p.15 n.35. In order to justify this identification phonetically, TAVO B 69 needs to postulate that: Beji Saft Rašin liegt ein Spezialfall vor, which would allow Saft to derive in this case from Sōθophtha (rather than from Sōthith, as is normally the case); see however the different etymology proposed by JAN QUAGHEBEUR, OLP 4, 1973, p.90, n.47 (detecting the name of the god Pah as the second component in this toponym: [le bois/ la place ou le bassin de Pah]; Quaghebeur further refers to an article by JEAN YOYOTTE, Annuaire de l'EPHE, Section des Sciences Religieuses 79, 1971-1972, p.192). From the topographical point of view, the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites did probably form a wedge between the Koites and the southernmost villages of the Herakleopolites which were near the Bahr Yūsuf (Korphoto, occasionally Sinaiticus): it seems unlikely, however, for this wedge to extend as far as Saft Rašin (see below, p.12).

3 The proximity of the περί Πόλιν to the "Αγίας, but also to the Tekmi toparchy (and the Koites?) seems to be implied by P.Select. 17 (for περί Πόλιν and "Αγίας) and Stud.Pal. XX 26 (see s.v. TANASSA and TOKKES). Again, these multiple neighborhood relationships are best explained by assuming long and narrow toparchies. This assumption, however, is not reconcilable with the tempting identification of Qilla (about 11 km NE of Saft Rašin) with Κέλας, a village attested in just one document, which apparently assigns it to the northern (κέλας) "Αγίας toparchy: its identification with Qilla would require the "Αγίας to extend well beyond the limits that are compatible with a long and narrow περί Πόλιν.

4 The Koites must have derived its name from Ko, a locality only rarely attested in the Greek documents, and apparently superseded by Phebicis as the main centre in the toparchy. On the location of Ko, see Catalogue, s.v. KΩ.

5 As in TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 68).

6 Cf. TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 73).

7 Cf. P. Oxy. XLVII 3333 (92 A.D.); XIV 1659 (218-222 A.D.); XXIV 2422 (290 A.D.); X 1285 and XII 1529 (III A.D.).

8 Cf. TAVO B 69, § 4.3 (M66, M71).

9 TAVO B 65 § 4.3 (M 65), following JEAN YOYOTTE, RdE, 15, 1963, p.108.
toparchy); the name of one or other of these two may survive as 'Izben Šaft (a little more than 2 km south of Šaft al 'Urafa'). It appears then that the Oxyrhynchites (more precisely, the Kóttó toparchy of this nome) here formed a wedge between the Phebichis toparchy and the southern end of "Άγημα (where Κορφοτο/Al-Gafáda was), and that the border between the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites ran exactly between Šaft al-Hirs and Šaft al 'Urafa, then east of Tholthis to the Old Bahr Yūsuf. Ptolemy's description of a river-branch rejoining the Nile at 'Αγκυρόν πόλισι/Al-Hiba might even be accommodated here, by assuming the existence of a canal also serving as a border between the two districts. The hydro-geographical situation in this area was in any case different from the one recorded in SEM, and this should account for the shifting boundary between the two districts, whereby Σύνορα/Sinārā and Τασιμωρο/Dahmarū (just 2 km north of Πόλισις/Bilhasā, which the sources invariably locate in the Oxyrhynchites 1) were at different times assigned to one or the other nome. Malatya, 5 km east and about 2 km north of Τασιμωρο/Dahmarū, could be ancient Μολώθες, attested by one first century B.C. document which locates it in the Koites.

The Koites may have at least partly coincided with the "uncanonical" Nineteenth Nome ("of the He-Goat"), which appears in some pre-Ptolemaic lists of nomes, immediately south of the Herakleopolites (this used to be the Twentieth Nome) 2; and part of the northern Oxyrhynchites (in particular the Kóttó toparchy) may well have been included in the Nome of the He-Goat. An ancient tradition of autonomy for this area could account for the later variability of the boundaries in the region.

On the east bank of the Nile, the Herakleopolites clearly extended south far beyond the border with the Oxyrhynchites on the west bank: 'Νηπόνου/Qarāfā is invariably assigned by the sources to the Koites which, on this side of the river, may well have bordered on the Kynopolis.

In 313/314 A.D., just six years after toparchies had been superseded by págis 3, P.Michael. 28 assigns some villages of the Koites (Pselemachis, Thelbo, Thneis and Philonikou) to the 12th págus; other sources assign Kōba to the same (12th) págus, Phebichis to the 11th págus. This information is interesting for different reasons: first, it shows that the numbering of the págis was obviously continued from the 10th and northernmost págus of the Oxyrhynchite nome; secondly, the fact that the villages of the Koites were distributed between two págis is consistent with the distinction between a Northern and a Southern Koites, as attested in the documents of the Roman period. As the numbering of the págis proceeded from south to north, we may conclude that the Southern Koites corresponded to the 11th págus, the Northern Koites to the 12th págus: consequently, the villages of the 12th págus must have been to the north of Phebichis/Al-Fāsīn (as Papa/Bībā in fact is). A third conclusion concerns the location of the 10th and 11th págis, which may have more or less adjoined one another: the 10th págus, roughly coinciding with the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites, will have faced towards the Old Bahr Yūsuf; the 11th págus, corresponding to the Southern Koites, fronted on the Nile. The village of Sespitha (which we know to have been in the 10th págus) will have been approximately on the same latitude as Phebichis, and in any case certainly not farther north than Papa/Bībā (which was in the 12th págus): its identification with Šaft Rašīn seems therefore impossible. Πέντεσμοι/Al-Bahsumūn and Κοτυη, two villages that used to be in the Πέρον, came to belong to the 13th págus, which can thus be located next to, and east of the 12th págus.

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1 See PRUNETI, Cenari abitati, s.v.
2 Cf. TAVO B 69, pp.12-13; the «Ziegengau» is «unkanonical» because «oft übergangen» in the pre-Ptolemaic lists of nomes: ibid., p.11 n.28.
3 Cf. J. LALLEMAND, L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382), Bruxelles 1964, p.97 f.
3 Documents mentioning Herakleopolite toponyms:  
Time-distribution, provenance and contents

An integrated analysis of the time-distribution, provenance and contents of the papyri mentioning Herakleopolite toponyms makes it possible to sort out what may at first seem a bewildering mass of material into groups of papyri, each consisting of documents found at one particular site, though later dispersed. Clearly, in terms of proving the existence of a certain place, a large number of documents, if coming from the same site and dating from the same time, weigh as much as a single source from another site and/or a different time. The same provenance for most, or even all sources for one village, then, may account for its being attested only within a limited time-span: it would be misleading to deduce from this that the village did not exist before, or ceased to exist afterwards.

In what follows, I shall take provenance to mean the place where a papyrus was found. Thus defined, the provenance does not necessarily coincide with, indeed it often differs from the place where a papyrus was written, which I shall call its origin. Moreover, both provenance and origin may differ from places mentioned in the text (internal evidence). In many cases, of course, the origin and provenance of a document, as defined above, may be one and the same place, which in turn may well coincide with, or be near or somehow related to places the text refers to (internal evidence).

Documents that mention Herakleopolite toponyms, but have no, or no certain Herakleopolite origin, are considered separately. Such papyri (more numerous for the Roman and Byzantine periods) while contributing internal evidence on various Herakleopolite villages, actually originate from neighbouring nomes (Arsinoites and Oxyrhynchites) or, in a few cases, from more distant sites.

1. Documents from the Herakleopolites. From the third to the first century B.C.

1.1. Documents of the third century B.C.

Most information concerning the Herakleopolite nome in the third century B.C. derives from two major cartonnage finds, in the southern (Al-Hiba) and northern (Kôm Madînât Gurûn) parts of the district, respectively. Both finds go back to the beginning of the twentieth century. The information provided by the Kôm Madînât Gurûn texts is supplemented by a few papyri from the Zenon archive, besides two or three Petrie Papyri (Kôm Madînât Gurûb find). Recent additions to our documentation for the third century B.C. appeared on the antiquities market around 1980.

P.Hib. II 198 has a completely different character from the other sources under consideration here: it is not cartonage and was not found at El-Hibeh, but was bought at Illahun in the winter of 1902-3. Its provenance is therefore uncertain; this is a royal ordinance on security measures to be taken along the Nile: it mentions Techtho, where a guard-post is also attested by P.Strasb. II 103 and 104.

1 See the Chronological Index, pp.295-304.
2 Conversely, a papyrus may have a first origin (e.g. in the case of a letter: the place where it was written) and a second origin (at the recipient's end), neither of which coincides with its provenance.
3 P.Hib. II, p.74 f., where the Editor adds that: «Its provenance is therefore uncertain, but a number of indications ... suggest that it was a place on the river Nile between Memphis and Hermopolis».
4 The provenance of P.Strasb. II 103 and 104 is discussed on p.14 n.6.
1.1.1. Documents from Al-Hiba.

When Grenfell and Hunt came to Al-Hiba, in March 1902, somebody had already been there:

«By far the greater part [of the necropolis] had been dug out before our arrival, principally in 1895-1896, when, as report states, an Arab dealer from the Pyramids, known as Sheik Hassan, excavated the cemetery on a large scale. From the assertions of an inhabitant of Hibe who was then employed as a reis, it appears that the dealer met with much success ... Quantities of mummies of the Ptolemaic period with papyrus-cartonage were also unearthed, but thrown away as worthless. This is the usual fate of cartonage found in the Nile valley proper, where, except at one or two places, native tomb-diggers until quite recently attached no value to papyrus apart from large rolls. A handful of small fragments, however, found their way to Cairo, where they were bought by us in 1896 1. During the next few years much plundering continued at Hibe...» 2.

Much material was sold to other buyers 3 as well, particularly to the Deutsches Papyrusskabell 4. Three criteria may be defined, which in combination guarantee that a document originates from Al-Hiba: (1) a date in the third century B.C.; (2) re-use for the manufacturing of papyrus-cartonage; (3) reference to one or more villages of the southern Herakleopolites 5 (or of the northern Oxyrhynchites). All three apply not just to a large number of the Hibe Papyri, but also to many documents in the Strasbourg collection 6, to the papyri of the Graalwitz collection (later sold to the Fuad I University in Cairo) 7, and to papyri in

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1 These were published as part of P.Grenfell II in the following year.
2 P.Hib. I, Introduction, p.2. See also the report by Ahmed Bey Kamal, ASAE 2, 1901, pp.84-91, who was sent to Al-Hiba by the Egyptian authorities the year before Grenfell and Hunt were authorized to excavate there.
3 Cf. P.Hib. II, Preface, p.VI: «It is clear ... that apart from the documents formerly at Berlin, published in BGU VI, a not inconsiderable number of texts is now in the collections at Hamburg and at Heidelberg...» A piece at Manchester, and possibly El-Hibe is the origin of some of the texts in Strasbourg. See also L.A. II 1180-1181.
5 Connections with other parts of the nomen account for the fact that villages of other toparchies are mentioned in three P.Hib. documents (see Catalogue, s.v. ΣΙΜΗΝΗ, ΦΩΣ, ΡΟΤΣΙΡΙΣ); these documents are too few, in fact, to suppose that they were part of a batch originating from another part of the nome, and re-cycled for mummy-cartonage.
6 The connection between P.Str. VII 641-643 and some P.Hib. documents is recognized in the introduction to P.Str. VII 641; see also the introduction to P.Str. IX 802: under the same inventory number (P.gr.2354) «quatre fragments de cartonage, dont un démotique, provenant visiblement de Hibe» are also recorded. Three of the Strasbourg papyri in our Chronological Index (II 111; II 113; V 563) belong to the archive of Harmachis, which was reassembled by WILLY CLARYSSE, Anc.Soc. 7,1976, pp.185-207: he observes (p.191 f.) that «all belong to a group of papyri formerly in the possession of the Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft ... all come from the same mummy cartonage, which also included P.Str. III 103-108». P.Str. 103 and 104 appear in our Chronological Index.
7 See Vorbemerkung to P.Grad. (p.5): «Die folgenden Texte ... haben offensichtlich mit den P.Hibeih die gleiche Herkunft ... abgesehen von den meist aus der Regierung von Philopator stammenden Vorträgen, z.T. sicher, zum andern Teil vermutlich, zu den Akten des aus den P.Hibeih bekannten Κλειταρχος τραπεζίτης τοῦ Κοιτοῦ; cf. also the introduction to P.Fuad Crawford (p.1): «In 1938 the Fuad I University bought a collection of ancient papyri which had belonged to the late Professor O. Graalwitz. A few of those published by Plaumann [the P.Grad.] are now missing».
8 The documents from the ex-Graalwitz collection in our Chronological Index are: P.Fuad Crawford (App. I) 3 and 4; P.Fuad Crawford (App. II) 66 recto (mentioning Psabthomoe, which also appears in P.Hib. I 33); P.Grad. 3; SB III 6301; P.Fuad Crawford 5, containing a list of villages in the Koinos much like that of P.Str. IX 802, is in my opinion likely to come from Al-Hiba, too: I therefore propose to re-date it to the middle of the third century B.C., as opposed to the first century B.C. dating tentatively proposed in the ed.pr. Note that its Graalwitz inventory number (Grad. 198) places this papyrus immediately after the fragment of a letter to the banker Kleitarchos (P.Fuad Crawford, App.II, 20 = inv. Grad.197); the Graalwitz inventory nos. of P.Grad. 3 and P.Fuad Crawford, App.I, 3 and 4 are Grad.159 and 160, respectively.

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INTRODUCTION

Heidelberg 1, Hamburg 2, Berlin 3, besides other German collections 4.

SB X 10447 ('P. Sorbonne' inv. 2073; previously in the Reinhach collection) must have the same provenance 5, although no reference to cartonnage origin is made in the editio princeps. This document can be dated to the third century B.C., and it mentions three localities in the Koites; like the P. Reinhach, it may have been bought «au cours d'un voyage assez rapide que j'ai fait en Egypte pendant l'hiver 1901/1902» 6, just when material from Al-Hiba appeared on the market, alerting Grenfell and Hunt to the potentialities of the site.

Like SB X 10447, P. Ross. Georg. II 3 provides internal evidence of its provenance from Al-Hiba: it is dated to 226/225 B.C., and it refers to the Koites; besides, there exist very close links between P. Ross. Georg. II 1-2 and a cartonnage papyrus now in Jena (inv. nr. 901) 7.

BGU XIV 2391 and 2392 were obtained, like BGU XIV 2380 (contract drawn at Κυνών πόλις in 265 B.C.) «aus Probeauflösungen kleinerer Sargfragmente, die in den sechziger und siebzigten Jahren durch J. Hofmann und seinen Vorgänger, M. Brzyski, erfolgten»: the village there mentioned (Νεξίστη) is not elsewhere attested, so that there is no means of knowing whether it too was in the Kynopolites. In view of the connections between this name and the Koites, it would not be surprising to find Kynopolite localities mentioned in papyri from Al-Hiba cartonnage.

Finally, the numerous literary papyri also obtained from the Al-Hiba mummy-cases testify to a quite refined level of Greek cultural life in this area during the early Ptolemaic period 8.

1.1.2. Documents from Kôm Madinat Gurān.

These documents were obtained from the cartonnage of mummy-cases found at Kôm Madinat Gurān («Ghorān» in the edition; at the western edge of the Bahar al-Gharaq basin, in the southern Fayyum) during the excavations there and at Madinat en-Nahas by Pierre Jouguet and Gaston Lefebvre in 1901 and 1902 9. Their present location is at the Sorbonne in Paris; other material from the same find is in Cairo 10. At least three documents in our Chronological Index were obtained from the same mummy-case

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1 In our Chronological Index: P. Bad. = VBP IV 82. See P. Bad. IV, Einleitung, p.6: «Es ist ein merkwürdiger Zufall, daß, während wir ... keine Papyrusskartonage fanden, die Heidelberger Universitätssbibliothek eine Anzahl solcher Kartonagefetzen besitzt, die offenbar den Raubgrabungen von Scheh Hassan in Hibe ähneln. Es sind meistens literarische Stücke, doch auch einige Urkundenfetzen».

2 In our Chronological Index: P. Hamb. III 202. See also next footnote.

3 In our Chronological Index: BGU X 1911, mentioning the village of Αξηκόλαξ, which also appears in P. Hib. I 47. In his Vorwort to BGU X (p.5), Wolfgang Müller noticed that: «Diese überwiegend aus dem Bau von Oxyrhynchos stammenden Urkunden stehen sachlich in enger Beziehung zu ähnlichen, aus Mumienkartonage gewonnenen Verträgen in BGU VI, P. Hib. I und II, P. Hamb. II, P. Grad., P. Frankfurt u.a. und können dadurch in vielen Fällen sinngemäß ergänzt werden».

4 SB VIII 9841 (247 B.C.; from cartonnage; reference to a village of the Koites: therefore included in our Chronological Index) is at Jena, together with three more papyri belonging, like BGU X 1911 (see n.10), to Kallistratos' correspondence. Jena owns an abundance of papyri from Al-Hiba cartonnage: cf. FRITZ UEBEL, «Die Jenaer Papyrussammlung», Proceedings of the twelfth International Congress of Papyrology, Toronto 1970, pp.491-494.


6 P. Reinhach, Preface, p.1. The internal evidence of P. Rein., 98 (109 A.D.) points in fact to the Koites (see s.v.): see below, pp.25 f., 28 f., for documents of the second and third century A.D. also originating from Al-Hiba.


10 P. Entoux, Preface (by Pierre Jouguet), pp.V-VI: «Selon l'usage alors en vigueur [the documents from Kôm Madinat Gurān and Madinat en-Nahas] ont été partagés entre l'Egypte et la France; les uns sont à l'Institut de Papyrologie de Paris, les
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("Ghorán 288"): P. Enteux. 61 (mentioning a village called Φανίππου), SB III 7176 (φορτίων λιβάνητοι to the Koites) and SB III 7179 (maintenance work on the canals to be paid for with money from the bank at Phesis). The last two documents belong to the correspondence of Kresilaos, who could be the agent of the oikonomos Ammonios, appearing in two more documents from mummy «Ghorán 288» and also known from the Zenon archive. The same Kresilaos may be the addressee of P. Lille I 6, reporting an episode of brigandage: the writer has been assaulted on his way from Tethnos to Korhotoi. An act of piracy against a boat sailing to Τροκόντας ΚΣ (Τροκόντας ΚΣ) is reported in P. Coll. Youtie I 17, the most recent addition to the group. In view of the provenance of these documents, it is not surprising that many of them should refer to villages in the "Agamemnón κόσμος, Μέση and Πέρον, probably the three Herakleopolite toparchies most easily connected with the Arsinoites: P. Lille I 31 mentions Niseus and Tertopetechon, and SB III 7203 has entries for Thimoinoth and Phisus. The provenance of P. Lille I 59 is said to be «Magdôla» (i.e. Madinat en-Nehas), not «Ghorán»: the document mentions place-names of the Kom, Tilothis and Tekmi toparchies.

Literary papyri were also obtained from the mummy-cases of Kom Madinat Gurán.

1.1.3. Documents from Kom Madinat Gurab.

The mummy-cases of the Petrie Papyri were found by Petrie in 1899 at Kom Madinat Gurab, a site in the area between the Herakleopolite and the Arsinoite nomes: Thimoinothis and Pheneibuos (both probably in the Mesê toparchy) are mentioned in P. Petrie III 43 (2), which deals with maintenance work on a canal possibly connecting the two nomes. P. Petrie III 99 has a reference to Φιλανθίου (in the Koites).

1.1.4. Documents from (?) now in Vienna and Genoa.

The following four papyri, now in the possession of different institutions, may, I suspect, come from one

autres au Musée du Caire». Unpublished papyri from this find are at the Sorbonne (information from Willy Clarysse).

1 P. Petrie I 1008 + add.: see also Guide to the Zenon Archive. Prosopography, s.v.v. In P. Cairo. Zen. III 59368 (see below, p. 24) the oikonomos Ammonios again appears in a Herakleopolite setting. SB III 7178 (one of the documents in Kresilaos' correspondence) is written to Ammonios by an agent of Sosibios. This Sosibios, obviously a high-ranking person (judging from the tone of this letter), could be the estate-holder known from P. Tebt. III 860. He could also be the Sosibios celebrated by Callimachus (P. Petrie VI 17239), but later receiving a bad press in Polybius (cf. PAUL, COLLART - PIERRE JUGUET, «Petites recherches sur l’Economie Politique des Lagides», Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbrasso, Milano 1925, pp. 109-134).

2 Cf. P. Coll. Youtie, p. 79: the document was obtained from the «chaussure d'un cartonnage de momie provenant de Madgôla ou de Ghorân (rien dans l'inventaire, ne permet de décider entre ces deux sites)», but the reference to Τροκόντας (if this may be taken as a variant spelling for Τροκόντας) may make the provenance from Kom Madinat Gurab more likely.

3 See above, pp. 8 ff.

4 No mention of cartonnage is made in the editio princeps (MARCEL HOMBERT, Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire 4, 1925, pp. 633-676), but the inventory number (P. Sorbonne inv. 572) suggests the same provenance as for SB III 7176-7179 (inv. 578, 582, 581, 580).

5 «Ce sont des momies de Ghorân qui contenaient les fragments de Comédies publiés en 1906» in BCH, pp. 103-149 (these correspond to nos. 1656 and 1657 Pack: New Comedy). A fragment of the Odyssey (no. 1081 Pack), and II, 1-103 of Euripides' Hippolytos (no. 393 Pack) have the same provenance. I wish to thank Tiina Purola (University of Helsinki) for providing me with this information.


7 Also mentioned in P. Petrie III 62 b.

8 P. Rahn. Cent. 40 and 44 (inv. P. Vindob. G 40587 and 40586) are from the "Kauf Fackelmann 1979": cf. HELENE LOEBENSTEIN, "Vom "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer" zum Papyrussammel der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren", in P. Rahn. Cent., vol. L, p. 22 n. 129. PUG. III 114 was «acquistato sul mercato antiquario..."
find. They are all obtained from cartonnage and acquired more or less at the same time; besides, they all mention villages in the northern part of the Heracleopolite. *P. Rain.Cent.* 40 mentions Hiera Nesos and Kollasoucha; *SB* XVI 12387 refers to Tanchais; *PUG* III 114 indicates Peentechy, Taemos and Tanaso as intermediate stations in the transport of corn to Alexandria. *P. Rain.Cent.* 44, also dealing with the transport of corn, refers to Onnes, Thmoiobastis and Bousiris.

1.2. Documents of the second century B.C.

It is a likely hypothesis⁷ that *P. Tebt.* III 703 contains the instructions of a dioiketes to an oikonomos: this is supported by the nature and contents of several papyri published in the same volume, also probably originating from the office of the oikonomos in the Herakleopolite nome. Further intriguing connections can be detected between certain *P. Tebt.* III documents and other papyri of the second century B.C. obtained from cartonnage, which have been more recently acquired on the antiquities market by different institutions (*P. Hels.*, *P. Duke*).

1.2.1. Documents from Umm al-Baragāt (P. Tebt. III)

The documents published in the third volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri* come from the cartonnage of human mummies found by Grenfell and Hunt at Umm al-Baragāt (the ancient Tebtynis) in the winter of 1899/1900. The site is "in the south of the Fayyûm on the desert side of the Bahr Gharaks"; discarded papyri from the Herakleopolites had already travelled along the same waterway to Kôm Madmat Gûran⁴.

«Mummy 38» gave back a few receipts for police-tax (*P. Tebt.* III 838; 986–989; 991; 992) paid to the sitologoi of various Herakleopolite villages (in the toparchies "Αγγία, περί Τεκμίου, περί Πόλιν and Koites): all date from 139 B.C. and were issued by two officials called Apollodoros and Herakleides. *P. Tebt.* III 860, from the same mummy-case and dated about 138 B.C., originates probably from the same office: it is an account recording payments for rent, use of pasture and various taxes (including the police-tax) from various villages, mostly in the Koites (though there is also an entry for Tilothis): the Σωσιβίου δορεάς is often referred to⁶. This office was probably that of the oikonomos in Herakleopolis: the contents of the other documents from the same mummy-case, all dated between 140/139 and 135/134 B.C., are consistent with this hypothesis⁷.

nell’anno 1981» (*PUG* III, p.5 n.). *SB* X VI 12387 is a *P. Moen.*: this siglum designates papyri belonging to a Dutch private collection, several of which have been published by P.J. Sijpesteijn: cf. *Chr. Ergr.* 54, 1979, p.273 («The provenance of these papyri is probably - like that of the other papyri of this collection which are like the papyri published here regained from mummy-cartonnage - the Arsinoite nome»).

1 It has already been put forward in the introduction to the *editio princeps* of this document.


4 See above, p.15 f.

5 Cf. especially I.38, which presumably refers to payments cashed by a sitologos but not conveyed «to us» (i.e., Apollodoros and Herakleides?): [sitologos' name?] στολόγου ὅν ὧν προέλθε το ημίν.

6 See above, p.16 n.1 (about Sosibios).

7 *P. Tebt.* III 723 concerns pay and provisions to soldiers (cf. *P. Hels.* 16, where the oikonomos appears in charge of this); *P. Tebt.* III 917 is similar to *P. Tebt.* III 723, though not so well preserved; *P. Tebt.* III 810 (referring to the Herakleopolite nome) contains a declaration on oath by the captain of a ship; *P. Tebt.* III 930 is addressed to an ἐπιμελητής Ἑρακλεοπόλεος. *P. Tebt.* III 913 mentions a στολόγος; *P. Tebt.* III 1086 lists various classes of clerkships; *P. Tebt.* III 1013 and 1052 contain accounts, in wheat and in kind respectively; *P. Tebt.* III 929 is concerned with the payment of the diarabai, one of the taxes mentioned in *P. Tebt.* III 860.
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A group of three papyri (P.Tebt. III 857; 1044; 1045) from «Mummy 6» have in common: (i) a date of c. 164 B.C., the crucial time in the struggle between Philometer and Euergetes II (both P.Tebt. III 857 and P.Tebt. III 1044 refer to a seventh year, which must be the last of the joint reign of these two sovereigns); (ii) a reference to the village of Peenamoi. Their connection with the P.Hels.I papyri will be discussed below.

1.2.2. Papyri Helsingienses I. Their relation to P.Tebt.III

P.Hels. I 4-47 come from the head of a mummy-case acquired on the antiquities market in 1977; other material from the same cartonnage had been bought by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 1976. This group of documents originates from the archive of the oikonomoi of the Herakleopolite nome between about 165 and 159 B.C. The oikonomoi whose names are preserved are Philippos (1) (164 B.C.; P.Hels. I 6), Dionysios (163/162-162/161 B.C.; P.Hels. I 9-20), Stratton (160 B.C.; P.Hels. I 30-32) and Alexandros (159 B.C.; P.Hels. I 36-37), all of them previously unknown. The βασιλικός γραμματεύς Eraschis 6, however, who was already known from P.Tebt. III 857 (see above), reappears in P.Hels. I 6 and 7, which date from the same years; to these P.Hels. I 26 8 should be added, which has an entry for Peenamoi. Do P.Tebt. III 857, 1044 and 1045 8 originate from the same oikonomos’ office as P.Hels. I 6,7 and 26?

1.2.3. The Duke papyri. Their relation to P.Tebt. III

SB XVIII 13304 (= P.Duk. inv. 602) is a letter from a komogrammateus (with apparently no address) reporting the transfer of troops, led by the strategos Euphranor, from Papa (in the Koites) to Tekmi - more precisely, to the military establishment in nearby Bythnai. Other papyri from the same piece of cartonnage (purchased in 1974) also come from the Herakleopolites. SB XVIII 13304 can be dated to 149 or 138 B.C. 11, and the other documents from this cartonnage date from the same period: the same

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1 Report (addressed to the oikonomos) on the results of an inspection at the granary of Pois (perhaps in other places, too: see 1.29); various sittologoi, and the βασιλικός γραμματεύς Eraschis (of whom more later), are mentioned.
2 P.Tebt. III 1044 and 1045 are probably parts of the same document, an account of advances of wheat and barley to the cleruchs of some Herakleopolite villages: these may well have been compiled in the oikonomos’ office.
3 Cf. THEODORE C. SKEAT, The Reigns of the Ptolemy, München 1954, pp.33-34.
4 P.Hels. I, p.3 (Vorwort) and p.31: «Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß Papyri aus demselben Fund oder sogar aus demselben Όκονομον-Archiv noch in anderen Sammlungen oder Veröffentlichungen entdeckt werden». P.Hels. I 19.20.26.34 are in Wien.
6 PPr I 442.
7 Dated to the 19th year of Philometer (163/162), to which reference is made in P.Tebt. III 857. Another coincidence is the recurrence, both in P.Tebt. III 1045 and in P.Hels. I 26, of the personal name Patamouos (see Catalogue, s.v.), apparently typical of Peenamoi and its surroundings.
8 P.Tebt. III 827 (dated to about 170 B.C.; report on unproductive land mentioning a φολάχατος of Herakleopolis; on the recto: P.Tebt. III 1031, account of receipts in kind), also from «Mummy 6», may well originate from an oikonomos’ office, too.
9 See also Catalogue, s.v. BIXIΝΟΘΥΘ.
10 Most of these are still unpublished: see PETER VAN MINNEN, BASP 31, 1994, pp.89-99, who offers a preliminary edition of P.Duk. inv.600 and 620 recto, besides some information on the provenance of the Duke papyri.
INTRODUCTION

officials recur in different documents, e.g. the strategos Euphranor reappears in P.Duk. inv.598 (unpublished)\(^1\), together with the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς Pesouris, who in turn is the addressee of P.Duk. inv.600, a declaration of property (wheat) similar to P.Hels. I 10-20 (these, however, date from 163/162 B.C. and were addressed to the oikonomos). The nearest parallel to P.Duk. inv.600\(^2\) is P.Tebt. III 806 (139 B.C.: declaration of a horse), also addressed to a βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς\(^3\). P.Duk. inv.620 recto (abstracts of declarations of livestock) represents a «further stage of digestion of the full information»\(^4\) contained in documents such as P.Tebt. III 806, and is dated to a 31st year that can be either 151/150 or 140/139 B.C.

A further possible link between the Duke and the Tebtynis papyri is offered by P.Tebt. III 723. Like some other documents discussed above, this papyrus is from «Mummy 38» and probably from the oikonomos' office\(^5\); it is dated to the 33rd year, «doubtless that of Euergetes II, the documents accompanying [it] ranging from the 31st year to the 36th»\(^6\). The Euphranor appearing at 1.15 presumably forwarded this order for the monthly payment of soldiers, to an addressee whose name and title are lost at the beginning of P.Tebt. III 723. In my opinion, this Euphranor could be the strategos of that name, who leads troops from Papa to Bichinhouth in SB XVIII 13304 (and, if the identification is accepted, SB XVIII 13304 must be dated to 138, rather than 149 B.C.).

I think that the Duke papyri, obtained from cartonnage and dating from the same years as many P.Tebt. III (e.g. those from «Mummy 38»), may also originate from the oikonomos' office of the Heracleopolite nome: SB XVIII 13304, in particular, may have been destined for the oikonomos, so that he should know where the provisions for the troops were to be sent. P.Duk. inv.600, sent by mistake to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς, may have been forwarded by him to the appropriate (i.e. the oikonomos') office; the same thing may have happened in the case of P.Tebt. III 806. The oikonomos' office also seems to me the likely place for abstracts to be compiled (like P.Duk. inv.620 recto) from such declarations of property.

1.2.4. Hypothesis on the provenance of P.Hels. and P.Duk.

A number of coincidences connect certain Tebtynis papyri to some papyri now in Helsinki and at Duke University. These documents

(1) date from the same periods: namely, (a) P.Hels. and a part of P.Tebt. III (including those from «Mummy 6») date from the time of the power struggle between Philometor and Euergetes II; (b) another part of P.Tebt. III (including those from «Mummy 38») and P.Duk. date from approximately twenty-five to thirty years later;

(2) are all obtained from cartonnage;

(3) originate from the Heracleopolites, as is shown by the fact that: (a) they mention Heracleopolite toponyms; (b) the same officials (operating in the Heracleopolite nome) recur;

(4) may be said with certainty (in the case of P.Hels.) or with good probability (in the case of the P.Tebt. III, and perhaps in the case of P.Duk.\(^7\)) to have come from the oikonomos' office at Heracleopolis, apparently in two separate batches: presumably these were delivered to the Tebtynis manufacturers of mummy-cases on two different occasions;

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1 This papyrus is briefly referred to by VAN MINNEN, cit., p.92.

2 Editio princeps in VAN MINNEN, cit., pp.91-94.

3 See BL 7,273 (the name of the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς is almost entirely lost at 1.2: [...], in the dative). There is only one other declaration of property (a horse, again) addressed to a βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς. P.Petr. III 72 (= Chr.W.222), of the third century B.C.

4 VAN MINNEN, cit., p.90.

5 Cf. the above-mentioned P.Hels. 6 (an order for payment addressed by the oikonomos(?) Philippos to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς Erasyschos).


7 For the Duke papyri, this hypothesis needs of course to be verified once all documents are published.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

(5) were purchased (at least as regards the *P.Hels.* and the *P.Duk.*) in the same years (1974, 1976, 1977) on the antiquities market.

My guess is that *P.Hels.* and *P.Duk.*, like the *P.Tebt.* III, come from Umm al-Baragāt.

1.2.5. Documents from (?) now in Strasbourg, Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, Geneva, Milan.

The editors of *P.Strasb.* VIII 781 have noted «l’identité du "decoupage"» of this document and of *P.Hamb.* I 57, 91 and 92 (P. Hamb. I 91 mentions the Herakleopolite villages of Tefebek and Posis); these documents are also related by their contents (they are all addressed to the strategos Kydas)¹ and were acquired in the same years, presumably through the Deutsches Papyrussammlung².

*BGU VI* 1244 is said to belong to the «Alter Bestand», having been bought (through the Papyrussammlung, presumably) in the Fayūm: it relates to a pronouncement by the χρηματιστάς in a case of assault (the claimant is from Φεβεβεώς καὶ Πεννσόχω, in the Μέση toparcy: somebody had broken into his house), and its contents connect it to *P.Yale I* 57, also referring to a pronouncement by the χρηματιστάς in a case of assault in the Μέση toparcy (people breaking into a vineyard at Pepnpsikos). *P.Mert. 59* (acquired in 1924) must have the same provenance, too: this is a divorce agreement before the χρηματιστάς at Κροκόδειλον πόλεις; the parties are to meet for the final settlement at Bousiris.

No information is offered in the edition on the provenance of *SB XIV* 12089 (now in Cologne): was it also acquired through the Deutsches Papyrussammlung? *P.Münch.* I 49, 51 and 55 (referring to the Herakleopolite villages of Tefebek and Thminarche) probably were, and they were definitely purchased not later than 1913; *P.Münch.* I 55, in particular, is said to have been bought at El-Ashmunia: the inventory numbers suggest that all three documents were purchased at the same time³.

Seventy years later, in 1992 and 1993, new material (in two «Papyrussammlungen»), related to some *P.Münch.*, was acquired by the Papyrussammlungen of Heidelberg, Cologne and Vienna⁴.

Unpublished cartonnage papyri from the Herakleopolites are also in the possession of the universities of Geneva⁵ and Milan, both at the Università Cattolica (purchase of 1990)⁶ and at the Università Statale (purchase of 1992). The Università Statale, in particular, acquired a papyrus roll (*P.Mil.Vogl.* inv.1295) containing the epigrams of Posidippus, besides five documents, all from the same cartonnage⁷: the documents date from the early second century B.C.; two of them (*P.Mil.Vogl.* inv. 1299 and 1300)

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¹ *P.Pi I* 274; also in L. MOOREN, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography*, Bruxelles 1975, Prosopography no. 995. The strategos Kydas is attested from 167 to 160 B.C.: he is attested, among other documents, in *P.Hels.* 126A and *UPZ I* 9-11, which mention Herakleopolite toponyms.

² See above, p. 14 n. 4.

³ Inv. nos. 122, 114 and 116, respectively. On the papyrus acquisitions of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (which begun in 1899/1900) see ERWIN ARNOLD, «Die Papyrussammlung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek», in *P.Münch.* I (repr. 1986), pp. 10-12. About 110 papyri were reckoned by Wilcken to be in the first lot bought by Hermann Thiervers for the Staatsbibliothek of Bavaria in 1900 (ULRICH WILCKEN, *APF I*, 1901, pp. 468-491; see also LEOPOLD WENGER, *Chr. Ég.* 7, 1932, pp. 335-348). The three documents in our list were probably part of one of the later purchases, made through the Deutsches Papyrussammlung between 1909 and 1913.

⁴ As reported by James M.S. Cowey at the 21st International Congress of Papyrologists (Berlin, 13-19 August 1995). These papyri, to be published by Cowey himself and Demokritos Kaltas, also refer to several Herakleopolite localities.


mention the Herakleopolite villages of Koma and Petachor, respectively.1

1.3. Documents of the first century B.C.
1.3.1. Documents from Abū Sîr al-Malaq

The documents in our index come from the necropolis in the Gabal Abū Sîr, which was excavated by Otto Rubensohn during three campaigns, in 1903, 1904 and 1906;2 nearby Abū Sîr al-Malaq is the ancient Bousiris, one of the northernmost Herakleopolite villages. The cartonnages of the mummies found there (dating from the first century A.D.)3 gave back, besides the remains of a lawyer’s archive in Alexandria4: 

(1) a large number of documents from the office of the strategos and the βασιλικὸς γραμματέας at Herakleopolis (published in BGU VIII), mostly mentioning villages in the northern part of the nome; 

(2) a series of tax-lists, accounts and land-survey documents (published in BGU XIV), which offer the most comprehensive available information on Herakleopolite villages and toparchies5.

BGU VI 1216 (also from cartonnage, but now unfortunately lost) is a special case: its editor dated it to 110 B.C., and its internal evidence mostly points to the Memphite nome, but also to the Herakleopolites (see s.v. περὶ Αὐλήν).

1.3.2. BGU VIII and some related documents.

These documents are mostly related to the judicial activity of the strategos of the Herakleopolites (and of his staff): they are petitions addressed by inhabitants of the district to various strategoi who held office between 61/60 and 47 B.C., besides correspondence within the administration concerning inquiries to be made and decisions to be put into effect on matters of divorce, inheritance6, conflicts between tax-payers and various officials, cases of assault and robbery7, and so on. There are requests for tax-release, sometimes claiming a condition of ἀσθενεία for a whole village, and a number of transfers of catacistic land8. Another group of

1 See Catalogue, s.vv. I wish to thank Guido Bastianini for information concerning these two documents.
2 See KARL PREISENDANZ, Papyrusfunde und Papyrologie, p.179 ff. The site had already been inspected by Heinrich Schäfer in 1899 (see ULRICH WILCKEN, «Die Berliner Papyrustoerungen in Herakleopolis magnus», APF 2, 1903, p.325), on the occasion of the ill-starred excavations conducted by Wilcken at Ilnisisu-El-Madwa, of which more will be said later.
3 On more recent discoveries from the Saite and Graeco-Roman periods (apparently no papyri, though) at Abū Sîr al-Malaq see Orientalia 55, 1986, p.263 (reporting a piece of news from AI Abram of September the 28th, 1985).
4 See WILHELM SCHUBART, APF 5, 1913, pp.35-81.
5 A number of orders for payment addressed to bankers, now in the possession of Florida State University, are obviously from the same find (related documents have appeared as BGU XIV 2401-2416): they were published by ROGER S. BAGNALL and RAYMOND BOGAERT, Ancient Society 6, 1975, pp.79-108 (now SB XIV 11309-11328). These papyri were bought in 1973 from a private collector in Holland, from whom information was received that the papyri had been the property of her family since early in this century. A note with the texts stated that they came from the mummy cartonnage found at Abou Sîr Al-Malaq (ibid., p.79). BGU XIV 2401-2416 are documents of exactly the same type. Is there any connection between the Florida papyri and the Visser papyri (see below, p.22 n.5)?
6 BGU VI 1285 (a clericus’ testament concerning his house at Thmoithapha) probably belongs here (unless it can be connected to BGU VI 1244; see above, p.20) and so do two documents published outside the BGU series, but also from Abū Sîr al-Malaq: SB VI 9065 and VIII 9790.
7 SB V 7609 falls within this category.
8 ‘Ἀσθενεία: BGU VIII 1815 (61/60 B.C.), submitted by the inhabitants of Machor. Three more documents of this kind late from 51/50 B.C. (BGU VIII 1779, for Peenpsy; BGU VIII 1835, for Hiera Nesos) and 50/49 B.C. (BGU VIII 1843, for Iinteris). Land-transfers: see, in our Chronological Index, BGU VIII 1771 and 1772, and cf. BGU VIII 1731-1740.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

documents (BGU VIII 1741-1755) comprises orders for the shipping of wheat to Alexandria\(^1\), or for payments to soldiers or priests\(^2\). SB V 8755 and 8756, authorising seed-loans to the ἔσω Πόλις of Phys, and to a κόσμος of Mouchis, were published later.

BGU VIII 1768 is a report on a visit by a high official, possibly at Herakleopolis: he landed at Ἱερὸς Νῆσος, and thence proceeded to visit a locality provided with a temple of Herakles, an Arsinoeion and a γυμνάσιον; one is reminded of the itinerary followed by an ὀρφεύς to be escorted to Ἱερὸς Νῆσος (BGU VIII 1784)\(^3\).

1.3.3. BGU XIV documents.

The BGU XIV documents that appear in our Chronological Index come mostly from a single mummy-case, the head of which had been dismantled before World War II, while the remaining part was disassembled in 1975\(^4\). BGU XIV 2419, 2420, 2425 and 2431 are so-called Visser papyri\(^5\); BGU XIV 2435 comes from yet another piece of cartonnage\(^6\). Finally, BGU XIV 2376 and 2377 (copies of the same document) were obtained from a mummy-case otherwise containing material from the Augustan period (see below).

BGU XIV 2430, 2436, 2437, 2439 and 2440 were all re-used on the verso by one scribe, the one who wrote BGU XIV 2440, as shown in the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BGU XIV 2370</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XIV 2436</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2436 verso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XIV 2437</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XIV 2439</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XIV 2440</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2434</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of these documents is dated, except for BGU XIV 2370 (not exactly dated, but containing references to a 34th and a 33rd year). Furthermore, BGU XIV 2370 and 2436 were written by the same hand that compiled BGU XIV 2374, a petition to Soter II, to be dated between 88 and 81 B.C. This is also consistent with the dating (82 and 81 B.C.) of some orders for payments (BGU XIV 2401-2416) from the same cartonnage\(^7\). The 34th year referred to in BGU XIV 2370 is therefore 84/83 B.C. (34th year of Soter

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1 In our Chronological Index: BGU VIII 1742 (wheat shipped from the granary of Tilothis to Alexandria).

2 BGU VIII 1747-1749 (payments to soldiers); BGU VIII 1752-1753 (assignments of wheat to priests at Tilothis and in ἔσω Πόλις, respectively).

3 Both documents (written by different hands) are undated; compare the list of ships in BGU VIII 1807, where reference is made (as in BGU VIII 1784) to the Troties (i.e. the region around Troia, in the Mephites: see Catalogue, s.v. ΙΕΠΑ ΝΗΣΟΣ).

4 See BGU XIV, Einleitung, pp.V-VII.

5 The Visser papyri, also from Abū Sir al-Malaq cartonnage, were entrusted to C.E. Visser before World War II, and eventually appeared in BGU XIV.

6 See BGU XIV, Einleitung, p.VIII: «aus Probauslosungen kleinerer Sargfragmente, die in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren durch J. Hofmann und seinen Vorgänger, M. Brzycki, erfolgten».

7 See p. 21 n. 5.
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II’s reign). The chronological gap between BGU XIV 2370 and 2436, on the one hand, and BGU XIV 2440, 2433, 2436 verso, 2438, 2432 and 2434, on the other, may perhaps be assessed to approximately 25-30 years. BGU XIV 2441-2448 and 2449-2450 (two sets of land-survey documents written by two different hands) are probably nearer in time to the more recent of the documents listed above (i.e. those written on the verso and BGU XIV 2440): as a matter of fact, there is a single (undeciphered) line of writing on the back of BGU XIV 2449, apparently by the same hand that wrote BGU XIV 2440; and the handwriting of BGU XIV 2441-2448 is similar to that of SB VI 9065, which is dated to 50/49 B.C., besides mentioning a Herakleopolite 'ιστον locality. BGU XIV 2437 and 2439, both written on recto sides, may be thought to be nearer in time to BGU XIV 2370 and 2436.

BGU XIV 2441-2448 and 2449-2450 preserve portions of what must have been a complete survey of all agricultural land in each village of the Tekmi toparchy, and probably of the whole nome. BGU XIV 2370 includes a report on the administration of two oikonomoi, from the (unnamed) colleague presently in charge considers responsible for certain tax-arrangements. This must have been addressed to a higher authority, presumably the strategos, who would also be in a position to grant the requested tax-release. In fact all the above-mentioned BGU XIV documents may originate from the strategos’ office. Possible links between BGU XIV 2444-2448 and BGU VIII documents may also be detected, if the γεωργός-entrepreneur Hierax of BGU XIV 2444, 86-91 and 2448, 11 is identified with the homonymous ἐκδοτὴς of BGU VIII 1821 and 1823. Similarly, the γεωργός-entrepreneur Κύρος ὁ Ἡροδεσπότης of BGU XIV 2449, 70-73 could be identical with Κύρος ὁ Ἡροδεσπότης of BGU VIII 1813: like the orphans of BGU VIII 1813, the κτίστοις Straton, son of Demetrius of BGU XIV 2449 was unable, or unwilling to cultivate his klersos (he cedes 52 arourae to Kiales/Killes, while leaving 39 more arourae mostly uncultivated). 1

1.4. Documents from the beginning of the Roman Period from Abū Sir al-Malāq.

All papyri dating from the Augustan period in our list come from Abū Sir al-Malāq. The most recently published are the BGU XVI papyri: almost all of these were extracted from a single coffin fragment. The

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1 The other possibilities for year 34 are: 148/147 B.C. (year 34 of Ptolemy VI Philometor) and 137/136 B.C. (year 34 of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II). A dating to the second century B.C. is favoured by Reinhold Scholl (C.Ptol.Sklav., p.977) on the ground that Esakon (an official in charge of the admission to the rank of κτίστοις) and Archinos (his secretary) appear both in BGU XIV 2441 (II.149 and 153, respectively) and in P.Tebt. III 739, which certainly dates from the middle of the second century B.C. However, a different explanation is possible for the recurrence of both names in the two documents, while accepting the first century B.C. date for BGU XIV 2441 (cf. MARIA ROSARIA FALIVENE, «Esakon and Archinos in P.Tebt. III 739 and BGU XIV 2441» (forthcoming). Objections to Scholl’s opinion are already raised in BL 9,34: «Es sei aber aufgemerkt, daß 2436 von derselben Hand geschrieben ist als 2374: eine Eingabe an Ptolemaios IX. Vgl. auch die ebenfalls aus derselben Kartonage stammenden BGU 2401-2416.»

2 As observed by William Brashhear (BGU XIV, p.165), who also notes the similarity between the handwriting of BGU XIV 2441-2448 and that of the Laterculi Alexandrini (= 2068 Pack), also obtained from cartonnage found at Abū Sir al-Malāq.

3 References to a 6th year are found in BGU XIV 2444,24 and 2449,36; to a 40th (or 20th +) year in BGU XIV 2441,119; to a queen and a king in BGU XIV 2444,25 and BGU XIV 2441,100, respectively: these pieces of information are not easy to pin down to any particular sovereign (cf. BGU XIV 2441,119 n.).

4 Compare similar requests addressed to the strategos and published in BGU VIII (see above, p.21 n.8).


6 In BGU XIV 2449, α and λ are often indistinguishable, and so they are in the case of this personal name.

7 Cf. II.66-69.

8 I wish to thank William M. Brashhear, for allowing me to browse through the final draft of BGU XVI before it was published.
remaining ones, retrieved from boxes in the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum, are connected with some BGU IV documents: BGU XVI 2665, for instance, belongs to a small private archive of letters published as BGU IV 1203-1209, while BGU XVI 2674 is written in the same script as BGU XVI 2672 (and maybe 2673), which contains a list of priests mostly coinciding with BGU IV 1196 (l.l.65-83 and 101-123)\textsuperscript{1}.

BGU XVI 2578-2587 are a group of declarations of property (sheep and goats): with the exception of BGU XVI 2586 (dated 5 B.C.), they are all dated to 14/13 B.C., and addressed to a subordinate of the supervisor of the pasture-tax (ος προς τω έννομιτω) in the Herakleopolites.

A large majority of the documents obtained from this coffin fragment, however, belong, or may be affiliated to the archive of Athenodoros (BGU XVI 2600-2668), who operated in the Herakleopolites as dioketes, epistates, and also overseer of the affairs (φροντιστής) of a certain Asklepiades\textsuperscript{2}.

Three of the documents extracted from this piece of cartonnage date from the pre-Augustan period: besides the already mentioned BGU XVI 2376 and 2377 (from 36/35 B.C.; see above), there is the still unpublished P.Berol. inv.25263 (oath by a κύροις ἵπτως dated 52 B.C.).

The same coffin fragment also produced literary papyri: a magical text, a Greek-Latin word-list, and a speech of Demosthenes (part of which had been extracted at an earlier time)\textsuperscript{3}.

2. Documents of the Ptolemaic period from outside the Herakleopolites.

2.1. Documents of the third century B.C.

2.1.1. From the Arsinoites (Zenon archive).

Certain connections between documents from Kom Madinat Gurān and some papyri from the Zenon archive have been noted above: coincidences are not surprising between two sets of papyri having both date (early Ptolemaic period) and provenance (Fayūm) in common. Besides, Zenon's enterprises extended to the Herakleopolites. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782 (b) records payments to Egyptian men from various Herakleopolite villages as wages for the manufacturing of flax: the list of place-names (in the Koma, Tilothis and Teknii toparchies) largely coincides with the one in P.Lill. I 59\textsuperscript{4}, but also includes Meina (in the Memphis) and Thmoiobatis, a locality in the Koma toparchy which is again mentioned in P.Lond. VII 1972. Bee-keeping\textsuperscript{5} on a large scale is attested in P.Cair.Zen. III 59368 (complaints against the oikonomos Ammonios, whom we met in Kresilas' correspondence): a thousand bee-hives are leased out to Egyptians in the Herakleopolites and Memphis nomes. P.Cair.Zen. IV 59753 (a trading cruise connecting Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Herakleopolis, Bousiris and Ptolemais Hormou) defines a wider context within which the northern Herakleopolites should be viewed. Connections to the Koites, via

\textsuperscript{1} They resulted from Probeaflösungen made before World War II: cf. BGU XVI, Preface, pp.V-VI. William Brashier informed me that BGU XVI 2588, also from cartonnage, once belonged to Wilcken's private collection (letter of October 12, 1995).

\textsuperscript{2} At the beginning of the Roman period, and throughout the first century A.D., the title of διοικήτης designated a subordinate local official: cf. DIETER HAGEDORN, "Zum Amt des διοικήτης im römischen Ägypten", YCS 28, 1985, pp.188-191.


\textsuperscript{4} See Catalogue, s.v. ΒΟΥΣΙΡΙΣ.

\textsuperscript{5} Bee-keepers from Bousiris: P.Cair.Zen. II 59151 and PSI V 510.
2.1.2. From Memphis.

With one exception, all UPZ documents in our Chronological Index pertain to Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias, the reclus in the Serapieon who came from Psychis in the Herakleopolite nome: his archive was discovered at Saqqara, and dispersed throughout Europe, in the 1820s. The exception is UPZ I 122, a petition addressed to Poseidonios, strategos of the Memphite nome,2 by a follower of Serapis from Πεσενεμεύς (scil. Πεσενεμεύς), in the Herakleopolite nome. Wilcken already noticed that «authentische Nachrichten über den Speziellen Ort, an dem die Texte gefunden sind, und über die genaueren Fundumstände sind ... nicht bekannt»3: as regards UPZ I 122, he suggested (ad loc.) that the petition may have been found among the ruins of the Anoubiecion in Memphis.

3. Documents from the Herakleopolites. From the first to the fifth century A.D.

No papyrus mentioning Herakleopolite toponyms and dating from a time later than the Augustan period comes from cartonnage; also, many of these documents were found by clandestine diggers and sold on the antiquities market to buyers from all over Europe (as far as Tbilisi), the United States, and Australia. These two facts make it much more difficult to sort them out into groups of papyri that can be traced back to their common provenance. The provenance of those papyri that stayed in, or eventually went back to Egypt is often equally unknown. However, the fact that certain papyri (1) date from the same period, and (2) refer to the same places in the Herakleopolites, does offer a clue to their possibly common origin. This possibility may then be checked against any information (if available) on where, when, by or through whom, and for which institution(s) or private individual(s) these papyri were bought. Moreover, the inventory-numbers may offer useful indications as to which papyri in a collection were found, or at least bought together.

3.1. Documents of the first and first/second century A.D. from Al- Hibba

In the winter of 1914, ten years after Grenfell and Hunt had last been there, Friedrich Bilabel went to Al-Hiba. He was well aware that his could only be «eine Nachlese zu den Raubgrabungen und den englischen Ausgrabungen». Nevertheless, he was able to report that «das traten an die verschiedensten Stellen der Stadt fast zutage, die von der Perserzeit (ägyptische Stücke) bis etwa ins 2./3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. reichen. Byzantinischen habe ich nicht gefunden, aber einige kleine koptische Fetssten. In den Häusern ... sind ... meines Erkennens nur römische Texte gefunden worden ... Das spricht dafür ... dass ungefähr seit dem 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. die Stadt wohl nur mehr dürftig bewohnt war. Aus koptischer Zeit sind einige Graber von uns ausgedeckt worden»4. Of the documents dating from late first or early second A.D. that mention Herakleopolite toponyms ('Αγκυράν, πόλις and other places, for the most part in the Koietes), P.Heid. IV 326 was certainly found during Bilabel's excavations, while P.Hib. II 218, 272 and 275 were among those recovered by Grenfell and Hunt: «A few houses on higher ground in the south-east quarter of the town had some afsh, but had already been much dug, and we found little save some second or third century fragments»5.

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1 Cf. DOROTHY J. THOMPSON. Memphis under the Ptolemies, Princeton 1988, pp.213-231.
2 There are four more petitions to strategoi of the same nome among the UPZ: UPZ I 123, also addressed to Poseidonios; UPZ I 124 (to the strategos Kraterios); UPZ I 7 and 8 (to the strategos Dionysios).
3 UPZ 1, Einleitung, pp.1-2.
5 P.Hib. I, Introduction, p.7 (italics mine); see also P.Hib. II, Preface, pp.V-VI.
The papyri coming from this site as a result of the *Raubgrabungen* of Shékh Hassan had been on the market at least since 1896, and it is conceivable that one or more of the papyri of unknown provenance that mention Herakleopolite toponyms may have come from Al-Hiba (especially as the houses inspected by Grenfell and Hunt «had already been much dug»), particularly if it mentions a locality in the Koites, and if it was acquired not much later than 1896¹. This could be the case for *P.Ross.Georg.* II 11, in which reference is made to 'Αγγελόων πόλις και Μουντίπερετ, the second village being also mentioned in a of the third century B.C. papyrus from Al-Hiba (*P.Hib.* II 112). In his Vorwort to *P.Ross.Georg.* I, Zereteli wrote that an edition of the papyrus acquired for him in Egypt by B. Turaiev and M. Rostovtzeff was planned just before World War I broke out; in 1900 Zereteli was still learning the papyrologist's job in Berlin;² at some point between 1900 and 1914 he must therefore have asked Turaiev and Rostovtzeff to purchase papyri for him; at that time, some documents from Al-Hiba may have still been around.³ On the other hand, the date of *P.Ross.Georg.* II 11 is rather earlier than that of other papyri from the Roman period definitively found at Al-Hiba, none of which is earlier than the second half of the first century A.D.⁴

3.2. Documents of the second and third centuries A.D.

3.2.1. From the first and second «Fayûm finds».

Some 40,000 papyri went to Vienna either in 1881/1882 (so-called first Fayûm find: mostly, but not exclusively Byzantine documents) or in 1884/1885 (the second Fayûm find). They came from a site north of Medinet el-Fayûm (ancient Arsinoe) but also, in large quantities, from Ilnásya al-Madina/Herakleopolis. The first Fayûm find also comprised papyri from Hermopolis.⁵

The Roman, as well as the (much more abundant) Byzantine documents in the Vienna collection that mention Herakleopolite toponyms may thus be assumed to come mostly from Herakleopolis, while others may be from the Arsinoite nome. For the second and third centuries A.D. these also include, besides the *CPR*, Stud.Pal. and *P.Vind.* documents included in our Chronological Index, the following papyri (all from the third century A.D.): *P.Rain.Cent.* 64; *P.Select.* 17; *SB I* 14370; *SB IV* 11643; *SE XVI* 12241; *SB XVIII* 13858; *P.Vindob.* G 23035.⁶

However, not all papyri from the Fayûm finds went to Vienna: though the vast majority of them did, others found their way to Berlin, Oxford, Paris, London, and elsewhere.⁷ The provenance from the second Fayûm find is virtually certain for *P.Aberd.*, also represented by one document in our list⁸, and *SB XVI*

¹ It is difficult to tell, however, for how long papyri from Al-Hiba were to be found on the antiquities market: the Ptolemaic literary papyri must have gone very quickly, but a document of the Roman period may have taken longer to sell (see also p.28 n.9). See below, p.28 f., on BGU XI 2073, acquired at El-Ashmunein in 1908, but possibly from Al-Hiba. There are many cases of separate groups of documents from the same find being sold at different stages, either to the same or to different buyers: the case of the Petaus archive is particularly striking (see *P.Petaus, Vorwort*, p.5).


³ See above, p.15, on some papyri of the third century B.C. from Al-Hiba cartonnage published in *P.Ross.Georg.* II.

⁴ Oxyrhynchos is the other possible provenance for this document: see below, p.30.


⁶ The toponym Kerkytos, well attested for the Herakleopolites, appears in *P.Vind.Tand.* 10: despite its early date (54 A.D.), the inventory number of this papyrus relates it to documents from the Fayûm finds published in the same volume, which pertain to the Arsinoites.

⁷ As stated by Grenfell and Hunt in *P.Fayûm*, p.18; they also added that «enormous quantities of papyrus rolls of the Roman period» were found in the houses at Dimê (ancient Soknopaiou Nesos), and that «during this period, 1887-1894, dealers’ agents were working at other sites, especially at Kôm Ushûm ... and other places on the east side of the Fayûm, which had been deserted since the fourth century» (ibid., p.19).

⁸ Cf. *P.Aberd.*, Preface, p.V: «From internal evidence it seems clear that the bulk of the documents come from Dimê ...
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12612 was also «recovered by the University of Michigan at Dime» 1.

It is not easy to point to a published Berlin papyrus, among those in our list, which may have come from the first or second Fayûm finds 2. BGU XIII 2326, for example, might be one of them (this is a customs house register mentioning Кефалой, Λευκόγλυφον and Bousiris, the last two places at least being in close relation to the Arsinoteis) 3.

3.2.2. Lost documents from Ilnaissiya al-Madina.

In the winter 1898/1899, Ulrich Wilcken led an excavation at the site of Herakleopolis: BGU III 927 and 958a, two of the papyri found on that occasion, were published on the basis of Wilcken's preliminary transcriptions, after the originals had been destroyed, with all else that had been brought from Egypt, «durch eine elementare Katastrophe im letzten Augenblick ... auf dem Schiff, das die Papyruskisten von Ägypten bis Hamburg sicher gebracht hatte, brannte zur Hamburger Hafend ein Feuer aus, dem auch unsern Kisten bis auf einige wertlose Rest zum Opfer fielen» 4.

3.2.3. Documents from (?)

In the 1920s and early 1930s different institutions bought papyri of the second and third centuries A.D.: their editors offer very little information on the provenance of these documents, but it should be noted that the Herakleopolite villages they mention were in the northern part of the nome, namely in the Koma, Tekmi and Месон toparchies. In my opinion, there is a strong probability that all, or most of these papyri may come from the same find: did Wilcken leave something behind, at Ilnaissiya al-Madina?

The documents in question are: P.Bon. 18 and 25, acquired in 1930 and mentioning, respectively, Machor and Phys 5 P.Iand. III 33, mentioning Bousiris 6 P.Mert. II 78 (acquired in 1930 7; place-name almost entirely lost in a lacuna); P.Mil.Vogl. VI 287 (toponym mentioned: Tekmi) 8. With the exception of P.Bon. 18 (a census declaration dated 138 A.D., like P.oslo III 98, which refers to Herakleopolis) the

several pieces in this collection are closely related to others, now preserved in London and Berlin, which are known to have come from the Fayûm ... I have not discovered that any of the Aberdeen fragments connect with pieces in the Rainer collection at Vienna, though in certain texts the same persons appear».

1 LOUISE C. YOUTIE, ZPE 37, 1980, p.205.

2 In the Einleitung to BGU XI reference is made to the Sammlung Brugsch (1891), as part of the Berlin collection: this could well include documents of the first and second Fayûm finds. However: «Nur die Bestände, die aus den Grabungen der Berliner Museen (1899-1910) stammen, tragen meist Grabungsdatum und Herkunftssiegel»; was also in the Sammlungen Brugsch (1891) and historian and Carl Schmidt stammt, enthält nur selten entsprechende Angaben; fast alle aus dem Fayûm stammenden Papyri kommen aus Mappen oder Kästen ohne jede Angabe» (Ibid., p.6).

3 See Catalogue, s.vv.


5 P.Bon., Avvertenza, p.5: «La raccolta dei papiri bolognesi fu acquistata nel 1930 ... presso M. Nahman, antiquario del Cairo».

6 Cf. HANS GEORG GUDEL, «Papyri Ilandane. Eine Einführung», Kurzberichte aus den Giessener Papyrus-Sammlungen 29, 1971, pp.1-2, whence it is possible to deduce that P.Iand. III 33 may have been bought either in 1905/1906 or in 1927; perhaps the fact that another papyrus in the same collection (P.Iand. VI 124, of the fourth century A.D.), also mentioning a Herakleopolite toponym, was certainly bought in 1927, makes the later date more likely for P.Iand. III 33, too.

7 Wilfred Merton took part in the consortium set up by Kelsey, on which see below, p.29 n.5.

8 «Acquistato nell’anno 1934 probabilmente al Cairo» (Ed. ad loc.).
3.2.4. Documents from Al-Hība.

To begin with, a source of a different kind from Al-Hība may be mentioned: this is SB I 2246, a funerary inscription.

The papyri published in P. Hib. II, P. Bad. = VBP, P. Heid. IV, and SB XII 11262 (a re-edition of P. Bad. = VBP IV 79), besides SB XVI 12836-12837 (now in Vienna), certainly come from Al-Hība 4. To these P. Corr. 17 should be added, being a census declaration from the same place (Ἀγκυροῦ πόλις) and the same year (147 A.D.) as P. Bad. = VBP IV 75a-b, and perhaps also P. Gen. I 9 and P. Lond. II 171—both mention Phebichis and were acquired between 1891 and 1895, just when material from this site may have become more abundant on the market. 5. P. Ross. Georg. V 20, mentioning locality of the Ἀγγυρος Τεκθος Νησσου toparchy, and the Koites (including Phebichis), may be suspected of having the same origin, especially if this is attributed to P. Ross. Georg. II 11, too 6. The same point can be made for P. Hamb. I 17 (bought in the Fayūm 7), as other papyri now in Hamburg come from Al-Hība.

Other papyri in our Chronological Index mention Ἀγκυροῦ πόλις and/or other villages in the Koites and could come from Al-Hība: P. Ryl. II 225 and 88 are among these 8, as well as P. Strasbh. V 356 9, and perhaps PSI I 32, VI 928, XII 1229. BGU XI 2073 contains a list of inhabitants of Ἀγκυροῦ πόλις, the personal names being the same as in certain papyri of the second and third centuries A.D. from Al-Hība 10.

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1 P. Oslo III 82 is said in the edition to come from the Oxyrhynchites: however, it contains official correspondence destined for the strategoi of the Arsinoites.

2 The Editors note that they have «benachbarte Inventarnummern». On the recto of P. Köln II 99, a tax-list for the Polemon meris is found: «Vermutlich ist der Papyrus nach der Erstbeschreibung auf dem Rekt'o vom Arsinoites in den Herakleopolites gebracht worden, wo er wahrscheinlich auch gefunden wurde. Nr. 88, mit einem benachbarten Inventarnummer stammt ebenfalls aus dem Herakleopolites» (P. Köln II 99, p. 141).

3 Cf. the editio princeps of this document in Ag lys etu 54, 1974, p. 52: «Il papiro ... potrebbe provenire dall'Herakleopolites e, più precisamente, dai dintorni di Hawam».

4 Cf. SB XVIII, p. 486 f. See above, p. 25 f.

5 The first lots of Geneva papyri were acquired through Édouard Naville (then the agent of the Egypt Exploration Fund in Egypt) in the 1880s and early 1890s; cf. CLAUDE WEHRLI, «L'état de la collection papyrologique de Genève», Actes du XVème Congrès International de Papyrologie, Troisième Partie, Bruxelles 1979, pp. 20-24.


7 Grenfell and Hunt also bought most of the literary Hībeh Papyri in the Fayūm: see P. Hib. I, Introduction, p. 1.

8 Cf. P. Ryl. I, Preface (dated 1910); Grenfell and Hunt, who acquired the Rylands papyri «on behalf of Lord Crawford or the late Mr. Rylands», give no indication of their provenance or date of purchase.

9 Only the beginning of a toponym is preserved (Qotil). Most place-names formed with this prefix, however, were in the Herakleopolites (and almost all in the Koites), while the Strasbourg collection possesses a good number of cartonage papyri of the third century B.C. found at Al-Hība (see above, p. 14 f.); one of the Roman documents found in the houses could have been bought at the same time as these. The inventory number of P. Strasbh. V 356 (inv.2357a) is consistent with this hypothesis, being between e.g. P. Strasbh. VII 662 (inv.2352) and P. Strasbh. VII 642 (inv.2569), both dating from the third century B.C.

10 See Catalogue, s.v. Ἀγκυροῦ πόλις, p. 43 n. 3.
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this suggests that it may originate from there, too, although it was bought at El-Ashmunein in 1908.

3.3. Documents of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The papyri in this group have the usual provenances: a novel type of document is represented by archives from μοναχι in the southernmost part of the district.

3.3.1. Documents from Ἡναίσια αὐτῆς ἡ Μαδίνα.

CEL 231-233 (Latin papyri now in Vienna, mentioning a fort at Ποσφίτα) must come from the so-called Fayûm finds. BGU III 938 and 949 (mentioning Sobthis and Papa) were among the papyri found by Wilcken at Ἡναίσια and burnt in the port of Hamburg. Again, it is conceivable that a number of documents appearing in our list of sources for the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. may be "left-overs" which, having escaped Wilcken, were found by local diggers and eventually acquired by different buyers, more or less at the same time. These may include P.Athen. 34, P.Land. VI 124, P.Lond. III 985, P.Oxf. 6 (referring to villages in the περὶ Πηλίνων τής Τέκμης τοπορκίας), P.Michael. 28 and SB XIV 11615 (both mentioning Papa), P.Med. I 66 and P.Batac. XXV 65 (mentioning Νέαλον πόλις and Bousiris, respectively) 1.

3.3.2. Documents from Ἁβιά.

A couple of documents from Al-Hiba (P.Hib. II 219 and 220) date from the fourth century A.D.; to these P.Ahm. II 142 and 147 2 and P.Ross. 1906. V 61 might be connected (unless their provenance is Oxyrhynchus) as well as P.Gen. I 10, containing a reference to Phebechis 3.

3.3.3. The Nepheros archive 4

A novel group of sources for this period is provided by the Nepheros archive: these documents reveal the existence of a number of μοναχι in the southern Herakleopolites and in the neighbouring area of the Kynopolites. There were μοναχι at Ankyron, Psellemachis, Taamorou, (P)hatbar: they followed the Melitian confession, and P.Lond. VI 1913-1929 report episodes of their struggle with the Alexandrian bishop Athanasius. No information is available about the provenance of these papyri: P.Lond. VI 1913-1929 were «acquired on two occasions, in 1922 and 1923, each time as part of a quite miscellaneous collections» 5; the Nepheros archive was bought on the antiquities market in 1982 6.

1 On the provenances of these papyri we have little, if any, information. P.Land. VI 124 was acquired in 1926 through Carl Schmidt; Aristide Calderini seems to indicate that P.Med. I 66 was purchased around 1927 as part of the Collezione Jacovelli-Vita; P.Leid.Inst. 65 was acquired in 1930.

2 The Amherst Papyri were «bought for Lord Amherst by us [Grenfell and Hunt] at various places in Egypt during the last three years» (P.Ahm. Preface [dated 1900]).


5 P.Lond. VI, p.43; see also Preface (p. III): «... acquired as a part of a joint purchase by the Museum and certain American and other universities, in which Prof. F.W. Kelsey of Michigan was the moving spirit» (see below, p.31). One wonders whether SB VIII 9683 (a papyrus now in Oxford, in which a monk reports the theft of an anchor, and Ἀγχυρων πόλις and Thelbo are mentioned) was also acquired at that time.

6 Cf. P.Neph., Vorwort. See also BÄRTEL KRAMER, «Neuere Papyri zum frühen Mönchentum in Ägypten», in
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In 1981, the Macquarie University also made a purchase comprising, or at least including an archive from the 330's and 340's A.D. The most substantial pieces are linked by their subject matter and by reference to Aspadas of Ἱπποῦν and/or his family. 1: perhaps there are links between this archive and that of Nepheros.

4. Documents from outside the Herakleopolites. From the first to the fifth century A.D.

4.1. Documents from the first and first/second century A.D.

4.1.1. From Oxyrhynchus.

Another possible provenance for P.Ross Georg. II 11, beside Al Hibah2, could be Oxyrhynchus. A number of P.Oxy. are in fact included in our list for the first century A.D.: Grenfell and Hunt excavated there from 1896/1897 to 1906/1907; in 1910 the Italians (Ermengildo Pistelli and Giulio Farina) took over, operating for the Società per la ricerca dei papiri promoted by Vitelli in Florence, and Evaristo Breccia went back there about twenty years later (from 1927/1928); PSI VIII 967 must come from or other of these excavations3, as well as PSI VIII 897, where the same fossil klerso is mentioned as in P.Oxy. II 348. 4 In the long intervals between one authorized excavation and the next, however, local diggers may have tried their hand at Oxyrhynchus: if they found any papyri, these would have ended up, of course, on the antiquities market.

As may be expected, the sources from Oxyrhynchus mainly (though not exclusively; see P.Oxy. XXIV 2412 and XLII 3052) record toponyms of the neighbouring Koities. SB XVI 12762 (a re-edition of P.Oxy. II 352), mentioning the village of Ko3, is from Oxyrhynchus: it is now in New York (Columbia University) as a result of the distributions of papyri to several American universities made by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1901, 1907, 1914-1915 and 1922. Princeton was one of these universities, and one wonders whether P.Princ. inv. AM 15960 B(1) may have been among the papyri from Oxyrhynchus thus distributed, or whether it was bought at another time, either on the occasion of the joint purchase of papyri by the universities of Michigan, Cornell, Princeton, Geneva and the British Museum organized by Francis W. Kelsey in 1921, or in one of the three later cooperative purchases funded "through the generosity of


3 Cf. ERIC G. TURNER, "Greek Papyri, Princeton 1968, pp.27-31 (Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus). On the provenance of the papyri now in Florence (PSI, P.Flor, and P.Laur.) see ROSARIO PINTAUDI, «Per una storia della papirologia in Italia: i papiro Laurenziani (P.Laur.), Miscellanea Papyrologica (Papyrologica Florentina VII), a cura di Rosario Pintaudi, Firenze 1980, pp.391-400; Cinquantaanni di Papirologia in Italia. Carteggi Breccia-Comparetti-Norsa-Vitelli, a cura di Donato Morelli e Rosario Pintaudi, con una premessa di Marcello Gigante, Napoli 1983 (at the end of the second volume, p.867 f., there is a list of the «Campagne di scavo» led between 1903 and 1940; this also records Girolamo Vitelli's and Medea Norsa's trips to Egypt, which were the occasions for the purchase of papyri); ROSARIO PINTAUDI, «Documenti per una storia della papirologia in Italia», Analecta Papyrologica 5, 1993, pp.155-176. On the excavation campaign led by Evaristo Breccia at Al Hibah in 1934/1935, during which some papyri were found (PSI VIII 967 could have been among them), see also ENRICO PARIBENI, «Rapporto preliminare su gli scavi di Alhibeh», Aegyptus 15, 1935, p.398; "Di papiro non abbiamo raccolto altro che manufatti frammenti tra la terra che riempiva le case e nelle vie tra una casa e l'altra. Quelli rinvenuti nella parte Nord dello scavo sono per lo più di scrittura greca corsiva di età romana, mentre quelli raccolti dalle case della zona Sud... sono tutti demotici».

4 See the list of Fossil Klero in the Herakleopolite Nome, s.v. Ηρακλείδου τοῦ Καλλιστράτου.

5 See Catalogue, s.v.
Mr. Robert Garrett. Other Princeton papyri bear inventory numbers "neighbouring" P.Princ. inv. AM 15960 B(1), and are assigned dates ranging between the third and the sixth/seventh A.D.: some of these also mention Herakleopolite toponyms (they are listed in the appropriate sections of the Chronological Index) and are likely to have been acquired at the same time. Its nearest "neighbour", P.Princ. inv. AM 15960 B(2), on the other hand, contains a reference to the Arsinoite village of Kerkoumis; on this basis, the possibility cannot be ruled out that both this papyrus and P.Princ. inv. AM 15960 B(1) may come from the Fayum.

4.1.2. From the Fayum.

Fayum provenance is certain in the case of P.Mich. II 121, acquired in Cairo in 1921 through the agency of Kelsey: this is an abstract of contracts drawn at the ἑρακλεόπωλος of Tebtynis, and the party to one of these contracts is from the otherwise unattested Herakleopolite village of Φενωμεν. Like the preceding document, P.Cornell 22 contains a possible incidental reference to a Herakleopolite village (being a list of people living at Philadelphia but having their ἴδια elsewhere, it includes two Σοβθητηται: the nearest to this, the Arsinoites was in the Herakleopolites); it was acquired in the same year (or the next), again through Kelsey. P.Tebt. II 535, «found in the houses of the town [Tebtynis] during the first month of the excavations» led by Grenfell and Hunt in 1899/1900, contains an order for an arrest to be put into effect by the ἀρχισφυγός of Thelbo.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the coptologist Carl Schmidt was very active as a purveyor of papyri to German universities; through him were acquired P.Giss.Univ. 19 and the papyri now in the collection of Erlangen University (including P.Erl.58, with a much abraded Herakleopolite toponym).

P.Osl. III 151 was acquired between 1920 and 1936; there is no means of knowing whether the Νετ[θέρα] ἡ πόλις there mentioned (assuming that this is the right supplement) was in the Arsinoites or in the Herakleopolites, but in both cases the Fayum would be a likely provenance for this papyrus: its acquisition, then, may date from 1923, when a consortium formed by Oslo University with the British Museum, and other European and American universities, purchased papyri from different Fayum villages through the agency of H.I. Bell. More papyri, this time from Oxyrhynchus, were bought by the same consortium in 1928.
4.2. Documents of the second and third century A.D. ¹

4.2.1. From the Fayûm.

The Wilcken Ostraka were found by Adolf Erman in 1886 at Sidmant Al-Gebel²; not surprisingly, they record traffic between the Arsinoite and the Herakleopolite nomes. The O. Meyer 51, O. Mich. I 68, and the ostraka published as SB I 1492-1517 (several of which are in our Chronological Index for the third century A.D.) belong to the same class of documents, but date from about 50 years later: they all emanate from the sitologos-office at Theadelphia³.

Our list also includes some documents that come from the Fayûm and were bought (or found) during the first ten years or so of the twentieth century. Thus, P. Berl. Leib. I 2 and SB V 7515, both in Berlin, may come from Theadelphia⁴; their inventory numbers are not too distant from that of BGU VII 1568 (dealing with the "abduction" of a female donkey from the Neilopolites into the Arsinoites). P. Laur. IV 174 was bought, with all other texts published in this series, «in Egitto nel primo decennio del secolo»⁵; it contains a reference to the village of Toou, as does SB XVIII 13151 (now in Cairo; no information on its provenance); P. Flor. III 364, published in a much earlier series, must have been acquired in the same years as the P. Laur.; its provenance from the Fayûm is suggested by the mention of Κάρνι. The same locality appears in P. Fayum 23, which Grenfell and Hunt found at Harât/Theadelphia, and in P. Mil. Vogl. IV 214 (from Tebtynis). P. Tebt. II 501 and 575 mention Herakleopolite localities only incidentally; it is less obvious why P. Tebt. III 353 (a receipt for tax-arrers paid to the agent of the komogrammateus of Peensamoi) should have been found, like the other two, in a house at Tebtynis⁶. The Papyri Pragenses, once the private possession of Carl Wessely, were bought in 1904⁷; they, too, relate mostly to the Arsinoite nome.

P. Mich. IX 551, O. Mich. 179 and SB XIV 11341 come from Karanis; they were found during the excavations led there by the expedition of the University of Michigan in 1924-1934. Phoebichis (main centre of the Koites) and Thimoaniche (Techto toparchy) are mentioned in P. Petaus 28, an "intruder"⁸ bought in 1954 with the half of Petaus' archive which is now in Cologne; it is not apparent what this letter is doing among the papers of the komogrammateus of five villages in the Arsinoite nome.

¹ Two documents in our I A.D. list of documents mentioning Herakleopolite toponyms come from Thebes (O. Theb. 132) and Panopolis (P. Beayty Panop. 1); SB XIV 12193 is a mummy-label, like the Ét. Fouad 2 (to which no date is assigned).

² Cf. O. Wilck. 1, p.22; a few of the Wilcken Ostraka were already in the Berlin collection before «etwa 1880» and are said to belong «zu den alten Bestand»; these may have been from the first or second Fayûm expeditions.

³ See PIERRE JOUGUET, BIFAO 2, 1902, p.91 (about SB I 1492-1517): «... achetés chez un marchand grec de Médinet, mais leur contenu ne laisse aucun doute sur leur origine: ils émanent tous du ... greiner publique de Théadelphia et ont dû être ramassés à Harât, sur les ruines du village antique». The O. Meyer were acquired through Carl Schmidt between 1904 and 1912 (see Vorwort to the edition, pp.III-IV).

⁴ See BGU IX Einleitung, pp.V-VI; also P. Col. V, Introduction, p.XV; SB V 7515 came to Berlin as one of seven rolls (bought by Schubart in 1912); more texts from these rolls were published in BGU IX; besides, the texts published in P. Col. II and P. Col. V come from the same find. Inventory numbers of the Berlin papyri: P. Berl. Leib. I 2 (inv.1541); SB V 7515 (inv.11652); BGU VII 1568 (inv.11473).

⁵ P. Laur. I, Introduzione, p.9. See also above, p.30 n.3.

⁶ During the excavations of 1899/1900: see P. Tebt. II, Preface, p.V. On P. Tebt. II 353 see also Catalogue, s.v. ΠΙΕΕΝΣΑΜΟΙ.

⁷ P. Prag. I, Introduzione, p.3: «Relativamente alle origini della sua collezione Wessely ci informa ... che acquistò i suoi papiri nel 1904 da un mercante ... Michram Sivadjian».

⁸ See Edd. ad loc.: «Eine sichere Angabe darüber, ob die Urkunde ein Bestandteil des Petaus-Archivs war, oder gar, aus welchem Grunde sie in das Archiv hineingekommen ist, läßt sich nicht machen». 
INTRODUCTION

4.2.2. From Oxyrhynchus.

Other PSI papyri in our Chronological Index, as well as P.Erl. 481 and P.Lund VI 8-92, probably come from Oxyrhynchus, and the same provenance may be guessed for P.Alex. inv.563 (note that PSI VI 928, mentioned above, is also at Alexandria: inv.247)3.

Besides the P.Oxy. included in our Chronological Index, an Oxyrhynchite provenance is established for P.Wash.Univ. I 184 and for SB XIV 11958 and 11959, which their editor rightly connected to P.Oxy. XX 22725. The last three documents were in fact all part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος recording expenses for the re-furbishing of sacred buildings in the Herakleopolites, which was later re-used on the verso by an official in the Oxyrhynchite nome: this, then, is their provenance and also their second origin.

4.3. Documents of the fourth and fourth/fifth century A.D.

4.3.1. From Oxyrhynchus.

There is no information on the provenance of SB XVIII 13260, but it seems reasonable to connect it with another papyrus in the same collection, P.Mich. XV 722 (both mention localities in the Koites), which was received from the British Museum in 1926. Both may well come from Oxyrhynchus, and so may (besides, of course, P.Oxy. XIV 1708) PSI III 222 and IX 1037, P.Flor. I 11 and P.Laur. II 42. All villages mentioned in these documents were in the Koites.

4.3.2. From the Fayûm.

A large number of our sources for the IV A.D. originate from Karanis6: these include, besides P.Mich. IX 573 and several O.Mich., P.NYU 4 and 11 and SB VI 96327. Two documents belonging to Fayûm archives (P.Abinn. 8 11 and P.Sakaon 22) refer to the harbour of ΛΕΥΚΟΤΟΥ.

5. Documents of the fifth/sixth and sixth century A.D.

More documents concerning monks are in our list, mentioning much the same places as in P.Lond. VI 1913-1929 and in the Nepheiros archive: these include P.Köl.n III 151 (no information on provenance) and

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1 Bought through Carl Schmidt: see above p.31.
2 No information on provenance is offered in the ed.pr.
3 No information on provenance. The Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria was officially opened on September the 26th, 1895. It was endowed with papyri given by the Direction Générale du Service des Antiquités, or donated by E. Glymenopoulos and by A. Cattavi, more papyri were bought by the direction of the museum.
4 P.Wash.Univ., Preface, p.II: «In return for contributions to aid in his excavations at Oxyrhynchus in the 1920s Sir Flinders Petrie sent to Washington University several hundred papyri...».
6 On these excavations see A.E.R. BOAK - E.E. PETERSON, Karanis: topographical and architectural report of excavations during the seasons 1924-8, Ann Arbor 1931.
7 See P.NYU, Preface, p.IX; P.Col. VII, General Introduction, p.3.
8 On the acquisition of the Geneva part of the Abaninaeus archive through Édouard Naville, see P.Abinn., Introduction, pp.2 ff.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

SB XII 10939, a letter addressed to the bishop of Oxyrhynchus, perhaps also P.Heid. III 246 (a list of payments including a reference to a κηρός 'Αθώρ: provenance unknown).

Apart from some Oxyrhynchite documents, all other sources in this list come from the first and second Fayum finds, comprising a vast number of documents from Ilnásiya al-Madinat now in Vienna.

6. Documents of the sixth, seventh and eighth century A.D.

Almost all papyri from the Heracleopolites dating from the late Byzantine and early Arabic period are now in Vienna, being the fruit of the first and second Fayum finds. We know, however, that some documents from the same finds went to Berlin: this may explain the presence in our list of P.Berl. Zill. 7, SB XX 14123, 14705, 14236, 14234, SB I 5537, 5338 and 5681. Others went to Paris, London (P.Lond. II 392, III 1097) and via London, perhaps, to Dublin and Michigan (P.Mich. inv.489). One may even have stayed in Egypt (SB VI 9262: reference to Leukogion). P.Erl. 67, P.Köln III 158 and VII 319-323 may have the same provenance, too, judging by the internal evidence.

The other possible provenance for the documents mentioning Heracleopolite toponyms, at this late stage, is again Oxyrhynchus: besides several P.Oxy, we may include in this group P.Mich. X 591, P.Princ. II 105, P.Wash. Univ. II 103, SB I 1967 and XVIII 13949, P.Laur. II 479, SB VI 8987.

P.Bad. IV 55 (found at Qarāra) 10, SB XVIII 13888 and perhaps P.Batav. XXV 80B should perhaps, again because of internal evidence, be related to earlier documents pertaining to the monasteries in the southern Heracleopolites.

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1 This document is now at the Beinecke Library (Yale). Its editor offers no information on provenance. In any case, it is not among those given to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund (cf. P.Yale II, pp.XV II.; also P.Yale I, Preface, p.VII).

2 These include PSI I 80, III 183, SB I 1945, besides P.Oxy. XVI 1834, XX 2268 and P.Mert. 46 (the last three documents, all referring to the village of Πείνις, must originate from the same archive).


5 PUG I 50 was given to Lumbroso by Grenfell in 1896, who bought it together with documents published in P.Grenf. II (cf. PUG I, p.103). Its date, and the toponym mentioned (Leukogion), would seem to relate it to the papyri we are discussing.

6 P.Dub., Preface, p.9: «In most cases ... no record of their acquisition ... This, of course, does not apply to the Oxyrhynchus documents, whose arrival from Oxford as a gift from the Egypt Exploration Fund was duly recorded» - but not, apparently, in the case of the documents mentioning Heracleopolite toponyms. On the other hand, it should be noted that the only other loan with Christian invocation, besides P.Dub. 28, now in Berlin (BGU I 314), dates from the same period (630 A.D.), and also originates from the Heracleopolis itself is mentioned in BGU I 314, while the P.Dub. in our list refer to Leukogion and Onnes (Tekeni toparchy, which bordered upon the πεινις Πιολαί). It seems very likely for all these documents to be from the first or the second Fayum find.

7 Unless it comes from Oxyrhynchus: but the reference to Leukogion rather relates this document to the others we are discussing here.

8 Note that P.Köln II 99, for which a provenance from Heracleopolis has been suggested (see above, p.28 n.2), mentions Peenpibyk(s) along with other villages: Peenpibyk(s) also recurs in P.Köln VII 319 and 321, suggesting the same provenance for these documents, too. The inventory numbers, however, differ widely.

9 P.Laur. II 47 is among the papyri bought by Girolamo Vitelli for the Biblioteca Laurenziana in January 1904 in Cairo, Ghizeh, Madinh al-Fayūm and El-Ashmunein: cf. ROSARIO PINTAUDI, «Per una storia della papirologia in Italia» (cited on p.30 n.3), pp.405, 406 (and n.23), also p.395.

10 According to Bilabel, in his introduction to this document: «In meinem Privatbesitz (... in Magagha zusammen mit einigen Altertümern, unter denen ein Bronzeschöpföffel hervorragt, gekauft). Die Gegenstände weisen deutlich auf das benachbarte Qarâra als Fundort hin». 

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PART TWO

The Toponyms of the Herakleopolite Nome
1 Catalogue

A. [±3]


The villages of Pkommataoei, Koma and Poinami (= Peenameus) are listed in the same document.

ΑΓΗΜΑ (toparchy)

25 Feb.-25 March 261 B.C. P.Hib. I 101,3 σιτόλογος τοῦ Ἀγήματος

about 250 B.C. BGU XIV 2392,2 Ἀγήματος

139 B.C. P.Tebt. III 987,5 ὁ σιτολογόν [....... ] τοῦ Ἀγήματος (4-5)

I B.C. (after 84/83 B.C.) BGU XIV 2370,37 Ἀγήματος

63/62 B.C. BGU VIII 1771,13 τοῦ Ἀγήματος

24 October 50/49 B.C. SB V 7611,1 παρ’ Ἀρχακρόεος τοπογραμματέως τοῦ Ἀγήματος!

29 July 25 B.C. SB XVI 12312, col.II,5-6 Ὑπερακλείο τοπάρχη Ἀγήματος

8/7 B.C. BGU XVI 2562,6 περὶ Ἀγ’η(μα)

about 7-4 B.C. BGU XVI 2662,13 Ἀγήματος

6/5 B.C. BGU XVI 2572,3 Ἀγήμα

218-222 A.D. CPR I 61,4 [δ’ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας μερῶν τοπαρχίας Ἀγήματος (2-3)

221 A.D.? 225/226 A.D.? CPR I 78,4 δ’ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας Ἀγήματος (3-4)
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

2 July 225 A.D.\(^1\)  
P. Vind. Bosw. 7,11  
δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας Ἀγήματος

222 A.D.  
Stud. Pal. XX 26,40; [49]  
ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγορανομίαν Ἀγήματος

222-235 A.D.  
CPR VI 73,4-5  
δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίας Ἀγήματος (4-5)

236 A.D.?  
(cf. BL 7,259)  
Stud. Pal. XX 47,3-4 (= MPER V p.96 = CPR I 6)  
δι' ἐπισθηριτοῦ ἀγορανομίας μερῶν τοπαρχίας Ἀγήματος

first half of III A.D.  
CPR I 86,3  
[..... Ἀγήματος]

first half of III A.D.  
CPR I 88,1  
(+ CPR I 132\(^2\))  
ἀγορανομίας Ἀγήματος

first half of III A.D.  
CPR I 96,2  
[..... Ἀγήματος]

first half of III A.D.  
CPR I 98,3  
ἀγορανομίας Ἀγήματος

mid-III A.D.  
P. Select 17,4  
'Ἀγήματος\(^3\)

III A.D.  
CPR I 87,2-3  
'Ἀγήματος\(^3\)

See also s.vv. ΑΝΩ (ἈΓΗΜΑ); ΚΑΤΩ (ἈΓΗΜΑ).

ETYMOLOGY: τὸ Ἀγήμα (or τὸ Μαχεδωνικών) was the name of a special unit in the Ptolemaic army: see PPt II 4394-4414 (with the Addenda in PPt VIII), and cf. WILLY PEREMANS, «Les indigènes égyptiens dans l'armée de terre des Lagides. Recherches anthroponymiques», Ancient Society 9, 1978, pp.98-99. See also s.vv. ὁ Ἀρχιμένιος, περὶ Αὐλῆν.

A list of the villages that can be assigned to this toportunity will be found on p.293.

P. Hels. I 6 assigns the village of Alilais to the Ἄνω toportunity: BGU XIV 2370, on the other hand, refers to Alilais as being in the Ἀγήμα, immediately after an entry concerning Peensemtheus, which it locates in the Κάτω toportunity. Other documents (BGU XIV 2437 and 2438, from the same find) place this same village in the Ἀγήμα κάτω. It follows that (a) the κάτω toportunity of BGU XIV 2370 coincides with the Ἀγήμα κάτω (because Peensemtheus is assigned both to the κάτω and to the Ἀγήμα κάτω in different documents); (b) the references, in a few other documents, to a Κάτω τοπαρχία must be to the Αὐλῆν κάτω (see s.v.); (c) the Ἀνώ toportunity of P. Hels. I 6 is in fact the Ἀγήμα (Ἀνώ) toportunity (as Alilais is assigned to the Ἀνώ toportunity in P. Hels. I 6, but to the Ἀγήμα in BGU XIV 2370).

It seems safe to conclude that the Ἀγήμα toportunity was divided into Northern (Κάτω) and Southern

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\(^1\) On this dating, see JEAN A. STRAUS, Chr.d'Ég. 69, 1994, pp.305-307.


\(^3\) Reading checked for me by Johannes Diethart: «Z.4 scheint mir (und auch H. Harrauer) Ἀγήματος sehr unsicher, aber aus dem Zusammenhang heraus durchaus passend» (letter from Johannes Diethart, 9 September 1994).
("Ανω) Ἄγημια, and that these two toparchies were sometimes also more simply called "Ανω and Κάτω τοπαρχία.

The Agema, Bousiris, and Tilothis toparchies appear in consecutive lines in BGU XVI 2662.

�示 PAL. X 233, col. II,21

AGHRMEI

V A.D.

AGKURON POLIS

about 260 B.C.  P.Hib. I 112,74  ['Αγκυρών πόλις
239 (238) or 214 (213) B.C.  P.Hib. I 117,15-16  εξ 'Αγκυρων πόλεως']
237 B.C. (cf. BL 2.2.183)  P.Bad. (=VBP) IV 82,8  'Αγκυρ(ων) πόλεως
toις ἐν 'Αγκυρών πόλει  [ὑπογεγραμμένοις υφαντάται (4-5)
mid-III B.C.  P.Fuad Crawford 5,verso,7  Αγκυρων....
3 2 Sept. 162 B.C.  P.Hels. I 26,A,31  'Ανκυρ(ων) πόλ(εως)
13 Dec. 19 A.D.  CPGr II 3, 5;6;15 (=  Απὸ κόμης 'Αγκυρώνος
P.Ross.Georg. II 11)  (5), ἐπὶ τῆς 'Αγκυρών (6), κωμογραμματεύς
Αγκυρών καὶ τῶν  'Αγκυρώνος τῶν
συνήκουσαν κοιμίαν  συνήκουσαν κοιμίαν
μετ' ἐπιτρόπιον  μετ' ἐπιτρόπιον
'Ἡρακλείδου  τοῦ  Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ
πατρὸς (15-17)
July/August (?) 98 A.D.  P.Heid. IV 326,2  'Απὸ κόμης
late I or early II A.D.  P.Hib. II 218,9;13  'Αγκυρώνος (9,13)
Sept.-Nov. 117 A.D.  SB XIV 11958,27;29  'Αγκυρώνοι (27);
латомίας 'Αγκυρώνοι (29)

1 "Kol. II 21 ist wahrscheinlich Αγημιτ zu lesen" (letter from Johannes Diethart, of February 25, 1994).

2 "Very likely one or both words were abbreviated" (Edd. ad loc.).

3 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

133 A.D.  
P. Bad. (=VB P) 75a.3  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης}  
'Αγκυράννονι

3 July 138 A.D.  
P. Heid. IV 320.9-10  
\text{ἀπὸ 'Αγκυράννον}

23 July 138 A.D.  
P. Bad. (=VB P) IV 74.7-12  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης 'Αγκυράν}  
tού 'Ηρακλεοπολίτου  
νομοῦ (6-8); \text{ἀπὸ τῶν}  
eὐτῶν 'Αγκυράν (11-12)

19 June 139 A.D.  
SB XII 11262 (=P. Bad. IV 79), 11; 18  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης}  
'Ανκυράννος)  
tού 'Ηρακλεοπολίτου  
νομοῦ (11-12); \text{ἀπὸ μὲν}  
tῆς προκείμενης  
'Ανκυράννος (17-18)

8 March 147 A.D.  
SB XX 14304 = P. Corn. 17, 3  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης}  
'Αγκυράννο

11 March 147 A.D.  
(cf. ZPE 107, 1995, p. 95)  
P. Bad. (=VB P) IV 75b.5  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης}  
'Αγκυράννον

171-176 A.D. (cf. BL 9, 103)  
P. Heid. IV 297, 4  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης 'Αγκυράνηι}

177-180 A.D.  
P. Hib. II 237+217, 17\text{\textsuperscript{1}}  
\text{ἐπὶ κόμης}  
'Αγκυράννον (16-17)

9 June, 20 July, 26 August 182 A.D.  
P. Heid. IV 322 (= VBP IV 81), 5  
\text{ἐπὶ κόμης}  
'Αγκυράννον

II A.D.  
P. Bad. (=VB P) IV 77, 8  
\text{'Αγκυράννον}

II/III A.D.\textsuperscript{2}  
BGU XI 2073, 2

II/III A.D.  
PSI VI 928, 12  
\text{περὶ κόμην}  
'Ανκυράννον τοῦ ύπερ  
Μέμφιν  
'Ηρακλεοπολίτου  
νομοῦ (12-13)

208 A.D.  
PSI I 32, 3-8  
\text{ἀπὸ κόμης 'Αγκυράννον}  
(2-3); \text{περὶ τὴν}  
aυτὴν  
'Αγκυράννον ἐκ νότου  
tῆς κόμης (8-9)

\textsuperscript{1} These two papyri were joined by DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 97, 1993, pp. 97-101.

\textsuperscript{2} See below p. 43 n. 3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 217 A.D.   | *Stud. Pal.* II p.28, 6:11;12;13-14 | ἀπὸ κόμης  
'Ἀγκυράνων (6);  
'Ἀγκυράνων (11); κόμης;  
'Ἀγκυράνων(12); ἀπὸ  
κόμης 'Ἀγκυράνων (13-14) |
| 7 Oct. 225 A.D. (cf. *BL* 9,293) | *SB XVI* 12836 (=*CPR* I 243),2-3;7;37 | ἀπὸ 'Αγκυράνων (2-3);  
ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ  
'Αγκυράνων (7); ἀπὸ  
'Αγκυράνων(11) (37) |
| 225-233 A.D. | *SB XVI* 12837,8 | ἐν κόμη 'Ανκυράνων |
| early III A.D. | *P.Ryl.* II 87,5 | πεδία 'Αγκυράνων |
| 309 A.D.   | *P.Hib.* II 219,4;12 | τοῖς ἀπὸ 'Αγκυράνων  
λινὸς (3-4);  
'Αγκυράνων (12) |
| 335 A.D.   | *P.Hib.* II 220,5 | κωμαρχῶν κόμης  
'Αγκυράνων (4-5) |
| IV A.D.    | *P.Neph.* 3,11 | τοῦ μοναχοῦ μονῆς  
'Αγκυράνως (10-11) |
| IV A.D.    | *P.Neph.* 6,24 | τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐν  
'Αγκυράνης |
| end of IV A.D. | *SB* VIII 9683,6;12 | 'Αγκυρονέτης (?) (6);  
μονῆς 'Αγκυρονέτης (?) (12) |
| 29 Sept. 457 A.D. | *P.Rain.Cent.* 101,10 | ἐν πεδίοις  
'Ανκυράνων | πόλεως |
| VI A.D.    | *Stud. Pal.* III 453,2 | ἀπὸ ἐποικίων  
'Αγκυράνος |

**Literary Sources**

I B.C. | ALEXANDR. POLYHIST. *ap.*  
STEPH. BYZ. *s.v.*  
(= ALEXANDR. POLYHIST. 273F10 Jacoby) |
II A.D. | *Ptol.* IV,5,57 | 'Ἀγκυρών ἢ 'Ἀγκυρών  
pόλις |
V A.D. | *Steph. Byz. *s.v.* | 'Ἀγκυρών <πόλις> |
VII A.D. | *An. Rav.* III,2,2 | Angiopolis² |

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¹ The denomination compounded with πόλις is otherwise only attested in the Ptolemaic period.
THE HERAKLEPOLITINE NOME

See also: Ἱφνος.

TOPARCHY: Koïotes.

ETYMOLOGY: "So called because they cut the stones (?) which they used as anchors from the nearby quarries. This was a traditional Egyptian craft" (ALEX. POLYHIST. AP. STEPH. BYZ. S.V. 'Ἀγκυρών <πόλις>\(^1\)). At some point during the Roman period, this πόλις was downgraded to κόμη, possibly as part of a general reorganisation of the nome at the beginning of the Roman domination (conversely, Tilothis was promoted from κόμη to πόλις, and actually renamed Νείλιον πόλις; see s.v.).

The alteration (first attested in P. Heid. IV 326, of year 98 A.D.) of the original name 'Ἀγκυρών πόλις, typically preserved in the literary sources, to 'Ἀγκυρών κόμη, is perhaps best accounted for by assuming that the place-name was usually rendered 'Ἀγκυρών (as in Stephanus of Byzantium), and that this genitive plural came to be felt as a nominative singular, on the analogy of Greek words such as Ἰππόνων, from which Ἰππόνων (or Ἰππόνως) κόμη was derived (see s.v.).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Ankyron was identified with Al-Hiba by Bilabel, who found papyri mentioning it among the ruins of houses of the Roman period, a few hundred yards to the south of the modern hamlet\(^2\). This identification was already deemed possible, but not certain, by Grenfell and Hunt, who also found some Roman papyri (referring to a large number of places in the Koïtes, among them 'Ἀγκυρών) in the ancient town;\(^3\) they also pointed out that the quarries at Hibre would well accord with [Stephanus of Byzantium] explanation of the name 'Ἀγκυρών πόλις.\(^4\)

Ptolemy's Geographia located it on the east bank, a little to the north (one quarter longitudinal degree) of the point at which the two branches of the river joined, after forming what he describes as the Herakleopolite island\(^5\).

Near the modern hamlet of Al-Hiba, Teudzo (Τ3j.w-d3jt. t. «Their wall») was an important fortress in the late Pharaonic period;\(^6\) in 1902 and 1903 its remains were searched by Grenfell and Hunt (who had been preceded by the Arab dealer Shêk Hassan). They describe the site as follows: «The town was built on rising ground, which reaches its highest point at the north-west corner of the site. The most conspicuous feature is the massive wall of crude brick, some metres thick, which protects it from attack on the north and east sides, the east wall running in a south-westly direction to meet the river, so that the area enclosed

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\(^1\) 'Ἀγκυρών πόλις Ἀγύπτιον, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἰη Ἀγύπτιοικων, ὀνόμαστα δὲ ὄντος ἐπεδή λεθά...ἀς ἐξεινον ἀς καταρροδὼν ἀκκράταις ἐκ...δὲ τῷ παρακεκεκλιμένῳ λατομίῳ τῷ ἐννοίῳ ἢ τῇν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγύπτιον ἱέρων. (το ἐννοίῳ is apparently anticipated from the following sentence which, according to Stephanus' normal practice, should be: «το ἐννοίῳ 'Ἀγκυροπολίτης», ὡς γὰρ Κυνὸν πόλις Κυνοπολίτης κτλ."

\(^2\) FRIEDRICH BILABEL, «Der griechische Name der Stadt El-Hibeh», Philologus 77 (1921), pp.422-425. See also P. Bad. (= VBP) IV, Einleitung, p.7, where these papyri are listed: P. Bad. = VBP IV 74; P. Bad. = VBP IV 75a and 75b (two census declarations recently re-examined by ROGER S. BAGNALL, BASP 27, 1990, pp.2-3); P. Heid. IV 321 (re-ed. of P. Bad. = VBP IV 76); P. Bad. = VBP IV 77; SB XII 11262 (re-ed. of P. Bad. = VBP IV 79); P. Heid. IV 322 (re-ed. of P. Bad. = VBP IV 81); P. Bad. = VBP IV 88. Many more literary and documentary papyri were obtained, as is well known, from the cartonnage of the mummies found in the vast local necropolis: MARIA ROSARIA FALIVENE, «The Literary Papyri from Al-Hiba: a new approach», in Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997, pp.273-280.

\(^3\) Listed in the Introduction to the first volume of the Hibe Papyri (published in 1906), p.8; they are now all published: P. Hib. II 272; 220; 278; 218 recto and verso (following the order in which they were mentioned by Grenfell and Hunt).

\(^4\) P. Hib. I, Introduction, p.9 (cf. p.1: «The high desert at this point approaches the river edge, leaving only a narrow strip a few yards in width available for cultivation, and providing suitable places for quarrying limestone»).

\(^5\) See Introduction, p.5. This location is in fact too far north in relation to Herakleopolis; it is also incorrect if compared with the identification of Ankyron with Al-Hiba: cf. Introduction, p.12.

\(^6\) The identification of T3j.w-d3jt. t with Techtho (see s.v.) is not tenable, both on phonetical and on geographical grounds.

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\(^1\) Map of the area.

\(^2\) Ptolemaic, the IV-th century.

\(^3\) Ptolemaic, the IV-th century.

\(^4\) A number of other materials, notably P. Heid. XII 11657 (the "gazetteer") in Herodotus' Historia, ch. 62 (also) is also carital.

\(^5\) Cultivated and the region was regularly visited by the authorities in the III-R.

\(^6\) Accepted by Prof. K.R. Achmann, 1939, and the University of Cambridge, 1939. It was however not assigned to the tribe of the Mzard on the grounds that it was too far north.
forms with the river a kind of acute-angled triangle. Opposite the ruins, and separated only by a channel which becomes dry in the summer, is an island about 2 miles long, which was already there in early times, for it is mentioned in the demotic papyri from Hibeh of Darius’ reign. The modern village of El-Hibeh is a poor hamlet a few hundred yards to the south of the ruins, and is combined for administrative purposes with another village on the island which contains a few hundred feddans of cultivated ground, while on the main land there is practically none.


A number of papyri of the second century A.D. deal with local quarrying, and the related activity of Ankyron as a port: local naukleroi (their names all Egyptian) conveyed stone (also worked stone), and other materials, to various destinations: nine columns (their bases already dressed, the capitals not yet worked) to Heracleopolis (P.Hib. II 237 + 217); one hundred columns to the ιόρμος Ἀρτέμιδος θεᾶς μεγάλης (SB XIV 11958); materials for the building of a theatre from Ankyron to Ptolemais Hormou (SB XII 11262); chaff from the Oxyrhynchites to Antinoupolis (to be employed in the building of a theatre there) is also carried by naukleroi from Ankyron (P.Bad. = VBP IV 74).

In the III B.C. weavers (τούφοντας) and, more specifically, carpet-weavers (ταπείδωφοντας) are attested at Ankyron in P.Hib. I 117 and 112, respectively; the local λινόδια are provided with λινά from the neighbouring villages in the second half of the IV A.D. (P.Hib. II 219).

Cultivated land (πεδία) is attested near the Μεσοπολέμιοι οὐσία: here was, in the Ptolemaic period, the kleros granted to Μενέλαοςς (P.Ryl. II 87, SB XVI 12836; the second document records land now assigned to the veteran soldier Aelius Syron: cf. also SB XVI 12837). Another reference to the same πεδία is found in P.Rain. Cent. 101.

In the IV A.D., P.Neph. 3 and 6 mention a μονή Αγκυρωνος, one establishment in a net of (probably Meletian) monasteries in the same area: μοναχι at Pselemachis, Taamorou; and Phathor (or Hathor) are also attested in the Nepheros archive.

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1 A map of the site may be found in the report by AHMED BEY KAMAL, A.S.AE 2, 1901, p.84 f.

2 In the Introduction to the first volume of the Hibeh Papyri (pp.1-2; italics mine). See also P.Ryl. inc., pp.37-39.

3 Pareisis, the son of Pausiris (SB XIV 11958); Pausiris, the son of Haires, and Heron, the son of Pisiris (P.Bad. = VBP IV 74); the same Heron, son of Pisiris (SB XII 11262); Panunis, the son of Panunis, and Pausiris, the son of Panus (P.Hib. II 237 + 217; recently unified by DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 97, 1993, pp.97-101). Some of these names (like Pareisis) must have been typical of Ankyron and its neighbourhood: cf. P.Heid. IV 297.3 n.; cf. also the comments by the Editor of BGU XI 2073. In two, perhaps three cases, the same people may actually be mentioned in P.Heid. IV 320 and BGU XI 2073: Pnephoros son of Pselemachus (I.5 and 11, respectively), Pareisis son of Pnephoros (I.8 and 13, respectively) and Pareisis son of Tatpelemachus (I.9, and I.7 and 14, respectively). Should these identifications stand, the dating of BGU XI 2073 would have to be revised accordingly, as P.Heid. IV 320 dates from 138 A.D.

4 Τόφοντας are similarly attested at Choinotmis (also in P.Hib. I 68), a village connected to Ankyron in other documents, too (P.Hib. I 112; P.Faud. Crawford 5; P.Heid. IV 320).


6 In the same document with Ankyron: P.Hib. I 112; P.Faud Crawford 5.

7 Also recurring with Ankyron in P.Faud Crawford 5.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΑΥΡΦΑΛΟΣ

138-161 A.D.  

P.Hib. II 277,19  

άπο Αυρφάλος καίμης

TOPARCHY: Koites.

P.Hib. II 277 was written by Herakleides from Choinothmis (in the Koites), on account of an illiterate man ἀπὸ Αυρφάλος καίμης.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ

V-VI A.D.  

P.Rain.Cent. 133,2  

eἰς τὸ ἐποίκιον
Αὐλιανῶν

26 April, 629 or 644 A.D.  

CPR VIII 51,2  

ἀπὸ ἐπ(οίκιον)
Αὐλιανῶν (1-2)

VII/VIII A.D.  

CPR IV 2,17  

χ(ορίον) Αὐλιανὸν'.

VII-VIII A.D.  

Stud.Pal. X 230,3  

χ(ορίον) Αὐλιανὸν'.

ETYMOLOGY: an ἀρχιδιάκοστής called Ailianos, the son of the ex-ἐξηγητής Euphranor, is known from P.Oxy. XII 1472 (136 A.D.): this document may have the same provenance as PSI VIII 952(b), of A.D. 132, also addressed to a (different) ἀρχιδιώκοστής, in which reference is made to Herakleopolis and Thmopolis.

Another seemingly important Ailianos (possibly the epistrategos of the Thebaid) is known from P.Oxy.IV 708.


CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).

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1 Very uncertain reading.

2 An ἐποίκιον Αὐλιανῶν is also attested in the Hermopolite nome (cf. JEAN GASCOU, Bibliotheca Orientalis 42, 1985, p.335): this may have taken its name from the landowner often mentioned in the archive of Apollonios from Pesia (in the Hermopolites), which was published in CPR VI. This Ailianos has been tentatively identified with Sostratos Ailianos, strategos and exacter, who is known from P.Cairo Preisigke 4 and 8 (of A.D. 320 and 321, respectively): cf. CPR VIII, pp.69-73.

3 Cf. RENATE ZIEGLER, ZPE 91, 1992, pp.91-94.

4 See s.v. NINΩ.
CATALOGUE

ΑΙΛΟΥΤΟΣ

VI-VII A.D. CPR VIII 68.9-10 ἐν κλήρῳ καλου(μένῳ)
Πισσαεῖ.ἐν ἦτοι
λάκκου Αἰλοῦτος

ТОΡΑΡΧΗ: περὶ Πόλιν.
See s.v. Πισσαεῖ.ἐν.

ΑΚΑΚΙΗΤΗ


Listed as a κλήρος with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume): it is not clear whether Πισσαεῖ is the name of a separate place.

ΑΚΕΕΙΣ

574 A.D. P.Berl. Zill. 7 recto, 13; μηχανην καλουμ(ένην)
verso, 1 'Ακεεῖς (recto, 13);
μηχανής καλουμ(ένης)
'Ακεεῖς (verso, 1)

See: ΚΩ.

ΑΚΩΤΟΥ

683/684 A.D. CPR X 135,10 'Ακώτου

Land ἐν διαφόροις κλήροις: the toponym Μικρουαλίχ recurs on the same line.

(?)ΑΗ

VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 200.5 χ'ω(ρίων) προσχ'ω'

ήθε 1

Listed with Magdola, Notinon, Peene.

1 «Scheint durchaus zu stimmen» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ΑΛΙΑΙΑΣ

18 August 164 B.C. P.Hels. I 6,7  ἐν Ἀλλαίαι
after 84/83 B.C. BGU XIV 2370,38 πρὸς κύριου Ἀλλαίαν
after 52/51 B.C. BGU VIII 1808,21 Ἀρηλάεως ¹
I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218,33 Ἀλλάεως
12 July 192 A.D. P.Vind.Sal. 6,7 ἀπὸ κυρίου Ἀλλαίας Ἀλλάεως
early III A.D. P.Ryl. II 87 recto, col. II,9 Ἀλλάεως ²

TOPARCHY: Ἀγημα ἄνω.

ETYMOLOGY: cf.1 (shrew-mouse) also attested in the personal name P3, P4, P3, P4, Gk. Πέλας(ι)λίς. The variant spelling Ἀρηλάεως is consistent with the common interchangeability of l and r in Egyptian (see also s.v. ΤΙΝΤΗΡΙΣ).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Nila,{2}


P.Hels. I 6: a letter from a certain Philippos (the oikonomos?) to the basilikos grammateus encloses a copy of the letter to Philippus from the στσυλογοντες τινας τόπους τής ἀνο Ἀγηματος, concerning the delivery of corn provisions for the army from the θραυμος at Aliais to the φρούριον at Hiera Nesos, «as usual, and besides because the place (i.e. Aliais) is poorly guarded» (II.8-9) ⁴. In BGU VIII 1808, Hiera Nesos and Aliais appear in two consecutive lines (20-21): two more villages of the Agema toparchy (Kollasoucha and Korphoto: II.22 and 23); Petarchor, also in the Agema, follows. Troubules at Aliais are again reported by the oikonomos Phamis in BGU XIV 2370 (II.37 ff.), which also assigns this village to the Agema. The preceding section (II.26-36) deals with the (Ἀγημα) κάτω toparchy: the village Peenemtheus is mentioned (I.34).

P.Vind.Sal. 6: Aspheus son of Horus, from Aliais, acknowledges a 500 drachmae loan from Nemesian son of Nemesian, ex-gymnasiarches and ἄργοιδες of Herakleopolis.

P.Hib. II 218 lists Aliais, Kollasoucha and Petarchor in three consecutive lines (33-35). These three villages are also found together in BGU VIII 1808 (see above).

¹ Reading checked for me by Günther Poethke (letter of April 14, 1994: ρ ist sicher; ι ist besser als τι); the Editors offered Ἀρηλάεως (but Ἀρηλάεως in their Index of geographical names). The same exchange between liquid consonants (ρ for λ, Ἀρηλάεως = Ἀλλάεως) e.g. in Stud.Pal. X 44,6 (Τυντήρης for Τυντήρης) dating from the VI A.D.
² «The recto contains two incomplete columns of official accounts of some sort» (see the Introduction to this document, p.51). I have checked this reading on a photograph kindly provided by the Audio-Visual Office of the Rylands University Library of Manchester.
⁴ For a couple of important new readings, and an interpretation of this document, see DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 71, 1988, p.285 f.
CATALOGUE

ΑΛΜΥΡΑ

V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 8,4 δι(α) τῶν κεφαλαιωτῶν 'Αλμύρας
VII A.D. Stud.Pal. VII 1309,4 χ(ωρίου) 'Αλμύρας
VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 230,2 χ(ωρίου) 'Αλμύρας
VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 72,11;12;14 [χ(ωρίου) 'Αλμύρας (11); χ(ωρίου) 'Αλμύρας (12); χ(ωρίου) 'Αλμύρας (14)]
VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 223,1 ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) 'Αλμύρας
Byz. SB I 5338,15 'Αλμυρᾶς (?)

ETYMOLOGY: this name presumably refers to «salt» land in the surroundings of the village. Cf. 'Απολά (q.v.), another village apparently named by an adjective referring to the quality of the land in its vicinity.

Stud.Pal. VIII 1309: inhabitants of this village and of Διοσσιμωτίτες (τῶν) act as testimonies for an inhabitant of Ψυχις ἤ μεγάλα (in the Koites).

It recurs in lists of Herakleopolite villages belonging to various toparchies, along with Kollintaathyr (Stud.Pal. X 230,5); Koma and Onosis (Stud.Pal. X 223); Ogou and Pyrgotos (Stud.Pal. X 72); Choinotmis, Techtho, Phnebei (Stud.Pal. X 8).

ALYI/AIY

about 300 A.D. Itin.Anton. 168,3 Alyi
V A.D. Not.Dign.Or. 28,44 Aiy

MODERN ARABIC NAME: JOHN BALL, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Cairo 1942, p.143, locates Alyi on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Geziret el-Wahlia.

Itin.Anton. 168: military station, located between Hipponon (see s.v. 'Ιππώνον) and Thimonepsi (see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝΕΨΙ). According to Not.Dign.Or. 28, the cohors secunda Itureorum of the provincia Augustamnica was stationed at Aiy. Following an apparently southward itinerary, it is listed after Aphroditopolis (Aphroditos, 1.43: station of the cohors quarta Iuthungorum), and before Muson (1.45: cohors secunda Thracum) and Narunthi (1.46; this is Narmouthis, in the Oxyrhynchite nome: station of the cohors quarta Numidarium).

AMHTIANOS

V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 50,4 κλώμης 'Αμητιανός

1 «Quittung wohl aus dem 7. Jh.» (Johannes Diethart by letter of February 25, 1994). Wessely dated it to the VII-VIII A.D.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ETYMOLGY: "... eine fehlerhafte Schreibung für den Personennamen 'Αμμωνιανός" (JOHANNES DIETHART, Tyche 10, 1995, p.237). Or perhaps a personal name 'Αμμωνιανός was derived from άμωτος, "harvest, harvest-time", or "crop, harvest gathered in" (LSJ s.v. 12; II).

Gemoun(is) (Koites) is listed in the same document, which also mentions a χέρσος Βουνών.

AMMIAN[...]  
VII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 66,2 χ(ορίον) 'Αμφα... 2

Phebicis (Koites) follows Αμμωνιαν[,] in Stud. Pal. X 233; Philonikou (Koites) is among the villages mentioned in Stud. Pal. X 66.

AMMΩΝΙΑΝΟΥ

3 (?) April 541 A.D.  SB XVIII 13949,5 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἄμμωνιανοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ (5-6)


SB XVIII 13949 is a deed of surety addressed to two scholastici.

AMΦ.Δ( )

late III A.D.  BGU XIII 2365,1 Αμφ.Δ( )3

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2 "Z.2 ist wohl χ(ορίον) 'Αμφα...statt χ(ορίον) μι.λ. der ed. pr. für 'Αμμωνιαν(οῦ/ῆς) zu lesen" (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
3 'Αμφα(ντος), though attractive, does not seem to fit the traces (reading checked by me on the photograph, and by William Brashear on the original).
ANABΩΛΙΑ

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2429,8  
V A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  
(?) Stud.Pal. X 230,4

'Ανα(βόλια?)
'Αναβόλια ¹
χ(αρίων) 'Αναβαλ'ε
(= 'Αναβόλια?)

ETYMOLOGY: this place-name is probably derived from the Greek word ἄναβολη, which designated the «throwing up» of the earth in the process of clearing the canals and repairing the dykes (cf. P.Mich. XI 612,20 n.). The word ἄναβολη (in the genitive: τιμής ἄναβολιον) τοῦ ε ἔτους was doubtfully read by the Editor in O.Fayyum 49,5 (tax-receipt of A.D. 19)².

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

BGU XIV 2429 records 'Ανα(βόλια) in the same line with Mouchis (Tekmi toparchy).

Stud.Pal. X 230: 'Αναβάλλε' recurs in the same list with (besides other villages) Kollintaathyr, which was in the Tekmi toparchy.

ANATIEΓ

267 (266) B.C.
P.Hib. I 100,12  
εξ 'Ανατηεύ (?)

TOPARCHY: Koites³?

P.Hib. I 100: receipt for payment είς τα ἐκφόρια τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου κλήρου.

ANIPΠIAM

522 A.D.
Stud.Pal. XX 137,9  
ἀπό ἐποικίου 'Ανιπιάρ


Rough copy of a contract drawn up at Heracleopolis between an inhabitant of the town and an inhabitant of Anipiar.

¹ 'Αναβόλια ed. pr.: 'Αναβόλιου Grenfell apud CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v.
² Wisecken (BL 1,113) proposed to read ὀνομαλικ(ῶν).
³ See P.Hib. I 39, Introduction.
ANNHEΣ

51/50 B.C.  

BGU VIII 1831,9  

περὶ Ἀννης1

The petitioner (a Macedonian katoikoi hippocus) complains of damage he has suffered from Theophilos son of Nikobios, «one of those from the Σοδσλετιον», apparently as a consequence of an assault on the land he cultivates περὶ Άννης on account of Hierax (who also owns land near Tokois, in the Polis toparchy).

ANNIANOY

V A.D.  

Stud.Pal. X 94,2  

ἐποίκ(ον) Ἄννιανοῦ


The other villages listed in the same document include Gessias (5; Koites), Peenameus (6; Μέση toparchy), Daphne (7), Tosachmis (8; Koites).

ΑΝΩ (ΑΓΗΜΑ)

18 Aug. 164 B.C.  

P.Hels. I 6,2  

'Ἡρώιδης καὶ  
Αλέξαν(δρος)  
στολογούντες τινας  
τόπους τῆς ἁνω  
'Αγη(ματος)

II B.C.  

P.Münch. III 56,6  

tῆς Ἀνω τοπαρχίας

See also s.v. ΑΓΗΜΑ.

As the "Ἀγημα κατω was also called simply the Κάτω τοπαρχία, it seems reasonable to assume that the same could happen for the (Ἀγημα) Ἀνω. P.Münch. III 56 is likely to refer to the Herakleopolite nome, and thus to the (Ἀγημα) Ἀνω toparchy, as other papyri «mit benachbarten Inventarnummem» (Ed. ad loc.) originate from this district.

ΑΠΙΑΛΑ

VII A.D.  

SB VI 9590,4;16,22  

γῆδω Ἀπιαλά (4);  
['Ἀπιαλά (16);  
'Ἀπιαλά (22)2

1 Reading checked for me by Günter Poethke (letter of April 14, 1994): «ist ziemlich sicher». One might otherwise be tempted to suggest the reading Ἄνην: is this a different vocalisation of the same place-name?

2 'Ἀπιαλό ed. pr.: but if this is a Greek place-name we should write Ἀπιαλά (plural neuter of ἀπιλός, referred to γῆδω).
ETYMOLOGY: this name may refer to «soft» land in the surroundings of the village, or perhaps to the quality of the produce obtained on that land (thus ἀπαλοτάτη, which the writer then substituted with χλωροτάτη, qualifies κριθή in P.Cair.Zen. 1 59129.9).

Cf. 'Ἄλμυρα (q.v.), another village apparently named using a Greek adjective referring to the quality of the land in its vicinity.

Two arourae which Anatolios cedes to Pamoûn are apparently split between Makaitonos, Tebetny (Peran toparchy) and Chortaso, and situated to the west of the γῆδια 'Απαλά, ἐν κλήρῳ καλουμένῳ Τσωβία.

ΑΠΕΡΙΟΤΥ (?)

V A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 233, col. II,5   Ἀπεριοτυ(υ) καὶ Χορταστω

Chortaso is elsewhere (SB VI 9590) connected with Tebetny (Peran toparchy).

ΑΠΙ( )


Other villages in the same papyrus: Peensamoi, Pois.

ΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ

497 A.D.  Stud.Pal. XX 129,2  [παρά Αὔρηλιον
Πτολεμαίου
παραληφυτίου οὐσίας
Ἀπιώνος τού
ἔνδοξοτάτου

17 April 677 or 707 A.D.  SB XVIII 13771,10  [ἀπὸ χαρίου Ἀπιώνος
παγαρχ(ίας)
Ἡρακλε(οπολίτου)

VII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 4,3  χω(ρίον) Ἀπιώνος

VII-VIII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 208,2  χω(ρίον) Ἀπιώνος

TOPARCHY: the estates of the Apion family in the V and VI centuries are mostly attested in the Oxyrhynchites, but also in the Herakleopolites.

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1 A very uncertain reading: «Ἀπεριοτυ(υ) καὶ Χορταστω durchaus möglich» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1944).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME


*Stud.Pal.* X 4: villagers from Apionos (1), Poinami (2; variant spelling for Peenameus, in the "Ἀγιασμός, κάτω to toparchy), Thmoiamounis (4; Koma toparchy) and Pkommatoe (5) are requested for compulsory work to be done on the dyke (παράχαιμα) at Kóma.

ΑΠΡΗΔΑ( )

I B.C.  
*BGU XIV 2450 (fr.17),39*

TOPARCHY: Tekmí?

Two fossil kleroi are mentioned in this fragment; the one in l.41 cannot be deciphered, but a kleros Πτολεμαίον (1.40) is also found in *BGU XIV 2441 (ll.125, 198, 258)*, where it is located in the surroundings of Pyrgotos (Tekmi toparchy).

APPIANOY

384/385 A.D. (cf. *BL* 7,16)  
*BGU III 938.4*  
τοῦ χωρίου 'Αρριανοῦ

*BGU III 938* is a lease contract for land in the surroundings of 'Αρριανοῦ, near the Sobthis plain.

ΑΡΣΕΜΘΕΩΣ (TA)

215-214 B.C.  
*P.Strasb. II 111,20-21*  
tά 'Αρσεμθεῶς

TOPARCHY: Πέρον².

ETYMOLOGY: «the (mansions of) Haremtheus»³

'Αρσεμθεῶς is presumably the same person who appears in *P.Hib*. I 74 as an agent of Teos, who in turn may be the same person (a tax-farmer?) who pays the διδομένης λακία (the same tax which the γεωργοὶ are refusing to pay in *P.Strasb. II 111*) in *P.Hib*. I 112.30.

¹ Reference from Todd Hickey.
² εἰς τὸ Πέρον can, I think, be read above 1.21 (checked on the photograph provided by Willy Clarysse: see next note).
CATALOGUE

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΟΡΜΟΣ

117 A.D. 

SB XIV 11958.17-18; 29-30 εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης ὤρμον (17-18); εἰς ὄρμον 'Ἀρτέμιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης (29-30)

TOPARCHY: περί Πόλιν.

ETYMOLOGY: Herodotus (II 59,89) equated Artemis to the goddess Bast. One is reminded of the place-name Thmoiobastis («the new land of Bast», in the Koma toparchy): see s.v.

This could be the port of a temple dedicated to Artemis, in the Ἡρακλεοπολιτική ὄνομα 1. One hundred columns from the quarry of Ankyron are shipped to the ὄρμος Ἀρτέμιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης, and repair works are in progress in September-November 117 A.D., following the instructions of Aquilius Polion, strategos of the Ἡρακλεοπολιτική ὄνομα in that year 2; seven seats (ἱκέται) from a theatre are re-adapted to support the statues carried in the procession at the Νεμέσεις (II.33-37). The reason for this celebration of the festival here must lie with the triple identification Nemesis = Artemis = Bast 3. The temple of Nemesis at Ἡρακλεοπόλις, of which Wilken suspected the existence 4, is presumably the same as the Artemis temple of SB XIV 11958.

It is worth remembering that references to the cult of the Νεμέσεις καὶ Ἀδράστεια, θεᾶς μεγίστης, in the Ἡρακλεοπολείτης are also found in BGU IV 1216 (110 B.C.; II.49-50 and 162-163) and BGU VIII 1753, II (64/63 B.C.; instructions from the strategos for the daily provision of ἀθήνα 5 are forwarded to the antigraphy of the θησαυροῦ of the περί Πόλιν toparchy).

ΑΡΧ(ΑΙΤΕΛΟΥ) ΜΙΧ(ΑΗΑ)

VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 218,6 χ(ορίου) ἀρχ(ατελέου) Μίχ(αλῆ) 6

TOPARCHY: Techtho Nesos (?) 7

BIBLIOGRAPHY: cf. TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten I, p.1259, s.v. «Kirche des Erzengels Michael»; p.1268, s.v. «Kirche des (h.) Michael(tos)».

1 Cf. ANNA SWIDEREK, JJP 11/12, 1957/58, p.70 (ed. pr.): «... il s'agit probablement du port du temple (le nom d'une localité serait plutôt simplement ὄρμος Ἀρτέμιδος et non ὄρμος Ἀρτέμιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης; il en résulte que le temple était situé non loin du Nil ou d'un canal».

2 Also attested in P.Oxy. IX 1189.

3 See PAULI-WISSOWA, R.E., Bd.II, col.1372; Bd. XVI, col.2377.

4 APF 2, 1903, p.318.


6 Ἰππ.Μ'χ' Wessely. Reading checked for me on the original by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).

7 Cf. TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, VI, p.2469 f. (s.v. Tahtūt) noting, among other things, that «Im Livre des perles enfoyées ... findet sich die Notiz, daß es in Tahtūt eine Kirche des (Erzengels) Michael gäbe» (for the identification Techtho = Daštūt, see s.v. TESPQ).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Other villages listed in the same document include Onosis (I.2; περὶ Πόλιν toparchy) and Tinteris (I.7; Koma toparchy).

ΟΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙ

63/62 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1771,14  
περὶ Πεινενψώμφου ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχαίοις

TOPARCHY: "Ἀγημα.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: οἱ Ἀρχαίοι was the name of a special detachment in the regular army of the Ptolemies: cf. PPl II 4257-4274 (with the Addenda in PPl VIII), and cf. Willy Peremans, «Les indigènes égyptiens dans l'armée de terre des Lagides. Recherches anthroponymiques», Ancient Society 9, 1978, pp.98-99. See also, s.v.v. "Ἀγημα and οἱ περὶ Αὐλήν.

This was a settlement of Greek katoikoi near Peenepsomphis, in the "Ἀγημα toparchy, contiguous to another such settlement called οἱ περὶ Αὐλήν, near Βις Ἐπικεφαλεῖο in the Tekmi toparchy. Two Ἀρχαίοι κόστοικοι ἰπτεῖς appear in BGU XIV 2441 (I.135-148), within the land-survey of the Pyrgotos area (Tekmi toparchy). In BGU XIV 2437 Pyrgotos is connected to περὶ Αὐλήν and both are assigned to the Tekmi toparchy.

ΑΣΚΑΙΑΤΑΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,13  
περὶ Ασκαιατάς

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

Mentioned together with Pyrgotos as administratively subordinated to περὶ Αὐλήν (Tekmi toparchy).

ΑΣΣΥΑ

about 260 B.C.  
P.Hib. I 112,5;12,52  
'Ασσύας

239 (238) or 214 (213) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 117,12  
περὶ 'Ασσύαν

139 B.C.  
P.Tebt. III 991,8  
(περὶ 'Ασσύαν (?)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2435,26  
'Ασσύας

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218, col. III  
'Ασσύας

176-180 A.D.  
P.Hib. II 278,2-3  
ἐν κλώματι 'Ασσύα τοῦ Κοιτοῦ

1 See also Jean Lesquier, Les Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides, Paris 1911, p.181.
CATALOGUE

218-222 A.D. CPR I 62,4 ἀπὸ κλώμης ‘Ασσύας
III A.D. P. Oxy. XII 1529,11 ’Ασσύας
IV A.D. P. Rain. Cent. 147,8 ’Ασσύας
V/VI A.D. P. Vind. Tand. 16,24 ’Ασσύας
VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 199,4 χ(ωρίν) ’Ασσύας

TOPARCHY: Koites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ARISTIDE CALDERINI, Aegytts 6, 1925, p.87; PRUNETI, Centri abitati, pp.36-37.

P. Hib. I 117, BGU XIV 2435: Assyra is subordinated to Tale for administrative purposes. In P. Vindob. Tand. 16 Kerkesephis is also listed (as in BGU XIV 2435), while in Stud. Pal. X 199 Philonikou is also mentioned.

P. Oxy. XII 1529: all other villages appearing in this document belong to the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Assyra, however, is consistently assigned to the Koites by sources dating from the III B.C. to the VIII A.D.

AT.I

28 Sept.-27 Oct.54 A.D. P. Vind. Tand. 10,3;61 ἀπὸ κόμης Ατ.Ι. (3);

See also: Ατρπ..

TOPARCHY: Μέση?

According to the Editors, the οὐσία referred to in this document were in the vicinity of Euhemeria (Arsinoites).

Part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος containing oath-declarations by the προστάται γεωργῶν in the οὐσία belonging to the Emperor Claudius and to Agrippina Augusta Minor. In the better preserved declaration, two προστάται ὀπὸ κόμης Κερκύτου (1.32; attested in the Μέση toparchy) appear.

ATPT..

IV-V A.D. MPER XV 91,5

See also: Ατ.Ι.

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

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2 Reading checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Phys (Μέση toparchy) is also mentioned (l.3). Further on in the same document, references to the πεδίου Βουσίρεως (II.34,37) and the μερίς Ἡρακλείδου of the Arsinoite nome (l.35) are found.

**ATTON ( )**

III A.D. 

*BGU* XIII 2365,4

**TOPARCHY:** Koites?

*BGU* XIII 2365: list of tax-revenues from sixteen villages, three of which are known to be in the Koites (II.12-14: Techtho, Papa, Thelbo). Also mentioned: Magdola (I.3; a village by this name is attested in the Πέρον toparchy) and Θεοτόκος (I.15: Θεοτόκος is a common prefix for villages of the Koites).

**ΑΥΡΗΙΣ**

after 84/83 B.C. 

*BGU* XIV 2370 (fr. 1),80 

εξ Αυρηίου ιεωάς

1 B.C. 

*BGU* XIV 2438,100

Αυρεώας

**TOPARCHY:** Mēsē.

**ETYMOLOGY:** *Hw.t-wrt* (*Hw.t* = «Great mansion»).^3^ 

**MODERN ARABIC NAME:** Hawwārah 'Adlān? A place by the same name is well attested for the Arsinoites (Herakleides division): this should be identified with Hawwārah al-Makta, 9 km. NW of Hawwārah 'Adlān, along the Bahr Yūsuf, and in a somewhat off-limit location.^4^ It may be that both villages derived their name from the celebrated «Labyrinth», which no Greek literary source since Herodotus (II 148) fails to mention when describing the entrance to the Fayum.^5^

Listed in *BGU* XIV 2438 with other villages known to be in the Mēsē toparchy (Phnebion, Peenpybyks, Chennis), and again recurring after Phnebion in *BGU* XIV 2370, fr. 1.^6^

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1 Αυρηίου ιεωάς *ed. pr.*: a hard breathing is requested by the Egyptian *Hw.t-wrt*.

2 Αυρεώας seems to fit the traces (as suggested in the *ed. pr., ad loc.*: see preceding note for the hard breathing which is needed here).

3 Information from Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).

4 On the Arsinoite village, see *P.Ashm. dem.*., *Introduction*, esp. pp.12-22 («The Fayyum Town of Hawara»): some of these documents qualify it as Αυρηίς τῶν ἔξω τόπων τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος. See also *L.A.* Bd.II, 1072-1074, s.v. «Hawara».


6 Note that in this document Phnebion is connected to the "Λημνία κάτω τοπαρχία."
CATALOGUE


doi  ΑΥΛΗΝ

110 B.C.  
BGU VI 1216,68-70
κατοίκων τῶν περὶ  
Αὐλῆν (68); ἀπὸ περὶ  
Αὐλῆν (70)

63/62 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1771,16
περὶ Τεκμί περὶ  
Βιχινθωθοῦ ἐν τοῖς περὶ  
Αὐλῆν

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2433,71
περὶ Αὐλῆν

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,12
περὶ Αὐλῆν

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.


See also s.vv. "Αγήμας and οἱ 'Αρχαῖοι.


BGU VIII 1771 indicates that this was a settlement of Greek katoikoi near Βιχινθωθό, in the Tekmi toparchy, bordering on another such settlement called ἐν τοῖς 'Αρχαῖοις, near Πεενεψωμῆς in the "Αγήμας toparchy. In BGU XIV 2437 Pyrgotos is connected to it. A settlement of κατοίκων ἱππεῖς called οἱ περὶ Αὐλῆν in the Herakleopolites is also referred to in BGU VI 1216: the cult of the Νεμέσις καὶ 'Αρδρόστεια there mentioned (I.49-50 and 162-163) is again attested for the same nome in BGU VIII 1753; it must have been a favourite of these κατοίκων ἱππεῖς.

ΑΤΣΩΝΙΟΣ

V A.D.  
P.Vind.Sjip. 9,2
εἰρηνάρχου ἐπιοίκίου  
'Οστίους (? καί  
Αὐξόνιος (1-2)

TOPARCHY: Μέστη.

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1 The goddess 'Αθηναβεβη (I.89 and 100) was identified by W. SPIEGELBERG (APF 7, 1923, p.183 f.; see also P.Bata. XX 50, p.190) with H.3-Hr-nb.(1)tpj-Chw, «Hathor, Herrin von Aphroditopolis»; he therefore suggests a provenance from the Aphroditopolites for this document, where an Aphroditopolite toponym also recurs (Τοοῖς, read by Wicken at I.41); failing a different indication in the text itself, all other place-names should be referred, according to Spiegelberg, to the same nome. He then proceeds to interpret the document as a whole as a «Steuerauskontierung zwischen dem Tempelland (τα πατρί) von Aphroditopolis und dem Fiskus (τα βεσιλλίκις)». However, the fact that the Νεμέσις καὶ 'Αρδρόστεια (appearing at II.49-50 and 162-163) were worshipped in the Herakleopolites (as shown by BGU VIII 1753) may support an identification of περὶ Αὐλῆν mentioned in BGU VI 1216 with the Herakleopolite locality thus named.

2 See already CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, vol. I. s.v.: «luogo così chiamato dal permanere di un posto di guardia reale»; «sede di milizia, diventato poi sede stabile di abitanti».

57
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Aurelios Dorotheos, police officer (εἰρηνάρχης) of the ἑποίκιον Ὀσυτεος (?) καὶ Αὐξόνιος, leases 3/4 ar. of land in the plain of Phys (Middle toponymy).

It is not clear whether the ἑποίκιον Ὀσυτεος and Αὐξόνιος should be considered as two different settlements.

ΑΦΑΩΘΕΩΣ

after 52/51 B.C. BGU VIII 1808,27 ΑΦΑΩΘΕΩΣ

MODERN ARABIC NAME: an Aflatūn canal is recorded on the ESM, running not far east of Sidmant El Gebel.

This village is entered after Phinebus (Μέστη toponym), and before Tanchais and Pois (Tilothis toponymy): a location in the northern part of the nome seems likely, especially if the possible survival of this name as the designation of the Aflatūn canal is taken into account.

ΒΙ.ΙΟΥ

after 84/83 B.C. BGU XIV 2370 (fr.1),77

ΒΑΣΙΛΙ( )

late III A.D. BGU XIII 2365,8

TOPARCHY: Koites?

BGU XIII 2365: list of tax-revenues from sixteen villages, two of which are known to be in the Koites (Papa, Theib). Other villages mentioned in this document include Magdola (l.3; a village by this name was in the Πέρονα), Techtho (l.13) and Θημοχ ( ) (l.15: Θημο- is a common prefix for villages in the Koites).

ΒΑΥΚΑΛΙ ²

V A.D. Stud Pal. X 233, col.III,1

ETYMOLOGY: βαυκάλιον was the name of a «narrow-necked vessel, that gurgles when water is poured in or out» (LSJ, s.v.): the term is used in P.Oxy. VI 936,6:8 (III A.D.).

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¹ Cf. JOHANNES DIETHART, ZPE 76, 1989, p.108: «Αὐξόνιος Δωρόθεος kann еἰρηνάρχης eines ἑποίκιον x und von Αὐξόνιος sein (Αὐξόνιος, gen.): Ortsname nicht belegt; vgl. schon Sijpesteijn - Worp, ZPE 29 (1978), S.273, wobei ἑποίκιον als fester Bestandteil zu dem ersten Ortsnamen zu zählen ist».

CATALOGUE

BE( )

about 160 B.C.  

P. Hels. I 40,1;2;4;6  

ζεπίο Be( ) (1);  

άπο Be( ) (2;4;6)

The document is a list of tax-payments.

BEIγ

1 B.C.  

BGU XIV 2433,53

BIXINΩΘΥΘ

149 or 138 B.C.  

SB XVIII 13304,2  

κομογραμματέως Τέκμι  

καὶ Βιχινθώθου  

63/62 B.C.  

BGU VIII 1771,16  

περὶ Τέκμι περὶ  

Βιχινθώθου ἐν τοῖς περὶ  

Αὐλήν

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: the second element in this toponym is the name of the god Thoth (Dhwty).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Bani Bikhit (phonetically and geographically compatible: see Introduction, p. 8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 68, 1987, pp.84-85

The military settlement of οἱ περὶ Αὐλήν (scil. κάτοικοι; see s.v.) was established «near Bichinthouth in the Tekmi toparchy» (BGU VIII 1771). It must be to this place that the strategos Euphranor led his troops from Papa (in the Koites), as reported in SB XVIII 13304 by the komogrammatistes of Tekmi and Bichinthouth. The fact that Bichinthouth had the same komogrammatistes as Tekmi proves that it was adjacent to the main centre of its toparchy.

ΒΟΑΦΡΕΩΣ

VIII A.D.  

Stud. Pal. X 199,1  

χωρίου Βοάφρεωζ

ETYMOLOGY: the second component in this toponym is the personal name w3h-ib-Re, which was rendered in the Greek documents as 'Οξφρῆς (the same name as 'Αρφῆς, which is already found in Herodotus).


1 The date 157 B.C., suggested by the first Editors (BASP 22, 1985, pp.243-246) is probably wrong: cf. GREGG W. SCHWENDNER, ZPE 72, 1988, pp.275-276, where the dates 157 or (preferably) 138 B.C. are proposed.

THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Herakleopolis is referred to in the same line with the present village; two villages of the Koites (Assya and Philonikou) appear at II.4-5.

BOYNΩN

V A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 50,6  χέρ(σου) Βουνών

ETYMOLOGY: the Greek word βουνός, «hill», first attested in HDT. 4,199, is also found in LXX Ex. 17,9, al. It is used in BGU IV 1129,14; 16 (I B.C.), where Bouvoi are mentioned as a reference point to mark the borders of two plots of land.

Gemoun(is) (Koites) mentioned in the same document.

BOUSĪΡΙΣ

8 Oct. 256 B.C.  P. Cair. Zen. II 59151,1  Βοουσίριος
254/3 B.C.  PSI V 510,4;11  ευμ Βουσίριε (4);  εγ Βουσίρεως (11)
mid-III B.C.  P. Cair. Zen. IV 59753,14;51  εις Βουσ-ηριέ (14);  εγ Βουσίρεως (51)
mid-III B.C.  P. Cair. Zen. IV 59767,6  εγ Βουσίρεως
mid-III B.C.  P. Cair. Zen. IV 59782(b),53;78  Βουσίρήτης (53);
247/246 B.C.  SB III 7203,11  ευ Βουσίρει
about 245 B.C.  P. Hib. I 116,2  Βουσειρεως
26 July 240 B.C.  P. Cair. Zen. III 59368,23  ευ Βουσειρει
239/238 B.C.  P. Rain. Cent. 44,9-10;13  εγ Βουσίρεως (9-10);
                  ευ Βουσίρει (13)

1 Σπίνθηρ, οικονόμος of the household, appears in P. Cairo Zen. IV 59753 and in other documents of the Zemon archive, including P. Lond. VII 2004 (I.32), which is dated to 248 B.C. Σέφυρος (ο πορά Ζήνανος) also appears in both documents.

2 Reference to Θεόπιλος (ο ζωγράφος) also appearing in other mid-III B.C. documents of the Zemon archive: cf. MARIA NOWICKA, Chr.d'Ég. 53, 1978, pp.152-153.

3 P. Cair. Zen. IV 59782 (a), on the other side of the same papyrus, mentions Panakester, who was manager of the δομέα in Philaiphil in 257/256 B.C., and afterwards (256/255 and 255/254 B.C.) ο πρός ταίς ἀρετοτολογίας in the Memphites (cf. P. Batav. XX, p.4; P. Batav. XXI, Prospecography, p.238).

4 In my opinion, this document should be dated to the 9th year of Euergetes (239/238 B.C.). See the Editor's note at 1.11; P. Rain. Cent. 4.4 comes from the same cartonage as P. Rain. Cent. 43, which is dated to 236 B.C.

5 At 1.13, ευ is my reading: εγ ed. pr.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>212/211 B.C.</td>
<td><em>P. Lille I 59</em>, 6;16;20;21;34;42; 102;106;120;125*</td>
<td>ell Bousirê (6); Bouširêos (16;20;21;34;42; 102;106;120;125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 170 B.C. (?)/ 163 B.C.</td>
<td>(?)<em>P. Tebt. III 1043, Intro.</em></td>
<td>ell Bousirêi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 160 B.C.</td>
<td><em>P. Hels. I 12,7</em></td>
<td>ell kômê Bousirêi (6-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 or 143 B.C.</td>
<td><em>P. Mert. II 59,20</em></td>
<td>peri Bousirîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 111 B.C.</td>
<td><em>P. Tebt. III 878,22</em></td>
<td>eîs Bousirîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after 84/3 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XIV 2370 (fr. 2),92</em></td>
<td>ëpî Bousirêos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after 62/1 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU VIII 1813,6;8</em></td>
<td>Bouširêos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59/8 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU VIII 1773,[5];8</em></td>
<td>ell kômê Bousirêi (6); peri tê Bousirîn (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after 52/1 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU VIII 1808,13</em></td>
<td>peri Bousirîn</td>
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<td>18 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1202,1</em></td>
<td>Bousirêos</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1061,8</em></td>
<td>peri Bousirîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/11 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1197,1,4</em></td>
<td>ën Bousirêi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca. 11/10 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1196,27</em></td>
<td>ën kâmîtê Bousirî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Dec. 10 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2611,6;8</em></td>
<td>Bouširêos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Dec. 10 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2630,11</em></td>
<td>ën tê Bousirêi (6); eîs Bousirîlêin (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/8 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2643,10</em></td>
<td>ën Bousirêcrei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 March 8 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2647,9</em></td>
<td>ën Bousirê&lt;ex&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Jan. 5 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2586,12</em></td>
<td>eîs Bousirîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 7-4 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2662,14</em></td>
<td>peri Bousirîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/4 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1198,6</em></td>
<td>ëpî Bousirîn</td>
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<td>12 May 3 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU XVI 2646,14</em></td>
<td>ën Bousirî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/1 B.C.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1200,[3]</em></td>
<td>peri Bousirîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1 A.D.</td>
<td><em>BGU IV 1189,3;9</em></td>
<td>ëpî kômê tê Bousirêos (3); peri Bousirîn (9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 As noted by the Editor, this is «an account of wheat for which various cultivators were responsible. [...] From one of the entries, τῶν (scil. πηροῦ) ἐν Βουσίρει κτλ., it may be inferred that the account comes from the Herakleopolite nome. FRITZ UEBEL, *Die Kieruchen Aegyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern*, Berlin 1968, p.283, n.2, also thought that this papyrus might originate from the «Gegend von Busiris».

2 Bousiris, supplied at 1.3, is nowhere else mentioned in this document, but «die Ergänzung des Namens Busiris ist nach den übrigen Priesterurkunden dieser Gruppe sehr wahrscheinlich» (ed.pr., ad loc.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

2 A.D.  
V I A.D.  
142 A.D.  
169-177 A.D. (cf. BL 9,32)  
180-192 A.D.  
II A.D.  
27 Dec. 200 A.D.  
200 A.D.  
292 A.D.  
II/III A.D.  
IV A.D.  
late IV/early V A.D.  
late IV/early V A.D.(cf. BL 9,368)  
IV/V A.D.  
IV/V A.D.  
9 Oct. 492 A.D.  
V A.D.  
V A.D.  
V/VI A.D.  
V/VI A.D.  

BGU IV 1201,4  
P.Hib. II 218,65;76  
SB XIV 11959,12;23  
BGU XIII 2326 a,13  
P.land. III 33,7  
P.Oxy. XX 2272,13;16  
P.Köl.n II 88,4  
P.Oxy. VI 899,22  
PSI III 184,4  
O.Wilck. II 1125,3  
MPER XV 101,2;13  
P.Batav. XXV 65,9  
P.Vind.Tand. 18,16  
MPER XV 82,3;4  
MPER XV 91,34;37  
P.Rain.Cent. 124.6-7;9-10  
MPER XV 13,2  
SB XVIII 14004,2  
SB XVIII 14005,2  

κόμης Βουσίρεως
Βουσίρεως (65); [Βουσίρεως (76)]
ἐν λατομίας
[Βουσίρεως (12)]; [ἐν
λατομίαις]  
Βουσίρεως (13)
Βουσίρεως
ἀπὸ κόμης Βουσίρεως
(6-7)
ἀπὸ Βουσίρεως (13);
ἀπὸ ἀφιμής Βουσίρεως
(16)
περὶ Βουσίρεως
περὶ τε κόμης
Βουσίρεως
κόμης Βουσίρεως (cf.
BL 1,392)
Βουσίρεως
πεδίου Βουσίρεως
βοηθὸς Βουσίρεως
(1)
ἀπὸ Βουσίρεως
ἀπὸ Βουσίρεως
πεδίου Βουσίρεως
ἐν κόμη Βουσίρεως (6-7);
ἀπὸ κόμης Βουσίρεως
(9-10)
πεδίου Βουσίρεως
Βουσίρεως
κόμης Βουσίρεως
κόμης Βουσίρεως

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1 As pointed out by the Editor, because of a striking similarity in handwriting between this text and P.Vind.Tand. 18, it is attractive to regard Bousiris in 1.9 as the Herakleopolite village; the hand is of the type identified by HERMANN HARRAUER-BRIGITTE ROM, ZPE 54, 1984, pp.95-96.

2 See P.Leid.Inst. p.276 n.3.

3 Cf. also SB XVIII 14002 (= Stud.Pal. III 479 c). Stud.Pal. III 479 a,b,c have been re-edited by PIETER J. SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 65, 1986, pp.160 ff.
CATALOGUE

V/VI A.D.  
\textit{P.Vind.Sjipp.} 16,4  
\textit{όπω χώμης Βο'ν'σίρεως}  
\hspace{1cm} (3-4)

VI/VII A.D.  
\textit{CPR} XIV 36,1:5;9;13  
\textit{όπω Βουσίρε(ως)} (1);  
\textit{όπω Βουσίρε(ως)}  
\hspace{1cm} (5;9;13); \textit{όπω τής}  
\textit{αυτής} (2;6;10;11)

\textbf{TOPARCHY:} in the Roman period, Bousiris appears to have been the main centre in its own toparchy (\textit{BGU} IV 1202 and 1189; \textit{BGU} XVI 2662)\textsuperscript{1}. Previously, it probably pertained to the Koma toparchy.

This was a common place-name: there was a Bousiris in the Arsinoites (division of Ptolemaion). The Bousiris of \textit{Diod.Sic.} I 85 was probably in the Delta (modern Abū Sir Bana, on which cf. \textit{LĀ} I, 883-884), like the Νεξάων πόλις also mentioned there.

\textbf{ETYMOLOGY:} «House of Osiris» (\textit{Pr-Wsfr})\textsuperscript{2}. Bousiris of the Heracleopolite nome is already attested in the «inscription of Shoshenq I» (\textit{Journal d'entrée du Musée égyptien du Caire} no.39410, 1.20; mid-X B.C.)\textsuperscript{3} and in \textit{P.Ryl.dem.} 9,10/10 (VI B.C.).

\textbf{MODERN ARABIC NAME:} Abū Sir Al-Malaq.

\textbf{BIBLIOGRAPHY:} \textit{P.Ryl.dem.}, p.85, n.5.

According to documents of the early Roman period, Bousiris had its own toparchy, but already in the III B.C. it rather seems to be at the centre of a wider region comprising the northern part of the Heracleopolites, as defined by the largely coinciding lists of \textit{P.Lille} I 59 and \textit{P.Cair.Zen.} IV 59782 (b): this region in turn had close ties with the Arsinoite and the Memphite nomes, involving the transport of wheat (by boat), cattle-breeding, bee-keeping and quarrying.

Besides Bousiris, \textit{P.Lille} I 59 and \textit{P.Cair.Zen.} IV 59782 (b) list villages of the Koma toparchy (Koma, Kreis, Machor; in addition, \textit{P.Cair.Zen.} IV 59782 (b) mentions Thmoiobastis and Toua), of the Tilothis toparchy (Tilothos and Tanchais; in addition, \textit{P.Lille} I 59 mentions Peenpasbyt(is) and Schnomthis) and of the Tekmi toparchy (Onnes; in addition, \textit{P.Lille} I 59 has Peenepsiy). Many of these villages are recorded in \textit{BGU} XIV 2370, fr.1: Koma, Toua, Machor, Thmoiobastis (under the main entry Κόμα τοπαρχίας); Onnes, Tilothis, Tanchais. A second fragment (\textit{BGU} XIV 2370 fr.2) has a reference to Bousiris. Much the same connections are shown in the following documents:

\textit{P.Rain.Cent.} 44 (corn transport; Onnes, Thmoiobastis, Bousiris);  
\textit{BGU} XVI 2611 (letter concerning the transport of wheat to Alexandria: the sender operates between Bousiris and Tilothis);  
\textit{BGU} VIII 1808 (Tekmi, Koma, Onnes, Thmoiobastis, Bousiris, again recur in a sequence; Tanchais appears a few lines below);  
\textit{BGU} IV 1189 (the gymnasiarch of Bousiris petitions the strategos on account of two inhabitants of the same village, among whose titles is that of δεκανοι of the χώμα κατά Κόμα);  
\textit{P.Hib.} II 218 (listing Koma, Kreis, Bousiris, Thmoiamoun(is), Thmoiobastis in a sequence comprising ll.63-67);  
\textit{BGU} XIII 2326 (customs house register) also mentions Κέφαλαι and Αευκόγιον;

\textsuperscript{1} References to a toparchies (\textit{BGU} IV 1189) and a topogrammatae (\textit{BGU} IV 1202) of the Bousiris toparchy are only found at the beginning of the Roman period. In \textit{BGU} VIII 1813.8, περί τήν Βουσίρην \textit{(sic), κώμην} does not designate the toparchy, but only locates the land belonging to Herakleides' children.


\textsuperscript{3} Cf. \textsc{Paul Tresson}, «L’inscription de Chechaq Ier», au Musée du Caire», \textit{Mélanges Maspero I. Orient Ancien (MIFAO} 66), Le Caire 1935-1938.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

*Stud. Pal.* X 233 (col. I B, 8-11: Thmoiobastis, Thmoiamoun(is) and Bousiris one after another).

*P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59782 (b) also mentions a Memphite village (Meia): trade relations between the northern Herakleopolites, the Arsinoites and the Memphites are confirmed by *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59783 (itinerary of a boat trading between Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Herakleopolis, Bousiris and Ptolemais) and *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59368 (Kleon and Sostratos own 1000 bee-hives that are distributed between the two districts; 15,000 bundles of hay are deposited at Bousiris), besides *BGU* XVI 2630 (the second part of this letter deals with the transport of grain: Tanchais, but also the Troites and the Arsinoites are mentioned).

*PSI* IV 510 concerns taxes to be paid by a bee-keeper from Bousiris upon request of the οἰκονομόν in the Κάτω toparchy, where the bee-hives were presumably kept (I.II-2: παρ’ Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ [οἰκονομο]ύ[ντος] τὴν κάτω τοπαρχίαν); the payment may be effected either at Bousiris or at Herakleopolis.

*BGU* XVI 2586 is a declaration of 3200 sheep and 53 goats in the possession of a single owner περί Βουσίτριν καὶ δὲ δίκαιο τοῦ νομοῦ (I.II-12): these were tended by three shepherds, two of them guarding respectively 780 sheep (and 16 goats) and 1275 sheep (plus 16 goats) in the Πέρσιν toparchy (I.II-15-17).

Stone and plaster used for repairs at the Herakles/Eseph temple at Herakleopolis came from Bousiris as shown by *SB* XIV 11959 (mentioning the local λαστομίτα) and *P. Oxy.* XX 2272 (γύψοις to be conveyed from the port of Bousiris); both these papyri may in fact have been part of the same τόμος συγκολλήσιμος.

A number of documents refer to a temple at Bousiris: assaults against it are reported in *BGU* IV 1061 (no less than sixteen assailants from Sinary; the pastophoros’ wife had been killed) and *BGU* IV 1201 (overnight assault; this papyrus says that the temple was dedicated primarily to Sarapis: cf. I.9). *BGU* IV 1197 and 1200 reveal a conflict between the priests from Bousiris and those from Line and Koma about government allowances. According to *BGU* IV 1202 (18 B.C.) subsidies were granted to priests from Onnes (Tekmi toparchy). *BGU* IV 1198 indicates that Isis and Asklepios were also worshipped in the Sarapis temple at Bousiris. *BGU* IV 1196 contains a list of 133 priests.

ΓΑΠΑΣΩΣΕΩΣ

I/II A.D.  
*P. Hib.* II 218,47,68  
Γαπασωσέως (47);  
Γαπασωσίως (68)

TOPARCHY: Koites?

Most villages listed in *P. Hib.* II 218 were in Koites: a reference to Phebichis immediately precedes (1.46) the entry for this village.

ΓΕΑΙ

VI-VII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal.* X 5,10  
τὸν βοηθὸν τοῦ Γεάι

1. Cf. *P. Cair. Zen.* 59151 (fragment of a petition from a bee-keeper owning 5000 bee-hives apparently distributed between three nomes at least, including the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites).

2. This must be the area, or toparchy around Troia, in the Memphite nome.

3. «By far the largest number of sheep and goats ever registered for one individual» (Ed. ad loc.).

4. See ANNA SWIDEREK, *JJP* 11/12, 1957/58, p.64.

5. A reading Γεάι, supplied to Γειλούνεως, may be tempting but is «m.E. auszuschliessen» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
CATALOGUE

**TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν?**

Other villages listed in the same document used to be in the Koma toparchy (Tinteris, l.5), in the περὶ Πόλιν (Onosis, l.4), in the Ἀγαμμα (Nino, l.7) and in the Tekmi toparchy (Kollintaathyr, l.6).

**ΓΕΜΟΥΝΕΩΣ**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>138 B.C.</td>
<td><em>P. Tebt. III</em> 860,65</td>
<td></td>
<td>Γεμούνεως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V A.D.</td>
<td><em>Stud. Pal. X</em> 50,1;5</td>
<td></td>
<td>πεδί(ον) Γεμούνεως (1); πόλασις κώμης Γεμούνεως (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOPARCHY: Koites.**

*P. Tebt. III* 860: Sosibios’ δορυά comprises land at Koba (Koites), Gemoun(is) (listed immediately after Koba), and other villages.

**ΓΕΣΣΙΑΣ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V A.D.</td>
<td><em>Stud. Pal. X</em> 94,5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Γεσσιάδος¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late V A.D.</td>
<td><em>P. Oxy. XX</em> 2268,6</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Γεσσιάδι Γεσσιάδα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late V or early VI A.D. (cf. <em>BL</em> 8,208)</td>
<td><em>P. Mert. I</em> 146,2</td>
<td></td>
<td>τῆν Γεσσιάδα (3); ἀπὸ Γεσσιάδος (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late V or early VI A.D.</td>
<td><em>P. Oxy. XVI</em> 1834,3;5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Stud. Pal. X* 94: other villages listed include Peenamis (1.6; Ἀγαμμα toparchy) and Tosachmis (1.8; Koites).

*P. Oxy. XX* 2268; *P. Mert. I* 146; *P. Oxy. XVI* 1834: riparii at work near Gessias. The last two documents contain complaints against the same person (Philoxenos), *P. Oxy. XVI* 1834 being delivered by people living at Palosis, in the eighth pagus of the Oxyrhynchites², which was apparently near Gessias.

**ΔΑΦΝΗ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V A.D.</td>
<td><em>Stud. Pal. X</em> 94,7</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἐποίηκ(ιν) Δάφνης</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹ In the genitive case, «Γ ist jetzt nach der Restaurierung ganz zu sehen, vgl. *BL* 7,258».

² See PRUNETI, *Centri abitati*, s.v.
VI/VII A.D.  
(?)SB XX 15072.7

VI-VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 237,3

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 220,2

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 217,1

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

ETYMOLOGY: in Greek, "bay, laurel". But this could also be an Egyptian word: T3-chm-p3-t3, "servant (fem.) of the land" (cf. KARL-TH. ZAUZICH, Enchiridion 13, 1985, pp.115-116).

The κλήρος Ψαννε, which is connected to Daphne in Stud.Pal. X 217, was in the πεδίον of Phys, i.e. in the Μέση toparchy, according to P. Vind.Sipp. 9. Villages listed in Stud.Pal. X 94 include, beside Daphne, Gessias (5; Koites), Peenemeus (6; Αγιάς and Μέση toparchy) and Tosachmis (8; Koites).

ΔΙΑΣΗΜΟΤΑΤΟΥ  

V A.D.  

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. VIII 1309,4

VII/VIII A.D.  
CPR IV 2,17


Stud.Pal. VIII 1309: inhabitants of Διασημότατου and of 'Αλμυρά act as testimonies for an inhabitant of Psychis ἡ μεγάλη (in the Koites).

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek) 3.

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1 This document has been published by PIETER J. SIJPESTEIJN, ZPE 81, 1990, pp.245-251: it is not certain that it deals (at least not entirely) with Herakleopolite villages.

2 CARNET-DELÉSIEZ, Topographie des Fayum in griechischer Zeit, Wien 1904, p.56, assigned this village to the Arsinoites (followed by CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v.).

3 New reading, checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).

4 «Quitting wohl aus dem 7. Jh.» (Johannes Diethart by letter of February 25, 1994). Wessely dated it to the VII-VIII A.D.

5 See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ.
**ΔΙΑΥΜΙΑΝΟΙ**

227 A.D.  

*Stud. Pal. XX* 29,23

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

One of several κληρον, including some fossil kleroi¹, referred to in a sale contract for land near Tosachmis.

**ΔΙΚΩΜΙΑ**

256 (255) B.C.  

*P.Hib.* I 47,29  

εις Δικωμίαν

III B.C.  

*BGU* X 1911,7  

ἐν Δικωμίᾳ

27/26 B.C.  

*BGU* IV 1208,21  

εις Δικωμίαν

about 26-28 A.D. (?)  

*P.Oxy.* LV 3807,35  

εις Δικωμίαν(αν)

II/III A.D.  

*P.Oxy.* LIX 3993,7  

ἐπὶ Δικωμίας

about 250 A.D.  

*SB* I 1495,4  

Δικωμίας

about 250 A.D.  

*SB* I 1497,1  

Δικωμίας

about 250 A.D.  

*SB* I 1511,4  

Δικωμίας(ε) ὃνοι

**TOPARCHY:** Herakleopolite or Arsinoite nome?

**ETYMOLOGY:** this toponym obviously refers to the συνοικία of two originally separate villages: in view of the new Greek toponym, this must have taken place in the Ptolemaic period.

Other toponyms compounded with –κωμία: Τρικωμία (also in the Herakleopolite nome; but another Τρικωμία, as well as a Τετρακωμία, are also attested in the Arsinoites).

The sources offer no clue as to the location of this village, except that *BGU* IV 1208 (a private letter)² was found at Abū Sir al-Malāq. *P.Hib.* I 47: letter from Leodamas (an official involved with corn-revenues) to his subordinate Lysimachos; II.25-32 deal with calves to be sent to Δικωμία.

*BGU* X 1911: part of the correspondence between Kallistratos and his subordinate Akestias (cf. the Einleitung to this document).

*P.Oxy.* LIX 3993: acknowledgement of the receipt of a letter and a package containing gold leaves (for gilding? for writing magical texts?) delivered by an ἐπιστολαφόρος; as noted by the Editor (on l.7), «it may be that the goods were sent direct from Dikomia, but it is perhaps more likely that this was a point on the journey where they changed boats, i.e. the sender paid freight to their boatman as far as his destination, Dikomia. From that point the next carrier worked for "cash on delivery". Dikomia may also have been a customs station».

*SB* I 1495, 1497, 1511 are receipts (issued at the θησαυρός of Theadelphia) for the transport of corn by donkeys belonging to inhabitants of Δικωμία.

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¹ See below, σ.ιν. Μόρανος, Νεκροπολιν, and the list of Fossil Kleroi (pp.273 ff.).

THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΔΙΩΡΓΣ Η ΟΜΦΑΛΟ.ΝΙΑ

36/35 B.C.  BGU XIV 2376,18-19; 38  διώριξ χαλουμένη ἢ
(= XIV 2377, 44)  ὄμφαλο.νία
36/35 B.C  BGU XIV 2377, 44  διώριξ χαλουμένη ἢ

A piece of garden-land near Sobthis is located by reference to this διώριξ (south) and to the ὅδος
βασιλική (north).

ΔΙΩΡΓΣ

VI A.D.  P.Oxy. XVI 1917, 111-112  δι(ώ) τῶν
προτοκ.οιμητῶν Τσαμάρων ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἀνορφυθ(ήσης)
διάφ.γ.ος ἐξ
ἅπαλωτοῦ Ψελεμόχεως

A canal originating east of Pselemachis apparently reached Taamorou.

E...]

I B.C.  BGU XIV 2440,63  περὶ E...]

TOPARCHY: "Αγημω? Πέραν?

Berenike cedes land to Herakleia (II.62-66); some of it is περὶ E...], some more near Peene. The total
drawn at II.64-66 indicates that the land near E...] was περὶ Πέραν καὶ Νισέα (Niseus was also in the
"Αγημω").

Ε...ΙΕΡ( )

V.A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 233, col.II,3  ἐποίηκ(τον) 'Ε...ιερ("

Ε...ΦΕ (?)

I/II A.D.  P.Erl. 58,2-3  ...τοῦ
'Ἡρακλεόπολις(ου)
...] κώμη Ε...φε

1 The reading is very uncertain.
CATALOGUE

ΕΕΒΗΚΙΩΣ

190/191 A.D. O. Wilck. 1104,3

διά ὄνομαν Ἤρακλεσπολίτου Ἐεβηκίως

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Koites?

ETYMOLOGY: the element byk (`the regular term for falcon in the animal cult`) can perhaps be detected in this toponym.

O. Wilck. 1104: sitologos receipt for corn transport: the fact that it was released by the sitologoi of Oxyrhynchus makes it likely that this village was in the Koites.

ΕΛΑΣΙΜΗΣ

161/160 B.C. P. Hels. I 29,19

V A.D. Stud. Pal. X 94,3

Ελασιμής

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Πέραν?

A village of the Πέραν toparchy (1.24: Thmoiphtha) is found in P. Hels. I 29.

Other localities listed in Stud. Pal. X 94: Gessias (5; Koites), Peenameus (6; *Αγημα toparchy), Daphne (7; Μέση toparchy), Tosachmis (8; Koites).

ΕΤΩΝ

VI A.D. Stud. Pal. III 399,1

βοηθοῦς κόμης Ετων τούτους Νήσων

See s.v. ΝΗΣΩΝ (κόμη).

ΗΑΙ( )

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 211,5

τοῦ χ(αρίου) Ηλια( )

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Tekmi.

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1 «Schrift kaum noch erhalten, vielleicht auch Σεβηκίως» (Günter Poethke, letter of April 14, 1994).
3 My reading (checked on photograph); Ἐλοσιοτιον ed.pr. («wohl ein Dorfname»).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Other villages mentioned in the same document: Ogou (3) and possibly Pyrgotos (4), both in the Tekmi toparchy.

Θ[ες]?

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. X* 227,8  
ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Θ[ες]?

Tale (Koites) is among the villages listed in this document.

ΘΑΛΛΟΥΣΙ

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. X* 203,3  
[χ(ωρίον)] Θαλλουςی

ETYMOLOGY: possibly the genitive of a Greek name (Θαλλουςі, -οςі was the name of a Greek divinity of increase: see *LSJ* s.v.).

The document lists Herakleopolite villages (belonging to various toparchies) whose names begin with the same letter: Thmoiobatis, Thoiamoun(is) (both in the Koma toparchy), Thelbonthis (Polis toparchy), Thmoinothis (Middle toparchy), Thelbo (Koites), Thmoinepsi, etc.

ΘΑΛΜΙ

VII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. X* 214,5  
ἐν π(ε)δ(ι)ῳ Θαλμι

Peroe (Koites) is on top of the list in this document.

ΘΑΛ...ΙΚΑΡΕΙ

18 B.C.  
*BGU IV* 1202,11  
ἐν Θαλ...Ικαρε (11-12) ²

TOPARCHY: Bousiris?

*BGU IV* 1202 (a letter from the topogrammateus of the Bousiris toparchy) relates to the monthly ratios of δόλωρα to the priests of Mendes, Amun, Chonsis and Harpocharates at Onnes.


² «In Edition richtig gelesen» (Günter Poethke, letter of April 14, 1994). But it is not clear where exactly the toponym ends.
CATALOGUE

ΘΕΛΒΩ

probably 17/18 A.D. (?)P.Oxy. IV 814 descr. ¹ 
early I A.D. SB XX 15130,2 = P.Tebt. II 535 descr. ²
I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218,52
late II or III A.D. P.Ryl. II 225,36
III A.D. (?)P.Ryl. II 351 descr.
late III A.D. BGU XIII 2365,14
313/314 A.D. P.Michael. 28,9
IV A.D. P.Neph. 20,6;8,13
end of IV A.D. SB VIII 9683,16
VII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 231,1
VII/VIII A.D. SB XVIII 13888,7
VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 203,2
VIII A.D. (cf. BL 8,439) Stud.Pal. III 343,1

από Θελβων
ἀρχεφόδων Θελβων (II.1-2)
περὶ Θελβων

από κόμης Θελβωνι ³
κόμης Θελβω
από Θελβω (6); τούς τῆς Θελβω εἰρηνάρχους (8); οἱ προειρημένοι εἰρήναρχοι τῆς Θελβω (13)
εἰς Θελβω
χ’ο’(ριόν) Θελβω
ξ(ορίον) Θελβω
χ(ορίον) Θελβω
ἀπὸ χωρίον Θελβω

TOPARCHY: Koites (XII pagus: P.Michael. 28).

ETYMOLOGY: cf. JEAN YOYOTTE, MDAIK 16, 1958, p.423: «Dans l’histoire légendaire d’Anusis, telle que la rapporte Hérodote (II, 140), on trouve mention d’une grande île qui était située dans les marais côtiers du Delta et qui se nommait Elβω. Il est assez probable que cette forme recouvre le même mot égyptien que le terme Θελβω, le Θ initial représentant dans cette dernière transcription l’article féminin τ. ... En dépit de l’analogie frappante, il est difficile de voir dans Telbo/Elbo une abréviation de Telbont/Elbont. ... le plus simple est sans doute de supposer l’existence d’un vocable τ’βο, tout différent de τ’βοντ et dont la forme égyptienne reste à découvrir». Yoyotte also wonders (ibid., n. 3) whether: «Une

¹ According to PIETER J. SUPESTEIJN, ZPE 87, 1991, p.260 (see also CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, p.252) P.Oxy. IV 814 descr. should refer to the same Thelbo (in the Arsinoite name) as P.Mil.Vogl.IV 212 verso, col. XI,7 (109 A.D.). It is perhaps more likely for the Thelbo appearing in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus to have been in the Oxyrhynchites: if so, this is likely to be the same village attested in P.Ryl. II 351 (see below). As the Herakleopolite village by the same name was in the southern part of the Koites, there is a possibility that this was in fact the same village.

² The document has been edited by PIETER J. SUPESTEIJN, ZPE 87, 1991, pp.259-260.

³ «Oxyrhynchite nome. Fragment of a contract (?). The villages Thelbon and Pakerke occur» (descr.). The document is still unpublished; on a photograph of this papyrus (kindly provided by the Audio-Visual Office of the Rylands University Library of Manchester) it is possible to decipher (12): απὸ κόμης Θελβωνι. The traces after β seem compatible with an α. In 13, απὸ κόμης Ποσχρική is straightforward: according to PRUNETI, Centri abitati, s.v., there were two villages by this name in the Oxyrhynchites. See also P.J. SUPESTEIJN, ZPE 87, 1991, p.260.
explication par τὸ ρῆμα (terbe), "Le Parc" mérite-t-elle d'être prise en considération? Θελβω serait τὸ ρῆμα κτιτ, "Le Grand Parc" (soit terbe-e-o)."

*P.Tebt.* II 535: beginning of a letter from the τοπάρχης Artemidoros to the ὁρχήσφων of Thelbo.

Listed with other Heracleopolite villages (mainly in the Koites) in *P.Hib.* II 218, Thelbo appears together with villages of the Koites in later documents, too: Thelbo and Philenikou, in particular, appear both in *P.Ryl.* II 225 and in *P.Michael.* 28.

*SB VIII* 9683: the monastery of Ankyron has been robbed of an anchor by a certain Paulus; it is requested that the matter be settled at Thelbo with the deacon Horus.

The village by this name in *P.Ryl.* II 251 and *SB XVIII* 13888 is most likely the same Thelbo, near the border with the Oxyrhynchites: *SB XVIII* 13888 mentions it along with Kalamou, Ostrakinou (both in the Oxyrhynchites)¹, but also Nokle, Hipponon and Phathor (southern Koites). Nokle and Thelbo also recur together in *P.Ryl.* II 225.

Thelbo and Thelbonthis are different villages: they are both listed, in consecutive lines, in *Stud.Pal.* X 203, II.1-2.

(Θ)ΕΛΒΩΝΘΕΙΟΣ

| 2 Sept. 162 B.C. | *P.Hels.* I 26, A.13;21 | Ἑλβωνθειός |
| I B.C. | *BGU XIV* 2440,98 | ἰπέρι | Ἑλβωνθειν |
| VII-VIII A.D. | *Stud.Pal.* X 202.11 | χ(ωρίον) | Θελβωνθ(ε)ρ( ) |
| VII-VIII A.D. | *Stud.Pal.* X 203,1 | χ(ωρίον) | Θελβωνθειον( ) |
| VII-VIII A.D. | *Stud.Pal.* X 212,2 | χ(ωρίον) | Θελβωνθειον(ε) θ( ) |

**TOPARCHY:** Techtho Nesos.

Localities by this name are attested in the Delta², in the Hermopolites and in the Oxyrhynchites³.

**ETYMOLOGY:** Elbonthis and Thelbonthis (with the addition of the Egyptian article τὸ) are variant spellings for the same place-name. According to Jean Yoyotte, *MDAIK* 16, 1958, pp.419-423, «ce vocable désignait une entité topographique bien définie, mais fort commune, soit une catégorie particulière de terrains, soit une forme spéciale de construction ou d’agglomération». See also s.v. ΘΕΛΒΩΝ.

*P.Hels.* I 26: tax-arrears from the Koites, Techtho Nesos and Πέρας; payments for the Techtho Nesos area are made through the *logeutes* of Elbonthis (II.12-13); the association between these two localities is confirmed at I.21.

*BGU XIV* 2440: Architime's holding is distributed between Thelbonthis and Thmoin-, while both these villages are made to depend on ....λόγος⁴.

Note that *Stud.Pal.* X 211, 212 and 213, though published as separate documents, are in fact fragments of the same text, so that the villages mentioned in *Stud.Pal.* X 211 (Ogou, in the Tekmi toparchy), 212 (Thelbonthis) and 213 (Petachor and Kollasoucha) may have been near each other.

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¹ See Pruetti, *Centri abitati*, s.v. ΘΕΛΒΟΝΘΕΙΟΣ.

² *BGU IV* 1138 (19/18 B.C.; from a cartonnage found at Abū Sir al-Malāq) also refers to Σωτις (I.12), which was in the Western Delta. This should be the same Ἑλβωνθειος found in the lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium (πόλεις μεταξύ Αἰγύπτου και Κυπρινής).


⁴ The preceding reference to Ωλωνθειος, in the περι Πόλιν toparchy, is separated from these entries by a blank space; it seems reasonable to assume that these belonged to a different toparchy.

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CATALOGUE

Thelbo and Thelbonthis were different villages: they are both listed, in consecutive lines, in *Stud.Pal. X* 203, ii.1-2.

**ΘEP**

2 Sept. 162 B.C.  
*P.Hels.* 26.B.19

25 July 396 A.D.  
*CPR* 107a, [5?];9

_ΘΕΡ_  
ἐν τῷ οὔτῳ ΘΕΡ

**ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑ: Μέση?**

*P.Hels.* 26: Ther (if correctly read) is connected to Techtho, to which reference is made in the same line.  
*CPR* 107a: Aurelius Nemesianus could be the same person (from Heracleopolis) who leases out 3/4 ar. ἐν πεδίῳ Φύς (Μέση toparchy) in *P. Vind.Ski. 9*. Connections between Techtho and the Μέση toparchy are attested elsewhere (see s.vv.).

**ΘΜΟ( )**

III/IV A.D.  
*P.Mich.* XV 722,  
1;3;6;7;8;15;22

**ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑ: Κοίτες**

ETYMOLOGY: *t3-m3j* («new, newly gained land») is the first component of several Heracleopolite toponyms.

**ΘΜΟΙ**

II A.D.  
*P.Strasb.* V 356,3  
συνορία ΘΜΟΙ

ETYMOLOGY: Egyptian *t3-m3j* («new, newly gained land»); see s.v. ΘΜΟ().

In the Editor's description, this is a «fragment cadastral, concernant une subdivision territoriale, à l'échelon d'un village». The surveyed area is connected to the Πολλεματικός ποταμός (1.4), mentioned in *BGU VIII* 1784, where Ἐρά Νήσος also appears.

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1 Ε.ράνιον_ ed.pr., but see note ad loc.: «Vielleicht könnt man ΘΕΡ lesen. The photograph seems to support this reading.

2 Cf. the Editor's introduction to this document (p.70): «The text ... lists the amounts of land possessed by different people in either ΘΜΟ() and/or Πέρο(). A village Περόπου is known from the Heracleopolite nome and more particularly from the Κοίτες in which several villages starting with ΘΜΟ() are also to be found. There are a few villages in other nomes starting with Περό() and ΘΜΟ() but the combination of the two names seems to me to be significant.»
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ΘΜΟΙΑΜΟΥΝΕΩΣ

about 14/13 B.C.  BGU XVI 2670, col.III,1  Θμοιαμούνεως
I/II A.D.  P.Hib. II 218,66  Θμοιαμούνεως
IV A.D.  PSI III 222,7  κάμης Θμοιαμούνεως
IV A.D.  P.Oxy. XVI 2017,1;2;4:6:12  Θμοιαμούνεως
      (1:12); κάμης  Θμοιαμούνεως (2:4); ἀπὸ
      Θησαυροῦ  Θμοιαμούνεως (6)
V A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 233, col.I b,10  Θμοιαμούνεως
V A.D.  SB VI 9146,5;13  ἀπὸ χαρίου
      (Θμοιαμούνεως 4-5); ἀπὸ τῶν  Ωμοῖον
      (Θμοιαμούνεως) χαρίου (13)
VI/VII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 4,6  Θμοιαμούνεως (αος)
VII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 232,1  χ(αρίου) Θμοιαμούνεως
VII/VIII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 203,6  χ(αρίου)
      Θμοιαμούνεως (αος)
VII-VIII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 208,3  χ(αρίου)
      Θμοιαμούνεως (αος)

See also s.vv. ΘΜΟΙΑ...; |8|ΟΥΝΕΩΣ.

TOPARCHY: Koma.

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of Amun» (T3-m3j-(n-)-Imn)²; first component (T3-m3j): see s.v. ΘΜΟΙ().
This toponym is already found in P.Wilbour A 76,42; 79,37.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Al-Maimūn (on phonetical and topographical grounds; see Introduction, p.8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, VI, p.2636, s.v. Thmoiamounis.

BGU XVI 2670 is an account of contributions from individuals and groups of workers and artisans, in preparation for the visit by a certain Lupus (presumably the nome strategos); the place-name Phainippou (Tekmi toparchy) appears at the top of the preceding column.

P.Oxy. XVI 2017: corn from various villages (including Machor, in the Koma toparchy) is conveyed to Thmoiamoun(is), which had an Ὄμος and a Θησαυρός.

Stud.Pal. X 4 includes Thmoiamoun(is) in a group of villages (also including Poomatoei and Poinami = Peenameus) which must send workers to Koma, for repair-works on a dyke.

1 My supplement; a village of the Koma toparchy is required (see below), so that Θμοιαμούνεος of the ed.pr. cannot be maintained, as this was a village of the Techto Nesos toparchy. Thmoiamoun(is) is the only other village (beside Thmoibasis, also appearing in this list) whose name begins with Θμοι–, to be attested for the Koma toparchy.
2 Information from Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).
Stud. Pal. X 233, col.I B, enters Thmoiamoun(is) between Thmoiobatis and Bousiris, thus supporting the supplement Θμοληγούντας Θμοιοβατίζοντας in F.Hib. II 218, within a group of villages (l.63-67) belonging to the area around Koma and Bousiris: Koma, Krekis, Bousiris, Thmoiamoun(is), Thmoiobatis.
SB VI 9146: at least three inhabitants of Thmoiamoun(is) stand surety for a whole family from the same village.
F.Hib. II 280 also mentions Mouchis (Tekmi toparchy), which also recurs not far away from Thmoiamoun(is) in Stud. Pal. X 233, col.I B (see above).

ΘΜΟΙΝ( )

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 203,5  
\(\chi\omega(\rho\eta\iota\nu\nu)\ ΘΜΟΙΝ( )\)

ETYMOLOGY: prefix \textit{t}\textit{h}-\textit{m}\textit{j}, «new, newly gained land»: see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝ().

The document lists Heracleopolite villages (belonging to various toparchies) whose name begins with the same letter: Thmoiobatis, Thoiamoun(is) (both in the Koma toparchy), Thelbonthis (Polis toparchy), Thmoinathi (Middle toparchy), Thelbo (Koites), Thmoinepsi, etc.

ΘΜΟΙΝ( )

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 208 verso,1  

ETYMOLOGY: prefix \textit{t}\textit{h}-\textit{m}\textit{j}, «new, newly gained land»: see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝ().

Mentioned with Phnebieus (Middle toparchy) and Pselechachis (Koites); on the recto, reference is made to Thmoiamoun(is).

ΘΜΟΙΝ( )

VII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 22,5  
\(\chi(\omega\rho\iota\nu\nu)\ ΘΜΟΙΝ( )\)

VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 218,5  
\(\chi(\omega\rho\iota\nu\nu)\ ΘΜΟΙΝ( )\)

VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 223,3  
\(\alpha\pi\eta\chi(\omega\rho\iota\nu\nu)\ ΘΜΟΙΝ( )\)

TOPARCHY: \(\pi\epsilon\eta\ Π\omega\lambda\nu\nu\).

ETYMOLOGY: prefix \textit{t}\textit{h}-\textit{m}\textit{j}, «new, newly gained land»: see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝ().

Onosis (\(\pi\epsilon\eta\ Π\omega\lambda\nu\nu\) toparchy) and a village of the Koma toparchy (Tinteris) are also mentioned in Stud. Pal. X 218. As Onosis and Koma also recur in Stud. Pal. X 223, it seems likely that the same ΘΜΟΙΝ—is meant in both documents.

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THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Θμοίν- in Stud.Pal. X 22, where two more villages of the περί Πόλιν toparchy (Sobthis and Tokois) are listed, could well be the same village.

ΘΜΟΙΝ. ( )

beginning of III A.D.  

P.Erl. 48,23

TOPARCHY: Koites?

ETYMOLOGY: prefix t3-m3j, «new, newly gained land»: see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝ().

Two important villages of the Koites, Psychis and Phebichis, are included in the same list.

ΘΜΟΙΝΑΥΣΙΡΙΣ

172 B.C.  

BGU XIV 2389, [2]; 17  

ἔκ κώμης  

Θμοιναυσίρις (2); ἕκ  

κώμης  

Θμοιναυσίρις (17)

163 B.C.  

P.Hels. I 11,11  

περὶ κώμην  

Θμοιναυσίριν τοῦ  

Πέραν

163 B.C.  

P.Hels. I 14,7-8  

περὶ κώμην  

Θμοιναυσίριν τοῦ  

Πέραν (7-8)

2 Sept. 162 B.C.  

P.Hels. I 26 A,20;29  

Θμοιναυσίρις

mid-II B.C.  

P.Duke inv.605 (unpubl.)  

Θμοιναυσίρις

I B.C.  

BGU VIII 1888,3  

Θμοιναυσίρις

TOPARCHY: Πέραν.

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land (of the people?) of Osiris» (T3-m3j-(na?)-Wsir)  

3; first component t3-m3j: see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝ().

P.Hels. I 11, P.Hels. I 14 and P.Hels. I 26 assign Thmoinausiris to the Πέραν toparchy. P.Hels. I 11 and 14 are ἀπομισταὶ declarations by tax-payers, whose vineyards are at Thmoinausiris, in the fossil kleros Σωστράτου.

The komogrammatheus of Thmoinausiris is mentioned in BGU VIII 1888.

1 Θμοίνη( ) ed. pr.: η not detectable on the photograph provided by Egert Pohlmann and the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg.

2 See PETER VAN MINNEN, BASP 31, 1994, p.92 (the καμαργομματικός of Thmoinausiris is mentioned in this document: he also appears in another unpublished document: P.Duke inv.599).

3 Etymology suggested by Katelijn Vandorpe (private communication: September 12, 1996).
CATALOGUE

ΘΜΟΙΝΑΧΗ

II B.C.
P. Münch. III 55,3 εἰς Θμοιναχή

I B.C.
BGU XIV 2440,97 περὶ Θμοιναχή

about 14/13 B.C.
BGU XVI 2602,12 ἐκ Θμοιναχή

I/II A.D.
P. Hib. II 218,51;84 Θμοιναχή (51);

2 Sept. 162 A.D.
P. Hels. I 26, A 14;17; B 20 Θμοιναχή

II A.D.
CPR I 115 + 145, 118; 19 1 ὁπὸ κόμης Θμοιναχή (1-2); περὶ Θμοιναχή

II A.D.
P. Petaus 28, 6; 20 τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ὁπὸ

222 A.D.
PSI XV estr. 1546, [5]; 14 Θμοιναχή (5); ὁπὸ

223 A.D.
P. Ross. Georg. V Θμοιναχή

20, verso, col. II 1

early III A.D.
P. Ryl. II 87, recto, col. II, 12 Θμοιναχή 3

V A.D.

TOPARCHY: Τεχθὸς Νήσος.

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of reed» (T3-m3j-n-3hj): see also CRUM, Coptic Dictionary, p.XVI, Add.25a, s.v. Tmounah 4. First component: t3-m3j («new, newly gained land»); see s.v. ΘΜΟΙ.

BGU XVI 2602: οἵ ὁπὸ Τεχθὸς γεωργοὶ write to Athenodorus, in his capacity as epistates and dioiketes, informing him that an agent of the strategos has tried to compel them to do canal work; one of Athenodorus’ men has come to the rescue from Thmoinache.

Not far from Techtho (on account of BGU XVI 2602 and P. Hels. 26), Thmoinache is connected to Phebichis (and other villages) in P. Ross. Georg. V 20, and in P. Petaus 28. It is also associated with villages of the "Ἀγηματα toparchy, namely Korphotio (P. Ross. Georg. V 20 recto) and Allais (P. Ryl. II 87 recto).

In BGU XIV 2440, II. 97-100, Thelbonthis and Thmoin() are made to depend on a third village (…λεχίου): the supplement Thmoinache is supported by the fact that this village, like Thelbonthis, belonged to the Techtho toparchy; it also recurs in the line after (Τ)elbonthis in P. Hels. I 265.

1 «CPR I 115 ist mit CPR I 145 vereinigt» (letter from Johannes Diethart, of February 25, 1994).
2 Cf. the editor's note ad l. 6: «Τμοιναχή is sicher identisch mit Θμοιναχή».
3 «The recto contains two incomplete columns of official accounts of some sort» (see Introduction to this document, p.51). I have checked this reading on a photograph provided by the Audio-Visual Office of the Rylands University Library of Manchester.
4 Information from Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).
5 This seems the most likely supplement to me. However, another possibility should be mentioned: Θμοιν(ήθεο), which was in the Περσον toparchy but is found on the same line with Thelbonthis in Stud. Pal. X 202; Thmoiphtha appears in P. Hels. I 26, where the connection of Thelbonthis to the Περσον is also shown.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ΘΜΟΙΝΕΘΥΜΙΣ

251/250 B.C.(?)  SB X 10540,3 (= P.Hib. I 154 descr.) ἐκ Θµοινεθύμιους
250 B.C.  P.Hib. I 80,7-8 ἐκ Θµοινεθύμιους
7 Jan. 229 B.C.  P.Hib. I 163 descr. περὶ κόµην Θµοινεθύμιν
about 228 B.C.  P.Hib. I 70 (b),8-9 περὶ κόµην Θµοινεθύμιν
mid-III B.C.  P.Fuad Crawford 5,verso.3 Θµοινεθύμις
mid-III B.C.  P.Strasb. IX 802,3,24 Θµοινεθύμις
2 Sept. 162 B.C.  P.Hels. I 26,A,9,B,[9] Θµοινεθύμεος
beginning of III A.D.  P.Erl. 48,28 Θµοινεθύμεος

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of Atum» (T3-m3j-n-Im); first component (t3-m3j): see s.v. ΘΜΟΛΙΟ. 3.

In P.Hels. 26, P.Strasb. 802, P.Fuad Crawford 5 and (if correctly resolved) P.Erl. 48, Thmoineithmis is listed with various villages of the Koites (around Phebicchis).

P.Hib. 70 (b): sale of vine-land near Thmoineithmis, bought by a µίχης of Heracleopolis from Asphec son of Horus.
P.Hib. 80, 6-12, and SB X 10540 deal with deliveries of wine from Thmoineithmis to Hiera Neso.

ΘΜΟΙΝΕΠΤΕΙΩ

227/226 B.C.  P.Grad. 3,6; [20] (SB III 6277) ἐν κόµη Θµοινέπτειο
227/226 B.C.  SB III 6301,64 ἐν κόµη Θµοινέπτειο

TOPARCHY: Koites

ETYMOLOGY: the first component of this toponym is t3-m3j («new land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟΛΙΟ.

P.Grad. 3, a surety document drawn up at Thmoineptei, is addressed to Kleitarchos, πραπεζίτης τοῦ Κοίτου.

1 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.
2 This seems a likely resolution to me: Θµοινέπτειον? ed. pr.; Θµοινεθύμια Daris; but Θµοινεθύμιι is the correct reading (checked on a photograph).
4 «Der Papyrus stellt die Außenschrift dar, deren Innenschrift SB III 6277 (= P.Grad. 3) ist» (ed. pr., ad loc.).
CATALOGUE

ΘΟΙΝΕΨΙ Ι

late IV/early V A.D. (cf. BL 9,368)  
P.Vind.Tand. 19,6;7
κορυνκουλαρ(ίω)
kástér(ον) Ḍοινέψι
(6); ἡκτοναρ(ίω)
kástér(ον) Ḍοινέψι (7)

V A.D.  
Θοινέψι

V/VI A.D.  
SB I 1945,6
Θοινέψι(εως)

VI A.D.  
P.Mich. X 591,1
προτοκ(ομήτους κοί
eirhναρχ(αις)
Θοινέψι; cf.l.3: κάμης

VI A.D.  
Stud.Pal. III 66,1
δρμου Θοινέψι( ) (cf. BL 9,332)

VI A.D.  
P.Wash.Univ. II 103,6
ἀπλού Θοινέψι

VII/VIII A.D.  
P.Oxy. LVI 3870,3
ἐν τῇ Θοινέψι

VII/VIII A.D.  
CPR IV 2,12
χ(ορίον) Θοινέψ( )

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 203,7
χ(ορίον) Θοινέψ( )

VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 84,7
χ(ορίον) Θοινέψι

Literary Sources

about 300 A.D.  
Itin. Anton. 168,4
Thimonepsi

V A.D.  
Not. Dignit. Or. XXVIII 31
Thinunpsi

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of the lake» (T3-m3j-n-p3-ṣj)⁴; first component t3-m3j; see s.v. ΘΜΟΙ().

MODERN ARABIC NAME: the identification with Banī Sulaimān ʿĀṣ Sarqīyya, suggested in TAVO B 69, § 4.3 (O 22; see also p.185), is consistent with the information contained in Itin. Anton. (see below).

The Itin. Anton. identifies Thimonepsi as one of the stations of the Roman army on the east bank of the Nile (preceded, from south to north, by Hipponon and Alīy), approximately 16 miles south of Aphroditopolis, i.e. roughly on the same parallel as Herakleopolis. The ala prima Tingitanæ was stationed there (cf. Not.Dign., and the reference to κάστερα Θοινέψι in P.Vindob.Tand. 19).

Stud.Pal. X 84 lists Thimonepsi after Noeris (περὶ Πόλιν τοπαρχία), Pois (Tilothis toparchy) and Peensamoi (Πέρον τοπαρχία).

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¹ SB I 1945 includes a list of toponyms (all of them χορία, apparently) found on vases. See BERNARD P. GRENFELL - ARTHUR S. HUNT. Egypt Exploration Fund. Arch. Report 1904/1905, p.15.

² L.3: ἤμε ὁμολήπτοτε ἐκπέμποντα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τοῦ τιμὸς παλαιοφύλακος τῆς ἤμος κάμης.

³ The supplement I suggested, [Θοινεψι], based on [_keipsi] of the ed. pr. has been confirmed by Johannes Diethart: «Z. 7 ist nach der Restaurierung jetzt Θοινεψι zu lesen» (letter of September 13, 1994).

⁴ Etymology proposed by Katelijn Vandoorne (private communication, September 12, 1996).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek): it is therefore likely that Thmoinepsi is meant here (Thmoinehmis or Thmoineptei are the only other options, but both were in the Koites).

ΘΜΟΙΝΙΠΈΣΛΑ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>320-321/22 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Neph. 45,19</td>
<td>áπ̄ο Θμοινπέσλα²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Lond. VI 191-10</td>
<td>áπ̄ο Θμοινπέσλα (cf. BL 9,148)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV/V A.D.</td>
<td>P.Rain.Cent. 153,10</td>
<td>άπ̄ο Θμοινπέσλα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 July 423 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Köln III 151,34</td>
<td>áπ̄ο κόμης Θμοινπέσλα³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOPARCHY: Koites.
A village called Πέσλα is well attested in the Hermopolites (see DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite, s.v.).

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of the cultivated land» (Τ3-μ3j-n-p3-d)⁴; first component t3-m3j: see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΝΙ." (P.Rain.Cent. 153: Thmoinepsila is listed with Tale and Thneis (Koites), Phys and Peempibyk(is) (Mésη toparchy), Palosis (Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites). P.Neph. 45, P.Lond. VI 1913: net of monasteries at Hipponon, Phathor, Thmoinepsla, in the proximity of the Kyneopolite nome (cf. also P.Köln III 151).

ΘΜΟΙΝΩΘΙΣ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Θμοινωθισ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>247/246 B.C.</td>
<td>SB III 7203,8</td>
<td>κομάρχη Θμοινώττος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Jan. 245 B.C.⁵</td>
<td>P.Petr. III 43 (2), col. III,28</td>
<td>τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐν Θμοινωθίδι (cf. BL 3,146)⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-II B.C.</td>
<td>P.Strasb. VIII 781,8</td>
<td>ἐκ Θμοινωθέως</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ.
² «Zum Schwund des Nasals vor Labial vgl. GIGNAC, I, p.117» (Edd. ad loc.).
³ Cf. P.Neph. 45,19 n.: Θμοινπέλλα ed. pr.
⁵ See ALAN E. SAMUEL, Ptolemaic Chronology, München 1962, p.92.
⁶ A very uncertain reading, checked for me by Brian McGing (Trinity College, Dublin; letter of September 8, 1994): «The trace of ink after Θμοιν would certainly fit omega, but after that the traces are extremely faint».

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CATALOGUE

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,58  
Θμοινόθ(εος)
II/III A.D.  
P.Köln II 99,5  
Θμοινόθεας
227 A.D.  
CPR I 64,9;15  
[άπο] κόμης  
Θμοινόθεας (8-9);  [περ] 
Θμοινόθιν (15)
VII/VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 203,8  
χ(αρίον)  
Θμοινωθ’

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

ETYMOLOGY: first component ts-m3j («new, newly gained land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟΟ).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Mayyāna (see Introduction, p.10). This is site W 38 (Mayyāna/Sidmant) in TAVO B 69: «Auf halbem Weg zwischen Mayyāna im Süden und Sidmant im Norden befindet sich eine ausgedehnte Nekropole. Sie liegt am Rand der Anhöhe, die das Fayyūm vom Ništal trennt ... und wurde schon zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts ausgegraben ... Diese ausgedehnte Nekropole gehört zu ... Herakleopolis magna» (p.240).

CPR I 64: παραχάρησις contract between Aurelios Sarapammon (from Herakleopolis but apparently living at Kerkytos) and a woman living at Thmoinoths; the woman acquires 9.5 arousa near Phys (in the fossil kleros of Ἀμμον) and a few more near Thmoinoths (in the fossil kleros Ἀριστομάχου). The contract is recorded at the agoranomos office of the Μέση toparchy at Peenaeus.

P.Strasb. VIII 781 is from the same cartonnage as P.Hamb. I 911, where the villages of Tebetny and Poi are mentioned.

In P.Köln II 99 the three places mentioned above (Kerkytos, Thmoinoths, Phys) appear in a group of villages which also includes Phneibius and Peempyktis; each of these is assigned to the Μέση toparchy by other documents. In P.Hib. II 218 Thmoinoths is entered between Poi and, again, Phneibius.

A location in the Μέση is consistent with P.Petr. III 43 (2), also referring to Phneibius. In SB III 7203 Bousiris is also mentioned.

ΘΜΟΙΟΒΑΣΣΙΣ

27 March 254 B.C.  
P.Lond. VII 1972,1  
εἰς Θμοῖβασσιν³
mid-III B.C.⁴  
P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782  
ἐκ Τμωβάσσεως (24); ἐκ  
(β),24;63;81;88(?)  
[K,αξ] Τμωβάσσιος  
(63); ἐκ Τμωβάσσεως  
(81); ἐκ Τμωβάσσεως  
(88)⁵

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¹ See Introduction, p.20.
² See Introduction, p.10.
³ As Willy Clarysse points out to me, one expects Θμοῖβασσιν, or else Θμοῖβασσιν (on the analogy of Πετῶβασσις, Ψενῶβασσις), as a small omikron might be easily missed by the Editor, but I have not been able to check this reading. The reference to this village is found in «the right-hand fragment, containing the ends of the lines, [which] is in Cairo» (cf. P.Lond. 1972, Introduction, p.61: the fragment was in fact first published as P.Cair.Zen. 59197).
⁴ On the dating of this document see above, p.60 n.3.
⁵ Again, a small omikron could easily have been missed by the Editor, but I was unable to check these readings on the original.
THE HERAKLEPOLITE NOME

239/238 B.C.  
6 June 130 B.C.  
after 84/3 B.C.  
I B.C.  
I B.C.  
after 52/1 B.C.  
I/II A.D.  
V A.D.  
VI A.D.  
VI-VII A.D.  
VII A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  
VIII A.D.  

P. Rain. Cent. 44, 6  
SB XIV 12089, 2  
BGU XIV 2370 (fr. 1)  
BGU XIV 2432, 22  
BGU XIV 2440, 58  
BGU VIII 1808, 12  
P. Hib. II 218, 67  
Stud. Pal. X 233, col. 1 B, 8  
Stud. Pal. X 258, 2  
P. Vind. Tand. 17, 17; 18  
Stud. Pal. X 263, 1  
Stud. Pal. X 203, 4  
Stud. Pal. X 119, 2

ἐκ Ἐμυομοβάστεος  
ἐν Ἐμυομοβάστεος  
Ἑμυομοβάστεος  
Ἑμυομοβάστεος  
Ἑμυομοβάστεος  
Ἑμυομοβάστεος  
Ἑμυομοβάστεος  
Ἕμυομοβάστεος (cf. BL 8, 151)  
Ἕμυομοβάστεος  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)  
Ὑμομοβάστεος (ἐστι)

See also: ΤΙΩΒΑΣΤΙ.

TOPARCHY: Koma.

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of the goddess Bast» (τῆς-μης-ν-Βαστής). First component (τῆς-μης): see s.v. Ἐμυομοβάστεος.

In the Herakleopolites, the cat-goddess Bast was closely associated with the goddess Αάγι (Αάγι); cf. OLIVIER PERDUS, RDE 40, 1989, pp.195-197.4

This village is assigned to the Koma toparchy in BGU XIV 2440. In P. Lond. VII 1972 Zenon instructs Sosos to go to Thmoiobastis, so that he may collect olive plants and vines «which have been [...] by Theon on the river» (1.4: ἔντι τού ποταμοῦ, designating either the Bahr Yūṣuf or the Nile). Thmoiobastis must have been a station on the lower route to Egypt; cf. P. Rain. Cent. 44 (corn transport: 525 artabae from Onnes, 200 from Thmoiobastis and, on a different boat, 725 from Bousiris).

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1 In my opinion, this document should be dated to the 9th year of Euergetes (239/238 B.C.). See the Editor’s note at l. 11; P. Rain. Cent. 44 comes from the same cartonnage as P. Rain. Cent. 43, which is dated to 236 B.C.

2 See also CRUM, Coptic Dictionary, p. 160b, s.v. Τμοῦς οὐδέστη (information from Katelijn Vandorpe: see above, s.v. Ἐμυομοβάστεος). Cf. above, s.v. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ὈΡΜΟΣ. on the triple identification Bast = Artemis = Nemesis.

3 An amulet «de faeynza verde de Bastet representada con cuerpo humano y cabeza de gata» was found at the site of Herakleopolis during the 1989 Spanish excavations there; it bears the inscription: «Bastet, mistress of heaven» (MARIA DEL CARMEN PEREZ-DIEZ - PASCAL VERNUS, Excavaciones en Ebnasya el Medina, vol. 1, Madrid 1992, p. 75). On this goddess, see also s.v. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ὈΡΜΟΣ.

4 I owe this reference to Luc Limme.
CATALOGUE

P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782 (b) lists Thmoiobastis with Bousiris and other villages of the Koma toparchy (Koma, Kerekis, Machor, Toou), of the Talathis toparchy (Talathis, Tanchais) and of the Tekmi toparchy (Onnes). Many of these villages are also recorded in BGU XIV 2370, fr.1 (under the main entry κόστος τοπαρχίας); Koma, Toou, Machor, Thmoiobastis, Onnes, Talathis, Tanchais. A second fragment (BGU XIV 2370 fr.2), written by the same hand, has a reference to Bousiris.

In BGU XIV 2432 Thmoiobastis appears after Toemesis (Koites) and Ibiun Techto. A comparison with BGU VIII 1808 may be instructive: Koma, Onnes, Thmoiobastis and Bousiris again appear in a series, preceding an entry for Techtho.


ΕΜΟΙΟΝΠΡΟΦΗ

early II A.D. P.Köln II 98,40

ETYMOLOGY: first component tɛ̂s-m3j («new, newly gained land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΟ.

Other place-names in the same document: Sobthis, Patamousou, Tenemkyriks (Koites).

ΕΜΟΙΟΥΘΗΣ

about 260 B.C. P.Hib. I 112,56,88 Θμοιονθυθης
mid-III B.C. 2 P.Fuad Crawford 5 verso,12 Θμοιολι.θυτης
IV A.D. P.Amth. II 142,4 [πτη ἐποίχηθον] τι Θμοιονθυθης

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: first element tɛ̂s-m3j («new, newly gained land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΟ.

Most villages mentioned in P.Hib. I 112 and P.Fuad Crawford 5 verso belong to the Koites. In P.Amth. II 142, reporting an assault upon the land of Aurelius Germanus at Thmoiouthis, the πραπόσιτος τοῖν κόστραμ Ἱππων is requested to intervene.

———

1. Θημοειοφαφι ed. pr.: the trace at the beginning can hardly have belonged to any other letter but Θ or Τ of the prefix (Θ/Τ)μοιοι—.

2. On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.

3. Cf. Ed. ad loc.: «Either Θμοιονθυθης (P.Hib. I, Intro. p.8) or Θμοιονθυθης (P.Hib. 112,56 and 88). More probably the latter».
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ΘΜΟΙΤΑΥΣ

mid-III B.C. P. Strasb. IX 802,4

Toparchy: Koites?

Etymology: first component τ3-μ3jsp ("new, newly gained land"); see s.v. ΘΜΟΙ(). All villages listed in P. Strasb. IX 802 were apparently in the Koites.

ΘΜΟΙΤΟΘΗΣ

about 260 B.C. P. Hib. I 112,39 Ὄμοιτόθης
about 138 B.C. P. Tebt. III 860,22 περί Ὄμοιτόθην

See also s.v. ΘΟΙΣ (which could well be the same place).

Toparchy: Koites.

Etymology: "the new land of Thoth" (T3-μ3jsp-(n-)Dhwty); first component τ3-μ3jsp; see s.v. ΘΜΟΙ(). Most villages mentioned in P. Hib. I 112 and P. Tebt. III 860 belong to the Koites.

ΘΜΟΙΦΘΑ

215/214 B.C. P. Strasb. II 111,23 Ὄμοιόφθα
2 Sept. 162 B.C. P. Hels. I 26 A,27 Ὄμοιόφθα
161/160 B.C. P. Hels. I 29,24 Ὄμοιόφθα
1 B.C. BGU VI 1285,9 ἐν κόμη Ὄμοιόφθα
1 B.C. BGU XIV 2432,17
1 B.C. BGU XIV 2437,36
131/132 A.D. PSI VIII 962 (b),25 ἀπὸ κόμης Ὄμοιονφθα
VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 202,7 χωρίων Ὄμοιοφθα

See also: Ἰβιόν Ὄμοιόφθα

Toparchy: Πέραν.

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1 This reading seems compatible with the traces (checked on a photograph); περί Ὄμοιόφθας ἐν(οίκιον) ed. pr. (see note ad loc.: "ὁμοίοτόθην, which P. Hib. 112 might suggest, cannot be read").

2 As suggested by Katelijin Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).

3 My reading: Θομόκαφος was deciphered by WILLY CLARYSSE, who re-edited this document in Ancient Society 7, 1976, pp.200-203. After ψ, the remnants of a round letter are clearly detectable on the photograph.
CATALOGUE

ETYMOLOGY: «the new land of Ptah» (T3-m3j-(n.)Pth)\(^1\); first component t3-m3j: see s.v. ΘΜΩ().

BGU XIV 2432 and 2437 indicate that this village was in the Πέρον toparchy. This is confirmed by P.Hels. I 26, where it is listed with Tebetny, Peensamoi, Thmoinausiris. In P.Hels. I 29 Kerkytos (I.28; Mégi toparchy) is also mentioned.

Thmoiphtha should also be supplied at P.Strashb. II 111,23, again in connection with Peensamoi (here spelt Πεονταμουν): farmers on strike have apparently fled from the first to the second village. The oikonomos’ agent (called Harmachis) who is in charge at Techto in the Kotes (P.Strashb. II 563 and 113), also supervises affairs at Thmoiphtha and Peensamoi (both villages of the Πέρον toparchy)\(^2\). The same oikonomos deals with tax-arrears from the Kotes, Techto Nesos and the Πέρον in P.Hels. I 26 (P.Hels. I 21 almost certainly belongs to the same document).


PSI VIII 962 (b) is a contract between a man from Heracleopolis and another from Thmoiphtha.

ΘΜΟΛΧ()

late III A.D. BGU XIII 2365.15

TOPARCHY: Kotes.

ETYMOLOGY: first component t3-m3j («new, newly gained land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟ().

Other villages mentioned in the same document: Techto, Papa, Thelbo (all in Kotes).

ΘΜΟΤΑ...

middle or late II A.D. P.Hib. II 280,3 ῎εν κώμ(μ)η Θμοτα...

ETYMOLOGY: first component t3-m3j («new, newly gained land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟ().

ΘΗΗΙΣ

mid-III B.C. P.Strashb. IX 802,5 Θηηίς
about 163 B.C. P.Hels. I 20,13 ἐν κοίμηΤηηί
161/160 B.C. (?) P.Hels. I 29,18 Θηηίς\(^3\)
286 A.D. P.Wash.Univ. I 18,17 ἀπὸ Τηηίως

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\(^1\) Information from Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1996).

\(^2\) See Clarysse’s article (cited on p.84, n.3), pp.185-207.

\(^3\) This could be a place, rather than a personal name (as suggested in the ed.pr.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

313/314 A.D.  

**P. Michael. 28,9**  
κομιάρχος κώμης  
Τηήως  

IV/V A.D.  

**P. Rain. Cent. 153,12**  
άπο Τηήως  

V A.D.  

**Stud. Pal. X 233, col. I A,2**  
Τηήως  

VIII A.D.  

**Stud. Pal. X 109,9**  
άπο χ(ωρίου) Τηήως  

See also: Τηήως [1]

**TOPARCHY:** Koites (XII pagus: P. Michael. 28).

*P. Strabo. VII 802:* list of Herakleopolite villages, most of them in the Koites.

*P. Michael. 28:* the other villages mentioned in this document (Papa, Phebichis, Pselemachis, Thebbo, Philonikou: all belonging to the Koites) are here assigned to the XII pagus.

*P. Rain. Cent. 153:* Theonis is listed with Tale and Thmoinipsela (Koites), Phys and Peempibyk(is) (Middle toparchy), Palosis (Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites).


*P. Heils. 20:* is the ἀπογραφή for a dove-cote at Theonis.

**ΘΡΥΝΟΣ**

VII/VIII A.D.  

**Stud. Pal. X 17,1**  
άπο χ(ωρίου) Θρυνος

VII-VIII A.D.  

**Stud. Pal. X 208,4**  
χ(ωρίου) Θρυνος

**ETYMOLOGY:** the Greek word θρύνος («reed, rush»), declined in the genitive plural (Θρύνων), may have been the original toponym: compare the Byzantine toponym 'Αγκυρώνος, which modifies the original 'Αγκυρόν (πόλις; see s.v.).

*Stud. Pal. X 17* also lists Koma (3), Poinami (= Peenameus) (10), Pkommatovei (12), the last two villages being in the Μέση toparchy. *Stud. Pal. X 208* lists villages assigned to the διοίκησις of the διάκονος Λέσσιος: these include Aprinos (1) and Thoiamoun(is) (2; Koma toparchy); on the verso, Phnebious (2; Μέση toparchy) and Pselemachis (3; Koites) are mentioned.

**ΙΒΙΧΕΩΣ**

487 A.D.  

**P. Oxy. XVI 1961,9**  
άπο κώμης Ιβιχεος  
τοῦ Ἑρακλεοπόλειτος  
νομοῦ  

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1 Τήήως ed. pr. The new reading is mine (checked on a photograph).

2 Ιβιχεος ed. pr., but «Ιβιχεος looks acceptable» (reading checked for me by Revel A. Coles, letter of August 8, 1994).
CATALOGUE

P. Oxy. XVI 1961: two inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus lease part of a house ἐν τῇ συντῇ πόλει (1.14); the house belongs to a woman ἀπὸ κόμης Ἰβίωνος.

ΙΒΙΩΝ (1)

IV/V A.D. MPER XV 91,4 Ἰβίωνος

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Other villages mentioned are Phys (3; Μέση toparchy) and Ατρτ. (5); there follow references to the πέδιον of Bousiris (34, 37) and the μερίς Ήρκλείδου in the Arsinoites (35).

ΙΒΙΩΝ (2)

28/29 A.D. P. Oxy. XXIV 2412,72 Ἰβίωνος

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

The document mentions six villages, presumably all in the Tekmi toparchy: Ogou, Tekmi, Kollintaathy, Pyrgotos, Mouchis, Ibion.

In BGU XIV 2436 Ogou is perhaps connected with Ἰβιών Ἀρσάμου. In BGU XIV 2449, where land in the Tekmi toparchy is surveyed (see II.39-40), an Ἰβιών is referred to at I.26.

ΙΒΙΩΝ (3)

50/49 B.C. (cf. BL 8,338) SB VI 9065,11 περὶ κόμην Ἰβιώνα ¹

See also: Ἰβιών ... (5)

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

A widow describes her dead husband's possessions περὶ κόμην Ἰβιώνα and ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει:

¹ περὶ κόμην Ἰβιώνα Ἀρσάμου (?) ...[ed.pr.: Ἰβιών Ἀρσάμου, however, was in the Koites.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

the temple of Eseph referred to at I.14 was probably at Herakleopolis. An ἱβίων is attested at Sobthis (περὶ Πόλην toparchy) in BGU VIII 1753, I, 1.6 (64/63 B.C.).

IBION ... (4)

mid-III B.C. 2 P. Fuad Crawford 5, verso, 10

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. IBION ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: see s.v. IBION ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Several villages known to be in the Koites appear in this document, including Pselemechis. Other ἱβίων localities near Pselemechis: ἱβίων Ἀρσάμου, ἱβίων Πάχνουβις.

IBION ... (5)

I B.C. BGU XIV 2429,6 ἱβίων ὁνόμα ...
I B.C. BGU XIV 2436,2 ἱβίωνα ...

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. IBION ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: see s.v. IBION ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

The second part of this place-name is written exactly in the same (abbreviated and very cursive) manner in BGU XIV 2429 and 2436.2.

BGU XIV 2429 lists several villages, many in the Ἀγνήα toparchy: Peenmeus (2), Peenepsomphis (3), Korhoteoi (4), Nino (6), Kollasoucah and Magdola (7).

BGU XIV 2436 surveys a holding split among the following villages: Magdola (1), ἱβίων (2), Pois (2), Peenemou and Ogoi (3). Magdola also recurs in BGU XIV 2429.

IBION ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ

about 138 B.C. P.Tebt. III 860,103 ἱβίων Ἄρσαμου

See also: IBION ... (4).

TOPARCHY: Koites.

1 ἱερὸν τοῦ Βεστυ (cf. BL 8,319).
2 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.
3 The decipherment is extremely uncertain (reading checked by me on a photograph, and by William Brashear on the original). ἱβίων Φαξ (or Δαξ) ed. pr. ἱβίων Ἄρσαμοῦ is rather tempting, but this was a place in the Koites, whereas the ἱβίων in question must have been in the central part of the nome.
ETYMOLOGY: Ἰβιόν is the Greek translation for the Egyptian word (in other place-names simply transliterated as ṯσχο/ε = ṯş-hj: : see s.v. Ταχοποχοῦβα) referring to a sanctuary of the Ibis cult. Here it is combined with a (Persian) personal name (Ἄρσσαμος: clearly the founder/sponsor of this sanctuary); it can also be associated with the name of a village in such toponyms as Ibiôn Thmoiphtha and Ibiôn Techtho (see s.vv.).


P.Tebt. III 860: under the entry for Ἰβιόν Ἄρσσαμος, a tax-payment by the owner of a vineyard near Pselemachis (Koites) is recorded.

Another centre named after an ibis sanctuary near Pselemachis was called Ibiôn Pachnoubis.

IBIΩΝ ΘΟΜΟΙΦΑ

1 B.C. BGU XIV 2437,38

TOPARCHY: Πέροα (see s.v. ΘΟΜΟΙΦΑ).

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: see s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Sacred land of an Hermes temple is mentioned in connection with this Ἰβιόν: sacred ibises were in fact dedicated to Thot, whom the Greeks identified with Hermes.

IBIΩΝ ΠΑΧΝΟΥΒΙΣ

See s.v. ΤΑΧΟΝΠΑΧΝΟΥΒ.

IBIΩΝ ΤΑΜΜΩΡΟΥ

301 A.D. PSI IX 1037,9

παρὸ τειαφόρου κοιμᾶν, Ἰβιόνος Ταμμορ[ο]ύ καὶ Κόσσα καὶ ἄλλων (8-9; cf. BL 8,405)


2 Cf. Ἄρσσαμος, also a Persian personal name (PH. Huyse, Iranisches Personennamenbuch V 6a, p.34, no.16); see also s.v. ΛΙΣΙΝΗ (Λισίνης is another Persian personal name).

THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

Toparchy: Koites.

Etymology: see s.v. Ἥβιά(/

Bibliography: see s.v. Ἥβιά/

See s.v. ΤΑΜΟΡΟΥ.

Ἑβίων Τῆχω

I B.C. BGU XIV 2432,20

Toparchy: Techtho Nesos (see s.v. Τῆχω).

Etymology: see s.v. Ἥβιων ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Bibliography: see s.v. Ἥβιων ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Listed with Toemesis (I.18; Koites) and Thmoiobastis (I.22; Koma toparchy), this Ἥβιών was obviously near Τῆχω.

Ἱερά Νήσου

about 270 B.C. P.Hib. I 110 recto, 21; 22 ἐφ’ Ιεράθ τή Νήσου (21); ἀφ’ Ιεραθ Νήσου (22)

251/250 B.C.(?) SB X 10540 (= P.Hib. I 154 descrit.) 3 είς Ιεράθ Νήσου (4-5)

22 Jan. 223 B.C.1 P.Rain.Cent. 40,7 ἐν Ιεράθ Νήσου

early II B.C. P.Tebt. III 1082,31 ἐν Ιεράθ

18 August 164 B.C. P.Heis. I 6,6 ἐν Ιεράθ Νήσου

96-94 or 63-61 B.C. BGU XIV 2429,11 Ἱεράθ Νήσου(τικός)

later than 52/51 B.C. BGU VIII 1808,20 Ἑιράθ Νήσου

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1 New dating by Willy Clarysse (letter of July 7, 1994): «The two letters (P.Rain.Cent. 40 and 41) are written by different scribes, but they are very similar and of a rather unusual type. Their inventory numbers also show that they were found or at least bought together. P.Rain.Cent. 41 is dated to 5 Choiak of a 24th year, P.Rain.Cent. 40 to 7 Choiak of a 29th year. On the photograph, however, the reading κφ in P.Rain.Cent. 40 is far from certain: the top of the theta is in fact a large ink blot. If this ink blot is not taken into account, delta is a perfectly sound reading here. In our opinion both texts should therefore be dated to the same 24th year (ἔτους κφ) and they were written only two days apart. If so, the reign of Philadelphos is no longer the only possibility. The writing rather suggests a date toward the end of the third century, most probably under Euergetes i.e. 20 and 22 January 223 B.C.».
later than Mesore 51/50 B.C.  

<table>
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<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>I B.C.</td>
<td>BGU VIII 1768,1</td>
<td>μέχρι Ἱερᾶς Νήσου</td>
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<tr>
<td>I B.C.</td>
<td>BGU VIII 1784,5</td>
<td>μέχρι Ἱερᾶς</td>
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**Literary Sources**

V A.D.  

**Steph. Byz. S.v.**

**Toparchy:** the place-name Hiera Nesos is well attested for the Arsinoites, and apparently refers to two distinct (at least from the Roman period) localities, one in the Herakleides division, the other in the Polemon division. The second one was called Ἱερὰ (Νήσος) Νικολάου and may, or may not coincide with the Hiera Nesos connected to the Herakleopolites in the documents listed above. None of these documents actually states that Ἱερά Νήσος was in the Herakleopolites: its connection with this nome, and with the Ἄγμα toponymy in particular, are nevertheless obvious from the sources analysed here below. It seems possible that different localities, at no great distance from each other in the two neighbouring nomes, were called by the same name, with reference to the same features in the landscape, both natural (νήσος: «newly-gained lands») and human (ἱερὰ: a «sacred» place). This may be the case for the Arsinoite and the Herakleopolite Λάμπρας, too (see s.v.). See also s.v. ΚΑΙΝΗ.

**Etymology:** νήσος was the Greek (inaccurate) translation of the Egyptian word m3j, «new land».

SB X 10540 and P.Hib. I 80: both documents concern exports of wine ἐκ Ὀμολογητῆς τοῦ Ἡρακλεόπολίτου νομοῦ] εἰς Ἱερὰς Νήσος (SB X 10540,3-5).

In P.Hels. I 6 corn supplies for the army are also conveyed to Hiera Nesos (a safer place to keep them, thanks to its φρούριον) from the θησαυρός of Allias ("Ἀγμα, Ἄγμα toponymy: the document refers to troubles in this area). BGU VIII 1808 confirms the connection between Hiera Nesos and Allias (which recur at ll. 20 and 21 respectively), while BGU XIV 2429 includes Hiera Nesos after Petachor, at the end of a list of villages belonging almost exclusively to the Ἀγμα toponymy. Kollasoucha, Petachor and Hiera Nesos appear both in BGU XIV 2429 and in BGU VIII 1808: the connection between Hiera Nesos and Kollasoucha is confirmed by P.Rain.Cent. 40 (here, the φυλακότης Herakleides is to be inferred that two plots of land near Kollasoucha have been leased out: the relevant σύμβολον is kept at the λογαριασμόν of Hiera Nesos).

BGU VIII 1784 is an official letter concerning preparations for the ποταμοφύλακες of the Πηλεμικὸς canal to escort an οὐραγία (possibly the «rear-guard» of military troops) as far as Hiera Nesos, where their colleagues from the Troites (in the Memphite nome) are to take over, and escort the οὐραγία to Χή (in the Kynopolites).

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1 Ἱερὰ Νήσος: . . . ἐξετάσαν Αἰγύπτων Ἱερὰ Νήσος κτλ.

2 Only documents relevant to the connections of Hiera Nesos with the Herakleopolite nome are considered here. See also Introduction, p.10.

3 Cf. Introduction, p.6.

4 See s.v. ΘΟΜΟ(.).

5 Τρωίτης must designate the surroundings (or the toponymy) of Troia, in the Memphite nome, apparently specializing in ship-building (cf. BGU VIII 1807, which also confirms its connection to the Herakleopolites). CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, vol. V, p.34, lists several occurrences of Τρωίτης as an ethnic designation.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

BGU VIII 1768 reports a visit of the strategos of the Herakleopolite nome; from Hiera Nesos he travels down the [.....μύρσινος ποταμός to be met at a στέβας by the priests (a temple of Ἡρακλῆς is mentioned at 1.8), the Greek military settlers (κάστορι ταῖς κατοικίαις πλήθους), the foreigners who happened to be there at the time of the strategos' visit (τῶν κατα δέξιν), and the local Egyptian population (λαοίς). An Ἀρσινοεῖον and a γυμνάσιον are also mentioned.

A temple of the «powerful god Semarochrates» appears in BGU VIII 1835 (I.3-5): this is a petition from the priests who are apparently the only inhabitants left at Hiera Nesos, all others having left the village since August 51/50.

On the whole, the place gives the impression of a rather busy station on a traffic route along which food provisions, officials and military troops all travelled. P.Hib. I 110 recto shows that there was a guard-post (φυλακή: one is reminded of the φρούρια mentioned in P.Hels. I.6) and a shunting station for φυλακίται escorting corn from Hiera Nesos to Alexandria (see esp. II.21-33). On the way to Alexandria, after the φυλακή at Hiera Nesos, there was another one at Memphis (one may recall the change-over to the ποταμιφύλακες of the Troites in BGU VIII 1784); the next one was at Στυγῖε («on the canal connecting Alexandria with the Canopic branch of the Nile»1), before the final station at Alexandria. The reference to Phebichis (Koites) in the following section (II.34-39: «Account taken with Plutarchus at Phebichis...») confirms the connection between Hiera Nesos and the Herakleopolites, as might the previous mention of an Ἡρακλεῖον (I.5; one may be reminded of the temple of Herakles in BGU VIII 1768).

ΙΕΡΚΙΝΙΚΩ

VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 206,9

Apparently the name of a κληρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

ΠΠΙΠΠΩΝΩΝ (κώμη)

I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218, col. III
19 March 334 A.D. P.Lond. VI 1913,2,9 όπο κώμης Ἰππόνων
about 343 A.D. SB XVI 12814,4 όπο κώμης Ἰππόνων
IV A.D. P.Amh. II 142,16 τίω πραμοσίτω τοῖς κάστρον Ἰππόνων
VI A.D. P.Bad. (=VPB) IV 55,6-7 ἐν τῷ ἁπτιτιτικο(γ) ἡπιος τῆς Ἀραβίας περί φυλακκήν Ἰππόνως

VII-VIII A.D. SB XVIII 13888,8 χ(ορίον) Ἰππόνων(ς)
VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 203,9 χ(ορίον) Ἰππόνων(ς)2

1 See P.Hib. I 110,25 n.
2 Reading checked for me on the original by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994): «χ(ορίου) Ἰππόνων(ς) scheint möglicher».
CATALOGUE

VII-VIII A.D.

\textit{Stud. Pal.} X 213,3

\textit{χ(ορίον)} \ Ιππόνοι

Literary Sources

about 300 A.D.

\textit{Itin. Anton.} 168,2

\textit{Hipponon}

V A.D.

\textit{Not.Dign.Or.} XXXVIII 32

\textit{Hipponos}

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: «the village of the stables» (ιππών, -όνος = «place for horses, stable» but also «posting-house, station», as in XEN. Cyr. 8,6,17; cf. LSJ s.v.). Ιππόνοι, on the East bank of the Nile, was a station of the Roman army (see below): its name possibly refers to the stables for the horses of the cavalry, which most likely had one of its bases here during the Ptolemaic period; too; at the same time, the place may also have functioned as a hunting station for the postal service. The plural form is obviously explained by assuming the existence of several stables, as one may expect in an army base, but also in a posting-house of some importance. The Byzantine documents of a later time, however, make the name a singular (see s.v. Ἀγγειών κύρη for a similar shifting from plural to singular).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Qarāra.\textsuperscript{3} See TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (O 12) and p.180: «Südlich des Dorfes befinden sich zwei koptische Friedhöfe, die durch einen islamischen getrennt sind. Die Gräber sind zum größten Teil ausgeplündert. ... Aufgrund der Raubgräberei in der Gegend von Qarāra seitens der Dorfbewohner begann die ägyptische Altertümerverwaltung im Jahr 1981, Ausgrabungen durchzuführen. Dabei legte man Bestattungen frei, die in die Spätzeit und danach zu datieren sind ... die Kalkstein-Fundamente eines Bauwerkes ... Möglicherweise wurde der Bau, nach einem hier gefunden Kalksteinfragment mit dem Anfang der Kartsche eines ptolemäischen Herrschers zu schließen, in ptolemäischer Zeit errichtet». See also TIMM, \textit{Das christlich-koptische Ägypten} III, p.1207 f., s.v. 'Izbat Qarāra).

\textit{P. Lond.} VI 1913: the priest Aurelius Pageus son of Horus, from Hipponon, informs the priors of the monastery of (P)hathor of the appointment of Amelius Gerontius, to take his place until his return from the Synod of Caesarea. The appointment has been made in the presence of witnesses, among them a priest of Hipponon and the deacon of Thmoinesplas (also in Koites)\textsuperscript{4}.

Hipponon and Phathor also recur together in SB XVIII 13888, along with other villages of the southern Koites (Nokle, Thelbo) and the northern Oxyrhynchites (Kalamos, Ostrakinou).

Presumably, the location of the same monastery is given in \textit{P. Bad.} IV 55 (πρὸς τῆς Ἀραμίων περὶ ὀυλικύκλων} \ Ιππόνοι), with reference to the military establishment also attested in the \textit{Itinerarium Antonini} and the \textit{Notitia Dignitatum} (station of the \textit{Ala Apriana}).

\textit{P. Amh.} II 142 contains a petition to the praefect of Augustamnica, written at Harkleopolis: the intervention of the προϊστάτευτος τῶν κάστρων Ιππόνοι is requested against intruders upon Aurelius Germanus' land, near Thmoisouthis.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{ed. pr.}: Johannes Diethardt considers «\textit{Ιππονόλ} mögliche» (letter of February 25, 1994), which supports a conjecture \textit{Ιππόνοι}. Other villages mentioned in the same document were in the Agawma toparchy (Petachor: II.2 and 5; Kalliasoucha: 1:4).

\textsuperscript{2} Ptolemaic postal service: STEPHEN R. LLEWELYN, «Did the Ptolemaic Postal System work to a Timetable?», \textit{ZPE} 99, 1993, pp.41-56.

\textsuperscript{3} Cf. FRIEDRICH BILABEL, \textit{P. Bad.} IV, Einleitung, pp.3-4.

\textsuperscript{4} There was a net of Melaic monasteries in the Koites, also including one at Ankyron. See \textit{P. Neph.}, Einleitung, pp.20-21; BARBIE KRAMER, «Neuere Papyri zum frühen Mönchtum in Ägypten», in \textit{Philanthropia Kai Isebeka. Festchrift für Albrecht Dihle zum 70. Geburtsstag}, hrsg. von G.W. Most, H. Petersmann and A.M. Ritter, Göttingen 1993, pp.217-231.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΙΣΙΟΝ

4 Oct. 698 A.D. CPR VIII 76,2 (= Stud. Pal. VIII 1186)

aptō χ(ωρίου) Ἰσίου

ὑπὲρ τ(o–) χ(ωρίου–)

Λευκ(ό)γ(ιου)

Literary Sources

about 300 A.D. Itin. Anton. 156,4 Isiu

ETYMOLOGY: «...either a sanctuary consecrated to Isis or a surrounding village which owes its existence to the sanctuary».

Ἰσίον must have been near Λευκόγιον. An identification with Isiu of the Itinerarium Antonini was suggested by Amundsen, who also refers to P.Hib. I 167: however, this document (of about 245 B.C.) refers to an Ἰσίειον in connection to Τάλλαω, in the Northern topharchy of the Oxyrhynchites.

Κ. ( )

I B.C. BGU XIV 2441,201 περὶ Κ. ( )

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

Part of the land assigned to Apollonios son of Apollonios is surveyed as belonging to the Pyrgotos area, in the Tekmi topharchy (six aourae are in Skiron’s fossil kleros). More land, held by the same man, is recorded περὶ Κ. ( ).

Κ.ΑΡΜΟΥ


Κ[.]...ΙΝ...

72/71 B.C. BGU VIII 1739,12 περὶ κόμην Κ[.]...ΙΝ...

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1 The same place-name is also attested for other nomes: see CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, vol.III, pp.38-40; DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite, p.135.
2 Cf. LEIV AMUNSDSEN, O.Ost., pp.50 ff.
3 Cf. CPR VIII 76,2 (with the Editor’s note).
4 «Κ.αρμου schlägt Hermann Harrauer vor» (letter from Johannes Diethart, of February 25, 1994). What follows looks like καὶ to me (cf. Απεξ[iού) καὶ Χορτοσο, in the preceding line); after this, [ς]ορε.ος, as in the ed. pr.
CATALOGUE

Περί κόμην Κ...]ιν... is the location of a kleros in a παραχώρησις contract drawn up at Herakleopolis.

Κ. ΚΕΩΣ

V A.D.  

_Stud.Pal._ X 9,5

Other Herakleopolite villages in this document were all in the northern part of the nome: Onnes and Mouchis (Tekmi toparchy), Sobthys, Pheneius (Μέση toparchy).

ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚIx

VII A.D.  

_CPR X 63,6_  
_άπο Καθολικικοῦ_

VII A.D.  

_Stud.Pal._ X 22,4  
_χ(οφίον) Καθολικικ()_

VIII A.D.  

_Stud.Pal._ X 204,5  
_δρρ(ια) κόμης?] Καθολικικοῦ_

ETYMOLOGY: presumably from the title (καθολικός = Latin _rationalis_) of the official who, from the third century A.D. onwards, supervised the accounts of all Egypt; in the Byzantine period, there were two καθολικοί (cf. ORSOLINA MONTEVECCHI, _La Papirologia_, Milano 1991, pp.153, 166).


_Stud.Pal._ X 22 lists, among other place-names, Sobthys Ἰ μικρά, Charamou and Tokois (all in the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy).

The Editor of _CPR X 63_ notes that the handwriting of this document is very similar to that of _Stud.Pal._ X 22.

ΚΑΙΝΗ

III B.C.  

(?)_P.Tebt._ III 815, fr.3 _verso,14_  
_Καινής_

51/50 B.C.  

_BGU VIII 1834,10_  
_ἐκ τῆς Κανής τοῦ Πέρα_

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1 «Κ. ΚΕΩΣ, d.h., ΚΕΡΚΕΩΣ ist gut möglich» (Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994); as no village by this name is elsewhere attested for the Herakleopolites, this could perhaps be the Memphite Kerke, harbour of Philadelphia in the Fayyum: cf. WILLY CLARYSSE, «Philadelpheia and the Memphites in the Zemen Archives», in _Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis (Studia Hellenistica 24)_ , pp.96-97; for the Roman period: ANN ELLIS HANSON, _ZPE_ 47, 1982, pp.233-243, and _BASP_ 21, 1984, pp.76-87.

2 Ἕλιθ _ed. pr._: new reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of September 9, 1994).

3 A very uncertain reading: see Edd. _ad loc._
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

I B.C.  
1 A.D.  
202/203 A.D.  
about 215 A.D.  
15 June 415 A.D. (cf. BL 7,261)  
475 A.D.  
17 Sept. 591 A.D. (cf. BL 7,47)  
19 Sept. 596 A.D. (cf. BL 8,418)  
VII A.D.  
VII/VIII A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  
VIII A.D.  
Byz.  

Literary Sources

about 300 A.D.  

TOPARCHY: Πέρον (XIII pagus, according to an unpublished papyrus of the Benaki Museum in Athens, from the late IV A.D. 2). There was a very well attested ὁρμός (with one or more πύλαι where customs duties had to be paid) called Καινῆ in the Polemon division of the Arsinoites, which was probably distinct from the Herakleopolite place (also a ὁρμὸς) bearing the same name.

ETYMOLOGY: this place-name evidently refers to a «new» foundation (a port) by the Greek settlers.

1 The Editor suggests that this may conceal a misspelling for Καινῆ (station on a southward itinerary: the same as Caene in Itin. Ant. 156,5). See εἰς ΟΝΝΗΣ.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: the identification with Qā'ī (suggested in the *TAVO Map BV* 21) is phonetically inconsistent with the identification of the Panopolite Κανανα with Qene (cf. the very likely equivalence Κανανα = Caene of the *Itinerarium Antonini*).

*BGU* VIII 1834, the earliest certain attestation to date for this place-name, locates Κανανα in the Περον toparchy of the Herakleopolites: the ἄρχεναιρομίτης Ploutos has been given by the king the right to all ἐνορμία to be paid at the port of Κανανα (ll.11-15).

*BGU* VIII 1857 connects it to Tebetyn (also in the Περον); these two villages also recur together in the Byzantine *SB* I 5339 (Tebetyn is at l.9).

*SB* XVI 12612 is a sale contract (a donkey is being sold) between Petesouchos, from Κανανα in the Herakleopolites, and Pabous, from Soknopaiou Nesos in the Arsinoites. *P.Strab.* V 318 is a lease-contract for land in the kleros Κανανού, which is further identified by reference to a nearby canal Περικτος: the parties are from Herakleopolis.

*CPR* IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists Κανανού together with many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek). This change of gender (from Κανανα to Κανανού) is remarkable, but supported by other documents of the Byzantine period which mention a «southern» (as opposed to «northern») Κανανού. The «southern» Κανανού could coincide with the Herakleopolite (as opposed to the Arsinoite) Κανανα, as the first appears together with 'Ιερά (Νησος) Νικα(ο)δή(ου) (*Stud.Pal.* X 292), which in turn may (or may not: see s.v. 'Ιερά Νησος) coincide with the Hiera Nesos sometimes mentioned in a Herakleopolite connection.

**ΚΑΛΑΜΟΥΡΙΟΥ**

P.Οxy. XVI 1939,1

Kalamosou

P.Οxy. XVI 1939,1

Kalamosovriou

Kalamosov (riou)

ETYMOLOGY: the first element in this toponym (καλας = Egyptian gl) is the same as in the word kalasiris (Egyptian gl-ser), which is already found in HDT. II 81 («a long Egyptian garment, with tassels or fringe at bottom»; LSJ s.v., I). Herodotus (II 164 etc.) also attests the same word in the plural (oι Kalasiries, as the name of «a branch of the military cast in Egypt» (LSJ s.v., II); in some documents (e.g. *P.Petr.* III 99, after a reference to the Herakleopolite village of Philonikou) the same word apparently designates a police official (cf. JAN KRZYSZTOF WINTZKI, «Die Kalasirier in griechischen Papyri», *JJP* 22, 1992, pp.63-65).


Other place-names appearing in *SB* XVIII 13888 point to the southern Koites (or to the northern cities of the same name).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Oxyrhynchites 1): Phathor (the seat of a monastery), Nokle, Ostrakinou, Thelbo, Hipponon.

P. Oxy. XVI 1939 concerns a payment made by some villagers.

ΚΑΛΑΤΗΣ

21 Oct. 163 B.C.  
P. Hels. I 10,10  
περὶ κόμην Καλατή (BL 9,65) 2

7 April 335 A.D. (cf. BL 5,26)  
CPR I 247,7  
περὶ κόμην Καλατή (BL 9,65)

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: περὶ Πόλιν.

P. Hels. I 10: the ἀρχιφυλακίτης Eubios declares that he owns an empty dove-cote περὶ κόμην Καλατής.

CPR I 247: lease contract between two inhabitants of Herakleopolis for land near this village, in the kleros Μαχάτου.

ΚΑΣΑΝΟΥΠΕΩΣ

V A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 233, col. II,10  
Κασανούπεως 3

V/VI A.D.  
Stud. Pal. III 354  
βοηθ(α) Κασανούπεως

VI A.D.  
MPER XVII 2a,2  
pόλεως καὶ  
Κασανούπεως 4

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 206,3  
Κασανού(π)εως 5

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: Κασανούφης is attested as a personal name in P. Tebt. III 1052,3; 10;11 (mid-II B.C.; papyrus from a mummy-case whose cartonnage was made up of various documents originating from the Herakleopolite nome), and in P. Köln Agypt. 4,4 (155 B.C.).

This place is called a κλήρος in Stud. Pal. X 206.

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1 Καλάτη is in fact recorded by PRUNETI, Centri abitati, p.75, s.v.

2 Καλαστή ed.pr. In both documents, however, the toponym seems to be undelined.

3 New reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994), who also made me aware of the two other sources for the same village: «Kol. II 10 findet sich der dritte Beleg für das Dorf Κασανούπεως (Καθανούπεως Wessely).»


5 Κασανούφη ed.pr.
CATALOGUE

ΚΑΤΩ (ΑΓΗΜΑ)

254/253 B.C.  
PSI V 510,2  
τοῦ ὑιοκονομοῦντος  
τὴν Κάτω τοπαρχίαιν

19 Oct. 163 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 18,3  
τῆς Κάτω τοπαρχίαις

mid-II B.C.  
P.Gen. III 132,6  
[πρὸς] τῇ συνολογίᾳ  
[τῶν Κάτω τόπων (5-6)]

mid-II B.C.  
P.Gen. III 134,4  
εἰς τοὺς Κάτω Τόπους

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1778,6-7  
τῷ ὑποστρατηγῷ τῆς  
Κάτω τοπαρχίας

I B.C. (after 84/83 B.C.)  
BGU XIV 2370,26;  
(fr.1), 73  
Κάτω τοπαρχίας (26);  
Κάτω τοπαρχίας (73)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2434,10  
Κάτω τοπαρχ...  
'Αγήματος κάτω

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,26  
'Αγήματος κάτω

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,89  
'Αγήματος κάτω

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,3  
'Αγήματος κάτω

The reasons for identifying the Κάτω τοπαρχία (or τόποι) with the "Ἀγημα κάτω are stated s.v. ΑΓΗΜΑ.

PSI V 510 deals with taxes to be paid by a bee-keeper from Bousiris upon request of the οἰκονομῶν in the Κάτω τοπαρχία, where the bee-hives were presumably kept.

P.Gen. III 132 contains an order (presumably from the διοικητής) to the στρατηγός of the Herakleopolites, and his subordinates, concerning the collection of the tax to be paid in grain in the Κάτω τόποι.

P.Gen. III 134 orders that provisions be sent for the prisoners (σώματα δέσμα) of the Κάτω τόποι; the order is addressed to a certain Herakleides, who could be the same one who must provide a boat for the transport of «the Mysians and of 41 more men» in P.Gen. III 131 (May 29th, 146 B.C.).

P.Hels. I 18 is a declaration of uncultivated land.

BGU VIII 1778: report by a λογισθεὶσα, who has met one of the κατοικοὶ ἰππεῖς settled at Tanchais, and consigned a letter to the ὑποστρατηγῷ of the Κάτω τοπαρχία.

BGU XIV 2370 (fr.1) is puzzling, in that the reference to a Κάτω τοπαρχία is apparently followed by the names of some villages known to be in the Koma toparchy (Koma, Teou, Thimobastis). In this case, it seems reasonable¹ to assume a mistake on the part of the compiler of this text.

ΚΕΛΛΑΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,34

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: "Ἀγημα.

A village by the same name is also attested for the Arsinoites (Stud.Pal. X 55,5).

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: κέλλα is attested as the Greek transcription of the Latin word cella (cf. Κέλλας, plural of

¹ Cf. BGU XIV 2370,73 n.: «Hier liegt offensichtlich ein Fehler vor.»
the diminutive κέλλιον): but this document is too early for a word derived from Latin to be used as a place-name. A gloss in Hesychios (s.v. κέλλιον) reveals that an adjective κελλιος existed, meaning στροβλος, πλάγιος («crooked, athwart»), which could refer to some feature in the landscape. We cannot be sure that this was a Greek word, rather than the Greek rendering of an Egyptian toponym.

**MODERN ARABIC NAME:** Qila? (topographically not quite convincing: see *Introduction*, p.11 n.3). No identification is offered in *TAVO B 69*, which records the place (M 103) but: «Es wurden keine antiken Relikte festgestellt» (*ibid.*, p.214).

Last village in a list of localities in "Δύτικα κάτω (L.26) also including: Peenameus (26), Korphotoi (28), Peenepomphsin (30), Peenestheus (32).

**ΚΕΡΚΕΣΗΣ**

about 260 B.C.  
*P. Hib. I 112, 2:6:81  
Κέρκεςης (2)  
Κέρκεςης (6)  
Κέρκεσης (81)

mid-III B.C.  
*P. Fuad Crawford 5, verso, 14  
Κέρκεςης

**ETYMOLOGY:** first element *grg*-, «foundation of» (cf. JEAN YOYOTTE, *RdE* 14, 1962, pp.84-86)².

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

Listed with several villages of the Koites both in *P. Hib. I 112* and in *P. Fuad Crawford 5, verso*.

**ΚΕΡΚΕΣΗΦΙΣ**

I B.C.  
*BGU XIV 2435,30  
Κέρκεσηφις (3)

I/II A.D.  
*P. Hib. II 218,14:18  
Κέρκεσήφις (3)

155 A.D.  
*SB V 7515,248 (= P. Berl. Frisk 1 = P. Bankakten 1)  
Κέρκεσήφις (3)  
Κέρκεσήφις (3)

25 Nov. 188 A.D.  
*O. Wilck. II 1100,2  
σιτολόγιον  
Κέρκεσήφις (7)

193 A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. II 16,9-10  
άπο κόμινας  
Κέρκεσήφις (7)

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¹ On the re-dating of this document see *Introduction*, p.14 n.7.
² Information from Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).
³ Κέρκεσηφις *ed. pr.*
193 A.D.  

O. Wilck. II 1114, 3-4  

'Ἡρακλεοπόλιτος'  
νο[μίσθος]  
Κερκεσθήσεως

II/III A.D.  

O. Wilck. II 1124,3  

Κερκεσθήσεως

II/III A.D.  

(?) P. Heid. IV 303, II,6  

ἀπὸ κόσμης  
Κερκεσθήσεως  

463 A.D.  

Stud. Pal. XX 127,2  

ἐπὶ κόσμης Κερκεσθήσεως

V/VI A.D.  

P. Vindob. Tand. 16,25  

Κερκεσθήσεως

VI/VII A.D.  

(?) P. Heid. VII 410,5  

ἀπὸ Κερκεσθήσεως

**TOPARCHY:** Koites. A village by the same name is attested in the Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome.

**ETYMOLOGY:** Grgs-(n)-Hρj-ζφf, «foundation of Eseph».²

Kerkesephis is mentioned in connection with Talae in SB V 7515 (mainly dealing with the Polemon division of the Arsinoites: the Herakleopolite villages include Kerkesephis, Talae, Philonikou) and in P.Hib. II 218 (l. 15, 26), and together with Assya (which also appears in P.Hib. II 218) in P.Vindob.Tand. 16. It seems therefore possible to resolve Κερκεσθήσεως in BGU XIV 2435, where this village is again linked with Assya, both places being administratively subordinated to Talae (Koites). A reference to Phebichis is found at the beginning of the same document, and in Stud. Pal. XX 127, an ἔγγυτη given at Kerkesephis by Aurelius Victor Apasirios of Phebichis (but living ἐν ἐποικίῳ Πασσαί). Stud.Pal. X 16 is a receipt for a loan taken by an inhabitant of Kerkesephis: it was drawn up at Herakleopolis.

**ΚΕΡΚΕΣΘΗΣΕΩΣ**

10 May 174 B.C.³  

BGU XIV 2382,14  

ἐκ Κερκεσθήσεως⁴

**ETYMOLOGY:** first component grgs, «the foundation of» (see s.v. ΚΕΡΚΕΣΗΣ).

**TOPARCHY:** Μέση?

A contract is stipulated at Πομένων κόμη (I.11: Μέση toparchy): one of the parties involved, Eupolemos, is ἐκ Κερκεσθήσεως.

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¹ «Falls die Lesung richtig ist, kommen zur Auflösung folgende Ortsnamen in Betracht: Κερκάστης, Κερκεσθής, Κερκεσθῶς und Ἐφραίμος» (ed. pr. ad loc.). Κερκεσθής is more likely, as this document is concerned with the Koites: Ψύχις is mentioned on 1.2, and the document on the recto (= P.Heid. IV 301) is part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος containing a survey of land at Tosachnis.

² Information from Katelijn Vandorpe.


⁴ Reading checked for me by Günter Poethke (letter of December 8, 1994).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΚΕΡΚΥΤΟΣ

161/160 B.C.  P.Hels. I 29,28  Κερκύτων
28 Sept.-27 Oct.  P.Vind.Tand. 10,32  ἀπὸ κόμης Κερκύτου
54 A.D.  ΚΕΡΚΥΤΟΣ (cf. BL 7,279)
II-III A.D.  P.Köln II 99,3  Κερκύτων
227 A.D.  ΚΕΡΚΥΤΟΣ (cf. BL 8,459)

See also: ἑρακλεοπολιτικος.

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑ: Μέση.

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: first component grg : «the foundation of» (see s.v. ΚΕΡΚΕΣΗΣ).

P.Köln II 99 includes Kerkytos in a list of villages in the Middle toparchy (Phnebius, Peenpibyk(is), Kerkytos, Phys. Thmoinothis).

CPR I 64 confirms this location: it is a παραχώρησις contract between Aurelius Sarapammon (from Herakleopolis but apparently living at Kerkytos) and a woman living at Thmoinothis; the woman acquires 9.5 arourae near Phys (in the fossil kleros of 'Αμμον) and a few more near Thmoinothis (in the fossil kleros of 'Αριστόμοχος). The contract is recorded at the office of the agoranomos of the Μέση toparchy at Peenaneus.

P.Hels. I 29 enters Kerkytos after Thmoinotha (24; Πέραν τοῦ παραγόντος).

P.Vind.Tand. 10 (col.III: the best preserved part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος) contains an oath-declaration by two proostatai γεωργῶν, both ἀπὸ κόμης Κερκύτου, who are to supervise work on the οὐσία of Agrippina Augusta Minor (I.39) and of the Emperor Claudius (II.40 ff., cf. II.8 and 12). Claudius’ οὐσία, previously belonging to Julia Augusta = Livia, had perhaps originally belonged to C. Iulius Alexander (cf.I.10). In any case, according to the Editors, all οὐσίαι referred to in this document were in the vicinity of Euhemeria (Arsinoites).

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΙ

245 (244) B.C.  P.Hib. I 71,7  ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΙ
after 27 B.C.  BGU XVI 2599,5  ἐκ τῆς ἐνιαίας Κεφαλαίας λατομίας (6-7)
8/7 B.C.  BGU XVI 2570,5  ἀπὸ Κεφαλαίων
169-177 A.D. (cf. BL 9,32)  BGU XIII 2326, fr. a,3,6,10  ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΙ

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑ: Koma.
CATALOGUE

ETYMOLOGY: this locality was presumably called after some landscape feature: κῆφαλή can mean «extremity (of things, e.g. of a plot of land)» and also, in the plural, «source (of a river)» as in HDT. 4.91 (see LSJ s.v. κηφαλή II).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten III, p.1235 f. (s.v. Κηφαλή II).

_P.Hib._ I 71: the λατομία of Κηφαλαί is mentioned in a letter to Dorion, head of police at Phebichis. Quarries were near Ankyron, but also near Bousiris, and in _BGU_ XVI 2570 reference is also made to Koma and to its komogrammatistes. Besides, in _BGU_ XIII 2326 (customs-house register covering five days) Κηφαλή appears along with Δενυκόγινον (passim) and perhaps Bousiris (1.13).

_BGU_ XVI 2599 is a petition from three farmers of Κηφαλαί, concerning their insufficiently flooded land-holdings (of seven aroucae each) near the village of Taphthiris.

There was a προβημιόν (= πορθμείον, «place for crossing, ferry, ferry-boat») at Κηφαλαί (_BGU_ XIII 2326).

ΚΗΡΑ ΜΙΚΡ(Α)²


ΚΗΣΣ

V A.D. _P.Oxy._ VIII 1126,8 γίτονες νάότου τον ἀπὸ Ἀλλη λιδῆς Κήςς ἐπί ἅλιατου λιδῆς μεία (7-9)

See also: Κῆτη

_P.Oxy._ VIII 1126: lease of 4 ar. «in the holding called that of Tsabatois, ... the boundaries being on the south the land of the people of Τάλη, on the north ..., on the west λιδῆς Κῆτας, on the east λιδῆς μεία»²: Kets was near Talae, and north-west of it.

ΚΙΛΩΜ

216 A.D. _Stud.Pal._ XX 22.6-7 (= CPR I 35) περὶ κόμητιν Κίλωμ

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν? Tekmi?

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¹See the Editors' _Introduction_ to this document.

² «Κηράς Μικρ(ά)» schlägt Hermann Harrauer vor» (letter from Johannes Diethart, of February 25, 1994).

³ According to the Editor _ad loc._, the word λιδῆς λιδῆς «seems from its repetition to be a common, not a proper name. Possibly it is for λιτή or –ής», which is an attribute of γάια in ALEX. _AETOL._ fr. 1 Powell (to which _ORPH._ l. 92 may be added: see _LSJ_ s.v. λιτή). As regards the meaning of λιτή, a gloss in _HESYCHIUS_ s.v. λιτή χθονον ἀπὸ τοῦ προσκυνείσθαι καὶ λιτανεύεσθαι, could perhaps be relevant: was this «sacred» land?
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

A lease contract between two sisters from Herakleopolis and an inhabitant of Pyrgotos (Tekmi toparchy) for land (belonging to the two sisters) περὶ κομῆν Κιλθώ.

ΚΛΕΩΝΟ(Σ)

VII/VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 209,1 χ(φίον) Κλέωνο(ς)


Kollasoucha, Maiouma and Nois are mentioned in the same document.

KOBA

267-260 B.C. (cf.BL 5,46) P.Hib. I 164 descr. Κόβοςς
probably between 265 and 245 B.C. P.Hib. I 123 descr. έκ Κόβα
9 Dec. 249 B.C. P.Yale I 35,6 (= P.Hib. I 56) έκ Κόβα
mid-III B.C. (?) SB X 10447 recto,43 Κόβα (cf. BL 6,168)
III B.C. P.Strasz. VII 643,2 έν κόμην Κόβα τοῦ Κωστίου
about 138 B.C. P.Tebt. III 860,61:64
I A.D. P.Oxy. VIII 1145,1
I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218,17
about 250 A.D. SB I 1496,3
about 250 A.D. SB I 1501,3
about 250 A.D. SB I 1512,5
III A.D. P.Oxy. XII 1529,7
411 A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 117,1;2 (= SB έν κόμη Κόβα 1β
I 5160) πέζου (1); ἀπὸ κόμης Κόβα δοθεκοῦ; πέζου (2) (cf. BL 7,262)
29 Sept. 457 A.D. P.Rain.Cent. 101,4:6 άπὸ κόμης Κόβα (4);
484 A.D. PSI III 183,1 έν κόμη Κόβα

1 Poorly preserved. 2 Fifth and (possibly) fourth different time. 3 Oxyrhynchus.
4 New dat. 5 New res. 6 Κιλθώ.
The links between Koba and the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites were close: cf. *P. Yale* I 35 (the ἄρχωνλακτής of the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites orders the komogrammateus not to disturb an inhabitant of Koba); *P. Oxy.* L 3600 (Flavius Timotheus originates from Koba but now lives at Oxyrhynchus); *P. Princ.* II 105 (the πρωτοκωμήτης of Koba are instructed to entertain an official on his way to Oxyrhynchus); *Stud.Pal.* VIII 1346 and *P. Laur.* II 47 (Phebibichis, in the Koites, Ἰσιδών κόσμοι and Talao, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, are mentioned in both documents together with Koba)¹.

However, the village is already assigned to the Koites in the III B.C. (*P. Strasb.* VII 643), and mentioned along with other villages of this toparchy in several documents: *SB* X 10447 (references to Koba, Phebibichis, and the Koites); *P. Tebt.* III 860 (listed with a number of other Herakleopolite villages: Psebthonpenouph(is), Tilothis, Gemoun(is), Ἰβιτων Ἀρσαμου, Pselemachis, Toemesis); *P. Hib.* II 218 (listing many villages of the Koites); *Stud.Pal.* XX 117 (Philonikou also mentioned); *Stud.Pal.* X 202 (with Thmoiphtha and Thelbonthis).

The Apion estates also extended to Koba (cf. *P. Oxy.* XVI 1910).

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1 PRUNETI, *Centri abitati*, pp.86-87, includes this village among those belonging to the Oxyrhynchites. There must have been just one village by this name, very near the border between the two nomes, and assigned to one or the other district at different times. *P. Oxy.* VIII 1145 (I.A.D.), for example, points to connections between Koba and various villages in the Oxyrhynchites. See also TIMM, *Dass chrstlich-koptische Agypten*, vol.III, p.1428.


3 New reading by Willy Clarysse (letter of July 7, 1994).

4 Κολασούχιος (*colasoush*) ed. pr.
I B.C.  
Bgu XIV 2438,20  
Kolossou(χεινο)"1

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,34  
Kolossou(χειν)

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 209,2  
χ(οριν)  
Kolossouχει(ν)

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 213,4  
χ(οριν)  
Kolossouχε

TOPARCHY: "Αγήμα (άνοι?).

ETYMOLOGY: first element: κολλ-; second element: the name of the crocodile god Souchos (pointing to a Fayyum connection).

The plural Κολλασουχα (gen. Κολλασουχων) and the (apparently later) singular form Κολλασουχες are attested in the Greek rendering of this village name. Cf. the variant spellings Κερκέσουχας/Κερκέσουχα (Arsinoite nome). 4

P. Rain.Cent. 40: the φυλακίτις Herakleides is to be informed that two plots of land near Kollasouicha (one of them in the kleros Σατώρου) have been leased out: the relevant σύμβολον is kept at the λαγευτήριον of Hiera Neso. The connection between Kollasouicha and Hiera Neso is confirmed by BGU XIV 2429 (see below).

BGU XIV 2438: Kollasouicha is listed with other places of the "Αγήμα toparchy: note especially Korfibloti (I.15), as these two villages are mentioned in two consecutive lines (22 and 23, respectively) in BGU VIII 1808.

Kollasouicha, Petachor, and Hiera Neso are all mentioned in BGU XIV 2429, and in BGU VIII 1808, where Alilais also occurs; as P.Hib. II 218 also lists Alilais, Kollasouicha and Petachor in three consecutive lines (33-35), it seems likely that these villages were in the same area, i.e. in "Αγήμα (άνοι (where Alilais certainly belonged). Further support to this hypothesis is lent by Stud.Pal. X 209: here Kollasouicha recurs with Nois, a village of the πέρι Πάλην toparchy which also recurs with Petachor in another document (CPR XIV 40): Alilais is therefore a highly plausible reading in CPR XIV 40, I.3. Kollasouicha and Petachor again recur together in Stud.Pal. X 2135 (II.4 and 5).

ΚΟΛΛΕΩΣ

between 173 and 130-128  
P.Tebt. III 890,81  
EK ΚΟΛΛΕΟΣ

TOPARCHY: Μέση (?)

1 Kolossou(χειν) ed. pr.
3 As in Kollasouicha, Koll(is), Kolinnpetou, Kolintaathy: κολλ- = gl ? (see s.v. ΚΑΛΑΜΟΤΡΙΟΥ).
4 I owe this comparison to Willy Clarysse.
5 Stud.Pal. X 211, 212 and 213, though published as separate documents, are in fact fragments of the same text, so that the villages mentioned in Stud.Pal. X 211 (Opou, in the Tekmi toparchy), 212 (Thelbontis, in the Techtho Nesos toparchy) and 213 (Petachor and Kollasouicha, in the "Αγήμα) may have been near each other.

106
ETYMOLOGY: the personal name Κολινταθόρ is apparently attested in *P. Ryl.* II 72 (99/98 B.C., from the Arisinoeites).

Bank accounts. Other villages mentioned are Ταντοκα (1.7) and Φνειβίου (11.74, 75, 100; Μέση toparchy).

ΚΟΛΛΙΝΠΕΤΩΤ

I B.C.  
*BGU* XIV 2441, 67; 79  
Κολλίνπετοι(ταθόρ)  
(67) 1; Κολλινπετι(όν)  (79)

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: first element κολλ- (see *s.v. Κολλασογχα*) + -n- (genitive) + second element = Πετούς (a common personal name).

In this survey of the land around Pyrgotos (Tekmi toparchy) some holdings are recorded that were split between this village and Kollinpetou: the fossil kleroi concerned are those of "Ασσανδρος (68), Σκιρμον (71), Φιλώτας (77), 'Αλέξανδρος (78; with further reference to a Διονυσιον)."

Part of the ἀπόμοιοτα from vine- and orchard-land collected in this area was due to the temple of Eseph at Tekmi.

ΚΟΛΛΑ(Λ)ΙΝΤΑ(Λ)ΘΥΡ

139 B.C.  
P.*Tebt.* III 988, 15  
περὶ Κολλινταθόρ

139 B.C.  
P.*Tebt.* III 991, 2  
[Κολλινταθόρ] 3

139 B.C.  
P.*Tebt.* III 992  
Κολλινταθόρ

after 52/51 B.C.  
*BGU* VIII 1808, 4  
Κολλινταθόρ (cf. *BL* 8, 49)

I B.C.  
*BGU* XIV 2437, 1  
Κολλινταθόρ

I B.C.  
*BGU* XIV 2441, 67  
Κολλινταθόρ (3)

28/29 A.D.  
P.*Oxy.* XXIV  
2412, 74; 156; 185  
Κολλινταθόρ (4) 4

first half of III A.D.  
*CPR* I 156, 3; 4  
περὶ κάμινη

[1] Kollintaathyr (which belonged to the same toparchy) was first written at l.67, and then altered into Kollinpetou.

[2] Presumably the same Διονυσίος also appears in *BGU* XIV 2440, fr. 1, col. II, 74 (soon after a reference to the fossil kleros of Κόρροπος).

[3] The Editors based this supplement on *P. Tebt.* III 992, a document of the same type and date.

THE HERAKLEOPLEITHE NOME

350 A.D. P. Oxf. 6,5 ἀπὸ κόμης
Kολλινταθυρ (5)

VI A.D. Stud. Pal. X 44,8 χ'ω(ρίον) Κολλινταθηρ

VI-VII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 5,6 τὸν βοηθὸν
Kολλινταθυρ

VII/VIII A.D. CPR IV 2,13 χ(ωρίον) Κολλινταθ'ὑρ

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 230,5 χ(ωρίον) Κολλινταθ'δύρ

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: first element κόλλ- (see s.v. ΚΟΛΛΑΣΟΥΘΑ) + -n- (genitive) + τα (feminine article) + the name of the goddess Hathor: «the (?) of the female one of Hathor». 1

BGU XIV 2437 shows that this village belonged to the Tekmi toparchy: 60 aourae, making up a τοπογραμματικός κλήρος, are entered under the heading περὶ Τέκμιοι Κολινταθυρ; these were distributed among the following villages: Taemmis, Tou, Tochontou, Πενε..) and Tekmi. Six centuries later, Kollintaathiur and Tou are found together again in Stud. Pal. X 244.

P. Oxy. XXIV 2412 contains accounts of money payments from six villages, all apparently in the Tekmi toparchy: Oguo, Tekmi, Kollintaathiur, Pyrgotos, Mouchis, Ibion (potters are mentioned in connection with Kollintaathiur). Oguo, Kollintaathiur, Pyrgotos and Mouchis also recur together in CPR IV 2. The proximity of Oguo and Kollintaathiur, in particular, is confirmed by P. Oxf. 6, which concerns a conflict between the two petitioners, both from Kollintaathiur, and «the people of Oguo» for the ownership of five aourae. The petitioners assert that the land has been in their possession for twenty years, since they bought it from a senator; the inhabitants of Oguo have apparently tried to persuade the boundary inspectors that they were in fact the owners (and the petitioners, presumably, their lessees). 2

ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΟΥΣ

V A.D. Stud. Pal. X 47,5 Κολλούθου (cf. BL 1,418)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.E. Crum, Kollouthus: the Martyr and his Name, Berlin 1929/30.

Stud. Pal. X 47: list of Herakleopolite villages, apparently proceeding from the north to the south: Onosis (1,1; περὶ Πολιν toparchy); Mouchis (1,2; Tekmi toparchy); Tanaso (1,3); Tosachmis (1,4; Koites); Κολλούθου follows in the next line.

A κτήμα with this name appears in three documents from the end of the III A.D.: P. Oxy. XLIX 3513,4; P. Oxy. XLIX 3515,4; P. Oxy. XLIX 3519,5. This could be identical with the κλήρος κωτοκικώς (πρότερον) Κολλούθου Ἀπολλανίου mentioned in P. Oxy. XLIX 3475,14-15: two superintendents of the dykes present an account of the work done on the dykes of the canals in the southern

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1 Etymology suggested by Willy Clarysse and Katelijn Vandorpe.

2 CPR IV 2 is a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek (toponyms in Greek); it lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (see also s.v. ΝΙΝΩ).

3 See the Editor's comments ad loc.
section of the Western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome (the document is dated to the 16th of March, A.D. 220).

KOM..[  

VII-VIII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 206,8

Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

KOMA

212/211 B.C.  P.Lille I 59,23;49;107
III B.C.  P.Cair.Zen. III 59473,9
III B.C.  P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782 (b),63;73;95
II B.C.  P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1299,3
ca. 160 B.C.  P.Hels. I 27,4
136 B.C.  P.Tebr. III 931,2
after 84/83 B.C.  BGU XIV 2370 (fr. 1),74
after 52/51 B.C.  BGU VIII 1808,5
I B.C.  BGU VIII 1789,8
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2434,2
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2437,44;46;48;49
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2438,72
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2439,70
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2440,51;53
21/20 B.C.  BGU XVI 2655,22
21/20 B.C.-5 A.D.  BGU XVI 2641,10
15/14 B.C.  BGU IV 1188,2
12/11 B.C.  BGU IV 1197,9

1 Guido Bastianini kindly informed me of this new source for the present village. P.Mil.Vogl. inv.1299 was obtained from the same cartonnage containing a roll with Posidippus' epigrams: see Introduction, p.20 f.
13 Nov. 9 B.C.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2610,5</td>
<td>τοὺς ἐπὶ λόγους τῆς Κόμας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU IV 1193,4</td>
<td>περὶ Κόμας</td>
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<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2562,2</td>
<td>σιτωλόγους Κόμας</td>
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<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2563,3;5</td>
<td>σιτωλόγους Κόμας (2-3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2570,7;8</td>
<td>τῆς Κόμας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB V 7537,2-3;5</td>
<td>κοσμογραφίατ (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2644,6;8</td>
<td>ἄπο Κόμας (2-3); περὶ τῆς Κόμας (5)</td>
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<td>BGU XVI 2573,3</td>
<td>εἰς Κόμα (6); εἰς τὴν Κόμα (8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2569,2</td>
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<td>Κόμας</td>
</tr>
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<td>BGU IV 1189,6</td>
<td>σιτωλόγους Κόμας (2-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2559,1;2;7;12;14</td>
<td>δεκακοιχύς χωματος τοῦ κοσμοῦ Κόμας</td>
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26 June 4 B.C.  

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<td>Κόμας</td>
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<td>BGU XVI 2564,3</td>
<td>σιτωλόγους Κόμας (2-3)</td>
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<td>BGU IV 1189,6</td>
<td>δεκακοιχύς χωματος τοῦ κοσμοῦ Κόμας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU XVI 2559,1;2;7;12;14</td>
<td>σιτωλόγους Κόμας (1;6-7;12)</td>
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</table>

I/II A.D.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>P.Hib. II 218,63</td>
<td>περὶ Κόμας (7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.Köln II 99,7;8</td>
<td>περὶ Κόμας (7)</td>
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<td>P.Ryl. II 225,49</td>
<td>ἀπὸ κόμιτις Κόμας</td>
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<td>P.Osl. III 82,15</td>
<td>ἐν Κόμας</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.Oxy. I 142,1</td>
<td>τῆς Κόμας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Oxy. XXVII 2480,66;76;93;111;112;115;117</td>
<td>ἀπὸ Κόμας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Oxy. LV 3804,149</td>
<td>βοσκελλαροίς τῆς Άρκαλέους (καὶ) Κόμας</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.Oxy. I 150,1 (= Stud.Pal. III 283)</td>
<td>ἀπὸ Κόμας (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SB XX 14123, 62</td>
<td>ἀπὸ Κόμα (2); πρὸ(νοητοῦ) Κόμας (2); ἀπὸ Κόμα (6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.Oxy. XVI 1998,2,6</td>
<td>ἀπὸ Κόμα (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 The first Editor deciphered περὶ Κομαιανόχρ, which should be articulated as follows: περὶ Κόμας· Μαγχρ.  

VI A.D.  SB VI 9608,2 1  ὀπὸ λόγου ἐκφορίων
   Κόμα
VI or VII A.D. P. Oxy. XVI 1848,7  τὴν Κόμα
VI or VII A.D. P. Oxy. XVI 1861,5  ἐπὶ τὴν Κόμα
VII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 4,2  εἰ(ς) παράχωμι(ν) τῇ(ς)
   Κόμα
VII/VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 17,3  ἀπὸ χ' ὁ(ν) Κόμα
708 A.D. (cf. BL 7,256) Stud. Pal. III 448,2 ἀπὸ χορίου Κόμα
VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 223,5  ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Κομ( )
   Ἱρακλᾶς εἰς Κόμα τοῦ
   Ἱρακλεοπολίτου (1-5)

s. d. Ét. Fouad 2,2 2

Literary Sources

V A.D.  SOZOM. H.E. I 13,2 3

TOPARCHY: Koma.

A list of villages belonging to this toparchy is on p.293.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: FRIEDRICH ZUCKER, AEGYPTUS 11, 1931, p.491, n.3; IDEM, SYMBOLAE OSLOENSES, 17, 1937, pp.54-55; TIMM, DES CHRISTLICH-KOPTISCHE ÄGYPTEN, V, pp.2154-2157.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Qiman Al-’Arūs (about 7 kms SW of Al-Wasta) is identified with ancient Koma by TIMM (cited above).

The lists of villages in P. Lille I 59 and P. Cair. Zen. IV 59782 (b) coincide for the main part: besides Bousiris and Koma, they include other villages of the Koma toparchy (Krekis, Machor; in addition, P. Cair. Zen. IV 59782 (b) mentions Thmoiobastis and Tou), the Tilothis toparchy (Tilothis, Tanchais; in addition, P. Lille I 59 mentions Peenpasbyt(is) and Schnomthis) and the Tekmi toparchy (Onnes; in addition, P. Lille I 59 has Peenpsys). Much the same group of villages recurs in Bgu XIV 2438: Tilothis, Schnomthis, Peenpasbyt(is), Tanchais, Koma, Tou (preceded by entries for the 'Ἀγίας κόττα, Μέστη and Phebichis toparchies). Many of these villages are also recorded in Bgu XIV 2370, fr.1, under the main entry Κόμα τοπαρχίας; these are: Koma, Tou, Machor, Thmoiobastis, Onnes, Tilothis, Tanchais. A second fragment (Bgu XIV 2370 fr.2) has a reference to Bousiris. These connections are confirmed by P. Cair. Zen. III 59473 (Onnes, Koma), Bgu VIII 1808 (Tekmi, Koma, Onnes, Thmoiobastis, Bousiris), Bgu VIII 1789 (II.8-9: Koma, Tou, Krekis, listed one after the other), Bgu XIV 2440, II.41 ff. (entries for the Tekmi toparchy, including Onnes, precede those for the Koma toparchy, which comprise Tou, Koma and Thmoiobastis; there follow references to the Phebichis and Πέραν toparchies), P. Hib. II 218 (listing Koma, Krekis, Bousiris, Thmoiamoun(is) and Thmoiobastis in a sequence: II.63-67) and P. Ryl. II 225 (Koma, Machor).

Bgu IV 1189 is a petition submitted by the gymnasiarches on account of two inhabitants of Bousiris,

3 According to Timm (cited above), Sozomenos is the first to indicate Koma as St. Anthony's birthplace.
who are also δεκανοὶ of the χώμα κοτά Κόμα.

BGU IV 1193: petition to the komogrammatēs from a κάτοικος whose land comprises parts of three fossil kleroi (those of Ρόδον, Σάττοκος and Δημήτριος) near Koma.

BGU IV 1188: petition to the strategos from the gymnasarchēs, the κάτοικος, the ἄλλοι γεωργοί, and the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί living at Koma.

BGU IV 1197: government allowances to the priests (note the spelling γερίς) from Line and Koma.

A number of documents concerning the delivery of grain are published in BGU XVI: BGU XVI 2562-2564, 2569, 2570 and 2573 contain orders for seed-grain (2570, in particular, also mentions Κεφαλοί); BGU XVI 2559 is a collection of extracts from σιφολογος receipts; BGU XVI 2644 concerns grain shipments that are impeded by the fact that all boats have been requisitioned by the army; BGU XVI 2610 also is a letter concerning wheat. In BGU XVI 2641 the villages of Koma, Tanchais, and Trikomia are referred to.

P.Ross. Georg. V 61: army supplies (food and clothes); many Ἡρακλεοπολίται are listed, Koma and Taamorou are the only place-names mentioned.

ΚΟΡΡΑΣ

mid-III B.C. P.Strashb. IX 802,19 Κόρρας

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗΙ: Koites?

P.Strashb. IX 802 is a list of Egyptian tax-payers and their villages, all of them probably in the Koites.

ΚΟΡΦΟΤΟΙ

III B.C. P.Lille I 6,4 εἰς Κορφοτοῦν
96-94 or 63-61 B.C. BGU XIV 2429,4 Κορφ(οτοί)
after 52/51 B.C. BGU VIII 1808,23 Κολφατοί
I B.C. BGU XIV 2436,11
I B.C. BGU XIV 2437,28; (fr.1),52
I B.C. BGU XIV 2438,15
29 July 25 B.C. BGU XVI 2590,1,5; II,5 πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Κορφοτοῦ (I,4-5); ἀπὸ κόμης Κορφοτοῦ (II,4-5)
223 A.D. P.Ross. Georg. V 20 recto,1,4,8 Κορφοτοῦ (1); κόμης (2); Κορφοτοῦ (4); Κορφοτοῦ (8)

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗΙ: "Αγημα.

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: the variant spelling Κολφατοῦ (BGU VIII 1808,23) is explained by the interchangeability of the sounds for l and r in the Egyptian language. The variant spellings Κορφοτοῦν/Κορφοτοῦ match
CATALOGUE

ΠΕΟΝΤΑΜΟΥ/ΠΕΝΝΣΟΜΟΥ: in both cases, the —ου ending is attested in the earliest source (III B.C.).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Al-Gafādūn (most similar to the spelling Κορφοτούν, as attested in the earliest Greek source). No identification is suggested for this village in TAVO B 69, § 4.3 (W 29) (p.169) its name is αραβισχ nicht etymologisierbar). See also ibid., p.233: «Nach Auskunft des Bürgermeisters ... gab es im Dorf mehre Köms. Sie sind heute restlos abgetragen. Auch berichten Dorfbewohner, daß sie direkt westlich des Dorfes beim Graben Keramikskerben sowie gebrannte Lehnmziegel gefunden hatten. Im Dorf befinden sich vier große Gefäße, ca.70 cm. hoch, aus Stein, in der Form eines Mörser ... In den Dorfstraßen und westlich des Dorfes selbst wurden keine Keramikskerben gesehen».

BGU XIV 2437 enters Korphoiotai in a list of villages of the "Αγημια κέττω, together with Peenameus, Peenepsomphis (which again recurs with Korphoiotai in BGU XIV 2437 fr.1), Peenemthous, Kella. A location in the southern part of the toparchy, however, would be more compatible with the identification with modern Al-Gafādūn, and can be supported by BGU VIII 1808 and BGU XIV 2438: both these documents mention Korphoiotai along with Kollasoucha, which was probably in "Αγημια δόνω.

P. Lille I 6: the petitioner has been robbed while on his way from Tebentin to Korphoiotai (Διοιμόντις του ἑκ Τεβεντιν ἔς Κορφοτούν ἔπικεφαλίζων τὴν ἔδεσθη ...).

BGU XVI 2590 comprises two documents: one is a sworn agreement by the elders of Korphoiotai to undertake maintenance work of the three public canals near the village; the second is the receipt of 120 drachmae from the toparches, to cover any costs for the work. The three χόματα are thus identified: τὸ λεγόμενον Ζανήματος, τὸ λεγόμενον Μεγάλης ὄδος, and finally τὸ ἄπο λίμβος τοῦ λινίου παροικίαν.

BGU XIV 2436, 10-11: the holding of a Ptolemaios jr. is split between Korphoiotai and Peenpasbyt(is) (in the Tilothis toparchy).


ΚΡΗΚΙΣ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
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<tr>
<td>212/211 B.C.</td>
<td>P. Lille I</td>
<td>5,10;39;85,97;112,124</td>
<td>Κρήκηςας</td>
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<tr>
<td>III B.C.</td>
<td>P. Cai. Zen. IV 59782</td>
<td>(b),30,71;93</td>
<td>ἐκ Κρήκηςας (30,93); ἐκ Κρήκης (71)</td>
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<td>30 B.C.-14 A.D.</td>
<td>BGU XVI 2577,72</td>
<td></td>
<td>Κρηκίττης (ethnic)</td>
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<td>I B.C.</td>
<td>BGU VIII 1789,9</td>
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<td>Κρήκηςας</td>
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<td>I B.C.</td>
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<td>BGU XIV 2438,72;75,76</td>
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<td>I B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2439,20;62</td>
<td></td>
<td>τῆς Κρήκηςας (20); Κρήκηςας (62)</td>
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</table>

1 The scribe wrote ἐκ ρήκης, a haplography for ἐκ Κρήκης (in other documents, graecized as Κρήκης): WILLY CLARYSSE, Studia Hellenistca 24, 1980, p.113 n.3.

2 The Editors deciphered ...του κρῆτος, which can be understood as ... Του Κρήκηςας. Both these villages were in the Koma toparchy: note the reference to Koma in the preceding line.

3 The Editor deciphered Κρήκης: in my opinion, this is to be resolved as Κρήκηςας.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

I B.C.  
I/II A.D.  

BGU XVI 2674,3  
P.Hib. II 218,64  

Κρή(κτης) (ethnic)  
Κρήκεως

TOPARCHY: Koma.

Krekis consistently appears in connection with Koma in almost all documents listed above. BGU XVI 2577, a tax-list, was presumably drawn at Herakleopolis (a μητρόπολις is referred to on l.203): two of the people listed apparently originated from Krekis and Onnes, respectively; BGU XVI 2674 is a document of a similar kind.

ΚΡΟΥΣΤΟΥ

VI A.D.  
VI A.D.  
VI A.D.  
VIII A.D.  

Stud.Pal. VIII 848,2  
Stud.Pal. VIII 849 (+ 809)  
Stud.Pal. VIII 861,1  
Stud.Pal. X 226,4  

πωμαρίου Κρούστου  
πωμαρίου Κρούστου  
έποικ(ιον) Μ(ε)γ(άλου) Κρούστου'  

Evidently an orchard (πωμαρίου) to which a settlement was attached. In Stud.Pal. X 226 Καπρώς is also entered (1.6).

ΚΤΗΜΑ

557 A.D.  
610-641 A.D.  
late VI A.D.  
VI-VII A.D.  

P.Oxy. XVI 1911,164  
P.Oxy. XVI 1912,149  
P.Oxy. XIX 2244,76  

τής μηχ(ανής) καλουμένης τοῦ Κτήματος  
άπο Κτήματος τοῦ Ἡράκλειοπολίτου νομοῦ (4); ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κτήματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ (5)  
μηχ(ανής) καλουμένης τοῦ Κτήματος  
μηχ(ανής) καλουμένης τοῦ Κτήματος (6)

1 Cf. BL 7,256.

2 The Editor indicates that this document should be dated to the reign of Fl. Heraklius (October 5, 610-February 11, 641; cf. ROGER S. BAGNALL - KLAAS A. WORP, Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt, Missoula 1979, p.68).
P. Oxy. XVI 1911 and 1912 contain accounts concerning estates of the Apion family. P. Oxy. XIX 2244 is an account of axles supplied for water-wheels. P. Bodl. 173 records a loan (of money?).

**ΚΩ**

30 Jan. 28 A.D.  
*SB XVI 12762.9 (= P. Oxy. II 352 descr.)*  
περὶ Κῶ τοῦ  
'Ἡρακλεοπολείτου  
(9-10)

20 Aug. 55 A.D.  
(?) *P. Giss. Univ. 19, 10*  
ἐν Κόι

16 March 102 A.D. (cf. *BL 7,148*)  
(?) *P. Oxy. XXII 2342, 40*  
ἐν Κόι

145 A.D.  
(?) *P. Flor. I 23, 9*  
ἐκ τοῦ Λιβυ[ος?])  
κληρονοματείας Κού

14 February 484 A.D.  
*P. Rain. Cent. 107, 4*  
ἀπὸ ἐποικίον Κόν

574 A.D.  
*P. Berl. Zill. 7, recto, 8; verso, 1*  
ἀπὸ κώμης Κῶς τοῦ  
'Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν νομοῦ  
(recto, 8); ἀπὸ κώμης Κῶς  
(verso, 1)

VI A.D.  
(?) *Stud. Pal. III 453, 2*  
Κῶς  
Μη(νος) ἀπὸ  
ἐποικίον 'Αγκυρ(ῶνος)

VII/VIII A.D.  
(?) *P. Batav. XXV 80 B, col. II, 3*  
χ(ορίον) Κόν

**Literary Sources**

II A.D.  
*PTOL. Geogr. IV 5, 59*

V A.D.  
*STEPH. Byz. s.v. Κῶς*  
... ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτω  
πόλις Κῶς

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: by combining the testimony of *PTOL. Geogr. IV 5, 59* with the fact of the existence of a toparchy called Κοίτης, Grenfell and Hunt argued for the existence of a place called Κῶ: their hypothesis is now supported by a handful of documents. On the other hand, Ptolemy seems to have confused Ko and the capital of the Kynopolite nome, Κυνῶν πόλις (alias Σκω: see below). In his description, these two places face each other: according to Ptolemy, their latitude is exactly the same (28° 40/60'), while the respective longitudes locate Ko further east (at 60° 50/60') than Κυνῶν πόλις (at 62°

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1 One might supply 'Ἀρσενοεῖτον, as there was a place called Kos in the Arsinoites: the present document, however, comes from Oxyrhynchus, and is more likely to refer to the Herakleopolite Ko. «Lo spazio per integrare 'Ἡρακλεοπολείτου sembra però insufficiente, a meno di sopporre qualche forma di abbreviazione, oppure che essendo parola nota, fosse scritta in maniera più contrattata» (CARLA BALCONI, *Aegyptus* 84, 1984, pp. 57).

2 This may not be a toponym.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

10/60), which would thus actually be situated at the southern edge of the Herakleopolite island. However, if we assume that Ptolemy simply swapped the two, both would come to be in a more likely location, i.e. Ko at the southern extreme of the Herakleopolites (having in fact given its name to the southermost toparchy of that nome), while Κυνών πόλις would occupy a position east, and slightly south of Oxyrhynchus - just as is fitting for the capital of the Kynopolite nome. Κυνών πόλις is the Greek translation of one of the Egyptian names of this city (Inpw, based on the name of the Dog-god of this district, Inup, or Anubis); other names were Hnw and S3k3, which is also found in the Greek sources, being transliterated as Σκω. The similarity between the two place-names Σκω (alias Κυνών πόλις) and Ko could account for Ptolemy's confusion between the two. Finally, the ancient toponym S3k3/Σκω (= Κυνών πόλις) is behind the modern place-name Al Qais, a site provided with rich archaeological evidence. The rarely attested Herakleopolite Ko seems to have perished.

SB XVI 12762: a shepherd registered as resident at Kos undertakes to pasture sheep and goats in the Thmoisepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites.

P. Oxy. XXII 2432: draft for a petition to the prefect, submitted by a wine-merchant from Oxyrhynchus; the petitioner kept this draft: the date on which the fair copy was submitted to the prefect was noted down on it: «Handed to the prefect ἐν Κοί, on the 20th of Phamenoth».

P. Berl. Z 7: lease-contract between an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus and an inhabitant of Kos, for a μηγαίνη called Ακείς, to the north of the same village (Ko). It is clear that Ko gravitated towards the Oxyrhynchite nome.

ΚΩΙΤΗΣ (toparchy)

<table>
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<td>247/246 B.C.</td>
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<td>240/239 or 215/214 B.C.</td>
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<td>29 June 228 B.C.</td>
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<td>227/226 B.C.</td>
<td>P. Grad. 3,8;10;22 (= SB III 6277)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Cf. TAVO B 69, p.74; Bernard P. Grenfell - Arthur S. Hunt, P. Hib. I, Introduction, p.9. See also Nikos Littas, «Κυνών πόλις και Εὐξεργήτης. Designation and location of the capital of the Cynopolite nome», APF 40, 1994, pp.143-155. It will be noted that Al Qais/Kynōn pōlis is about 25 km south of even the southermost Herakleopolite villages; how could Ptolemy locate it on the same latitude as Ko? This, however, can be explained with measures wrongly assessed in the survey Ptolemy is relying upon (cf. Introduction, p.5 n.3): Αγκυραίων πόλις, for instance, is located too far to the north. It is only fair to remark that blunders almost as serious as Ptolemy's have been detected in the maps published as part of the Description de l'Égypte: cf. TAVO B 69, p.30.

2 An identification with Qāī, as suggested in TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 119), would be inconsistent with the location of Ko in the southern Herakleopolites.
CATALOGUE

227/226 B.C.  SB III 6301,8,11  Κλειτάρχειον τραπεζ[ίτη
toú] Κοίτον (8); ην τραπέζευς το[ύ Κοίτον]
(11) ¹


246-222 B.C.  P.Hib. II 203,15  ἀρχιφυλακίτου τού
Κοίτου

163-162 B.C.(?)  P.Hels. I 21,4  Κοίτου
tον Κοίτην καὶ τὴν
Τεξθὸς Νήσον καὶ τὸ
Πέρα (2-4); Κοίτου (6;24);
Κοίτου (11); Κοίτου
(23)

2 Sept. 162 B.C.  P.Hels. I 26 A 3,6,11,23,24

after 52/51 B.C.  BGU VIII 1808,16  Κοίτου

BGU VIII 9790,1  'Αλεξάνδρων στρατηγῶν
Κοίτου

mid-1 B.C.  BGU VIII 1764,10  ἐκ τοῦ Κοίτου

BGU XIV 2434,8  [Κοίτου,

I B.C.  P.Hib. II 272,4  ἀπὸ κόμης Ψύχεως τοῦ
κάτοι Κοίτου

I/II A.D.  P.Rein. 98,4  [τού] Κοίτου

3 July 138 A.D.  P.Heid. IV 320,1  οἱ δύο

4 June 109 A.D.  χωμ(ατεπιμεληταί)

3 July 138 A.D.  Κοίτου δύο

18 Nov. 162, 3 P.Heid. IV 321,5  πρ(άκτορι) ἄργυρικ(ῶν)

20 Feb. 163 A.D.  Κοίτου Λγω (4-5)

169-177 A.D. (cf. BL 8,410)  PSI XIII 1325,8  τοῦ Κοίτου

II-III A.D.²  BGU III 958a  Κοίτου ἄνω Ψωλε[ις]

2 July 225 A.D.³  P.Vind.Bosw. 7,3  δι[ε]πτηρητῶν

231 A.D.  Stud.Pal. XX 32,8  ἀγορα[πανομίτις] [Κοίτ]ου
κάτοι τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφ[ίν]

¹ Der Papyrus stellt die Außenschrift dar, deren Innenschrift SB III 6277 (= P.Grad. 3) ist (Ed. ad loc).
² This papyrus was burnt in a fire in the port of Hamburg (see Introduction, p.27): it was assigned to the Roman period in
the editio princeps, but this date can be narrowed down because of the reference to the southern Koites, since the earliest
document attesting the distinction between a northern and a southern (κότας and ἄνω) Koites is dated to 138 A.D.
³ On this dating, see Jean A. Straus, Chr.d’Ég. 69. 1994, pp.305-307.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

241/242 A.D.  
P. Vind. Tand. 11,15;40  
Κωίτου (15);  
Κωίτου άνω (40)

III A.D. (first half)  
CPR I 82,1,4  
δι’ ἐπιτηρητῶν  
ἀγορονομίας Κωίτου  
κάτω [τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν  
Ἡρακλεοπολείτου]

III A.D. (second half)  
P. Lond. II 171 b,8 (p.176)  
τοῦ Κωίτου

As a rule, documents which mention the Koites in connection to one or more of its villages do not appear here; these are listed and discussed under the entries for the relevant villages. See p.293 for a list of the villages belonging to this toparchy.

Since the third century B.C., Phebichis (see s.v.) regularly appears as the main village in the Koites: the Phebichis toparchy of a number of documents dating from the first century B.C. should therefore be the same as, or at least part of the Koites. SB VIII 9790, a petition addressed to the strategos of the Koites, apparently indicates that the Koites was an independent district in the later Ptolemaic period (unless the ὑποστρατηγὸς was meant here).

A division into northern (Κόττω) and southern ("Ανω") Κοίτης is attested in the documents of the Roman period.

ΚΩΠΡΥΓΑΣ

VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 226,6  
ἐποίκικ(ιον) Κωπρυγας


The ἐποίκικιον Μ(ε)γ(άλου) Κρουστου is entered at 1.4 of the same document.

Λ[±2].[±2]

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 227,7  
ἀπό δι’ χ(αρίτου)  
Λ[±2].[±2]η 4

2 Cf. SB XVI 12814, 4-5: ἀπὸ κόπος τις κατόν τοῦ Τυρόπαλεοπολείτου ἀνω.
3 The denomination «second toparchy», apparently coinciding with περὶ Φίθης, in a document later than 212 A.D. (P. Lond. VI 8,5 and 9,4-5: τοπάρχων περὶ Φίθης), if correctly deciphered, is an isolated case.
4 ἀπὸ χ(αρίτου) Χ.... ed.pr. Reading checked by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).
CATALOGUE

ΛΕΒΕΤΡ...

II/III A.D. O.Wilck. II 1125,2 σιτολ(όγοι) Λεβετρ...

TOPARCHY: Bousiris.

Forty donkeys from Bousiris are employed in the transport of goods. The reference to σιτολόγοι Λεβετρ... has been added by a second hand.

ΛΕΙΘΕΩΣ

I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218,43 Λείθεως

TOPARCHY: Koites.

Tosachmis precedes in the same list (1.42).

ΛΕΥΚΟΓΙΟΝ

I A.D. P.Oxy. XLII 3052,10 Λευκογιόν
154 A.D. P.Mil.Vogl. IV 214 verso,21;22 Λευκογιόν
169-177 A.D. (cf. BL 9,32) BGU XIII 2326, fr. a,4;7-9; fr. b,2;3;6-8;10-15;17 τῆς Λευκογ(ίου) (21); ἕς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ίν)
Λευκ(ογίου) (22) (cf. BL 6,88) Λευκογίον
late III/early IV A.D. O.Mich. I 254,3 ἐπιμελήτης, θησαυρόν (sic) Λευκογίον (2-3)
22 May 302 A.D. SB VI 9632,3-4 (= O.Mich.I 253) Λευκ[κο(γίου)]
4 Jan. 304 or 312 A.D. O.Mich. III 1079,4 εἰς ὁρμον Λευκογίον
17 Jan. 304 or 312 A.D. O.Mich. I 525,3 εἰς ὁρμο(ν) Λευκογ(ίου)
17 Jan. 304 or 312 A.D. O.Mich. I 526,3 εἰς ὁρμο(ν) Λευκογ(ίου)
17 Jan. 304 or 312 A.D. O.Mich. II 927,4 εἰς ὁρμον Λευκογ(ίου) (3-4)
18 Sept. 304 or 312 A.D. (?) O.Mich. III 1080,3 εἰς ὁρμον Λευκογ(ίου)

1 The Editor’s supplements are Λευκογ(ίου) and Λευκ(ογίου), respectively at 1.21 and 1.22 - but I see no reason to postulate such a variant spelling in this document.
3 Sept. 307 A.D.  
P. Cair. Isid. 46,2  

5 Sept. 308 A.D.(?)  
O. Mich. I 516,7-8  
P. Col. VII 141,40  
P. Cair. Isid. 9 verso, 282; 284  
P. Cair. Isid. 47,39; 42  

308-310 A.D.  

after 30 Nov. 309 A.D.  
309 A.D.  

probably 309/310 A.D.  
28 Jan. 311 A.D.(?)  
O. Mich. I 517,5  
O. Mich. I 520,5  
O. Mich. I 524,3  
P. NYU 4a, 2,7  

13 Jan. 312 A.D.  

4 Nov. 312 A.D. (cf. BL 8,227)  

23 July 315 A.D. (cf. BL 8,528)  
O. Mich. II 930,4  
P. Mich. IX 573,8; [13]  

316 A.D.  

25 July 318 A.D.(?) (cf. also BL 8,527)  
O. Mich. I 532,3  
P. Sakaon 22,7; 11 (= P. Thead. 34)  

5-12 Sept. 324 A.D.  
333 or 348 A.D.  
P. NYU 11,2; 6  
P. Col. VII 144, 1-2; 6; 11; 13; 18; 20  

334/335 A.D.  

338-342 A.D. (cf. BL 8,227)  
P. NYU 11a, 12; 26; 30; 69; 114; 151; 182; 192; 199  

έποικίου Λευκογιού  
ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου  
ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου  

Λευκογίου  

ὁρμοῦ Λευκογίου (39); ἐν τῷ σύντο ὁρμῷ  
Λευκογίου (42)  

ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου (4-5)  
ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου  
εἰς ὁρμον Λευκογίου  

ἀποδέκται ὁρμ[ου]  
Λευκογίου (2); ἐν τῷ σύντο ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου  
(6-7)  

ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου  

ἀποδέκταις ὁρμ[ου]  
Λευκογίου (8); ὁρμῷ  
Λευκογίου (13)  

ἐν ὁρμοὶ Λευκογίου  

κομάρχου ἐποικίου  
Λευκογίου (7);  
Λευκογίου (11)  

ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου (2);  
ἐν ὁρμῷ Λευκογίου (5-6)  

ἐν ὁρμ[ω] Λευκογίου (1-2); ἐν ὁρμοὶ  
Λευκογίου (6); <ἐν  
ὁρῳ Λευκογίου (13);  
ἐν ὁρῳ Λευκογίου (18);  
ἀπὸ Λευκογίου (20)  

ἐν ὁρῳ Λευκογίου (11-12; 25-26; 29-30; 114); ἐν ὁρῳ  
Λευκογίου (69);  
ὑποδέκταις ὁρῳ  
Λευκογίου (151);  
ὑποδέκτας ὁρῳ  
Λευκογίου (192); ὁρῳ  
Λευκογίου (199)
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<td>343-345 A.D.</td>
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<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου (35); ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου (50-51)</td>
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<td>345-351 A.D.</td>
<td>P. Col. VII 161, 2; 21</td>
<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου (21)</td>
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<td>345-354 A.D.</td>
<td>P. Col. VII 160, 2; 7; 14-15; 19-20; 31; 36; 45-46; 50-51; 69</td>
<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου (2, 7; 19-20; 36; 69); ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου (14-15; 31; 45-46; 50-51)</td>
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<td>348 A.D.</td>
<td>P. Col. VII 163, 2</td>
<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου (1-2)</td>
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<td>early IV A.D.</td>
<td>O. Mich. I 534, 3-4</td>
<td>εἰς ὄρμου Λευκογίου</td>
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<td>early IV A.D.</td>
<td>O. Mich. I 541, 3</td>
<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου</td>
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<td>early IV A.D.</td>
<td>O. Mich. I 545, 5</td>
<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου</td>
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<td>early IV A.D.</td>
<td>O. Mich. II 931, 4</td>
<td>ἐν ὄρμῳ Λευκογίου</td>
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<td>early IV A.D.</td>
<td>P. Mich. XII 647, 3</td>
<td>ἀποδεκται ὄρμου Λευκογίου</td>
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<td>IV A.D.</td>
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<td>ἐν τῷ Λευκοκίῳ</td>
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<td>VI A.D.</td>
<td>CPR VI 7-6-7</td>
<td>ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκογίου κτήματος</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI A.D.</td>
<td>P. Dub. 24, 3</td>
<td>ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκογίου κτήματος τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ</td>
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<td>VI A.D.</td>
<td>Stud. Pal. X 234, 2</td>
<td>ἀπὸ κόμης Λευκογίου</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI or VII A.D.</td>
<td>P. Lond. II 392 (p. 333), 3</td>
<td>Λευκογίου (cf. BL 7, 85)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI/VII A.D.</td>
<td>PUG I 50, 6</td>
<td>Λευκογίου (cf. BL 7, 276)</td>
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<tr>
<td>611/612 A.D.?</td>
<td>P. Dub. 28, 4; 6</td>
<td>ἐν Λευκογίου κόμη (4); ἀπὸ κόμης Λευκογίου (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Oct. 698 A.D.</td>
<td>CPR VIII 76, 2 (= Stud. Pal. VIII 1186)</td>
<td>ἀπὸ χάριν θεοῦ υπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμάζου Λευκογίου</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII A.D.</td>
<td>SB XX 15092, 5; 8</td>
<td>ἐν Λευκογίῳ (5); ἀπὸ κόμης Λευκογίου τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ (8-9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII A.D.</td>
<td>Stud. Pal. III 68, 3</td>
<td>ἀπὸ κόμης Λευκογίου</td>
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1 Ed. pr.: ROBERT HÜBNER, ZPE 84, 1990, pp. 31-43.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

VII A.D.  Stud.Pal. VIII 952,2  Λευκόγιοι;
VII A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 149,8  Λευκ(ο)γίω
VII/VIII A.D.  SB VI 9262,2  ἀπὸ χ(ορίου)
28 Oct. 729 A.D.  SB XX 14234,2  ἀπὸ χ(ορίου)

TOPARCHY: first assigned to the Herakleopolites in the sixth century A.D. (see below); 5th pagus of the Arsinoite nome (P.Cairis. 47,39)\(^2\).

ETYMOLOGY: possibly from the adjective λευκόγιος = λευκόγιας = λευκόγιας, «of white earth» (cf. CPR VI 7,6 n.).


First attested by P.Oxy. XLII 3052 (itinerary of a journey into the Arsinoites and further south), where the scribe began to write its name at 1.10, then crossed it out and wrote Κενη (= Κοτινή?) above it. Λευκόγιοι, «the southern Nile port for the Arsinoite nomes»\(^3\), is not assigned to the Herakleopolites before the sixth century A.D. (Stud.Pal. X 234). In the seventh century A.D., Stud.Pal. III 68 is a receipt for a payment by two inhabitants of Onnes (which was assigned to the Tekmi toparchy during the Ptolemaic period) to the owner of two aroariae they lease from him: this man is ἀπὸ κόμης λευκόγιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ (scil. Ἡρακλεοπολείτου) νομοῦ\(^4\). P.Dub. 24 and SB XX 15092 (money loan) also assign λευκόγιον to the Herakleopolites.

Most documents mentioning λευκόγιοι relate to payments in kind, or deliveries (wheat, barley, chaff, grass, etc.) to the officials of the ὅρμος. The documents point to close connections with the Arsinoites (Karanis, Theadelphia) and to links with other ports (Κεφαλαῖ, in the Herakleopolites; BGU XIII 2323; Kerke, in the Memphites: P.Cai.Isid. 9 and 47; Ἀρσινοίτων πόλις: P.Col. VII 152, 160, 161 and 163).

P.Lond. II 392 and PUG I 50 refer to a monή λευκόγιων: in the second document, Abraham acknowledges the receipt of «the annual wage, for which I operate the water-wheel... (in the land) of the monastery of Leukogion»\(^5\). People living in the nearby area may have had to pay annona to those in charge of the maintenance of the monή\(^6\). The λευκόγιοι τήμα of CPR VI 7 may have been connected to the monastery. In CPR VIII 76 the dux Flavius Atius instructs that a priest ἀπὸ χ(ορίου) Ἰσίου ὑπὲρ

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1 Ed. pr.: GÜNTHER POETHKE - PIETER J. SUPSTEIJN, APF 38, 1992, pp.34-35.
2 «All'ingresso meridionale dell'Arsoinite» (CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v.)
3 Cf. P.Abim. 11,12 n.; see also LEIV AMUNDSEN, O.Oslo, p.51.
4 The connection between Leukogion and Onnes is also supported by the fact that these two are the only Herakleopolite villages mentioned in the P.Dub. (though in different documents: Onnes appears in P.Dub. 25 and 26).
5 Translation by HERBERT C. YOUTIE, ZPE 23, 1976, p.113.
6 ibid., p.112 n.9.
Part of the text reads:

TAOCHI we should cultivate one area east of a kleros called Fœmi (1.4): according to the Editors, this wording may refer to the location of Ἰσίον ("south of Λευκόγιον"), or it may indicate that Ἰσίον had "eine gewisse Haftung für Leukogion".

ΔΕΙΚΟΝ
26 Feb. 538 A.D. P.Michael.126,10 ἀπὸ κόμης Λευκοῦ

An ὁμολογία document (for which "no satisfactory interpretation is possible"), according to its Editor, drawn up at Tinteris: the parties are ἀπὸ Νίλου πόλει [τοῦ] Πρακτεστήριου νομοῦ and ἀπὸ Λευκοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. The three place-names are all wrongly spelt (Λευκοῦ = Λευκ<ογίου>?), besides, this document shows a number of other peculiar spelling mistakes. A κόμη Λευκοῦ is attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

ΑΙΝΗ
12/11 B.C. BGU IV 1197,1,9 οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Λινη καὶ Κόμικες κωμῶν ἱγινέως
2/1 B.C. BGU IV 1200, [16], [20],24 ἀπὸ [κλώμης Λινη] (16); [ἀπὸ Λινη] (20); ἀπὸ Λινη (24)

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Κόμα?

The two documents reveal a conflict between the priests (note the spelling ἱγινέως) from Bousiris and those from Line and Koma about government allowances. According to BGU IV 1202 (18 B.C.) subsidies were granted to priests from Onnes (Tekmi toparchy), but it is unfortunately impossible to verify whether Onnes (often mentioned in connection with Bousiris) was written instead of Line: "BGU IV 1197 und 1200 sind seit dem letzten Krieg verschollen".

ΔΙΝΤΡΕΩΣ
19 Oct. 163 B.C. P.Hels. I 15,7;14 ἐκ κόμης Λινυ-ρέως (6-7); ἐν τῇ χάλα Λινυ (13-14)

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1 It is not among the P.Michael recently acquired by the Cambridge University Library. On items from the Michaelides collection recently acquired by some European libraries see SARAH J. CLACKSON, ZPE 100, 1994, pp.223-226.


3 Günter Poethke by letter (April 14, 1994).

4 Very doubtful reading: "Der Dorfname war bisher nicht bekannt und ist schwer zu entziffern. Der erste Buchstabe ist kein Alpha, könnte aber ein Ny sein" (ed. pr. ad loc.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

The document is a declaration concerning orchards (one of them with palms in it).

ΛΟΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ

VII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal.* X 214,2  
ἐν τῷ τε'π(ω) διόρ'υ'(γος)  
Λολλιανοῖ

The πεδία Περομ, Πονεν, Πλεμέδεσιν, Θαλμι, Μαλκουλύ, Ψαντατι, and the τόπος Πκατανω are also listed in this document.

ΜΑ[...

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal.* X 227,3  
ἀπὸ [χ(ωρίου)] Μο这些问题  

Talae (Koites) is among the villages listed in the same document.

ΜΑΓΩ[...]ΙΧ( ) or ΜΑΣΤ[...ΙΧ( )

I/II A.D.  
*P.Hib.* II 218,37

Sothis (L38), then Peenameus (L39) follow in this long list of Herakleopolite place-names (most, but not all, in the Koites).

ΜΑΓΔΩΛΛΑ

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2429,7  
Μαγδοῦ(λακ)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2436,1;14  
Μαγδοῦ(λακ)

II/III A.D.  
(?)[O.Wilck. II 1124,5  
Μαγδοῦλων]  
BGU XIII 2365,3  
Μαγδοῦ(λακ)

late III A.D.  
BGU X 200,3  
χ'ο(ρίον) Μαγδοῦλων (cf.  
BL 8,459: λέγε Μαγδοῦλων)

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1 Μο? also possible, according to the Editor.

2 A very uncertain reading: Μαγδοῦ(λακ) is tempting, though deemed impossible in the ed. pr. If Μαγδοῦ(λακ), the fossil kleros Μαγδοῦ(λακοποφόρου (BGU XI 2072,59,65,71; II A.D.; from the Arsinoite?) could be compared. BGU XI 2072 contains a register of fossil kleroi, many of them split and re-distributed by numbered κληροχιτα, while recorded under the names of the present land-holders.

3 There is a possibility (but no certainty) that this might be the Herakleopolite Magdola, as many of the ostraka published by Wilcken in this collection refer to Herakleopolite localities.
CATALOGUE

VIII A.D.  

*Stud. Pal.* X 204,1  

χ’ω(ρίου) Μογγολω(ν)  

**TOPARCHY:** Magdola seems to have been in the proximity of an intersection between the borders of the Tekmi, περι Πόλιν, “Ἄγημα and Πέρον toparchies.  

A homonymous village is well attested in the Arsinoites (modern Medinet Nehas).  

**ETYMOLOGY:** *Mkt* (cf. *P. Köln Ägypt. 5.7;* see also note ad loc.): this is a place-name of Semitic origin, meaning «watch-tower»  

**MODERN ARABIC NAME:** Kom Madīnat Gūrāb? (See *Introduction,* p.10).

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*BGU XIV 2436, 1-3:* Orestes’ kleros is split between Magdola, an Ἰβτόν locality, Pois, Ogu (Tekmi toparchy: in the same document with Magdola also in *Stud. Pal.* X 204) and Peensamoi, in the Πέρον toparchy. Another kleros, also near Magdola, is entered in *BGU XIV 2436, 14.*  

*BGU XIV 2429* lists several villages, many in the "Ἀγημᾶ toparchy (among these Kollasoucha, on the same line with Magdola, Niseus and Nino), besides Sobth, Mouchis (Tekmi toparchy), and Hiera Nesos (9).  

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**MAIOUMA**  

V A.D.  

*Stud. Pal.* X 233, col. II,4  

Μειούμα  

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540/541 A.D. (cf. *BL* 6,105)  

*P. Oxy.* XVI 2032,41  

προν(οτη) Μοξεομμᾶ  

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VII-VIII A.D.  

*Stud. Pal.* X 209,4  

χ(οριον) Μαιοῦμα  

**ETYMOLOGY:** «Le nom, dont on admet l’origine sémite, ne se retrouve que sous graphie grecque, latine ou arabe. Son étymologie indiquerait ... un quartier maritime. Nous connaissons trois Maiouma en Palestine ... En Égypte, il désignant peut-être certains endroits le long du Nil ou au bord d’un canal, où, à l’origine, des colonies juives s’étaient établies?»  

This is most likely the same village as the Maiouma attested, always in connection with the Apion estate, in several documents from the Oxyrhynchites  

3 *Stud. Pal.* X 233, however, certainly refers to the Herakleopolitians (our village is listed immediately before Chortaso, possibly in the Πέρον toparchy); at least two Herakleopolite villages (Nois and Kollasoucha) are among those listed in *Stud. Pal.* X 209.  

Maiouma must have been one of the villages near the boundary between the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites. This hypothesis is supported by an account of receipts and expenditure on one of the estates of Flavius Apion jr., where Maiouma is associated with «other outside places»  

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2 JOSEPH VAN HAELEST, *Ch. d’Ég.* 67, 1959, p.297.  

3 Listed by PRUNETI, *Centri abitati,* s.v.  

4 *P. Oxy.* VI 999 (descr.): σύν το(ις) ἄλλοις μέρις(ις) (καὶ) Μοχρημορίτου καὶ ἄλλων(ων) ἐξωτοκ(ων) τόπων.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOMES

ΜΑΚΑΙΤΟΝΟΣ

VII A.D.  
*SB VI 9590.[2];11;[16]  ὀπὸ Μακαῖτ (2);  
Μακαίτονος (11) 1;  
Μακαῖτ (16)

VIII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal. X 204,2  
χ’ω’(ρίον) Μακαῖ 8 ( )

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓY: this could be a late writing for the genitive of Μακιεδών, Μακιεδόνος, which is attested as a personal name in *P.Ryl. II 227,18 (third century A.D.).

*SB VI 9590: two aourae which Anatolios (from Heracleopolis) cedes to Pamoûn are apparently split between Makaitonos, Tebetny (Πέρσεν toparchy) and Chortaso, and situated to the west of the γῆδα Απολλά, ἐν κλήρῳ καλοσυμένῳ Τσαβιά. These are ceded in exchange for two aourae near a κόμη (1,12) whose name is lost at the beginning of l,13: note, however, the reference to Noeris at l,22. The two witnesses are both from Heracleopolis.

Other villages listed in *Stud.Pal. X 204 include: Magdola (1), Ogou (4; Tekmi toparchy), Psychis (B,2; Koites).

ΜΑΛΚΟΥΛΩΙ

VII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal. X 214,6  
ἐν π(εί)δῳ Μαλκούλη ( )

Peroe is on top of the list in this document.

ΜΑΡΩΝΟΣ

227 A.D.  
*Stud.Pal. XX 29,23

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Koites.

One of several κλήροι, including a κλήρος Διδυμανοῦ (entered on the same line) and some fossil kleroi 2, referred to in a sale contract for land near Tosachmis.

ΜΑΧΟΡ

mid-III B.C. 3  
*P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782  
(62),29;47;69;85(?)91  
[ἐγ] Μαχόρ (29); ἐκ  
Μαχόρ (47); ἐγ Μαχόρ  
(69); ...[χ]ορ...[ (85); ἐγ  
Μαχόρ (91)

1 «Sollte/könnte man bei diesem Wort nicht an "koptisch" geschriebene Мακεδονος denken dürfen?» (Johannes Diethart, letter of September 13, 1994).

2 See Χ. Νεφώπου, and the list of Fossil Kleroi (below, pp.273 ff.).

3 On the dating of this document see above, p.60 n.3.
212/211 B.C.  
after 84/83 B.C.  
61/60 B.C.  
60/59 B.C.  
1 B.C.  
12 B.C.  
8 B.C.  
I B.C.  
132 A.D.  
late II or III A.D.  
first half of III A.D.  
V A.D.  
V A.D.  

P.Lille I 59,57,92;105;116  
BGU XIV 2370 (fr.1),75  
BGU VIII 1815,5  
BGU VIII 1819,3  
BGU XIV 2439,26;97;103  
BGU IV 1167,48;72  
BGU IV 1104,30  
BGU XVI 2674,40;58;137  
P.Bon. 18, col.I,4; col.II,5; col.III,3-4  
P.Ryl. II 225,49  
CP R I 159,5  
MPER XV 103,17  
P.Oxy. XVI 2017,5;14  

Μ[α]χόρ ¹  
ἐκ κόμης Μαχόρ  
ἀπὸ Μαχόρ  
Μαχόρ(θ) (97)  
περὶ κόμης(ν) Μαχόρ  
(48); περὶ κόμης(ν)  
Μαχόρ ἐκ τοῦ [κλήρου]  
'Ιεροζένου(ν) κλήρου (72)  
κόμ(μη) Μαχόρ  
Μαχορ(τ)ι(ς) (40);  
Μαχορ(ιτ)ς (58;137)  
ἀπὸ κόμ(μης Μαχόρ  
(I,4); [ἀπὸ κόμης]  
[Μ]αχορ(θ)ι(ς) (II,5); [απὸ  
κόμ(μης Μαχόρ(θ) (III,3-4)  
Μαχόρ ²  
Μαχόρ ³  
πεδίου Μαχόρεως  
Μαχόρεως ⁴  

TOPARCHY: Koma.

Machor is associated with Koma, Krekis and Toou in P.Lille I 59, P.Cair.Zen. IV 58782 b, BGU XIV 2439 and BGU XVI 2674 (accounts; possibly a tax-list); with Koma again in P.Ryl. II 225.

Two fossil kleroi are attested in the Machor area: 'Ιεροζένου (BGU IV 1167) and [Ζοῦλ(ου)] (BGU IV 1104) ⁵.

BGU VIII 1815 is a petition submitted to the strategos by the villagers left at Machor, asking for some relief from taxes and compulsory work after many other inhabitants have abandoned the village.

P.Bon. 18: fragment of a τόμος συγκολλητισμος containing three census declarations: at least two of these concern Egyptian inhabitants of Machor ⁶.

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¹ Μ[α]χόρ ed. pr., where two possible supplements are offered: χόρτου or Μούχορ. As all other figures in this fragment refer to money payments, χόρτου seems unlikely to recur here. The immediately preceding reference to Toou further supports the reading Μούχορ, as Machor recurs with Koma (also listed in this document) and Toou in other sources, too.

² περὶ Κομπαχόρ ed. pr.: the correct word division should be περὶ Κόμης Μαχόρ.

³ Reading checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).

⁴ My reading (checked for me by Revel A. Coles, letter of August 8, 1994: «clear in I,5; less clear in 1.14»): Μαχορέως (I,5), Μαχορέως (I,14) ed. pr.

⁵ A fossil kleros Ζοῦλου is also mentioned in BGU XIV 2450 (II.28.80.82).

⁶ Corrections to cols. I and II of this document have been made by ROGER S. BAGNALL, BASP 28, 1991, pp.122-123.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΜΕΙ

between 173 and 130-128 B.C. (cf. BL 7,273)  
P.Tebt. III 890,97  
έκ ΜΕΙ

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑ: ΜΕΣΗ?

Bank accounts. Other villages mentioned: Tantoka (I.7), Phnebieus (II.74,75,100; ΜΕΣΗ), Koll(is) (I.81).

ΜΕΣΗ (toparchy)

161/160 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 29,35  
ΜΕΣΗΣ

II B.C.  
(?).P.Münch. III 61,22  
ΙΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΗΣ

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1802,1  
ΜΕΣΗΣ

about 7-4 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2662,12  
δι ’ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΤΩΝ ὄΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΣΗΣ ΠΕΝΝΑΜΕΩΣ (4-5)

227 A.D.  
CPR I 64,5 (= SB I 5165)  
δι ’ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΤΩΝ ὄΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΣΗΣ ΠΕΝΝΑΜΕΩΣ (4-5)

227 A.D.  
Stud.Pal. XX 28,5 (= CPR I 7)  
δι ’ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΤΩΝ ὄΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΣΗΣ ΠΕΝΝΑΜΕΩΣ (4-5)

228/229 A.D.  
SB I 4370,5(?)  
δι ’ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΤΩΝ ὄΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΜΕΣΗΣ ΠΕΝΝΑΜΕΩΣ (4-5)

See also s.v. "ΑΓΗΜΑ.

A list of villages that can be assigned to this toparchy will be found on p.294.

Different documents, at a distance of about three centuries, assign the village of Peenamus first to "ΑΓΗΜΑ Κάτω (in the first century B.C.: BGU XIV 2437), then to the ΜΕΣΗ toparchy: in A.D. 227 Stud.Pal. XX 28, a contract involving people from Peeniby(is) (in the ΜΕΣΗ), is registered δι ’ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΤΩΝ ὄΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΜΕΣΗΣ ΠΕΝΝΑΜΕΩΣ; CPR I 64, also referring to villages of the ΜΕΣΗ toparchy (Thmointhis, Kerytos, Phys) issues from the same office. The fact that another contract (Stud.Pal. XX 47), again involving a party from Peeniby(is), was drawn up δι ’ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΤΩΝ ὄΓΟΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ "ΑΓΗΜΑ Κάτω confirms the contiguity between the ΜΕΣΗ and "ΑΓΗΜΑ (Κάτω) toparchies. It seems however difficult to assume that the name ΜΕΣΗ actually stood for ("ΑΓΗΜΑ) ΜΕΣΗ, as there would then be little space left for the "ΑΓΗΜΑ Κάτω, north of Peenamus and south of Herakleopolis.

The ΜΕΣΗ toparchy mentioned in P.Münch. III 61 is probably the Herakleopolite toparchy by this name (even though an Arsinoite, and an Oxyrhynchiite village recur in the same document) because other papyri bearing related inventory numbers originate from the Herakleopolites (see s.v. "ΑΝΩ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΙΑ".

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CATALOGUE

ΜΕΣΣΑΛΙΝΙΑΝΗ (οὐσία)

I A.D.  
P.Ryl. IV 684,3  
Messaliniavanon  
εὐδώφων

II A.D.  
P.Bodl. I 61 (g)  
SB XVI 12836,8  
ἀπομιςθώτης  
Messaliniavan[νιανής]  
οὐσίας (8-9)

7 Oct. 225 A.D.  
(cf. BL 9,293)  
P.Ryl. II 87,4;7  
Messalianiav[ά]  
[εὐδώφη]  
(4); Messalianiav[α]  
[εὐδώφη] (7)

early III A.D.

See s.v. ΑΓΚΥΡΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

ΜΙΚΡΟΥΑΛΙΧ

683/684 A.D.  
CPR X 135,10  
Land ἐν διαφόροις κλήροις: a kleros Ἀκόρου is mentioned in the same line.

(?)ΜΙΚ( ) ΠΡΟΣ( )

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 209,3  
χ(ορίον?) Μικ'(') Προσ(2)

Other villages in this document include Kollasoucha (1.2; Ἀγημα toparchy) and Nois (1.5; περὶ Πόλιν toparchy).

ΜΟΛΩΤΙΣ

mid-III B.C.  
P.Strasb. IX 802,20  
Μολωθις(3)

mid-I B.C.  
SB VIII 9790,9  
περὶ Μολωθίν

TOPARCHY: Koites.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Malatiya (but previously Maltiya)? See TAVO B 69, p.202. The identification seems possible on account of the phonetic similarity between ancient and modern toponym, and in view of

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1 Re-edited by PIETER J. SPUKSTEIN, BASP 21, 1984, pp.211 ff.
2 Reading revised for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994). The ed. pr. offered χ(ορίον) Μικ'(ροῦ) Προσ(ι)]) It is not certain that this is a place-name.-
3 My reading (checked on a photograph): Μολωθις ed.pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

the southern location of Molothis. However, "nach Auskunft der Dorfbewohner sollen in Malatiya keine antiken Relikten vorhanden sein" (TAVO B 69, p.202).
SB VIII 9790: petition to the strategos of the Koites, submitted by a woman from Phibichis who had inherited a kleros near Molothis.
Most, or all, villages listed in *P. Strash.* IX 802 were in the Koites.

ΜΟΥΘ

IV A.D.  
*P. Neph.* 12,23  
εἷς Μουή κόμη(ν)

See also: ΝΗΣΩΝ¹.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* IV, p.1688 (s.v. Mouei).

Letter from the monk Serapion concerning his trip to Ombol (Upper Egypt). The same village is attested in *CPR* IV 176 (l.13), a Coptic document.

ΜΟΤΧΕΜΠΙΟΫΤ'¹

VI/ VII A.D.  
(?)*SB* XX 15072,9

ETYMOLOGY: *mhy* ("the storehouse, depot": see s.v. ΜΟΥΧΧΙΣ) + *-n-* (genitive) + (?).

The editor of this document² suggested the supplement Μουχχεμπι(αμούφυμενος) (a village in the Lycopolites). The document may in fact mention at least another Lycopolite village (l.1: Τόπσηρας); however, Herakleopolite and Arsinoite place-names are prevalent (Σουχχεως, 1.2, and Daphne, 1.7, were certainly in the Herakleopolites).

ΜΟΤΧΕΜΝΩΜΕΟΫΓ

237 A.D.  
*Stud. Pal.* XX 36,3:7 = *SB* 1  
[κ]όμης Μουχχεμνωμεού

5136 = *CPGr* II 78

ETYMOLOGY: *mhy* ("the storehouse, depot": see s.v. ΜΟΥΧΧΙΣ) + *-n-* (genitive) + second element (the same component – νομιθ – may recur in the toponyms Μουχχεμνομουθου and Σχυνωμίθιες).

¹ "Das Griechisch des Serapion ist desolat. Der Name des Dorfes, zu dem das Kloster Hathor gehört, schreibt er zwar mit griechischen Buchstaben aber, wie wir glauben, in der Koptischen Übersetzung: εἷς Μουή κόμη(ν) entspricht dem griechischen εἷς Νησον κάμην. Aufgrund dieser Beobachtungen läßt sich vermuten, daß Serapions Muttersprache vielleicht Koptisch war" (*P. Neph.*, Einleitung, p.74).

CATALOGUE

ΜΟΥΧΙΝΕΜΒΗΣ

about 260 B.C.  
*P.Hib.* I 112,45

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

**ETYMOLOGY:** *mbh* («the storehouse, depot»; see *s.v.* ΜΟΥΧΙΣ) + -*n* (genitive) + second element ἐμβης (as in ΨΕΒΘΟΝΕΜΒΗΣ: see *s.v.*): «Embes' storehouse». Cf. JEAN YOYOTTE, *RdE* 15, 1963, p.108, n.10; cf. also JAN QUAEGERBEUR, in *Studia Hellenistica* 24, pp.75-76 (on the meaning of the personal name Embes, which he interprets as *Wn-Bs, «the creature (?) Bes»*).

Several other villages mentioned in the same document certainly belonged to the Koites: Pselemachis, Phebichis, Assyra, Psychis.

ΜΟΥΧΙΝΘΑΘΗ

I/II A.D.  
*P.Hib.* II 218,22;24;29

**ETYMOLOGY:** *mbh* («the storehouse, depot»; see *s.v.* ΜΟΥΧΙΣ) + -*n* (genitive) + second element = personal name: «Thaes' (?) storehouse».

ΜΟΥΧΙΝΠΑΓΕΙ

20 A.D.  
*P.Ross. Georg.* II 11 (= *CPGr* II 3),2 
Μουχίνπαγει καὶ τῶν συγκυρουσῶν κωμῶν

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

**ETYMOLOGY:** *mbh* («the storehouse, depot»; see *s.v.* ΜΟΥΧΙΣ) + -*n* (genitive) + second element = «Pagis' storehouse». Pagis (= Pais) is attested as a personal name (cf. *Ppt* 253).

*P.Ross. Georg.* II 11: death declaration addressed to the komgrammateus of Mouchinpagei «and villages under the same administration», from a man living at Ankyron; in the subscription, the same official calls himself the komgrammateus of Ankyron.

ΜΟΥΧΙΝΠΑΣΙΣ

about 260 B.C.  
*P.Hib.* I 112,27 
Μουχίνπασις²

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

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1 My reading (checked on a photograph): Μούχιν Ἐμβης *ed.pr.*

2 Μούχιν Πάσις *ed. pr.*
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ETYMOLOGY: mhy («the storehouse, depot»: see s.v. ΜΟΥΧΙΣ) + -n- (genitive) + second element = common Egyptian personal name: «Pasis' storehouse».

Several other villages mentioned in P.Hib. I 112 certainly belonged to the Koites: Pselemachis, Phebichis, Assya, Psychis.

МОЮΣΙΣ

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.
21 June 51 B.C. (?)\(^1\)
49/48 B.C.
I B.C.
28/29 A.D.
I/II A.D.
late or middle II A.D.
V A.D.
V A.D.
V A.D.
565/566 A.D.
VIII/VIII A.D.
VIII A.D.

BGU XIV 2429,8
BGU VIII 1832,9
SB V 8756,6
BGU XIV 2437,18;
(fr.4),70
BGU XIV 2441,208
BGU XVI 2665,6
P.Oxy. XXIV 2412,99
P.Hib. II 218, 41; col. III
P.Hib. II 280,16
Stud.Pal. X 9,4
Stud.Pal. X 47,2
(?)P.Oxy. XXVII 2480,2
CPR IV 2,15
(?)SB XX 14236,1

Μούχεως
περὶ Μούχιν?
περὶ Μούχιν
Μούχεως (18); Μούχιν
(70)
περὶ Μούχιν
[περὶ Μούχιν
Μούχεως]
Μούχεως
ἐν κόμη Μούχει
Μούχεως
Μούχεως
Μούχεως
ἀπὸ Μούχεως
χ(ορίον) Μούχε(ε)οι
χ(ορίο) Μούχε(ε)οι

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: formed on the stem mhy, «the storehouse, depot»\(^5\).

Villages by the same name are attested in the Oxyrhynchites (see PRUNETTI, Centri abitati, s.v., pp.110-111), the Arsinoites and elsewhere (see CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v., vol.III, pp.301-302; Suppl., p.200).

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\(^1\) Cf. I.20: (ἔτους) λ. καὶ α. Πο[(ου)] κ («year 30 which is also year 1»); see THEODORE C. SKEAT, The Reigns of the Ptolemies, München 1954, p.18.

\(^2\) «Anfang M oder A, schwerlich Πλέξια» (ed. pr. ad loc.).

\(^3\) Μούχε(ε)οι ed.pr.

\(^4\) Cf. GÜNTHER POETHKE-PIETER J. SUPESTEIJN, APF 38, 1992, p.36.

\(^5\) Cf. KATELJN VANDORPE, «Mouchis or the Storehouse» (forthcoming).
MODERN ARABIC NAME: Dimšuwīya: cf. TAVO B 69, § 4.3 (M109), even though «es wurden keine antiken Relikte festgestellt» (ibid., p.215).

Listed, with other villages, as belonging to the Tekmi totoparchy in BGU XIV 2437 (l.1-25): ll.18-20, in particular, contain the record of 25 areurae privately owned by Dionysios son of Paniskos, and split between Mouchis and Tou.

BGU XIV 2441 records land ceded by Apollonios son of Apollonios to Apollonios son of Chairemon: it is entered under the heading for Pyrgotos (l.19), in the same totoparchy, but part of the land ceded was in the Mouchis area (l.208).

Mouchis also recurs with other villages of the Tekmi totoparchy (Ogou, Kollintaathyr, Pyrgotos, Tekmi) in P.Oxy. XXIV 2412. BGU XVI 2665 mentions it along with Ogou (l.4) again: Nois (περὶ Πόλιν) and Talae (Koites) follow (l.16-17).

BGU XIV 2437, fr.4: holding split between Mouchis and Sobthis (in the περὶ Πόλιν totoparchy). Sobthis and Mouchis are again found together in Stud.Pal. X 9 (ll.2 and 4, respectively): the other villages mentioned in this document include Onnes (1), Phinebeus (3), Kerkesephis (5).

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central totoparchies of the Henakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek)¹.

**MOY.Ω( )**

late or middle II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 280,13  
ἐν κό(μη)ι Μού.Ω( )  
Χανη

N...[  
mid-III B.C.  
P.Strasb. IX 802,14

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

P.Strasb. IX 802 lists Egyptian tax-payers and their villages, all of them apparently in Koites.

**NANHOYEI**

411 A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 117,5  
ἐν [π]έδιοις Φιλονίκου  
ἐν ἐδαφί καλιομεν(ω)  
Νανηουει

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

Stud.Pal. X 117 is a sale-contract stipulated at Koba.

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¹ See s.v. NINO.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

NE.[

V/VI A.D. \( MPER \) XV 75.4 \( \text{τραπεζ(ί) τη} \) Ne.[

NE.ΑΥΘΕΩΣ

I/II A.D. \( \text{P.Hib.} \) II 218,69

NEA ΑΓΟΡΑ

26 June 4 B.C. \( BGU \) XVI 2644,10 \( \text{ὑπό} \) Νέας 'Αγορᾶ<♂>

ETYMOLOGY: «New Market».

Letter to Athenodoros, epistates and dioiketes, concerning grain shipments to Koma, which are impeded by the requisitioning of all boats for the army: this apparently affected the price of grain at New Market.

NEA ΠΟΛΙΣ

V A.D. \( \text{Stud.Pal.} \) X 233, col. I B.13 \( \text{Νέας} \) Πόλεως κ(α/ι) Τάχεως

This toponym is attested in Egypt as the name of a district in Alexandria\(^3\), generally mentioned in connection with \textit{horrea}. All, or most of the other toponyms listed in this document belong to Herakleopolite places.

NEΘΙΣΕΙ

VI A.D. \( \text{Stud.Pal.} \) X 228,6 \( \text{ἐν} \) τόπι(ο) Νεθισει

Cf. \text{Nεθισης}? Listened with Pargou (1.4), Piatimi (1.5), Neuea (1.7), Σουριν (1.8), Πιακερ (1.9).

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\(^1\) Cf. \text{Νεθλ(ο)} at 1.4?

\(^2\) New reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).

CATALOGUE

ΝΕΙΛΟΓ ΠΟΛΙΣ (see also: ΠΙΛΩΘΕΣ)

5 Sept. 103 A.D. (cf. BL 6.83)  
P.Mich. IX 551,11  
(?) P.Osl. III 151, 11-12  
CPR I 238 (fr.1),6  
P.Oxy. XLVII 3362,18-19  
(= SB XII 11045)  
late II/early III A.D.  
P.Batav. XXV 49,9  
CPR I 73,9  
SB XIV 11277,3-4

I/II A.D.  
14 May 261 A.D.  
(cf. BL 3,21)  
BGU VII 1568,2

II A.D.  
III A.D.  
O.Theb. 132,3  
(= O.Bodl. 164)

second half of II A.D.  
222-235 A.D.  
20 Jan. 225 A.D.  
III A.D.  
late III A.D.  
SB XIV 11620,4  
P.Oxy. XXIV 2415,85

338-340 A.D.  
(cf. BL 6.65)  
P.Lond. V 1823 descr.,1

ἀπὸ Νείλον πόλεως τοῦ Ἡρακλεωπολίτου νομοῦ (11-13)  
ἐν τῇ Νείλον πόλει  
ἐν τῇ Νείλον πόλει τῇ μητρόπολει (3); ἀπὸ Νείλον πόλεως (4); cf. I.8: τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως

Neiλο[πολείτου]  
Neiλο[πολείτου]  
Neiλοπολιτις  
Neiλοπολιτις

1 Neiλο[πολείτου] ed. pr.; but the normal form should be Neiλοπολίτις (as Willy Clarysse pointed out to me); cf. also SB XIV 11620 and P.Med. 2 66 (listed below).

2 Neiλο[πολείτου] ed. pr.; see preceding note.

3 Even though the normal form should be Νειλοπολίτις (see above n.1), the trace before the lacuna is more compatible with ν than with π. The document contained a list of names, the names of the districts being preceded by signs for which no explanation has been offered: PIETER I. SUPESTEIJN (ZPE 55, 1984, p.155) tentatively suggested that they may be hieroglyphic or demotic.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

343 A.D. P. Med. I ² 66,1;8 (verso) = π(αρά) Αυρηλίου
SB VI 9510

Διονυσίου ἔξακτορος
Νε[λοπολέτου] (1);
ἔξακτορος
Νελοπολέτου (8) ¹

V A.D. CPR VI 79,4; 6-7 Βου[λευτής] Νελού
πόλεως (4); ἐν τῇ σεβή
πόλει Νελού πόλει (6-7)

V A.D. P. Oxy. LI 3636,2

Νιλ(οπολίτου)

26 Feb. 538 A.D. P. Michael. 126,7

ἀπὸ Νελοῦ πόλει [τοῦ]
Ἡρακλεοπολίτου
νομοῦ (7-8) ²

582-602 A.D. P. Oxy. XVI 1909,8 (ὑπέρ) [Νελοῦ πόλεως]

(εἰς) [Βουλευτή]

612 A.D. P. Oxy. XVI 2045 descr. Πέτροι Νελοπολίτη (εἰς)

VI or VII A.D. P. Oxy. VI 942,1 (e P. Oxy. I 162 descr.)

τήν Νελοπολίτων (scil.
πόλειν; cf. I.4: τής πόλεως)

VI/VII A.D. SB XVIII 13266,6

Νιλούπολις

Byz. SB I 5337,5 ἀπὸ Νελοῦ πόλεως

Literary Sources

II A.D. Ptol. IV,5,56-57 (ed. Nobbe) Νελοῦ πόλεως


IV A.D. Athan. c. Ar. 71

IV A.D. Athan. Ep. 19

V A.D. Steph. Byz. s.v.

VI A.D. Hierocles, Synecdemus (ed. H. Gelzer) 729,2-730,4


¹ Νελοπολέτων (1.1); π(αρά) Νελοπολέτως ἔξακτορος (1.8) ed. pr. The correct forms, however, should be Νελοπολίτης and Νελοῦ πόλεις, respectively (cf. above p.135 n.1). The new reading on 1.8 has been checked and confirmed by Sergio Daris: «All'inizio e alla fine della riga di scrittura sul verso il papiro è molto danneggiato ma, per la parte che ci interessa, la nuova lettura è certa e suona così: ἔξακτορος Νελοπολέτου. La lettura ἔξακτορος è assai probabile, e comunque da rigettare π(αρά); alla fine, dopo l'indicazione del nomos, non pare esserci altra traccia di scrittura» (letter of November 25, 1996).

² This is a contract, drawn up at Τίντωκις, between a man ἀπὸ Νελοῦ πόλει τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ and another from Λεύκου in the same nome. The spelling of all three place-names should be checked again, but I have not been able to locate this document (it is not among the P. Michael. recently acquired by the Cambridge University Library).
TOPARCHY: metropolis of its own nome from the III century A.D.

There were more than one Neîlou pióλıς, including a very well attested one in the Arsinoite nome, at the northeast end of the Lake Moeris. The Neîlou pióλıς of Diod. Sic. I. 85 was probably in the Delta, like the Bousiris also mentioned there (see below, n. 1).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Dalās.

The Coptic Acts of the Council held at Ephesos in 431 A.D. enable us to identify Nilopolis = (Coptic) Tilodj = (Greek) Τίλωθις = (modern Arabic) Dalās; see also s.v. ΤΙΛΩΘΙΣ. The latest Greek papyrus recording the old toponym Τίλωθις dates from the late I B.C. or early I A.D. (BGU IV 1060), whereas the earliest source for Neîlou pióλıς (explicitly stating that it was in the Herakleopolites) is dated to 103 A.D.

The re-naming of Tilothis as Neîlou pióλıς was probably related to the increasing importance of this centre in the Roman period. In the second half of the II A.D., Ptolemy (IV.5,56-57) refers to Nilopolis as still belonging to the Herakleopolite nome; this is consistent with P. Oxy. XLVII 3362 (a list of names, also from the second half of the II A.D.), where the Nilopolites appears as part of the Herakleopolites. But SB XIV 11277 (=a contract for the sale of a slave) was registered on January 20, 225 A.D., «at Nilopolis, the metropolis»: by this time, then, the Nilopolites had become an independent nome. This is confirmed by later sources, beginning with BGU VII 1568.2 (of May 14, 261 A.D.) P. Michael. 126 seems to indicate that by 538 A.D. the Nilopolites had been re-integrated into the Herakleopolite nome. On the other hand, P. Oxy. XVI 1909, compiled during Mauricius' reign (582-602 A.D.), still seems to rank Nilopolis among the nome metropoleis, along with Oxyrhynchus, Kynopolis, and Herakleopolis itself: this papyrus is «part of a list of assessments on various cities, the imposts consisting of corn-dues, at an adcaeratia of 1 solidus for 10 aratabae, and gold taxes. Oxyrhynchus and Kynopolis are here assessed together, and it is noticeable that their combined quotas are only 2,000 solidi more than that of Herakleopolis»: i.e. 59,500 as opposed to 57,500 solidi. Nilopolis is still considered separately, only the assessment for corn-dues being preserved (1,000 solidi for 10,000 aratabae: somewhat less than one third of the 35,000 solidi due for the Herakleopolites for 350,000 aratabae). P. Oxy. L1 3636 (=«from the account of the flat-bottomed boats») may be compared: it shows that the Oxyrhynchites paid the largest sum (298 solidi; the Kynopolites, here assessed separately, paid 62 5/6 solidi), followed by the Herakleopolites (251 1/6 solidi) and the

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1 On which see DANIELLE BONNEAU, «Niloëpolis du Fayoum», Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie (Bruxelles 1977), Quatrième Partie: Papyrologie documentaire, Bruxelles 1979, pp.258-273. The Nilopolis where the ritual of the enthroning of the new Apis bull was performed (Diod. I. 85.2) was probably not the Herakleopolite one (cf. ANNE BURTON, Commentary on Diodorus Siculus I, p.246), pace BONNEAU, ibid., p.259.

2 Cf. TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, II, p.499 (with reference to H. MUNIER, Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte, Cairo 1943, p.16): «Unter den Teilnehmern des Konzils von Ephesus (431 A.D.) wird u.a. ein Bischof Eusebius von Niloëpólios aufgeführt, das zur Provinz Arkaia (Ἀρχαία) rechnete ... Die koptischen Akten dieses Konzils geben als Name seinen Bisums Delait oder Telait». 

3 P. Mich. IX 551 is a sale contract drawn up at Kerkesoucha (Arsinoites): a resident of Nilopolis sells a donkey to the veteran soldier Gaius Valerius Lengus.

4 On Ptolemy's description see Introduction, p.5.

5 «... forse in conseguenza della politica di ampio favore concessa alle autonomie municipal, propria dell'età severiana» (GIOVANNI GERACI, Egypitus 54, 1974, p.59). In the same period, the splitting of the Koites into two toparchies is attested by P. Heid. IV 320.1 (3 July 138 A.D.) and P. Heid. IV 321.5 (18 November 162 and 20 February 163 A.D.)

6 The ἐπιφύλαξις of the Arsinoites write to their colleagues of the Nilopolites, trying to recover a female donkey that had been requisitioned.

7 From the Introduction in the ed.pr. of this document.
Nilopolites (with 170 2/3 solidi: but the reading is uncertain)\(^1\). The two taxes refer, of course, to completely different commodities, but a consistent picture does seem to emerge, whereby the Oxyrhynchite and Nilopolite nomes were at this time (V-VI century A.D.) more or less balanced in their economic strength, both as regards their corn production, and their tax-payments on the flat-bottomed boats (taken as an indicator of trade in these districts). On the other hand, the relative economic strength of the Herakleopolite and the Nilopolite may be assessed on the basis of corn production (the Herakleopolites produces more than three times as much corn as the Nilopolites), but also by tax-payments on the flat-bottomed boats: compared to the Herakleopolites, the Nilopolites apparently pays little less than half. We may expect the Nilopolites to have been a busy area as far as trade is concerned. Its metropolis certainly owed its increasing importance to a strategic location on the routes leading westwards (to the Arsinoe) and southwards, to the Herakleopolites and beyond, along the Nile and the modern Bahr Yüsuf: «Then the river branches as it forms an island, the Herakleopolite nome, and in the island (is found) Nilopolis, inland ...» (so Ptolemy in his Geographia)\(^2\). The establishment of a bishopric there, which causes Nilopolis to be mentioned by some Christian authors, must have been another consequence of its convenient situation.

On account of the rather large figures given in P.Oxy. XVI 1909 and P.Oxy. LI 3636, it must be assumed that quite a wide area (presumably the whole northern part of the district, comprising the Koma and Bousiris toarchies, as well as the old Tilothis toarchy) was detached from the Herakleopolites and made into the autonomous Nilopolite nome.

Still a rather big place in the XIV century, with 5900 feddans land (= 2478 hectares)\(^3\) surrounding it, and a tax-revenue of 20,000 dinars\(^4\), Nilopolis nevertheless appeared much decayed to al-Idrisî: «Du temps des anciens Égyptiens elle était comptée au nombre des villes les plus considérables, mais à présent elle est petite et n’a que peu d’habitants, son territoire ayant été pillé et ravagé par les Berbères de la tribu de Luwâtah et par les Arabes vagabonds»\(^5\).

\(^{1}\) The remaining districts pay as follows: Arsinoites (163 solidi), Aphroditeopolites (72 solidi, if correctly read), Membites (37 2/3 solidi), Theodosiopolites (13 1/6 solidi), Lopolites (7 1/2 solidi). SB XVIII 13266 (VII: list of payments due for the curious) again lists Nilopolis (not the Arsinoite Nilopolis, I think) with Oxyrhynchus and Kynopolis, but Takina (certainly not a metropolis) is also included. SB I 5337 is another list of nome capitals, including Nilopolis.

\(^{2}\) Trade by vessels in the Nilopolites: P.Lond. V 1823 descr.; P.Oxy. XXIV 2415. Nilopolis as a station for people travelling by land: P.Oxy. VI 942 («We reached Nilopolis on the 13th about the 6th hour, and after we had released the animals a letter was delivered to us from your brotherly Excellency...»). Ptolemy (IV,556-57) clearly indicates that Nilopolis was «inland» (μεσόγειος).

\(^{3}\) 1 feddan = 0.42 hectares (cf. DOROTHY J. CRAWFORD, Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period, Cambridge 1971, p.74 n.4).

\(^{4}\) According to the État des provinces et des villages de l’Égypte (p.689), published by S. DE SACY as an Appendix to the Relation de l’Égypte par Abd-Allatif, médecin de Bagdad (quoted by É. Amélineau, La Géographie de l’Égypte à l’époque copte, Paris 1893, p.138). The État ... de l’Égypte was compiled in 1376, under the sultan Mêlik al-Naser: «On y trouve ... chaque province et chaque territoire de ce pays, avec une liste alphabétique des villages qui devaient payer l’impôt annuel au sultan» (AMÉLINEAU, cit., p.XVI).

\(^{5}\) Quoted by J. MASPERO - G. WIET, Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l’Égypte, Cairo 1919, p.51.

\(^{6}\) A place called Νεμέρω/Νεμέρων is attested in the Μέση toarchy of the Oxyrhynchites: see PRUNET, Centri abitati, s.v.

\(^{7}\) «Θεόν ὁ Νεμέρως ... may originate from this place» (PIETER J. SUPESTEIJN, ZPE 81, 1990, p.248).
CATALOGUE

V/VI A.D. P. Köln IV 192,1 ἀπὸ κόμης Νημάρεως (cf. BL 9,113)

VI/II A.D. SB XX 15072,7 = P. Lond. III 1097

In P. Lond. III 1097, the ὄρμος Νημάρεως apparently functions as the port of Daphne.

ΝΕΜΗΩΤΕΙ

525/526 A.D. P. Rain. Cent. 113,10 κλήρου Νεμηουέι

P. Rain. Cent. 113 is a contract drawn at Herakleopolis.

ΝΕΜΟΒΙΣ

mid-III B.C. P. Fuad Crawford 5 recto,11

ETYMOLOGY: second component ἱ(γ) hann, «ibis».

Known villages listed in this document were in the Koites.

ΝΕΙΩΤΙΑΝΟΥ

227 A.D. Stud. Pal. XX 29,20

TOPARCHY: Koites.

This is one of several kleroi referred to in a contract for the sale of land.

ΝΕΥΑΚΙ

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 206,3

Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

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1 The document has been published by PIETER J. SIPESTRAI, *ibid.*, pp.245-251.

2 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.

3 See s.vv. Διομήτσανος, Μάρωνος; see also the list of Fossil Kleroi (below, pp.273 ff.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΝΕΤΗΛΑ

VI A.D.  

*Stud. Pal. X* 228,7  

ἐν τόπ(ω) Νευήλα

Listed with Παργώ (1.4), Πτατμι (1.5), Νεθήσει (1.6), Σουρτυ (1.8), Πιακεφ (1.9).

(?) ΝΕΧΙΣΗΙ

ca. 250 B.C.  

*BGU XIV* 2391.7  

ἐν Νεχίσηι

ca. 250 B.C.  

*BGU XIV* 2392.5  

ἐν Νεχίσηι

See also: ΝΕΘΙΣΕΙ.

This place-name is not attested elsewhere: in these two documents, it is mentioned with reference to a unit of volume adopted there. The Herakleopolitan provenance of the two documents is also not certain: their origin might be the same as for *BGU XIV* 2380 (contract drawn at Κυνών πόλεις in 265 B.C.). Note, however, the reference to the "Αγήμα toparchy in *BGU XIV* 2392.

ΝΕΧΟΣ

1 B.C.  

*BGU XIV* 2437.51

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Κόμα.

ΝΗΣΩΝ

311/312-319/320 A.D.  

Π.Νεφ. 44,2;6;11;22  

[ἀποδέκται] κώμης Νησών (2); ἀποδέκται κώμης Νησών (6); κομψόρι τι κώμης Νησών (10-11); στολόγιον κώμης Νησών (21-22)

315/316 or 330/331 A.D.  

Π.Νεφ. 43,2;15  

ἀποδέκται κώμης Νησών (1-2); ἀποδέκται κώμης Νησών (15)

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1 «Addendum lexicis. Ημ Herakleopolitis?» (*ed. pr. ad loc.*).

2 The toponyms of the Cynopolites have been studied by ΝΙΚΟΣ ΛΙΤΙΝΑΣ, «Village and place-names of the Cynopolite Nome», *APF* 40, 1994, pp.157-164: he does not include Νεχίσηι in his list.
17 April 344 A.D.  

_P.Neph._ 32,7  

όπο κόμης Νήσσων τοῦ αὐτοῦ (scil. Ἡρακλεοπόλιτον) νομοῦ (6-7)

IV A.D.  

_P.Neph._ 13,20  

Νεφερώτερ ρεῖς (υπέρ) τῆς Νήσου ἐν Φαθάρ

IV A.D.  

_P.Neph._ 19,3  

tὸ κοινὸν ἕκαστος κόμης Νήσσων

IV A.D.  

_P.Neph._ 20,5,9  

ἀπὸ Νήσσων

IV A.D.  

_P.Neph._ 46, [1]  

ἀποδεκτῶν κόμης Νήσσων τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπόλιτον νομοῦ (1-2)

V A.D.  

_P.Oxy._ LIX 4004,10  

ἐν τῇ Νήσσων

V A.D.  

_Stud.Pal._ X 233, col.I A,1  

Νήσσων

VI A.D.  

_P.Oxy._ XVI 1997,2  

ὁρμοῦ Νήσσων

VI A.D.  

_SB_ I 1967,1  

κόμης Νήσσων

VI A.D.  

_Stud.Pal._ III 399,1  

βοηθῶς κόμης Ετών τοῦτο ἔστι Νήσσων

See also: ΕΤΩΝ; ΜΟΥΘ.

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

**ETYMOLOGY:** Νήσσως was the Greek translation of the word _māj_ («new land»).

The documents from the Neperos archive show that the monastery of (P)athor, in the southern Heracleopolites, was closely connected to this village.

_P.Neph._ 43, 44, 46 contain receipts for the payment of taxes (in money or in kind). _P.Neph._ 32 records a money-loan.

_P.Neph._ 20 is the report of a speculator, possibly addressed to a riparius of the Heracleopolites, on a conflict between the inhabitants of Νήσσων and the police officials (εἰρηνικροὶ) of Thelbo. The origin of the troubles seems to have been a mistake on the part of the πρεσβύτερος of Νήσσων, who wrongly effected a payment on account of the σύμμοιροι of Thelbo.

_P.Neph._ 19: the κοινὸν of Νήσσων writes to Paulus (II.1-2: τῷ κυρίῳ μου τιμωτάτῳ πατρί Πτολ.).

_P.Oxy._ LIX 4004: Theodoros invites Canopus and Valentinus to come and visit him at Νήσσων: they

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1 Das κοινὸν ist wohl das Verwaltungsorgan (Ensemble der tätigen Beamten) des Dorfes und nicht mit der Bevölkerung als Gesamtheit identisch» (Edd. _ad loc._).

2 Ἐντιὸς ἑνὶ Ἑρακλεοπόλιτοι Ἐσσων (vorgeschlagen von Hermann Harrauer)» (letter from Johannes Diethart, February 25, 1994).

3 This document (a receipt) apparently indicates that Νήσσων was also called Ετών.

4 Cf. _P.Neph._ 12,23: according to the Editors, Μουὴ κόμη could be the Egyptian name of Νήσσων/Νήσσων κόμη.

5 See _Introduction_, p.6.
are to travel by boat, ὡς ἄνωβασις ἐστὶν (I.12: «because the river has risen»). P.Oxy. XVI 1997 shows that the village had a ὄρμος; it is the receipt for the payment of an ἄμβολον, which was due eis τὸν ὄρμον ἔτοιμον ὄρμον Νήσον. SB 1 I.67 belongs to a group of three payments for transport by boat.

P.Nephe. 13 (letter from Lykarion to Nepheiros) should refer to the same locality but, on this one occasion, in the singular.

**NI(.]ΕΩΣ**

I B.C.  
**BGU XIV 2433,54**

**TOPARCHY:** Μέση.

Included in a list of villages (II.46-55) belonging to the Μέση toparchy, among them Chennis, Phys and Peenepochra.

**NIHRA( )**

late III A.D.  
**BGU XIII 2365,7**

**ΝΥΡΟΣ—**

**NINΩ**

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
**BGU XIV 2429,6**

I B.C.  
**BGU XIV 2438,10; (fr.3),93**

I/II A.D.  
**P.Hib. II 218,93**

VI-VII A.D.  
**Stud.Pal. X 5,7**

VII-VIII A.D.  
**CPR IV 2,11**

See also: NINΩΠΑΚΑΝ; NITΩΜΗ; [±].INΩ.

**TOPARCHY:** "Αγημα κάτω.

**MODERN ARABIC NAME:** Ninā. See TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 98) and p.213: «An einer höheren Stelle im Dorf liegen Keramikscherben aus spätrömischer Zeit ... Die Türschwellen eines Hauses im Dorf besteht aus einem Stück Stülpenschafft. Neben einem anderen Haus liegt ein korinthisches Kapitell». See also TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, IV, p.1777 (s.v. Ninā).

The villages listed in *BGU XIV 2429* were for the most part in the "Αγημα toparchy (Peenemus, 1 «Es ist nicht Νιλέας oder Νυσεας» (ed. pr. ad loc.).

2 New readings (checked by me on a photograph, and on the original by William Brashear, who deems them «probable»). Νιλεας ed. pr.
Peene, Peeneophomis, Korphotoi, Kollasoucha, Niseus, Peensemtheus, Petachor). Nino should probably be assigned to the same toparchy, and this becomes a certainty if the new readings at BGU XIV 2438 are accepted, as fr. 3 indicates that this was a village of the "Ἀγημώνια Κύτω (it is listed after Peeneophomis and Peensemtheus); at ll. 10 ff. of the same document it is again entered with other villages of the "Ἀγημώνια: Korphotoi (15), Niseus (17). Onosis (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy), Tinteris and Kolintanathyr (Tekmi toparchy) recur with Nino in Stud.Pal. X 5, which also supports the supplement Νιν[ω] in P.Hib.II 218,93, where Onosis is mentioned at ll. 90 and 92.

The village still appears, along with several others all belonging to the central toparchies of the Heracleopolites, in CPR IV 2, a bilingual document written in Coptic and Greek: all toponyms are written in Greek.

NINΩΠΙΑΚΑΝ

IV A.D.  

CPR I 42,12  

περὶ Νινωπιακαν

See also: NINΩ.

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν?

CPR I 42, a lease contract in which all parties are from Heracleopolis, concerns 8 aourae near Sobthis ἡ μικρή (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy), 5 aourae at Σακκαπρο, 3 ar. at Νινωπιακαν, 4 ar. at Noeris, 2 ar. «to the south of the mouth of the canal», and two thirds of an aoura to the west of a road. Because of the connections with Σάββας and the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy attested for Nino by the other documents, Νινωπιακαν may either be the same village (presumably appearing here with its full name), or an "annexe" to it.

NΙΣΕΥΣ

III B.C.  

P.Lille I 31,1

139 B.C.  

P.Tebt. III 838,9

139 B.C.  

P.Tebt. III 989,5

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  

BGU XIV 2429,9

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2438,17

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2440,65

I/II A.D.  

P.Hib. II 218,85

TOPARCHY: "Ἀγημών (κάτω)".

1 In the "Ἀγημώνια κάτω, περὶ Πόλιν, περὶ Τέκσα, Πέραια, and Μέση toparchies: see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume.

2 See: E.... [1, ΠΕΕΝΗ, ΤΕΡΤΟΝΠΕΤΕΧΩΝΣ.
Niseus is closely linked to Tertonpetechons (P.Lille I 31: accounts for the holding of the ἔλεγχος Antiphanes) and to the Πέραν toparchy (BGU XIV 2440; Peene appears at I.64).

BGU XIV 2438 enters it amid villages of the Ἀγιμα toparchy: Korphotoi (15), Niseus (17), Kollasoucha (20); a reference to Hermes under the entry for Niseus is probably related to BGU XIV 2437, where sacred land of an Hermes sanctuary is recorded in the Πέραν toparchy (near Thmoipthna: II.36-40).  

BGU XIV 2429 confirms these connections, as it lists villages of the Ἀγιμα (Peenameus, Peene, Peenepsomphis, Korphotoi, Nino, Kollasoucha, Niseus, Peenemethes, Petachor), περὶ Τέκμη (Mouchis) and περὶ Πολύν toparchies (Sobthias).

Niseus is also listed in P.Hib. II 218, where villages of the Koites are mostly included: this connection with the Koites may be supported by P.Tebr. III 838, where Tosachmis (Koites) also appears.

**ΝΙΤΩΜΙ(*)**

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,36

V/VI A.D.  
P.Heid. III 246,9  
ἐν κλήρῳ Νιτω.[.]

**TOPARCHY: Koites?**

Three villages of the Ἀγιμα toparchy, i.e. Alilais (33), Kollasoucha (34), Petachor (35), precede Νιτωμί in P.Hib.II 218 (otherwise mostly listing villages of the Koites). A comparison with BGU XIV 2429, where Kollasoucha and Petachor also occur, might suggest a reading Νιτωμ.: on the other hand, the name Νιτωμ.:, attested for a kleros in the Ἀνω Κοιτης in P.Heid. III 246, may lend some support to the Editor's reading in P.Hib. II 218.

**ΝΟ(*)**

64/63 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1747,3  
περὶ Νο(*)

As περὶ Τέκμι(μ) is mentioned in the following line, περὶ Νο(*) may well refer to a toponym.

**ΝΟ(*) or ΟΝ(*)**

about 164 B.C.  
P.Tebr. III 1044,65

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1 Also in the Tekmi toparchy: cf. II.7-8.

2 «v ist recht deutlich» (Günter Poethke, letter of April 14, 1994).

3 The Editor deciphers Νο(*) or Ον(*), adding that this «might stand for Νο(κινου), Νο(κινή) or 'Ον(νη)». Νο(ηπις) (see s.v.) seems the most likely resolution here.
CATALOGUE

**NOB**

1

I/II A.D.  
*P.Hib. II 218, col. III*

**NOHERIS**

I B.C.  
*BGU XIV 2436,12*  
Νοηρειον

I/II A.D.  
*P.Hib. II 218,56*  
Νοηρειος

after 150 A.D.  
*Stud.Pal. XX 7,27 (= CPR I 22)*  
περὶ ητὶστε (L.-δε) τῆς Νοηρίου

IV A.D.  
*CPR I 42,14*  
περὶ Νοηρίν (13-14)

ca. 420-421 A.D.  
*MPer. XV 63,16*  
ἀπὸ Νοηρειος

V A.D.  
*Stud.Pal. VIII 772,3*  
ἀπὸ Νοηρεω(ς)

V-VI A.D.  
*CPR VIII 59,3*  
ἀπὸ κόμης Νοηρεως

about 500 A.D. (cf. *BL 8,343)*  
*SB VI 9282,verso*  
ἀπὸ Νοηρεως

16 July 534 A.D.  
*SB VIII 9876,10*  
ἐν πεδίοις κόμης Νοηρεως

VII A.D.  
*SB VI 9590,22*  
ἀπὸ Νοηρε(ως) (cf.*BL 7,211*)

VII/VIII A.D.  
*CPR IV 2,15*  
χ(ορίων) Νοηρ'ε(ως)'

VIII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal. X 84,3*  
χ(ορίων) Νο[η]ρ[ε][ως]

See also: NO() or ON().

**TOPARCHY:** περὶ Πόλιν.

**MODERN ARABIC NAME:** An-Nuwaira

The connection between this village and the metropolis, besides other villages of the περὶ Πόλιν topharchy, is consistently attested in our sources. Three documents attest links with Pois: in *BGU XIV 2436, II.11-12*, Hierax' kleros is distributed between Tanchais (Tilothis topharchy), Noeris and Pois; in *P.Hib. II 218* Tokois and Noeris are listed immediately before Pois; in *Stud.Pal. X 84* Noeris, Pois and Peensamoi (Πενσαμιν topharchy) recur in three consecutive lines, followed by Thmoinespi.

*CPR I 42* deals with a landholding split between Noeris, Sobthis and Ninopakan (all in the περὶ Πόλιν topharchy).

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1 Νοβι (<not Νοηρειος>) ed. pr.: one could think of Νοσιλι, but I have not checked this.


3 Νονρε' ed.pr.

4 This identification was already suggested by ULRICH WILCKEN, *APF* 2, 1903, p.325. See also TAVO B 69 §4.3 (M 113); and TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Agypten*, IV, p.1783 f. (s.v. «Noeris»).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Connection to the metropolis: SB VIII 9876 (lease contract between two women and the ἄββας Παμῦλος ἐπίσκοπος Κεθεδολίκης ἐκκλησίας of Herakleopolis, for land ἐν πεδίοις κώμης Νόμηρας); CPR VIII 59 (transaction between an inhabitant of Noeris and one of Herakleopolis); MPER XV 63 (payments in artabae and writing-exercises by a different hand; besides Noeris, Phys and Herakleopolis are mentioned)\(^1\).

The connection to the Πέρον toparchy (Peensamois also probably appears in the same document with Noeris in P.Tebt. III 1044)\(^2\) is confirmed by SB VI 9590: two aorourea which Anatolios (from Herakleopolis) cedes to Pamoôn are apparently split between Makaitonos, Tebetry (Πέρον toparchy) and Chortaso (also in the Πέρον), and situated to the west of the γῆδα Απολλά, ἐν κλήρῳ καλουμένῳ Τοῦπα; they are ceded in exchange for two aorourea near a κωμή (1.12) whose name is lost at the beginning of l.13; this could be Noeris, referred to at l.22. The two witnesses are from Herakleopolis.

CPR I 222: dowry of a woman whose possessions are at Pharbita (in the Arsinoite nome), Philonikou (Koites) and Noeris.

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek)\(^3\).

NOKΛΗ

about 138 B.C. P.Tebt. III 860,48-50 Ὅκλη (48); Ὅκληνος (50)\(^4\)

late II or III A.D. P.Ryl. II 225,31 περὶ Νοκλῆς

VI A.D. P.Oxy. XVI 1917,22,45-51 ἀπὸ Νοκλῆς (22); ἐποικισθεὶσα Νόκλη (45); ἀπὸ Νοκλῆς(51)

VIII/VIII A.D. SB XVIII 13888,3 [χ(ορή) Νοκλῆ]

TOPARCHY: Koites.

See also: ΝΟΚΛΗ

There is little doubt that Nokle was in the Koites, where most of the villages listed with it in the sources were: it twice recurs with Pselemaechis (P.Tebt. III 860; P.Oxy. XVI 1917) and Thelbo (P.Ryl. II 225; SB XVIII 13888), both villages of the Koites. The places mentioned in SB XVIII 13888 (Phathor, Ostrakinou, Thelbo, Hipponon), in particular, were close to the border between the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites.

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2. Peensamois must have been meant at Stud.Pal. X 84, 1.5, where Pois also appears at l.4, as well as Noeris (l.3; also found in BGU XIV 2436,1.12, again in connection with Pois). Peensamois and Noeris are therefore the most likely solutions at P.Tebt. III 1044, ll.54 and 65.

3. See s.v. NINΩ.

4. My readings (checked on a photograph); Ὅκληνος (l.48), Νόκληνος (l.50) ed. pr.
(?) NOMAPXOU'

II A.D.  
P.Prág. II 132,7-8  
ἐποικίου Νομάρχου  
λεγομένου

late III A.D.  
BGU XIII 2365,16  
Νομαρχῷ

TOPARCHY: this could well be a locality in the Arsinoite nome: see P.Prág. II 132,7 n.

NOTINOY'

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 200,4  
Νοτίνου ἐπὶ οὐ(κίου)

VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 204,3  
Νοτίου ἐπὶ οὐ(κίου)

Listed with Magdola (I.3) and Peene (I.6) in Stud.Pal. X 200; again with Magdola (I.1) and perhaps Peene(I.6), besides Ogu (I.4; Tekmi toparchy), in Stud.Pal. X 204.

ΝΩΙΣ

after 84/83 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2370,5  
ἐπί κόμης Νωεώς

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2420,6  
τῆς Νωεώς

BGU XIV 2425,7;27  
Νοιτῆς (7); Νωείτης (27)  
(ethnic)

28/27 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2665,16  
περὶ Νωίν

V/VI A.D.  
CPR XIV 40,2  
[διὰ ἵππου] ἑλεία  
βοηθείος Νωεώς  
χ(αρίου) Νωεώς

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 209,5  
See also: ΝΩΤΕ.Σ

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Zawjet el Nāwya? (plausible on phonetical and topographical grounds).

BGU XIV 2370 assigns this village to the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy. Νωεώς (BGU XIV 2420) should be a variant spelling.

Listed with villages of the Ἀγίμα toparchy in CPR XIV 40 (Petarchos) and Stud.Pal. X 209 (Kollasoucha); and with villages of the Tekmi toparchy (Ogu, Mouchis) and the Koites (Talae) in BGU XVI 2665 (letter on poorly inundated land).

1 The resolution is mine.

2 There is also a possible reference to a βοηθείας ἄλλ(ης): a «nördliche Poststation» (cf. BL 9,76).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΝΩΥΓΕ ἜΣ

169-164 B.C.  

P. Strab. II 99,3  

ἐκ Νοῦγ Ἔς

Petition to the sovereigns: an inhabitant of this village claims to be the rightful heir to his father’s house at Πομένων κόμη (Μέση toparchy).

ΝΩΥΚΛΕΓΧΗΣ

mid-III B.C.  

P. Fuad Crawford 5, recto, 3

TOPARCHY: Koites.

P. Fuad Crawford 5 recto lists several villages belonging to the Koites, including Pselemachis and Psychis.

ΝΩΥΠΙ

mid-III B.C.  

P. Strab. IX 802, 2

TOPARCHY: Koites.

P. Strab. IX 802 lists Egyptian tax-payers and their villages, all of them apparently in Koites.

ΟΓΟΥ

I B.C.

BGU XIV 2436, 3

"Ογου

περὶ Ὄγου

28/27 B.C.

BGU XVI 2665, 4

"Ογον (96); Ὄ[γ]ου (164)

28/29 A.D.

P. Oxy. XXIV 2412, 96; 164

ἀπὸ Ὄγου (11); ἀπὸ ἦμοι (15); ἀπὸ Ὄγου (20)

350 A.D.

P. Oxy. 6, 11; 15: 20

IV A.D.

Stud. Pal. X 236, 1

"Ογου

V A.D.


"Ογου

1 My reading: Νοῦγος ed. pr. A reading Νοῦκος seems impossible, as the traces after θ are not compatible with an α.

2 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p. 14 n 7.
TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

BGU XIV 2436 surveys a holding split among villages which, though presumably near each other, did not belong to the same toparchy; these are: Magdola (1), an Ἰβτών locality (2), Pois (2), Peens (amois?) (3; Πέρον toparchy), Ogo (3). About a century later, Magdola and Ogo again recur together in a list (Stud.Pal. X 204, ll.1 and 4 respectively; also note Πειρατ at ll.6: cf. Peens (amois?) in BGU XIV 2436).

P.Oxy. XXIV 2412 includes Ogo in a group of six villages, all presumably in the Tekmi toparchy (Ogo, Tekm, Kollintathyrr, Pyrgotos, Mouchis, Ibion). The neighborhood between Ogo and Kollintathyrr is confirmed by P. Oxy. 6: here the scribe deletes the κόμη qualification at l.152. In BGU XVI 2665 (letter about poorly inundated land) Ogo is mentioned along with Mouchis (Tekmi toparchy), Nois (περί Πόλιν toparchy) and Talae (Koites). The village may have shrunk, or indeed it may not have been a proper village even at an earlier stage (older sources do not call it a κόμη); but it certainly was called a χωρίον in sources of the Byzantine period, such as Stud.Pal. X 72 (mentioning Ogo along with Hiera Nesos) and Stud.Pal. X 211. It should be noted that Stud.Pal. X 211, 212 and 213, though published as separate documents, are in fact fragments of one and the same source: therefore, the villages mentioned in all three may have been near each other; these are: Ogo, Thelbonthis (Stud.Pal. X 212; Techto Nesos toparchy), Petacher and Kollasoucha (Stud.Pal. X 213: "Αγίης toparchy.

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).3.

ΟΔΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

36/35 B.C. BGU XIV 2376,19:38

A piece of garden-land near Sobthis (in περί Πόλιν) is located by reference to a διώρυγα called ὁμφαλονοικο (south) and to this ὁδός Βασιλική (north). References to a canal and a road, locating land near Sobthis, are also found in CPR I 42.

ΟΔΟΣ Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ

1 August 25 B.C. BGU XVI 2590,9-10 τὸ (sc. χώμα) λεγόμενον Μεγάλης Ὁδός

Sworn agreement by the elders of Korphotoi to undertake maintenance work of the three public canals near the village (see s.v. ΧΩΜΑ): one of these is identified by reference to the Μεγάλη Ὁδός.

1 Ὄγο ed. pr.
2 As noted in CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v.
3 See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

OINALEG( )

III A.D.  
BGU XIII 2365,6  
Oinaleg( )

OLWNOOES

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,12

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

OMONOIA

V A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 233, col. II.9  
Omonoias

ONNH(Σ) or ONNEOUΣ (kómit)

239/238 B.C.  
P.Rain.Cent. 44,5  
ἐξ Ἄννεους

212/211 B.C.  
P.Lille I  
59,18;25;32;46;50;53;94  
101;108;118  
'Onnéouς

III B.C.  
P.Cair.Zen. III 59473,4  
ἐν Ὄννη

III B.C.  
P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782  
(b),28;45;67  
ἐξ Ὄννεους (28); ἔξ Ὄννεους (45); ἔξ Ὄννεους (67)

III B.C.  
PSI VI 587,4  
ἐξ Ὄννεους

early II B.C.  
(?) P.Tebt. III 889,9  
ἐν Ὅνη  
τῇ Ὄννη

early II B.C.  
P.Tebt. III 1082,35  
ἐν τῇ Ὄννῃ

after 84/83 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2370  
(fr.1),82;86; (fr.3),96  
Ὁννεοῦς (82); ἔξ Ὄννη (86); Ὄννεος (96)

after 52/51 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1808,9  
Ὀννεοὺς λογευτῶν ἐ ἀρχιφυλακίτου ἐ (9-10)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,44  
Ὀννεοῦς

1 In my opinion, this document should be dated to the 9th year of Euergetes (239/238 B.C.). See the Editor's note on 111: P.Rain.Cent. 44 comes from the same cartonnage as P.Rain.Cent. 43, which is dated to 236 B.C.

2 My reading (checked on a photograph, where I can detect no τ: rather, a loop connecting τ to the following τ): ἐν Ὅνη ed. pr. (derived from a nominative Ὅνης; see Index of the geographical names in the ed.pr.)

3 I suggest this reading at 1.96: Οὐν... ed. pr.

150
CATALOGUE

30 B.C.-14 A.D.  BGU XVI 2577,80  'Οννίτης (ethnic)
18 B.C.  BGU IV 1202,1  τοῖς ἀπὸ 'Οννέους ἱερεῖς
I A.D.  (? ) P. Oxy. XLII 3052,10  Οὔεννε 1
August 199 A.D.  O. Wilck. II 1117,4  διά ὄνων
205 A.D.  Stud. Pal. XX 18,3 (= CPR I 228)  ἡ Ἱππαλκλεοπ(ολίτου)
late IV/early V A.D. (cf. BL 9,368)  P. Vind. Tand. 18,20  νομ(οῦ) 'Οννή
V A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 9,1  ἀπὸ 'Οννή'
V/VI A.D.  Stud. Pal. III 371,2  'Οννή
VI A.D.  P. Rain. Cent. 137,1  βοὴ(θὸς) κόμης 'Οννή
VI/VII A.D.  P. Dub. 25,8  γρ(αμματεῖ) 'Οννή
VI/VII A.D.  P. Dub. 26,1  τῆς ἱματερᾶς κόμης 'Οννή3
25 Feb. 657 A.D. (cf. BL 8,353)  SB VIII 9750,3  ἀπὸ κόμης 'Οννή
VII A.D.  Stud. Pal. III 68,2  Ομη' ἁρ(ακλεον(ολίτου))

Literary Sources

XII-XIII A.D.  (? ) Tabula Peutingeriana  Venna

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: Wilcken argued that this place-name should be understood as 'Οννέους (κόμη)4; however, early sources already employ 'Οννή for the dative (ἐν 'Οννήτ, rather than ἐν 'Οννέους κόμη). 'Οννής is attested as a personal name in the Ptolemaic period at Abydos (PPr III 5656), Pathyris (PPr I 695) and Apollonopolis (PPr IV 8243; V 13329).

Onnes appears in a section of BGU XIV 2440 where land assigned to μάχμου is surveyed: these

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1 Is this a variant spelling for Οννή?
2 My supplement: ἀπὸ 'Οννή ed.pr.
3 There is also an intriguing reference to the πρωτοκόμμων τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης: the «best part of town» (see Ed. ad loc.)?
4 ULRICH WILCKEN, APF 5, 1913, p. 432 (on BGU IV 1202): «Die beschenkten Priester heißen τοῖς ἀπ’ 'Οννέους ἱερεῖς. Dies Dorf kann nicht Onnes heißen, sondern nur 'Οννέους scil. κόμη. Vielleicht liegt derselbe Personennamen zugrunde in der Ableitung 'Οννετόν, die im Fayum begegnet.»
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

were also granted land at Tochontou (uncertainly read in the following line) which other sources locate in the Tekmi toparchy; reference to Tekmi itself is also made in the immediately preceding (1.46: land granted to ἄνωτάται) and following (1.46: land assigned to ἐφοδεῖ) sections.

Much the same villages recur in P.Lille I 59 and in P.Cair.Zen.IV 59782 (b); in both documents Onnes is comprised between villages of the Tilothis and the Koma toparchies, while other villages of the Tekmi toparchy are also mentioned.

Often associated with Onnes in the sources are Koma, Bousiris, Thanoibiastis 1. In BGU XVI 2577 (tax-list) the ethnics Κρητίτης (from Kresis) and Οὐνίτης appear.

Journey along the river to Alexandria in PSI VI 587: Etelearches writes to Zenon and informs him that Dositheus is about to arrive at Philadelphia (Arsinoe nome) 2 from Onnes and Moietheou (the modern Meidoum, in the Memphite); if Zenon wants to travel with him, he should get ready. This leads to the hypothesis that Onnes was a station on the journey down the Nile, to Alexandria, which in turn may support the identification with Οὐνίνε of P.Oxy. XLI 3052 (southward itinerary from Alexandria): Οὐνίνε was identified by the Editor as «the Venne mentioned by the Tabula Peutingeriana after Memphis and before Ptolemaidor (Ptolemais Hormou?) and Herakleb» (i.e. Herakleopolis); the following station in the itinerary may well be Kevi = Κάτωνη.

If Οὐνίνε can be read in P.Tebt. III 889,9 Naukratis also appears as a possible destination of a downstream journey via Onnes.

P.Tebt. III 1082 (part of an account) also mentions Tanis (in the Arsinoe nome) and Hierac (Nesos). Another connection with the Arsinoe nome is provided by P.Dub. 26, referring to somebody from the village of Onnes, but presently ἐν τῷ κρατεῖ τοῦ Ταμιάδου (an Arsinoite locality). This is also consistent with Stud.Pal. III 68 (two men from Onnes lease two arourae from somebody ἀπὸ κοίμης Λευκογιάνου) 3.

Besides, Stud.Pal. XX 18 (receipt by which Ammonios, ex-gymnasiarches and living at Herakleopolis, acknowledges the partial repayment of a loan by a woman from Onnes) points to a proximity of Onnes to the περὶ Πολύντον toparchy.

BGU IV 1202 is a letter from the topogrammatae of the Bousiris toparchy concerning the monthly provisions of ὀλομοκριτορία of the priests (from Onnes) of the temple of the «very great gods Μένδητος καὶ Αἴτου, Χώνας καὶ Αρποκράτης» 4.

P.Rain.Cent. 137: 10.5 aratabae ποὺ τοῦ κόσμου are to be given by Enoch (grammatae at Onnes) to the liburnarius Pamun: an order to this effect comes from Thedodoros, son of Iakob, through the notarius Johannes (note the obviously Jewish names).

On the topography of the Cairo region, see 5.66.72.12 etc.

Stud.Pal. XX 18: Ammonios, ex-gymnasiarches living at Herakleopolis, acknowledges the partial repayment of a loan by a woman from Onnes.


ΟΝΩΣΙΕΣ

I B.C.

BGU XIV 2440 (fr.7),95 Οὐνόσιος

1 Koma: P.Cair.Zen. IV 59473 and 59782; P.Lille 59; BGU IV 1202; BGU VIII 1808; BGU XIV 2370 and 2440.
Bousiris: P.Lille 59; BGU IV 1202; BGU VIII 1808; BGU XIV 2370, P.Rain.Cent. 44, P.Vind.Tand. 18. Thanoibiastis: P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782 (b); P.Rain.Cent. 44; BGU VIII 1808; BGU XIV 2370 and 2440.

2 The connection between Onnes and the Arsinoetis is confirmed by O.Wilck. 1117 (corn transport in the Arsinoe by means of donkeys requisitioned at Onnes).

3 The connection between Leukogion and Onnes is also supported by the fact that these two are the only Herakleopolite villages mentioned in the P.Dub. papyri (though in different documents: Leukogion appears in P.Dub. 24 and 28).

4 See above on the connection between Onnes and Bousiris.
CATALOGUE

I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218,54;90;92  Ὄνοστεώς (54);
Ⅵ A.D. P.Land. VI 124,5  Ὄνοστεώς
Ⅴ A.D. Stud.Pal. X 47,1  Ὄνοστεώς
Ⅴ-Ⅵ A.D. Stud.Pal. X 5,4  τὸν βοηθοῦν Ὄνοστεώς (cf. BL 1,418)
ⅥⅦ A.D. CPR IV 2,15  χ(ωρίων) Ὄνοστεώςες
ⅦⅧ A.D. Stud.Pal. X 218,2  χ(ωρίων) Ὄνοστεώςεως (cf. BL 1,419)
Ⅷ A.D. Stud.Pal. X 223,6  ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Ὄνοστεώςεως

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν.

Assigned to the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy in BGU XIV 2440, Onosis is listed with at least two more villages of the same toparchy (Tokois, Noeis) in P.Hib. II 218. CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (the toponyms are written in Greek)2.

(?) ΟΞΥΡΥΓΧΟΣ

V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 233, II,12  ἐποίκιον Οξυρυγχο[ν]
Ⅵ-Ⅶ A.D. P.Oxy. XIX 2244,57  κατά τὴν Οξυρυγχο[ν]
Ⅶ A.D. (?) P.Lond. V 1791,5;7  κόμην? (5)3; ἐπι
□ Οξυρυγχο[n] (7)
ⅦⅧ A.D. Stud.Pal. X 56,4  ἀπὸ χωρίου
□ Οξυρύγχος (ου)
Ⅷ A.D. Stud.Pal. X 72,2  χ(ωρίων)
□ Ὅξυρύγχος (ου)

TOPARCHY: Koites?

ETYMOLOGY: as is well known, the name refers to a fish which was especially venerated in the capital of the Oxyrhynchite nome4.

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1 Ὄνοστεώς ed.pr.
2 See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ
3 Harrauer’s supplement; Οξυρυγχο[ν] πόλιν ed.pr.
4 Cf. DIETER HAGENDORF, ZPE 12, 1973, p.292, pointing out «daß die im heutigen Sprachgebrauch übliche Namensform der Stadt, Ὅξυρυγχος, die von den antiken literarischen Quellen ... ausschließlich verwendet wird, in den Papyri nur ganz selten bestätigt wird» (italics mine).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

It has been suggested that there was a village by this name in the Herakleopolites, too, besides one in the Arsinoites. This supposition is based especially on *Stud.Pal.* X 233, II,12 and on *Stud.Pal.* X 72, which otherwise list Herakleopolite toponyms only. On the other hand, none of the other χαράκτερια appearing in *Stud.Pal.* X 56\(^2\) seem to be elsewhere attested for the Herakleopolites, and the possibility cannot be excluded that either the Arsinoite village called Oxyrhynchus, or the capital of the Oxyrhynchite nome occasionally intruded in a list of Herakleopolite toponyms.

ΟΣΤΡΑΚΙΝΟΥ

VI A.D. \(P.Oxy.\) XVI 1917,62 *εποικ(ίου) Όστρακίνου*
end of VI A.D. \(P.Oxy.\) VI 998 descr. *Όστρακίνου*
VII/VIII A.D. \(SB\) XVIII 13888,6 \([χ(ωρίου) Όστρακίνου(ν)]\)

See also: ΟΤΡ()


Other place-names appearing in the same document point to the Koites: (P)hathor (the seat of a monastery), Nokle, Thelbo, Hipponon. All of these places were in the proximity of the border between the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes.\(^3\) Nokle, with Taamorou and Pselemachis, also appears in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1917.

ΟΣΙΣΘΕΟΣ

See s.v. ΑΓΩΝΙΟΣ.

ΟΤΡ()

VIII A.D. \(*Stud.Pal.* X 109,5 \(\varepsilon(ν τοφ) χ(ωρίω) Οτρ(ο)\)\)

See also: ΟΣΤΡΑΚΙΝΟΥ(Υ).

The place-name immediately preceding Οτρ() is Taamorou (in the southern Koites; but other villages also listed were in other toparcaries). If located in the Koites, this could well be the same locality as Ostrakinou (q.v.).

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2 Namely: Φ(1); Φοο(2); Φοορ. (3); Τζόλ (5).

3 'Οστρακίνου is included in PRUNETI. *Centri abitati*, p.127.

4 «Οτρ» gut möglich. Οστρακίνου m.E. eher nicht» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994). The second reading would of course lead to Ostrakinou.
Π. [±6]

VI-VII A.D. \(\text{Stud. Pal. X 5,2}\) τὸν βοηθὸν(όν) Π. [±6] \(^1\)

ΠΑΛΑΙ( ) \(^2\)

late III A.D. \(\text{BGU XIII 2365,5}\)

Note Παλαις, listed at 1.2 of the same document.

ΠΑΛΑΣ

late III A.D. \(\text{BGU XIII 2365,2}\)

Note Παλας, listed at 1.5 of the same document.

ΠΑΛΕΤΙ[1]

VII-VIII A.D. \(\text{Stud. Pal. X 206,11}\)

Apparently the name of a κηφρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

ΠΑΠΑ

149 or 138 B.C. \(^3\) \(\text{SB XVIII 13304,7}\) εἰς Πάπα
I/II A.D. \(\text{P.Hib. II 218,44;53}\) Πάπα (44); Πάμα (53)
298 A.D. \(\text{P.Panop.Beaty 1,121;161}\) ἀπὸ Πάπα (121); ἀπὸ Πάπα (161; sic) \(^4\)

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\(^1\) «Vor der Lücke Π.» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).

\(^2\) The Editor indicates that Πελας( ) could also be read here.

\(^3\) The dates 157 B.C. suggested for this document in the ed. pr. (\textit{BASP} 22, 1985, pp.243-246) may be wrong: according to GREGG WILLIAM SCHWENDNER, \textit{ZPE} 72, 1988, pp.275-276, it should be dated to 149 or preferably 138 B.C.

\(^4\) There is little doubt that one and the same locality is mentioned both at 1.121 and at 1.161. A scribal error seems more likely at 1.161, where Ποσεξ (instead of Πασεξ) may have been written by anticipating the τ of the following τοῦ. The other possibility would be for Πασεξ (at 1.121) to have been written mistakenly by ditography - in which case Ποσεξ (not attested elsewhere for the Herakleopolites) could be an abbreviation for Ποσεξ(τοῦς) (see \textit{z.b.}).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

III A.D.  
P.Neph. 28,6

late III A.D.  
BGU XIII 2365,13

III-IV A.D.  
P.Neph. 29,3

about 300 A.D.  
BGU III 949,5

313/314 A.D. (cf. BL 8,210)  
P.Michael. 28,1

365-373 A.D.  
SB XIV 11615,3

IV A.D. (cf. BL 3,221)  
PSI III 222,9

435 A.D.  
P.Select. 15,5

VI/VII A.D.  
CPR X 60,1

VI/VII A.D.  
P.Köln VII 323,2

άπο κόμης Πάπα περί Φ( )
άπο κόμης Πάπα μικράς τού Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τού νομοῦ

Γνωστοῖς Σολλομον ἐπικεφαλήνων Πάπας

ἐν κόμη Πάπα Μεγάλης(έν) (2); ἀπὸ κόμης Πάπα Μεγάλης τοῦ Ἡραικλεοπολίτου νομού (2-3)

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: this village is attested in P.Wilbour (A 12,14; 13,23; 28,10; 30,2; 34,38; 34,41; 35,32(?); 43,10) with the double spelling P3-m3 and Pr-p3-m3 (Coptic Papho)\(^3\), which explains the variant Greek spelling Πᾶπα in P.Hib. II 218, 1.53, as opposed to the normal Πάπα (also found in P.Hib. II 218,44).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Bibī (older spelling: Babī). It seems probable that this village was the ancient Πάπα ἡ μεγάλη to this all sources listed above are likely to refer, with the exception of P.Select. 15 and (possibly) PSI III 222.

SB XVIII 13304: the komogrammatae of Tekmi and Bichtinouth reports the arrival of the strategos Euphranor, «leading to Tekmi the troops that had been transferred to Papa».

P.Michael. 28 also lists Pselemachis and Philonikou (both in Koites).

Connection with Thelbo: BGU XIV 2365 (Techtho, Θημοιχ( ) also listed); P.Hib. II 218 (Thelbo is entered at 1.52, Phebichis at 1.46).

P. Beatty Panop. 1: letters from the strategos of the Panopolitans, dealing with preparations for the

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1 The supplement περί Φεβηχύν has been suggested by the Editors in their commentary (with reference to P.Michael. 28.1), but not accepted in their text, «denn es könnte ein weiteres Dorf desselben Namens in einen anderen Toparchie gegeben haben. Πάπα μεγάλης oder Πάπα μικράς steht nicht da».

2 As noted in the ed. pr., a horizontal stroke above Φ, at the end of I.9, indicates that this was an abbreviated toponym, probably Φεβηχύν, as other documents show Papa to have been in the Koites. ἀπὸ Φεβηχύν Dams (cf. BL 7,233; but on the original I could detect no β at the beginning of I.10).

3 Cf. TAVO B 69 p.92 (M 82) and p.123 (with nn.47 and 48).
forthcoming visit of the Emperor to Panopolis; one letter reports the dispatch of two cargoes of charcoal from Papa to (presumably) Alexandria.

_P.Si III 222_ deals with two unwilling tax-payers, one from Thmoiamounis (Koma toparchy), the other from Papa.

_P.Select. 15_: two γεωργοί from Papa ή μικρά sell barley and arakos to a baker from Herakleopolis. _P.Kółn VII 323_, referring to Papa ή μεγάλη, confirms the existence of two villages by the same name, at least in the Byzantine period.

ΠΑΡΓΟΥ

VI A.D.  

_Study Pal. X 228,4_  

ἐν τῷ(πω) Πάργου

Listed with Πιστίμι (1.5), Νεθσει (1.6), Νευκέλια (1.7), Σουριν (1.8), Πιακέρ (1.9).

ΠΑΣΗΕΙ

462 A.D.  

_P.Vind.Sijp. 7, 2;5;9; verso_  

ἐν ἑποικίου Πασηεί (2); ἀπὸ ἑποικίου Πασηεί (5); ἐν τῷ σύντροφῳ ἑποικίῳ Πασηεί (9); ἀπὸ ἑποικίου (?) Πασηεί (verso)

463 A.D.  

_Study Pal. XX 127,6_  

ἐν ἑποικίῳ Πασηεί (cf. _BL 9,346_)

1 April-31 August 543 A.D.  

_CPR X 121,3_  

κεφαλαιοστα κτήματος Πασηεί (BL 9,74)

ΤΟΡΧΑΡΧΥ: Koites.

Both _P.Vind.Sijp. 7_ and _Study Pal. XX 127_ are ἐγγύα addressed to Ἐλαχώνος Όλυμπος ὁ λαμπροτάτος ἀπὸ πρωτορος. In _Study Pal. XX 127_ Aurelius Victor Apasirios of Phebichis gives security for Aurelius Ammianus: the document was drawn at Kerkesephis. All people involved apparently lived at Πασηεί.

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1 Ll.120-127 were deleted by the scribe; but ll.160-166 are a slightly different version of the same text.

2 Reading revised by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994)


4 "Oh nur κτήμα hier allerdings als Synonym für ἑποικίου (oder χορίου) zu gelten habe, möchte ich bezweifeln; vielleicht ist konkret, dass es in dem letztgenannten Dokument um Belange eines Großgrundbesitzers geht, entweder das in diesem Dorfe befindliche Gut gemeint oder auch das Dorf selbst, aber in seiner Funktion als "Besitzum" (ed. pr.) in der Hand des Großgrundbesitzers" (cf. J. M. DIETHART, _ZPE_ 76, 1989, p.107).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΠΑΣΤΟΦΩΡΩΝ

256 (255) B.C. P.Yale 31,6-7 (= P.Hib. I 87) περὶ τὴν τῶν Πιστοφόρων ¹
about 250 B.C. P.Hib. I 118,16 [Πιστοφόρων

ΠΑΣΤΑΣΟΥΣ

early II A.D. P.Köln II 98,24 Πιστασούσου
VII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 220,1 ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Πιστασούσου;²

TOPARCHY: Πέραν? Koites?

ETYMOLOGY: Patamoussos is a Thracian personal name.³ It is certainly to be read at 1.16 of P.Tebt. III 1045, too, where cleruchs of the Herakleopolites are apparently listed: cf. FRITZ UEBEL, Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern, Berlin 1968 (Patamoussos is no.1132 in his list). The reference to Peensamoi at this point of the document is particularly interesting, as Patamoussos is also the name of a tax-farmer (?) in P.Hels. 26,A,334 (162 B.C.; an entry for Peensamoi recurs at 1.28).

This was apparently, still in the II A.D., a "fossil" kleros (P.Köln II 98: mentioned with several other such kleroi) which eventually grew into a village.

ΠΑΣΤΑΤΩΝ

I B.C. BGU XIV 2436,15 περὶ Πιστατών

BGU XIV 2436 mentions villages belonging to different toparchies in the central and southern Herakleopolites.

¹ "The town near which the cleruchs have holdings is called τὴν τῶν Πιστοφόρων. The reading is a restoration chosen by Grenfell and Hunt, and is something of a surprise. They pointed out that the name of this village does not occur elsewhere, unless it can be read in P.Hib. 118,1, Πιστοφόρων. The cleruchs here are ἔλεοσιπεντάρχοι (P.Yale I 31, Intro., p.87).

² Ταστοψ.γ. (Wessely; but "In Z.1 der Liste ist ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Πατασοψ.γ(ρίου) zu lesen" (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994): in place of two γ's, I propose to read the diphthong ou.

³ Cf. LUDWIG KOENEN, Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemaische Königsfeste, Meisenheim am Glan 1977, pp.24-25, where he also argues for Πατασούσου to be read instead of Παστασούσου in P.Tebt. III 1045,15. On account of the recurrence of the name Παστατών in the Herakleopolites, the inscription studied by Koenen is perhaps more likely to come from this nome. A photograph of this inscription is found in ÉTIENNE BERNAND, Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum, tome III, tav.42.

⁴ ἐν Παστασούσου (my supplement).
CATALOGUE

ΠΕ. [ ]

I B.C.        BGU XIV 2429,18

ΠΕ[ ]

II A.D.      CPR I 115 + 145,17¹ περὶ ΠΕ[ ]

TOPARCHY: Koites?

Thmoínache (Koites) appears more than once in the same document (II.1, 18 and 19).

ΠΕ[ ]

286 A.D.      P. Wash. Univ. I 18,25² ἀπὸ ΠΕ[ ]

Thnēs (Koites) is mentioned in the same document.

ΠΕΕ[±4] [ ]


ETYMOLOGY: presumably compounded with the prefix πεεν- (Egyptian p.3-hr-n-, «the portion, the plot of»: see below, s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠΙ(Α)′Θ( ).

Other villages listed in the same document include Magdola (1), Νοτίνου (3), Ογου (4; Tekmi toparchy). A possible supplement is ΠΕΕ[νη], as this village appears in the same document with Magdola, in BGU XIV 2429 and in Stud. Pal. X 200 (Νοτίνου is also listed).

Another possible supplement is ΠΕΕ[νσαμοι], as Oγou also appears to have been contiguous to Peenamoi in BGU 2436,3.

ΠΕΕΜΠΙ(Α)′Θ( ) [ ]

VI A.D.       P. Batav. XIX 23,3 πρωτοφήλακ(ος)

ΠΕΕΜΠΙ[α]θ(α) [ ]

¹ «CPR I 115 ist mit CPR I 145 vereignit» (letter from Johannes Diethart, of February 25, 1994).
³ Πεεσαμαει ed.pr.: but Πεεσαμαις or Πεεννη seem more likely supplements to me.
⁴ «P. Batav. 23,3 ist m.E. ΠΕΕΜΠΙ(α)θ(α) klar zu lesen» (Johannes Diethart, letter of September 13, 1994); ΠΕΕΜΠΙθ(α) ed.pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

VI A.D. P. Batav. XIX 23 bis,3 (= Stud. Pal. III 24 recto) πρωτωφήλακ(ος)
πετιάτος (l. πρωτοφύλακος πεδιάδος)
<δ>πο νό(του)
Πεμπι.′( )

ETYMOLOGY: first element p3-hr + -n- (genitive): «the plot of...»\(^2\) (πες-μ- before a labial sound).

This could be a Herakleopolite place-name because:
1. most toponyms with the prefix Πες-/Πεμ- are Herakleopolite\(^3\);
2. there is a good possibility for both documents (from the so-called Fayum find) to originate from Herakleopolis\(^4\).

Πεμπι(ασθυ)′(εος)\(^4\) is a possible supplement, especially if Πεμπιας( ) may be read in P. Batav. XIX 23 bis.

ΠΕΕΝ.[..]

I B.C. BGU XIV 2429,16

ETYMOLOGY: πες- = Egyptian p3-hr-n-: «the portion, the plot of»; see s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠΙ(Α)′(Θ′).

ΠΕΕΝ.ΧΕΝΟΒΑ( )

I B.C. BGU XIV 2433,18 ὀπό Πες χενοβα( )\(^5\)

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive)\(^6\): «the plot of...».

See also s.v. ΠΕΕΝΣΧΩΝ.

ΠΕΕΝΑΜΕΥΣ

157 B.C. UPZ I 122,3 ἐκ Πασαναμεύς τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπόλιτου

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1 The first Editor deciphered Πονεπε..πΘ().
2 Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).
3 Cf. Calderini-Daris, Dizionario, vol. IV, pp.82-84; Suppl. I, pp.221-224.
5 The Editor indicates Πεςνεφενοβα( ) or Πεςνεφενοβα( ) as possible readings.
6 See s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠΙ(Α)′(Θ′).
CATALOGUE

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
about 48/46 B.C.  
I B.C.  
I B.C.  
I/II A.D.  
II A.D.  
225 A.D.  
227 A.D.  
227 A.D.  
228/229 A.D.  
15 Oct. 251 A.D. (cf. BL 8,463)  
V A.D.  
V-VI A.D.  
VI-VII A.D.  
VII A.D.  

BGU XIV 2429,2  
BGU VIII 1849,6  
BGU XIV 2435 recto, col. I,1  
BGU XIV 2437,26  
BGU XIV 2440,3  
P.Hib. II 218,39  
CPR I 111,7  
CPR I 36,3,7  
CPR I 64,5 (= SB I 5165)  
Stud.Pal. XX 28,5 (= CPR I 7)  
Stud.Pal. XX 55,4 (= CPR I 37)  
Stud.Pal. X 94,6  
CPR XIV 6,5,15  
Stud.Pal. X 237,1  
Stud.Pal. X 4,4

Πενάμεος  
έκ Πενάμεος  
Πενάμεος  
Πενάμεος  
Πενάμεος  
κόμης Πενάμεος (3); περί κόμην Πενάμεα (6-7)  
δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ὁγορονομ[ίας] μερῶν Μέσης Πενάμεος (4-5)  
δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ὁγορονομ[ίας] μερῶν Μέσης Πενάμεος (4-5)  
δι' ἐπιτηρητῶν ὁγορονομίας [Μέσης Πενάμεως] (4-5); [ἀπὸ] κόμη[ς] Πενάμεως (7); π[ερί] κόμην Πενάμεως (21)  
περί κόμην Πενάμεα (3-4)  
ἐποίηκ(ιον) Πενάμεος  
ἀπὸ ἐποίηκιον Πενάμεος [ὁ] Ἑρακλεοπολίτου νομ[οῦ] (5-6); ἀπὸ ἐποιῆκ(ιον) Πενάμεως (15)  
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1 Unpublished: see BGU XIV, p.131.
2 My supplement; [περί Τέχμην] ed. pr.; but people living at Peenameus apparently acted through the ἐπιτηρητῶν ὁγορονομίας of the Μέση τοπαρχία: cf. CPR I 64 and Stud.Pal. XX 28.
3 «The full name of the hamlet is missing both in this line and in the address, but ... Πενάμεως... appears the most probable restoration» (Editor's note ad l. 5). See also AMPHIOCHIOS PAPATHOMAS, «Textbeiträge zu CPR XIV», Tyche 10, 1995, p.145.
4 My supplement. See p.163 n.1.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOMES

VII-VIII A.D.        Stud. Pal. X 17,10        ἀργὸν χ'ω(ρίου) Ποιναμη[        [ΠΕΕ]ΝΑΜΕ(ως)
Byz.                SB I 4727,2

Literary Sources

V A.D.        STEPH.BYZ.        Πίνανυς-πόλις Αἰγύπτου κτλ.

TOPARCHY: "Αγγίμα κάτω (I B.C.), then Μέση (III A.D.).

ETYMOLOGY: $p^3$-hr + -n- (genitive) + $\text{ην}$ ("the plot of the shepherds"): this toponym recurs in $\text{P.Wilbour}$ B 22,29 (variant spellings: B 15,13; A 20,26).

The village is also attested in Coptic sources, where it is called $\text{Puo}\dot{\text{o}}\dot{\text{h}}$(-n)-$\text{Namēy}$: cf. GÉRARD ROQUET, Toponymes et Lieux-dits égyptiens enregistrés dans le dictionnaire copiste de W.E. CRUM, Cairo 1973, Nr.3. The Coptic Life of the Apa Epima, a martyr who lived in the fourth century A.D., is a particularly important source: Apa Epima was taken to the port of Pehnamoun (this must be Peenamoun, q.v.), and then put to trial in Puo$\dot{\text{h}}$-Namēy (Boharic Pwo$\dot{\text{h}}$-NI$\text{Namēy}$).

The similarity between the village-names Pehnamoun and Puo$\dot{\text{h}}$-Namēy has apparently given rise to some confusion. Thus, according to Timm (cit.) - das Verhältnis zwischen Pehnamoun und Puo$\dot{\text{h}}$-namēy ist noch zu klären. T. Mina [the Editor of the Life of Apa Epima] vermutete, daß es sich um zwei benachbarte Siedlungen handele, wofür aber die Belege fehlen. Mina's opinion seems reasonable in the light of the Greek sources, attesting both Peenaneus/Po$\dot{\text{h}}$-Θ $\text{Namēy}$/Ba$h\text{namīth}$ and Peenamoun/Pehnamoun/al-Bahsamūn (see s.v. ΠΕΕΝΑΜΟΙ).

The Map in Tavo B 69 identifies Bahnamū (correctly) with Greek Πειναμύς (actually Πειναμύς: the wrong ending goes back to the Editors of $\text{BGU}$ VIII) but also (wrongly, in my opinion) with Coptic Phesamoun, which is probably no more than a variant spelling for $\text{Pehsamoun} = \text{al-Bahsamūn}$: see s.v. ΠΕΕΝΑΜΟΙ.

This same place-name may have been translated into Greek in some sources: Ποινέμονον κόμη (q.v.).


$\text{BGU}$ XIV 2437,26 assigns Peenaneus to the "Αγγίμα κάτω (followed by Korphotoi, Peenepomphis, Peenemithous, Kella) but about three centuries later $\text{CPR}$ I 64 and $\text{Stud.Pal.}$ XX 28 (contracts involving people from Thumointhis and Peenibyk(is), in the Μέση toparchy) are apparently drawn up in the agoronomos office of the Μέση toparchy at Peenaneus. At least one village of the Μέση (Techmysis) in fact appears at not great distance from Peenaneus in $\text{BGU}$ XIV 2440.

In $\text{BGU}$ VIII 1849 a woman remembers her parents' journey from Peenaneus to the temple of Herakles at Tilothis, and how she came to marry the brother of a priest of this temple. Her parents are said to have travelled north (καταδρόνων: down river, i.e. north), which is consistent with the identification of Peenaneus and Tilothis with modern Bahnamū and Dallis, respectively.

$\text{CPR}$ I 111 (lease contract between two inhabitants of Herakleopolis) concerns land near Peenaneus, in the fossil kleros Blōvōς.

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1 The Coptic name of the place would seem to postulate the prefix $p^3$-w$\text{θ}$, "the residence", rather than $p^3$-hr, "the plot.

There are in fact signs of oscillation in the Greek rendering of the first element of this toponym: in the earliest document attesting it ($\text{UPZ}$ I 122) this is transliterated as $\Pi\sigma\alpha\nu\omega$; later on, one finds $\Pi\epsilon\nu\nu\mu\alpha\nu\varsigma$ ($\text{BGU}$ VIII 1849) and $\Pi\nu\nu\mu\alpha\nu\varsigma$ ($\text{Stud.Pal.}$ X 4; X 17). Cf. HEINZ-JOSEF THISSEN, "Zu $p^3$-hr-n- $\text{ην}$ = $\Pi\nu\nu\mu\alpha\nu\varsigma\nu\varsigma$, Enchoria 1, 1971, pp.75-78 (on $p^3$-hr = $\Pi\nu\nu\mu\alpha\nu\varsigma$ and $p^3$-w$\text{θ}$ = $\Pi\sigma\alpha\nu\omega$).

2 Cf. TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten IV, pp.1872-1873 (s.v. "Pehnamoun").
CATALOGUE

Stud.Pal. X 94: Peenameus is listed with 'Ἀννεμοῦ (near Sobthis), Daphne', Toschmis. As this last village belonged to the Koites, it may be worth noting that Peenameus is also read at the top of the fifth column in a poorly preserved land-survey on the verso of BGU XIV 2435: the survey on the recto deals with the Phebichis area.

Stud.Pal. X 4: villagers from 'Ἀπίονος (1), Poinami (2; variant spelling for Peenameus), Thmoiamounis (4; Koma toparchy), and Pkommatoei (5), are requested for compulsory work to be done on the dyke (πορφρόμα) at Koma. Poinami recurs again with Koma (3) and Pkommatoei (13) in Stud.Pal. X 17.

ΠΕΕΝΒΕΝΔΗΤΕΩΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,31  
Πεενβενδήτεως

TOPARCHY: Μέση.


Land-survey: the section on the Μέση toparchy includes Peenbendet(is) along with Phnebues, Peenpibik(is), Phys, Ποημένων κώμη.

ΠΕΕΝΕ.‘( )³

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,5

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + n-(genitive): «the plot of...»; see s.v. Πεεμπ(α)θ(‘).

Part of a τοπογραμματικός κλήρος was at Πεεν.‘( ); it is recorded in BGU XIV 2437 (II.1-8) under the heading περὶ Τέκμι: Κολλιντωπόρ. More land (to make up a 60 arraia holding) was in other places of the same toparchy (Taemis, Tōu, Tochontou, Tekmi).

ΠΕΕΝΕΠΟΧΡΑ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2433,55  
Πε[εν]εποχρα

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¹ Πεενέμεθος is therefore a likely supplement at Stud.Pal. X 237,1, as Daphne also appears in this document (1.3).

² See s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠ(Α)θ(‘).

³ The ed. pr. offers Πεενεχ( ), Πεενοχ( ), or Πεενέχ( ). A reading Πεενέρ(υς) also seems possible (checked on a photograph).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2440,56\(^1\);  
(fr.9),108; (fr.12),122  

perì Πεενέποχρα (122)

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive): «the plot of...»; see s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠΑΘΘΘ的真实性()

BGU XIV 2433 includes Peenepochra in the same group (Il.48-55) with Chennis (48) and Phys (49), both of which were in the Μέση toparchy.

ΠΕΕΝΕΨΫΤ

212/211 B.C.  
P.Lille I 59,12;43,98;126  
Πεενέψψ

51/50 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1779,2  
παιρ' Ἀραβ[ώτου]  
κιο[μογραμματέως]  
Πεενέψψ²

50/49 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1842,6  
perì κόμην Πεενέψψς³

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1822,7  
perì Πεενέψψ⁴

See also: Πεενε...( ).

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive): «the plot of...»; see s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠΑΘΘΘ的真实性()

P.Lille 59 includes PeenePsy in a list of villages of the Koma, Tekmi and Tilothis toparchies.

BGU VIII 1842: Petechon, phylakites at Tekmi, has a 10 arouae kleros at Πεενέψψς.

BGU VIII 1822: Artemon, who leases land from an «Arab» in the PeenePs area, petitions the strategos Paniskos against the local authorities at Tekmi.

BGU VIII 1779: petition written by the komogrammateus Haryotes on account of the inhabitants of PeenePsy, who complain of being charged excessively high taxes.

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\(^1\) New reading suggested after checking a photograph, and deemed «probable» by William Brasher, who checked the original for me (letter of August 22, 1994). Πεενέψψς... ed. pr. (only the bottom parts of the letters are preserved).

\(^2\) My reading (checked on a photograph). Πεενέψψς ed. pr.; Πεενέψψς Günter Poethke (letter of April 14, 1994). The initial, very cursive, π differs from any other π in this document: toponyms, however, and especially standard prefixes such as πεεν-, were often written much more cursive than the rest of the document. The two shapes for a π coexist e.g. in BGU VIII 1824 (checked on a photograph). the cursive π being found in a large number of documents from Abu Sir Al-Maṣāq (published as BGU VIII, XIV and XVI).

\(^3\) Πεενέψψς according to the Editors: but the same toponym is indexed by them with a different accent (Πεενέψψς).

\(^4\) Reading checked for me by Günter Poethke: perì Πεενέψψ ed. pr.
CATALOGUE

ΠΕΕΝΕΨΩΜΦΙΣ

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
63/62 B.C.  
I B.C.  
I B.C.  
506/507 A.D.

BGU XIV 2429,3  
BGU VIII 1771,14  
BGU XIV 2437,30;  
(f.r.1),54; (fr.2),62  
BGU XIV 2438 (fr.3),89  
MPER XV 62,1;4

Πεενεψώμφις
περί Πεενεψώμφις έν τοῖς Ἀρχαίοις  
Πεενεψώμφις (30);  
Πεενεψώμφις (54:62)  
Πεενεψώμφις
πεδί(ον) Πεενεψώμθεως (1); πεδί(ον)  
Πεενεψώμθεως (4)

TOPARCHY: "Ἀγημα κάτω.

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive) \(^1\) + intermediate ε\(^2\) + second component πνφ ("temple dancer") \(^3\): "the plot of the temple dancer".

BGU XIV 2437 and 2438 assign this village to the "Ἀγημα κάτω.

Peenepepsophis and Korphoi appear as consecutive entries in BGU XIV 2429 (II.3 and 4), 2437 (II.28 and 30) and 2437 fr.1 (II.52 and 54).

Near Peenepepsophis was a settlement of Greek κάτοικοι, called οἱ Ἀρχαίοι, contiguous to another such settlement called οἱ περὶ Ἀυλήν, near Bichinthouth in the Tekmi toparchy (BGU VIII 1771).

ΠΕΕΝΗ

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
I B.C.  
311 A.D.  
381 A.D.  
405 A.D.

BGU XIV 2429,3  
BGU XIV 2440,62,64  
P.Oxy. XIV 1708,3  
P.Rain.Cent. 87,2  
SB VIII 9773,8

Πεενη.  
περὶ Πεενή (62)\(^4\); περὶ  
Πεενή (64)  
ἀπὸ κόμης Πεενή  
ἀπὸ Πεενή  
ἀπὸ κώμης Πεενή

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\(^1\) See s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠ(Α)%Θ( ).
\(^2\) As in Θυμωνέφη (see s.v. ΘΟΜΟΠΘΑ).
\(^3\) Cf. WILLY CLARYSSE-Pieter J. SuppeSteijn, «A Letter from a Dancer of Bubasis», APF 41, 1995, pp.57-61: they publish a Michigan papyrus (P.Mich. inv.no. 4394a, of the second or first century B.C.) which shows that there was a special link between στρατηγοί (στριφ., «dancers») and the cult of the goddess Bast, apparently well established in the Heracleopolites (see s.v. ΘΟΜΟΙΩΒΑΣΤΙΣ).
\(^4\) περὶ Πεενή ed. pr.: the supplement is mine, on the basis of l.64.
\(^5\) On the variant spelling Πεενή see CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v. (where a comparison is drawn with the spellings Πεεννό/Πεεννό of an Oxyrhynchite place-name).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

VII-VIII A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 200,6  χ(ω'(ρίον) Πενη

See also: Πεν[4]

TOPARCHY: περί Πόλιν?

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive): <the plot of...>; see s.v. Πεμπι(α)'θ(υ).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Bahā (on the analogy of Πειναάμ/Θανάμ, Πεινασμ/Θανασμ; with loss of the -n- of the genitive, as in Al-Bahsamūn); this was Coptic Παηα: see TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M117).

The villages listed in BGU XIV 2429 were for the most part in the Ἀγημιας toparchy (Peeneus, Peeneos, Korphotoi, Nino, Kollasoucha, Niseus, Papesim, Peachor). Magdola, Hiera Nesos, Mouchis and Sathis are also entered. Μογηδουλ of Stud. Pal. 200 (L.3), where Peene also recurs, is probably just a different spelling for Μογηδουλα: the two villages would thus appear together in another, much later document.

BGU XIV 2440 (I.62-66): private land of Berenike, the daughter of Eubios 1, situated περί Πενη and περί Π... (I.62-64); there follows a reference to περί Περα(ν) κατα Νισέα (I.65: more of Berenike's property is being surveyed).

ΠΕΕΝΙΒΙΣ

I/II A.D.  P. Hib. II 218,62  Πενιβι(ες)

TOPARCHY: Μέση?

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive) 2 + second component h(y)b (<the plot of the ibis>)?

In P. Hib. II 218 Thmoinothis (58), Phnheieus (59), Chennis (60), in the Μέση toparchy, precede the entry for Peenibis; Komis (63), Kreis (64), Bousiris (65) follow it.

Πεν- prefixes are well represented in the Μέση toparchy, while not attested in the Koma toparchy.

ΠΕΕΝΜΟΘ( ) 3

I B.C.  BGU XIV 2434,15

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1 The same Berenike also appears in BGU XIV 2446 (II.8.17), 2447 (I.9) and 2450 (I.35).
2 See s.v. ΠΕΜΠ(α)'θ(υ).
3 «Dorf, unbelegt» (ed. pr.). A very doubtful reading. One would not expect a village-name at this point of the document, unless it may be taken as an additional entry in the totals drawn at the end of this account of wheat revenues from the different toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome.
ETYMOLOGY: first component $p3$-$hr$ + $-n.$ (genitive)\(^1\) + second component $-\mu\alpha(\cdot)$: «the plot of...».

ΠΕΞΠΙΑΣΒΥΤΕΩΣ

212/211 B.C.  
P.Lille I 59,8;35;121  
Πενιπασβύτεως

29 Nov. 163 B.C.  
P.Hels. 18 (Greek subscription),2  
Πενπαντα(σ)βσ...\(^2\)

after 84/83 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2370,24  
Πενπασβύτεως

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2436,10  
Πενπασβύτεως (τιν)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,63  
Πενπασβύτεως

V A.D.  
Πεμπιπασβύθεως  
(cf. BL 8,459)

See also ΠΕΞΠΙΜ(Α)Θ( ).

TOPARCHY: Tilothis.

ETYMOLOGY: first component $p3$-$hr$ + $-n.$ (genitive)\(^3\): «the plot of...».

Assigned to the Tilothis toparchy in BGU XIV 2370 and BGU XIV 2438, this village must have been near the "Αγημα toparchy, too: the holding of a certain Ptolemaios jr. was in fact split between it and Korphotai (which was in the "Αγημα).

The lists of place-names of the Tilothis toparchy in P.Lille I 59 and BGU XIV 2438 coincide (Peenpasbyt(is), Schnomth, Tanchais, Tilothis); both documents also mention Koma, and other villages of the Koma toparchy.

Stud.Pal. X 233 enters Peenpasbyt(is) three lines after Bousiris (which also recurs in P.Lille I 59).

ΠΕΞΠΙΠΙΒΥΚΕΩΣ

93-70 B.C.  
P.Yale I 57,2  
ἐν κώμη Πεσπιβυκεί  
τής [Μέσης] (cf. BL 8,513)

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1803,6  
Πεεπιβυκεί

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,33;  
(fr.3),98  
Πεεπιβυκεως (33);  
Πεεπιβυκεως (98)

ΠΙ-ΠΙ A.D.  
P.Köln II 99,2  
Πεεπιβυκεως

\(^1\) See s.v. ΠΕΞΠΙΜ(Α)Θ( ).

\(^2\) ΠΕΞΠ... ed.pr., ΠΕΞΠ...  
Clarysse (JHS 109, 1989, p.247). The traces as can be detected on the photograph are compatible with ΠΕΞΠΙΟ(σ)βσ...\.

\(^3\) See s.v. ΠΕΞΠΙΜ(Α)Θ( ).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

211-217 A.D.  
\( \text{CPR I 56,6} \)  
\( \text{έγορονομίας} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως (cf. BL 7,43)} \)

227 A.D.  
\( \text{Stud.Pal. XX 28, 7-8} \)  
\( \text{άπο κ[ωμῆς]} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως} \)

236 A.D. (?)  
\( \text{(cf. BL 8,463)} \)  
\( \text{άπο κ[ωμῆς]} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως (cf. BL 8,463)} \)

first half of III A.D.  
\( \text{CPR I 92,9} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως (cf. BL 7,43)} \)

IV/V A.D.  
\( \text{Stud.Pal. X 235,2} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως} \)

IV/V A.D.  
\( \text{P.Rain.Cent. 153,14} \)  
\( \text{άπο Πιεντιβύκεως} \)

V A.D.  
\( \text{Stud.Pal. X 233, col. II,19} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως} \)

V/VI A.D.  
\( \text{Stud.Pal. VIII 1226,5} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως} \)

VI A.D.  
\( \text{MPER XV 113,1} \)  
\( \text{άπο Πιεντιβύκεως} \)

end of VI/VII A.D.  
\( \text{P.Köln VII 319,3} \)  
\( \text{άπο κ[ωμῆς]} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως} \)  
\( \text{τίου Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ} \)

end of VI/VII A.D.  
\( \text{P.Köln VII 321,5} \)  
\( \text{άπο κ[ωμῆς]} \)  
\( \text{Πιεντιβύκεως} \)  
\( \text{τίου Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ} \)

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

ETYMOLOGY: first component πρου (+ -ν of the genitive) : «the plot of...».

This village often recurs in association with Phnebues, which was the main centre in the Μέση toparchy (\text{BGU VIII 1803,II,2} and \text{6-7; BGU XIV 2428,22;96; P.Köln II 99,1}).

\text{Stud.Pal. XX 28} (παρασχύρησις contract between two of its inhabitants, drawn up in the agoranomos office at Peenemueus in the Μέση) confirms the location in this toparchy.

On the other hand, \text{Stud.Pal. XX 47} is a παρασχύρησις contract drawn up at the agoranomos office of the Ἀγίμης toparchy, for land situated περὶ κ[ωμῆς] Ωτεμύρν, in the fossil kleros of Theodoros; the vendor is from Peenibyk(is), the buyer probably from Alexandria (he is called an ἀστός). The contract was written by the same scribe who recorded \text{CPR VI 73} (contract drawn up at the same agoranomos office, between parties from Tekni and Herakleopolis)³.

\text{Stud.Pal. X 235} deals with wine production.

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¹ The supplement is mine; the Editor offers Ψτίφαρα ( ), otherwise unattested.
² See s.v. ΠΕΝΗΜΕΙΑΥ( ).
³ See s.v. ΠΕΡΑΦΩΣ.
PIEON [..]

Feb. 13 B.C. \( BGU \) XVI 2585,1

ETYMOLOGY: first component \( p^{3-} hr \ (+ - n \text{-} of the genitive): \) «the plot of...».

Declaration of sheep addressed to the agents of the official \( πρὸς \ τὸ \ έννομίῳ \) of the Heracleopolites.

PIEONSAMOY

215/214 B.C. \( P. Strasb. \) II 111, 5-6 \( \) Πεονταμιουν (cf. \( BL \) 7,245)

about 164 B.C. \( P. Tebt. \) III 1044,54 \( \) Πενσα(μοί)\(^1\)

about 164 B.C. (cf. \( BL \) 7,273) \( P. Tebt. \) III 1045,14;45 \( \) περὶ \( \) Πενσα(μοί) (14); 

2 Sept. 162 B.C. \( P. Hels. \) I 26 A,28 \( \) Πενσαμοί

162 B.C. \( P. Tebt. \) III 857,36 \( \) Πενσα(μοί)?\(^3\)

I B.C. \( BGU \) XIV 2436,3 \( \) Πενσαμοί?

I B.C. \( BGU \) XIV 2437,41 \( \) Πενσαμοί

9 Jan. 13 B.C. \( BGU \) XVI 2616,3 \( \) εἰς \( \) Πενσαμοί

9 Aug. 10 B.C. \( BGU \) XVI 2640,3 \( \) ο \( \) τῆς \( \) Πενσαμοί 

3/2 B.C. \( BGU \) XVI 2565,4 \( \) ο(πι)ο \( \) Πεν<σ>αμοί\(^5\)

192 A.D. \( P. Tebt. \) II 353,4 \( \) κοιμογρα(μματείας)

309 A.D. \( P. Hib. \) II 219,11 \( [Πενσαμοί] \(^7\)

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\(^1\) Πενσα(μοί) \textit{ed. pr.}: the resolution here, as well as in \( P. Tebt. \) III 1044 and 1082 (see below), was based on the (wrong) reading at \( P. Tebt. \) II 355,5 (see below, n.6).

\(^2\) Πενσα(κο) \textit{ed. pr.}: but see the preceding footnote.

\(^3\) The resolution is mine; the Editors' note \textit{ad loc.} records that «although the name might be read as Πενσα(κο), for which \( BGU \) VIII 1827,26, Πενσα(κο) is more probable; cf. \{\textit{P. Tebt.}\} 1044,54; 1045,14» - where, however, just Πενσα(κο) can be read (see above, n.2).

\(^4\) Πενσα(κο) \textit{ed. pr.}

\(^5\) Πενσα(κο) Ed. (who hesitates between Πενσα(κο) and Πενσα(κο)).

\(^6\) Πενσα(κο) \textit{ed. pr.} The new reading is mine (checked on a photograph).

\(^7\) Πενσα(κο) \textit{ed. pr.} \{Πενσαμοί\} is an attractive supplement, as this village of the Πέρον tonoparchy is elsewhere connected with Techitho (recurring at 1.13).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

421 A.D.  

P. Select. 13,3; verso  

άπο κόμης Πεενσαιμοί  

γεγονού τού αὐτοῦ (scil.  

Ὑρακλεόπολιτού)  

νομοῦ (2-3); ἀπὸ  

Πεενσαιμοί (verso; cf. BL  

7,98)

V A.D.  


Πεενσαιμοί (cf. BL  

7,258)

8 June 623 A.D.  

(SB I 5681,19)  

ἐν τῷ καλομίμην κόμη  

Πεενσαιμοί

VIII A.D.  

Stud. Pal. X 84,5  

χ(αρίων) Π. ομοί

See also: ΠΕΕΙ[Σ4].

TOPARCHY: Πέργαον (XIII pagus: P.Select. 13).

ETYMOLOGY: π3-ह- + -ν- (genitive)3 + -ταουν/-σαιμοι4: «the plot of...». The form -ταουν is attested only once (along with a different vocalisation in the first component: Πεεν- instead of Πεεν-), in the earliest source for this village 5.

The same village is attested in Coptic sources, where it is called Peeshamoun (cf. CPR IV 50,39; CPR IV 173,4) or Pehnamoun (in the Life of Apa Epima, where it is said to be a port: see s.v. ΠΕΕΝΑΜΕΥΣ).


P.Hels. I 26 lists Peensamoi, Tibetnay, Thmoiphtha, Thmoainausiris, as belonging to the Πέργαον toparchy: the oikonomos deals with tax-arrivals from the Koites, the Techto Nesos and the Πέργαον (P.Hels. I 21 almost certainly belongs to the same document). Peensamoi and Thmoiphtha again recur together in BGU XIV 2437. In P.Strasb. II 111 (farmers on strike have apparently fled from the first to the


2 Πεενσαιμοί seems possible here. Π. ομοί ed. pr.; «vielleicht Πεενσαιμοί» Diethart (letter of September 13, 1994).

3 See s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠ(Α)Θ( ).

4 The alternence τ/σ may suggest Egyptian d (information from Willy Clarysse).

5 For a similar case, see s.v. ΚΟΡΦΟΤΟΙ.

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second village) Clarysse's suggestion¹ that Πενντακούν = Πενντακοι is therefore supported by the very likely reading Θμοα[ε]οθ[ε]α on the verso. Again, the same official (the oikonomos' agent, called Harmachis) who is in charge at Techtho (P.Strasb. II 563 and 113²), also supervises affairs at Πεγντακούν = Πεγντακοι and Θμοα[ε]οθ[ε]α (both were villages of the Πέρος toparchy)³. In other words, there was an administrative connection between Techtho and Peensamoi (and with the Πέρος in general): this also accounts for the fact that these two villages appear one after another in Stud.Pal. X 233.⁴

P.Hib. II 219 contains an assessment of linen-pieces to be produced by the λινούφοτο of Ἀγκυρίνων πόλεως, also on account of other villages, including Techtho (I.13). In P.Tebt. III 857 Peensamoi and Pois are mentioned in two different fragments of the same document: this supports the resolution Πεννσι[αμοι] in BGU XIV 2436, 1-3, where Orestes' kleros is split between Magdola, an Ἰβίττων locality, Pois, Ogou (Tekmi toparchy) and Peensamoi⁵. Peensamoi must have been meant at Stud.Pal. X 84, 1.5, where Pois also appears at 1.4, as well as Noeris (1.3, περὶ Ἔλλην τόπῳ toparchy: also found in BGU XIV 2436, 1, 12, again in connection with Pois). Peensamoi and Noeris are therefore the most likely solutions at P.Tebt. III 1044, II.54 and 65.

P.Tebt. II 353 (a receipt for tax-arrears paid to the agent of the komogrammata of Peensamoi) was found among the ruins of a house at Tebtynis⁶; perhaps the payer had more than a single domicile, one at Peensamoi (where he was in arrear with his taxes) and another at Tebtynis (where he may have kept this receipt): had he forgotten to pay his taxes because he was away or, rather, did he try not to pay them by moving to the neighbouring nome? In SB I 15681 Phoibammon, from Ἀργυροτότων πόλεως, has been living at Peensamoi for a long time, but still has business in the Arsinoites.

In the Coptic Life of Apa Epima, a martyr of the IV A.D., reference is made to the port of Pehnamoun⁷.

ΠΕΝΝΣΕΜΘΕΥΣ

96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2429,10  
Πεννσεμθεῦς

after 84/83 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2370,34  
Πεννσεμθέως

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,32  
Πεννσεμθέως

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438 (fr.3),91  
Πεννσεμθεῦς

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2444,6  
κώμης Πεννσεμθέῳς⁸

See also: ΠΟ[...][ΩΜ( ).

TOPARCHY: "Ἀγημα κάτω.`

² Both papyri were recited by Clarysse, ibid.
³ I suggest that τοῖς τῷ Πέρος should in fact be read above 1.21 in P.Strasb. II 111.
⁴ Clarysse therefore suggested that Πενντακούν was not far from Techtho.
⁵ A resolution Πεννσι[αμοι] would imply the splitting of the name Semtheus.
⁶ During the excavations of 1899/1900: see P.Tebt. II, Preface, p.V.
⁷ Cf. TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, IV, pp.1872-1873, s.v.
⁸ My reading and supplement (checked on a photograph): Πεννσουμ. ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr + -n- (genitive)¹ + second component (Σμθεν; personal name, besides being the name of a god²): «the portion of Semthere».

MODERN ARABIC NAME: on topographical grounds, an identification with Santur is tempting; phonetically, however, this would imply the loss of the prefix p3-hr -n- /πεν-, normally preserved in other toponyms (see s.vv ΠΕΝΑΜΕΤΥΣ, ΠΕΝΣΑΜΟΙ).

BGU XIV 2370 assigns this village to a κάτω τοπαρχία which BGU XIV 2437 and 2438 name more precisely as the Ἀγίμα κάτω. BGU XIV 2429 also comprises it in a group of villages in the Ἀγίμα toparchy (Peenameus, Peenesepomphis, Korphotoi, Nino, Kollasoucha, Niseus, Peenemheus, Petachor).

At least one land-grantee seems to have held land both at Peenemheus and at Pyrgotos (Tekmi toparchy): this is Apollonios son of Chairemon (land at Peenemheus: BGU XIV 2437, 33; at Pyrgotos: BGU XIV 2441, 31 and 209³). A village of the Tekmi toparchy (Mouchis) appears in BGU XIV 2429, too. In the light of these connections between Peenemheus and Tekmi, the reading Πευσεθιός (ές), which I propose at BGU XIV 2444, 6, seems plausible (the orchards and vineyards surveyed in this document pay their ιππομοιοῖα to the temple of Eseph at Tekmi).

ΠΕΕΝΕΣΧΩΝ

| II B.C. | BGU IV 1244,6 | Φνεβεθεός καὶ Πευσθοίον⁴ |
| 52/51 B.C. | BGU VIII 1827,23 | κόμην Πευσχοί⁵ |

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3-hr -n- (genitive)⁶: «the plot of...».

The association with Phneueus (the main centre in the Μέση toparchy) in BGU IV 1244 suggests the ascription to this toparchy. This is supported by BGU VIII 1827: a dispute between husband and wife

¹ See s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠ(Α)Θ( ). Note the alternative Greek spellings Πευ- (BGU XIV 2429) Πευ-.
² «The great god Semthere» (Σμθενεταῖος θεός μεγάλος; the final -κενταῦ-κομίς is the Greek transcription of the Egyptian word for «great god», which is then also repeated in Greek words) had a temple at Tekmi (BGU VIII 1795,4-5). His προφήτης (called Semthere son of Horus) was also the δικαιοσύνη in the temple of Herakles at Sobhei. The god Semthere has been recognized in a bronze statuette of a Belgian private collection by JAN QUAEGERBEUR, «Somptous l’Enfant sur le lotus», CRIPEL 13, 1991, pp.113-121.
³ The entry immediately following (BGU XIV 2441,211) concerns Eubios son of Eubios, who also appears as a land-grantee at BGU XIV 2444,9 (first entry under ΠΕΥΣΕΘΙΟΣ).
⁴ My reading (checked on a photograph) Πευσθοίον Poethke (letter of February 14, 1994): Πευσθοίον ed. pr. («Es folgt wohl ein zweiter Dorfname»). This toponym is found at the end of the line.
⁵ κόμην Πευσχοί ed. pr. («Hinter dem Namen muß etwa folgen δρ(οφόρον) δρ(οφόρος) κ»: Edd. ad loc.). This reading has been checked for me by Tomasz Derda (letter of July 5, 1994): «What I can read is κόμην or rather κόμην... In my opinion the toponym ends with omega and is Πευσχοί. After this there is some blank space with no traces of ink».
⁶ See s.v. ΠΕΕΜΠ(Α)Θ( ).
Concerning a piece of land near Πεενεχς is brought to the strategos, requesting him to write to a certain Nikarchos ἐν ποταμῇ Ἀγράδης, and to the ὑποστροφητής, on this matter.

ΠΕΕΝΕΧΣ

30 Jan. 237 B.C. PUG III 114,8 (= SB XVI 12979) ἐκ Πεενεχς
7 Dec. 227 A.D. (cf. BL 7,259) STUD.PAL. XX 29,21 περὶ Πεενεχ

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν? Tekmi?

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3- active + -n- (genitive)²: «the plot of...».

PUG III 114: νοσίκληρος declaration for the transport of corn from Peentechy, Taemsis (in the Tekmi toparchy) and Tanaso (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy) to Alexandria.

STUD.PAL. XX 29: some of the land ceded by a man from Tosachmis (Koites) to his wife (who is from Tanaso) is situated near Peentechy ²: the connection between Peentechy and Tanaso is thus confirmed. The contract, however, was drawn up by the ὑγορρονάμος of Tekmi.

ΠΕΕΝΦΡΙ...

I B.C. BGU XIV 2437 (fr.2),62 Πεενφρ[....
I B.C. BGU XIV 2438 (fr.3),94 Πεενφρ[.

See also s.v. ΠΕΕΝΦΡΙΜΕΝΣΩΚΟΥ.

TOPARCHY: Ἀγημια κάτω.

ETYMOLOGY: first component p3- active + -n- (genitive)⁴ + second component p3-hrj: «the plot of the blessed» + third component (personal name?)⁵.

Assigned to the Ἀγημια κάτω in BGU XIV 2438, where Peenepsomphis is entered at the beginning of the list. In BGU XIV 2437 Peenepsomphis also appears on the same line with Πεενφρ[....[ (which must therefore be the same village as Πεενφρ[ in BGU XIV 2438).

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¹ περὶ Πεεντεχ. ed. pr. The new reading has been checked for me on the original by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).
² See s.v. ΠΕΕΝΦΡΙΜΕΝΣΩΚΟΥ.
³ Three kleroi are mentioned, in order to locate this landholding: Μόρφων (123; south), Δωματονοῦ (123; north), Ἑλιοκδέρου καὶ τοῦ ὄδεστρου (124; cast and west).
⁴ See s.v. ΠΕΕΝΦΡΙΜΕΝΣΩΚΟΥ.
⁵ φρ = p3-hrj is found in UPZ II 180a, XIV, 6-9: it meant «der Erhabene ... ein Ausdruck für den Verstorbenen» (Heinz-Joseph Thissen, Enchoria 1, 1971, p.77).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΠΕΝΦΡΙΜΕΝΣΩΚΟΥ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2432,33 ἀπὸ Πενϕριμενσωκου

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΠΕΝΦΡΙΠ... 1. A personal name Σοκ(κ)εύς, or Σοκ(κ)εύς, is attested (cf. PIETER W. PESTMAN ET ALII, A Guide to the Zenon Archive, Leyden 1981, Prosopography, s.v.).

ΠΕΡΙΤΤΙΑΝΟΣ 2

V A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 233, col. II.20

ΠΕΜΑΤΕ

after 13/12 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2601,7 περὶ κόμην Πεματε [...] (7-8)

ΠΕΝΤΑΛ[ΕΩΣ]

VI A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 44,5 χ(ωρίου) Πεντάλ[εως] (cf. BL 7,258)

ETYMOLOGY: first element p3-hr + -n- (genitive) + second element of Semitic origin (cf. tell): «the plot of the hill» (Coptic Pehntal); cf. JEAN YOYOTTE apud DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite, p.200 («l'établissement de la colline»).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Badahl (on phonetical grounds). Badahl is «ein archäologisch bedeutender Ort mit einem sehr ausgedehnten, stellenweise im Abbau begriffenen Korn. Die Keramikscherben sind in spätantike Zeit zu datieren. Im Dorf befinden sich eine ganze Reihe antiker Objekte, Ölpressen, Steinblöcke. Unter letzteren ist ein Kalksteinfragment mit griechischen Buchstaben hervorzuheben ... Im Haus des Elektroingenieurs Hatif befinden sich zwei unterlebensgroße liegende Löwenstatuen ... auch das Fragment eines Gefäß - oder Opferständer ... Auf den Düichern einiger Häuser stehen Löwenfiguren, von denen wir vier gezählt haben» (TAVO B 69, p.210 f.).

Other localities listed in the same document include: Pois (I.4), Tou and Kollintaathyr (II.7 and 8; Tekmi toparchy), Herakleopolis, Phneibus (Middle toparchy), Tebetny (I.12; Πέραν toparchy).

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1 The Editor (ad loc.) remarks: «Eine sehr zweifelhafte Lesung. Allerdings ist es nicht dasselbe Dorf wie in BGU XIV 2437,62, wo die Spuren anders aussehen».

2 Wohl Περιττιανος zu lesen (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
CATALOGUE

ΠΕΡΑΝ (toparchy)

215/214 B.C.  
P.Strasb. II 111,21  
2 Sept. 162 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 26A.4;15;20;26  
'teis to Perial'  
'ton Koaithen kai tin  
Texho Nisio kai to  
Pera (3-4); Pera (15;26);  
[Π]Pera (20)

after 52/51 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1808,14  
Peralὡς μεριδάρχο(υ)  
[παρά] Πεταμούνθου  
topographmatε(ως) τοῦ  
Peral

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1805,1

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2434,12  
Peral

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,87  
Peral κ...

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,65  
peiri Peral(υ) kai Nisea

about 7-4 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2662,12  
Pera

28 Jan. 5 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2586,15  
Pera

211-217 A.D.  
SB XVIII 13858,12  
δι' ἐπιτηρ(ητῶν)  
ἀγο(ρανομιας) Peral

Documents which mention the Peral toparchy in connection to one or more of its villages do not appear here: these are listed and discussed under the entries for the relevant villages. A list of villages that can be assigned to this toparchy will be found on p.294.

The Peral and its villages are repeatedly associated in our sources to the Techno Nesos toparchy (cf. e.g. P.Hels. I 26 A; BGU VIII 1808; BGU XIV 2434; BGU XVI 2586). Its connection with the "Aγιμα (and with the village of Niseus in particular: see s.v.) is most clearly shown in BGU XIV 2440

ΠΕΡΑΦΘΟΙΣ

222-235 A.D.  
CPR VI 73,16  
peiri kómyth Peraφθοην

TOPARCHY: Tekmi? "Aγιμα?

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1 My reading (checked on a photograph); 'tēs πε.αυ' Clarysse (in his re-edition of this document: Ancient Society 7, 1976, pp.200-203). The reading eic to Περα, inserted above 1,21 presumably in order to clarify where the (mansions of) Harsomeus (τα 'Ἀρσημεθεος'; see s.v.) were, is further supported by the mention of two villages of the Περα in the same document: see s.vv. ΠΕΝΣΑΜΟΙ, ΘΘΑΦΘΑ.

2 My reading (checked for me on the original, and deemed "probable" by William Brashear, letter of August 22, 1994); περικομίθι ed.pr.

3 Cf. DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 34, 1979, pp.109-110 (re-edition of this document, which used to be Stud.Pal. II 19): «Mit einigen Bedenken möchte ich vorschlagen, Pera als (indeklinalen) Namen der Agoranomie im Genitiv aufzufassen. Eine Agoranomie dieses Namens ist zwar unbekannt, doch gab es... eine Toparchie Περαν» (p.110). Documents of the same kind were issued through the agoranomie of the Méthie and 'Aγιμα toparchies: see s.vv.

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THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Two sisters living at Tekmi sell some land (near Peraphthis), a 10 year old slave, and a μηχανή, to Aurelius Heron, also called Herakleios, σύνδικος and βουλευτής of Herakleopolis. The contract (apparently written by the same scribe who recorded Stud.Pal. XX 47) was drawn up in the agoranomos office of the Ἀγήμα toparchy.

ΠΕΡΕΜΘΕΩΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440 (fr.1),71

ΠΕΡΟΗ

285/284 B.C. (cf. BL 4,39)  
P.Hib. I 84 a,7;22  
ἐν κόμητι Περοή

about 260 B.C.  
P.Hib. I 112,14  
Περοή

2 Sept. 162 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 26 A,25;41  
Περόη (25; cf. BL 9,106); Περόη (41)

ΠΕΡΟΜΟ’Ο(Υ)

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,2,16  
Περομαθαιίου

II/IV A.D.  
P.Mich. XV 722,2;5;10;12;13;16  
Περομ(α)υ

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Koites.

P.Hels. I 26 indicates that Peroe was in the Koites (II.24-25); this village is again listed with localities of the Koites in P.Hib. I 112 (where it is entered after Psychis, Assyra and Phibichis) and P.Hib. II 218.

P.Mich. XV 722: survey of land in the surroundings of Ὕσιο(ς) and/or Peroe.

P.Hib. 84 a: contract for the sale of 30 art. wheat between two Greek settlers living at Peroe.

ΠΕΡΟΜΟ’Ο(Υ)

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 214,1  
π(ε)διο(υν) Περομο’ο(υ)  

Π(ε)διο(υν) Περομο’ο(υ) is written on top of the following list: ἐν τόπῳ διόρυχος Λαλλανοῦ (1.2), ἐν π(ε)διο(υν) Ποιεύν (1.3), ἐν π(ε)διο(υ) Πλέμεθεου (1.4), ἐν π(ε)διο(υ) Ἡθαλμί (1.5), ἐν π(ε)διο(υ) Μαλεφάλου (1.6), ἐν τόπῳ Παλατίνου (1.7), ἐν π(ε)διο(υ) Ψανάτε (1.8). None of these localities is attested elsewhere.

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1 A παραχώρησης contract: the parties are from Peonpibyk(is), in the Μέση toparchy, and probably from Alexandria.

2 Other possible readings (according to the ed. pr.): Πεμβάθεος, Σελεμέθεος. Also Πεμβάθεος, Πεμβάθεος (William Brashear, letter of August 22, 1994).

3 See also ALAN E. SAMUEL, Prolemaic Chronology, München 1962, pp.11-12.

4 «Ich möchte am liebsten Περομο’ο(υ).... lesen» (Johannes Diethart, letter of September 13, 1994); Περομο ed. pr.
CATALOGUE

ΠΕΡΧΥΦΙΣ

about 260 B.C. P.Hib. I 112,46
mid-III B.C. P.Strasb. IX 802,16

ΠΕΩΣΕΝ

VII A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 206,5 

άπό χ(ορίου) Πεσεν
παγ(αρ)χ(ιας)
Ήρακλ(εοπλιτου)

See also: ΠΟΥΕΝ.

Other villages of the παγαρχία 'Οξηρων(ίτου) are mentioned in the same document, including Τσίμιστεα (for which an identification with modern Sumustā al-Waqf has been suggested!).

ΠΕΤΑΧΟΡ

II B.C. P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1300,11
mid-II B.C. P.Tebt. III 876,5
96-94 or 63-61 B.C. BGU XIV 2429,10;13
after 52/51 B.C. BGU VIII 1808,17;33(?)

II/III A.D. P.Hib. II 218,35
3 Jan. 373 A.D. P.Vind.Sijp. 13,3
V-VI A.D. CPR XIV 40,1

έκ Πεταχ(ορ)²
peri Πεταχόρ
Πεταχόρ (10); Πεταχ(όρ) (13)
Πεταχόρ λογευτών ε
άρχιφυλαξιτ(ο)ν ε (17-19);
Πεταχ(ορ) (33)³

Πεταχ(όρ)
έν κόμη Πεταχόρ
Πεταχ(ορεως)
βοηθ(ού) Πεταχ(ορεως)

¹ TAVO B 69, p.91.
² Guido Bastianini kindly informed me of this new source for the present village. P.Mil.Vogl. inv.1300 was obtained from the same cartonnage containing a roll with Posidippus' epigrams: see Introduction, p.20 f.
³ My reading (checked on a photograph): Πεταχ(ορ) ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 213,2;5 Πεταχόρθιος (2); χ(ωρίον)
Πεταχόρθιος (5)

TOPARCY: "Αγριμα (ἄνω?)."

Kollasoucha, Petachor and Hiera Nesos are all mentioned in BGU XIV 2429, and in BGU VIII 1808, where Allilais also occurs; Petachor and Kollasoucha also appear in consecutive lines in Stud.Pal. X 213 (II.4 and 5). As P.Hib. II 218 also lists Allilais, Kollasoucha and Petachor in three consecutive lines (33-35), it seems likely that these villages were all in the same area, i.e. the "Αγριμα (ἄνω) to which Allilais certainly belonged. Further support to this hypothesis is lent by CPR XIV 40, where Petachor recurs in the same document with Nois, a village in the περί Πολυν toparchy which is also found with Kollasoucha in another document (Stud.Pal. X 209).

The following villages also recur with Petachor in one or the other document: Niseus ("Αγριμα toparchy, but very near the τέραν; in the same line with Petachor: BGU XIV 2429,10; P.Hib. II 218,35; note also the entry τέραν in BGU VIII 1808,14); Korphonti ("Αγριμα κάτω toparchy; BGU VIII 1808,4; BGU XIV 2429,4); Peenamos ("Αγριμα κάτω, then Μέση toparchy); Phnibes (Μέση toparchy: BGU VIII 1808,25; P.Hib. II 218,59). The location of Petachor in the proximity of the τέραν may be safely inferred.

Proximity with the Tekomi toparchy may be deduced from the fact that Mouchis (BGU XIV 2429,7; P.Hib. II 218,41; Stud.Pal. X 233, col.1,1,5) also recurs in a number of sources, not too far from the entries for Petachor. P.Vind.Sijz. 13 is a loan contract drawn up at Petachor; both parties are from Herakleopolis.

BGU XIV 2429 apparently records 108 Egyptian, and 20 Greek (male) tax-payers at Petachor, which could be an interesting piece of information regarding the ratio of the Greek to the Egyptian population in this village.

P.Teb. III 876 records it as a wine-producing area.

ΠΕΤΑΧΟΝ’

VII/VIII A.D. CPR IV 2,15 χ(ωρίον) Πεταχον’

See also: Τερτονυπεταχον (same village?).

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).

III


1 Stud.Pal. X 211, 212 and 213, though published as separate documents, are in fact fragments of the same text, so that the villages mentioned in Stud.Pal. X 211 (Ogou, in the Tekomi toparchy), 212 (Thebomitis, in the Tekhno Nesos toparchy) and 213 (Petachor and Kollasoucha) may have been near each other.

2 In CPR XIV 40,3 there is also a possible reference to a «nördliche Poststation», βαρρήν(ες) διλ(εγέν): cf. BL 9,76).

3 See Brashear's introduction to this document (BGU XIV, p.114). The Egyptians are taxed at a higher rate.

4 See s.v. NINΩ.

178
List of the θοι of several villages, including Onosis (περί Πόλιν toparchy), Nino ("Αγγιμα toparchy), Tinteris (Koma toparchy) and Kollintaathyr (Tekmi toparchy).

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: περί Πόλιν.
The κλήρος was near Sobthis ἡ μικρά. The reference to a reservoir (λακκος)\(^1\) is meant to identify it more securely.

ΠΙΑΚΕΡ\(^2\)

VI A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. X* 228,9  
έν τόπ(ω) Πιακερ\(^3\)

**ETYMOLOGY:** though only once, and at this late time, attested in the Greek documents, this must be the same place as *Pr. Jqr* («The House of Jqr») of *P. Wilbour A* 11,41; 13,30; 14,12; 17,8; 18,5; B 15,18; 21,25; 24,35\(^4\).

Listed with Πωρυ (1.4), Πιατιμί (1.5), Νεθισει (1.6), Νευλα (1.7), Σουριν (1.8).

ΠΙΑΤΙΜΙ

VI A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. X* 228,5  
έν τόπ(ω) Πιατιμί\(^5\)

**ETYMOLOGY:** the prefix πια- means «a level irrigated place»\(^6\).

Listed with Πωρυ (1.4), Νεθισει (1.6), Νευλα (1.7), Σουριν (1.8), Πιακερ (1.9).

ΠΙΕΝΕΚΑΜΟΥ

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal. X* 206,8

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\(^1\) See the Editors' comments *ad loc.;* see also below, s.v. ΠΕΧΙΤ.

\(^2\) Could Πιακερ of *Stud. Pal. X* 79 (b),4 (VII/VIII B.C.; cf. Bl. 8,456) be the same village?

\(^3\) Πιακερ ed.pr.

\(^4\) *Cf. TAVO B* 69, p.139; see also Preface, p.XII.

\(^5\) Πιατιμί *ed. pr.*: new reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of September 13, 1994).

THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Apparently the name of a κλῆρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

ΠΙΜΕΙΝ

III A.D. P_Neph. 28,8 περὶ κόμηννα Πιμειν

Phebichis and Papa (both in the Koites) appear in the same document. The Nepheros archive is centered around the monastery of (P)hatnor in the southern Herakleopolites.

ΠΙΝΗΧΕΩΣ

644/645 A.D. SB VI 8987,6 ἐν κόμη Πινηχέως τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ

SB VI 8986-8988 and the (Coptic) Budge papyrus P.Col. inv. Nr.600 deal with the same dispute, which went on from 622 to 647 A.D. \(^1\) SB VI 8987 is a deed to the property of a house-portion in Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu), which had been mortgaged to Philemon and his wife by its original owner, Thekla. She had then left to Great Beshin (possibly the Coptic name of Phebichis), and failed to repay her loan before her death. The property thus remained in the possession of Philemon and his wife. Thekla's heirs, now living ἐν κόμη Πινηχέως, in the Herakleopolite nome, having tried to claim it back, must eventually acknowledge the rights of the new owners.

ΠΙΚ[±3]

VII/VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 17,6 ἀπὸ χ'ω'ρ(ιού) Πικ[±3]\(^2\)

See also s.v. ΠΙΚΟΜΜΑΤΟΕΙ.

ΠΙΚΑΤΑΝΩ

VII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 214,7 ἐν τόπῳ Πικατάνω

TOPARCHY: Koites?

See s.v. ΠΕΡΟΘ (heading the list in this document).

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\(^2\) Pkommatoei is listed in the same document (l.12) and should perhaps be supplied here, too.

\(^3\) Willy Clarysse suggests that this toponym could also be read as Πικατάνω.
CATALOGUE

ΠΚΟΜΜΑΤΟΕΙ

after 52/51 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1808,35  
Π[κο]μματοεῖος ¹

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 4,5  
Πκομματοεῖ

VII/VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 17,12  
όπο χ’ω(ρίου)  
Κομματοεῖε²

See also s.v. ΠΚ[].

TOPARCHY: Koma.

Stud.Pal. X 4: villagers from 'Απίωνος (1), Πτολεμαῖ (2; variant spelling for Πεννομένες, in the Ἄγια Μάνθα, κάτω toparchy). Thmoiamoun(is) (4; Koma toparchy), and Pkommatoeoi (5), are requested for compulsory work to be done on the dyke (παράγχωμα) at Koma. Pkommatoeoi recurs again with Koma (3) and Poinami (10) in Stud.Pal. X 17.

In BGU VIII 1808 (where all Herakleopolite toparchies are represented) this place-name recurs at the end of the document, followed by the reference to an ὀρθαφοδεῖεν (I.36: possibly a police-station in the village).

ΠΛ[.]-[±2]Α( )

VI-VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 5,11  
tὸν βοηθ(όν)  
ΠΛ[.]-[±2]Α( )³

List of the βοηθοί of several villages, including Onosis (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy), Nino (Ἅγια Μάνθα toparchy), Tinteris (Koma toparchy) and Kollintaathyr (Tekmi toparchy).

(؟) ΠΔΑΤΙΚ

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1824,18  
ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης  
πλατικ⁴

A petition to the strategos, concerning assault and robbery on the part of people ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης πλατικ: the presence of the article (τῆς) makes it more likely for πλατικ to be the Greek transliteration of an Egyptian common name⁵. Tamphnouthis («wohl ein Dorfname», ed. pr.) is mentioned in the same document (I.8).

BGU VIII 1814, a petition to the same strategos written by the same hand, deals with land near Tebetny (Πέρον toparchy).

¹ My supplement; the reading has been checked for me by Günter Poethke (letter of April 14, 1994: «Ihr Vorschlag scheint gut zu sein»); Π[κο]μματοεῖος ed. pr.
² Johannes Diethard's reads Κομματοεῖ (letter of February 25, 1994: «Vor κ ist Π m.E. eher unwahrscheinlich»); Wessely offered Κομματοεῖε[ε].
³ «Oder Πχ etc. oder Πελ etc.» (Johannes Diethard, letter of February 25, 1994).
⁴ «Eingeschoben. Nicht πλατείας! Auch κατοικίαν unwahrscheinlich» (Ed. ad loc.).
⁵ This was pointed out to me by Willy Clarysse. The reading πλατικ, checked by me on the original, is correct.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΠΛΕΜΕΔΕΟΥ

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 214,4a  
ἐν π(εδίω) Πλεμέδεου

See s.v. ΠΕΡΟΗ (heading the list in this document).

ΠΙΜΑΝΚΕΜ

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 206,14  
Ἀκακιητή Πιμανκεμ

See s.v. ΑΚΑΚΙΗΤΗ.

ΠΙΟ[.]ΛΟΜΙ

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,61

See also: Πιο[.]λομί

TOPARCHY: Μέση?

Listed after three villages of the Μέση toparchy.

ΠΙΟ[.]ΛΟΜΙ( )

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,96

Sinary (89; Πέρον toparchy), Onosis (90,92; περί Πόλαν toparchy), and Techto (91) precede in this list.

ΠΟΑΧΡΙΝΑ

late III A.D.  
BGU XIII 2365,10

ETYMOLOGY: first component ποα- = p3-ω3h, «the residence» (cf. HEINZ-JOSEF THISSEN, Enchoria 1, 1971, p.77).

1 Πο(ενόχημα) could be a possible supplement. Or this could be the same village as Πιο.λομί (1.61).
ΠΟΕΝΠΙΒΣΗΙ

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1733,6

άπο τοῦ κ[λήρου αὑτοῦ]
περὶ Ποενπιβήτη
τὸν ἐμὶ μικὴ σφοζε[ιδέ]
[τ]οῦ π[ρύτερον]
Φιλόνου [κλήρου]

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Τεκμὴ περὶ Πόλιν;

Α παραχωρήσεως contract, drawn up at Herakleopolis, deals with land near this village, more precisely located with reference to the fossil kleros of Σκήρων.

ΠΟΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΩΜΗ

10 May 174 B.C.²
169-164 B.C.  
I B.C.  
I B.C.  
27 April 15 B.C.  
4 Feb. 13 B.C.  
9 June 192 A.D.  

about 245 A.D.(?)  
VI A.D.  

VII/VIII A.D.  
CPR IV 2,11

BGU XIV 2382,11
BGU XIV 2433,46
BGU XIV 2438,45
BGU XVI 2607,3-4
BGU XVI 2578,5
O.Wilck. II 1108,4
P.Oxy. LVIII 3928,5-6
Stud.Pal. XX 148 recto,2; verso,1

ἐν Ποιμένον κόμη
ἐν Ποιμένον κόμη
Ποιμένον(ον) κόμης
ἐς Ποιμένον
ἀπὸ Ποιμένον κόμης
διὸνω(ν)
’Ηρακλεοπολίτου
Ποιμένον (3-4)
ἀπὸ κόμης Ποιμέν[ον]
Ποιμένον τοῦ
’Ηρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ
(recto.2-3); ἀπὸ Ποιμένον
(verso.1)
Ποιμέν[ον]

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Μέση.

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: «the shepherds' village» may be the translation of the Egyptian toponym Peenameus («the shepherds' plot»; see s.v.). Peenameus, which is assigned to the "Αγημα κάτω by documents of the first century B.C., is in other documents (of the III A.D.) connected to the Μέση toparcy, where Ποιμένον κόμη is consistently located by the sources; besides, the two villages never recur in the same document.

At Herakleopolis there was a street called Ποιμένον λαύρα (Stud.Pal. VIII 1183, of the VII/VIII A.D.).

1 περὶ ...π. ἐν Πίθετι ed. pr. New reading checked on a photograph.
3 Ποιμέν ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Listed (but then crossed out) with villages of the Μέση topathy in BGU XIV 2433 (including Chennis, Phys, Peenepochra), Ποιμένων κόμη is mentioned in the same document with Phnebius (main centre of the Μέση) in BGU XVI 2607 (letter concerning the shipping of timber). It is also connected with localities of the περί Πόλιν topathy in P.Strasb. II 99 (the petitioner, from Nois, has a claim on his father's house at Ποιμένων κόμη) and Stud.Pal. XX 148 (loan contract: the parties are from Ποιμένων κόμη and from Herakleopolis).

BGU XIV 2382 is a contract stipulated at Ποιμένων κόμη between Lysimachus and Eupolemos (who is from Kerkeuniphis).

BGU XVI 2578 is a declaration of sheep and goats.

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central topathies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek)

ΠΟΛΙΤ()

VII/VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 217,5 ἐν κλῆ’(ρω) Πολιτ()

Near Daphne. A kleros Ψαννε() is also mentioned.

ΠΟΥΕΝ

VII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 214,3 ἐν π(εδίω) Πουεν

ETYMOLOGY: p3-w3h: «the residence» (cf. HEINZ-JOSEF THISSEN, Enchoria 1, 1971, p.77)?

See s.v. ΠΕΡΟΗ (heading the list in this document).

ΠΟΥΛΗ

V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 8,8 ἐποικίου Πουλη²

Choinothmis (Koites), Techtho, and Phnebius (Μέση) topathy; immediately preceding Πουλη) appear in the same document.

ΠΡΑΝΙ

VII/VIII A.D. CPR IV 2,12 χ(ωρίον) Πρανι

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1 See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ.

2 «In der γνώσεις ἐμβολῆς κρεθῶν aus dem 5. Jh. ist statt Wesselys ἐποικίου Πουλη zu lesen ἐποικίου Πουλη, ein Ort, der bislang nicht belegt zu sein scheint» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
CATALOGUE

*CPR* IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolis nome (toponyms in Greek)\(^1\).

**ΠΤΑΝ.**

VIII A.D.  
*Stud. Pal.* X 72,13  
[χ(ορίον)] Πταν.\(^2\)

Other villages mentioned: Oγου (I.3, Tekmi toparchy), Ἀλμυρά (II.11;12;14), Ἰερά (I.15).

**ΠΤΕΝΝΕΩΣ**

VI A.D.  
*Stud. Pal.* X 210,1

*Stud. Pal.* X 210 is a list of inhabitants of this village.

**ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΚΟΣ**  
*(sc. ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ)*

I B.C.  
*BGU* VIII 1784,4  
(ποταμοφύλαξι) τοῦ Πτολεμαίκου\(^3\)

The ποταμοφύλακες of the Πτολεμαίκος (canal) are to escort an ὄψαρχα (possibly the «rear-guard» of military troops) as far as Ἰερά Νήσσος (see s.v.), where their colleagues from the Troites are to take over.

**ΠΡΩΓΩΤΟΣ**

about 111 B.C.  
*P. Tebt. III* 878,19  
Πρωγωτός\(^3\)

I B.C.  
*BGU* XIV 2437,14  
Πρωγωτόν\(^4\)

I B.C.  
*BGU* XIV 2440,129  
περὶ Πρωγωτόν\(^5\)

I B.C.  
*BGU* XIV 2441,19  
Πρωγωτὸν ed. pr.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) See Ι.Ε. ΝΙΝΩ.

\(^2\) «Πταν. (Ausstrich), Πταν( ) oder Πταν(» (Dietl, letter of February 25, 1994).

\(^3\) Πρωγωτός ed. pr.

\(^4\) Πρωγωτόν ed. pr.

\(^5\) περὶ Πρωγωτόν is suggested with some doubts in the ed. pr.

\(^6\) My reading (checked on a photograph with William Brashier): Πρωγωτον ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEPOLITE NOME

28/29 B.C.  
P. Oxy. XXIV 2412.90;167;189

212 A.D.  
P. Rain. Cent. 64.5

216 A.D.  
Stud. Pal. XX 22,1 (= CPR I 35)

490 A.D.  
P. Rain. Cent. 110,5

VII/VIII A.D.  
CPR IV 2,11

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 211,4

VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 72,6

VIII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 109,6

Πυργω(τός)¹

άπο κόμης Πυργωτοῦ

άπο κόμης Πυργωτοῦ

χ(ορίον) Πυργωτοῦ (11); Πυργωτ’(οῦ) (18)⁴

χ(ορίον) Πυργωτοῦ (?)⁵

χ(ορίον) Πυργωτοῦ

ἐν τ(ῷ) χ(ορίῳ)

Πυργωτ’(οῦ)

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: «made like a tower» (see LSJ s.v.); the name may bear reference to some kind of military building ⁷.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: an identification with Al-Barqi would be topographically convenient (as suggested in the Introduction, p.8), though phonetically not particularly convincing.

P. Tebt. III 878 lists Psiliachi (16), Pyrgotos (19), Bousiris (22), Tooou (46).

BGU XIV 2437 connects Pyrgotos to περὶ Αὐλῆς (Tekmi toponomy): this is consistent with the new reading Πυργωτοῦ in BGU XIV 2441 (land-survey in the Tekmi toponomy).


P. Rain. Cent. 110 (loan contract) and Stud. Pal. XX 22 (land lease) both show people from Pyrgotos entering into a contract with inhabitants of Herakleopolis: the implication may well be that the Tekmi and περὶ Πύλαν toponomacies were contiguous.

A temple dedicated to Stoteetis and (?)Herakles⁸, «very great gods», was in the Pyrgotos area.

¹ Πυργωτοῦ ed. pr.

² SB I 5281 = II 2-3 of this document.

³ Πυργωτοῦ ed. pr.

⁴ Πυργοῦ (11), Πυργοῦ (18) ed.pr.

⁵ Reading suggested by Johannes Diethart (letter of September 13, 1994: «ist m.E. wohl auszuschließen»): Πυργοῦ ed. pr.

⁶ Reading checked for me by Johannes Diethart: «Πυργωτοῦ ist nach den spätrömischen Resten nicht auszuschließen» (letter of February 25, 1994).


⁸ See the Editor’s note at BGU XIV 2441,108.
CATALOGUE

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).

ΠΩΕΤ.[

ca. 160 B.C.  
P. Hels. I 27,3  
Πωετ.[

Variant spelling for Πωες? Other villages listed: Phys, Ψεβχηθε[, Koma.

ΠΩΣ[2

2 July 167 B.C.  
P. Hamb. I 91,19;25  
εἰς Πωες (19); ἐν τῇ Πωε (25); cf. ἐκ τῆς κοίμης (23-24)

c. 162 B.C.  
P. Tebt. III 857,3  
τὸν ἐμ Πωες θη(σαυρόν)

61-59 B.C. 3  
BGU VIII 1772,11  
περὶ Πωε

60/59 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1817,4-5  
ἐν Πωε [τῇ] μεγάλη

after 52/51 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1808,30  
Πόες

48/47 B.C.  
SB V 7609,5 (=BGU VIII 1794c)  
ἀπὸ Πωες τῆς μεγάλης

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1777,6  
γομογράφῳ τῶν ἐκ Πωες

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2436,2;8:13  
Πωε

4 Feb. 13 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2579,6;13  
ἀπὸ Πωες (6); ἐν τῇ περὶ Πωε (13)

ΠΩΣ[2

I/II A.D.  
P. Hib. II 218,57;74  
Πόες

5 June 192 A.D.  
O. Wilck. II 1106,3  
διὰ ὁνόματος Πωες (2-3)

198/199 A.D.  
O. Wilck. II 1116,3  
διὰ Ἡρακλεοπόλι(τοῦ) Πόες

ca. 250 A.D.  
SB I 1500,2  
διὰ κτῆτορ(ῶν) Πόες

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1 See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ.

2 There were several villages by this name in Egypt, and it is sometimes not clear which Pōes is meant by the sources. Useful indications may derive from the type of document and the formulary adopted in it. Thus, though the provenance of P. Michael 13 is unknown, the village meant at I.6 is probably Pōes in the Hermopolite nome, as argued by Johannes Hermann, Chr. d. Erg. 63, 1957, p.121 («Die Urkunde stammt mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit aus dem hermopolischen Gau. Diese unsere Annahme stützt sich hauptsächlich auf die Tatsache, dass Pachturkunden chirographischer Fassung zu dieser Zeit für Hermopolis charakteristisch sind...»). Cf. also Drew-Bear, Le nome Hermopolite, p.230, with regard to the village by this name attested by SB XII 10810,1;6 (second half of VI A.D.).

THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ca. 250 A.D.  
250 A.D.  
24 March 261 A.D.  
mid-III A.D.  
VI A.D.  
VI/VII A.D.  
VII/VIII A.D.  
VIII A.D.  

See also: ΠΩΕΤ.

TOPARCHY: Tilothis.

ETYMOLOGY: Π3-ihy, "the precinct". Cf. the reference to a locality, denominated "the Palisade" in P. Tebt. III 857, a report about an investigation on thefts from the ἡγεσιαρχής at Πόες and "in the Palisade" (I.14: ἐν τῷ Χάρακσι) 4.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Būs; Coptic Poulin. Cf. TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 118) and p.221: «Ein noch im Betrieb befindliches Kloster des Antonius und des Paulus bezeugt die koptische Zeit. ... Anhaltspunkte für Relikte aus älteren Perioden gibt es nicht». See also TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, I, pp.455-457 (s.v. Būs); IV, p.1995 f. (s.v. Pois I).

SB V 7609: summons before a tribunal: Phibion and his brothers ἄπο Πόες τῆς μεγάλης (II.5-6) failed to appear on a previous occasion; the ύποστράτηγος of the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy therefore bids them again to appear in front of the strategos Eurylochos within three days. The Herakleopolite Pois is styled ἡ μεγάλη, evidently in order to distinguish it from homonymous localities. BGU VIII 1772 deals with a kleros assigned to an ex-gymnasarches of Herakleopolis in Aulettes' 12th regnal year (70/69 B.C.). Three of the kleri surveyed in BGU XIV 2436 include land in the Pois area: at II.1-3 Orestes' kleros is split between Pois, an Ἰβύων locality, Ogou (Tekni toparchy), Magdola, and Peens (amaoi), in the Πέριον toparchy; at II.7-9, Ptolemaios' holding is split between Pois, Tanchais (Tilothis toparchy) and Tosachmis (Koites); finally, Hierax' kleros (II.11-12) is distributed between Tanchais, Noeis (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy) and Pois. Pois recurs with one or other of these villages in the following documents:

1 It is not certain that this is the Herakleopolite Pois: homonymous villages were in the Hermopolites, Memphites, Kopties, Apollonopolites, Lykopoli, and in the Mendesian name (as indicated by PIETER J. SÜPESTEIN, ZPE 81, 1990, pp.245-251, who published the entire document). Most of the localities mentioned in this text, however, were in the Arsinoite or Herakleopolite nomes.

2 Ποικὶ ed.pr.

3 Information from Katelijn Vandorpe. Cf. HEINZ-JOSEF THISSEN, Enchoria 1,1971, p.77 (P3-ih-n-p3-ihj = Ποικὶ).

CATALOGUE

P. Tebt. III 857 (Peensamoi in a fragment from the same account mentioning Pois);
BGU VIII 1808 (entries for Tanchuis, Pois, περί Πόλιν in three consecutive lines, preceded by entries for "Αγμα κάτω, περί Φεβίτην and for Phinheious in the Μέση toparchy);
BGU XIV 2440 (the place-names listed in the first column include "Αγμα κάτω toparchy, Tilothis, Pois, Techymis in the Μέση toparchy, Tekmi toparchy and Koites, Phinheious and Phebicthias);
P. Hib. II 218 (Tokois and Noeris are listed immediately before Pois, Tosachmis and Phebicthias appear at ll. 42 and 46 respectively);
P. Select. 17 (lease contract between a lessee from Pois and Aurelius Anoubion, βοουλευτής at Herakleopolis, previously exegesites and decaprotus of περί Πόλιν and "Αγμα, of Tokois and other villages);
Stud. Pal. X 84 (Noeris, Pois, Peensamoi in three consecutive lines, followed by Thmoinepsi).
Stud. Pal. X 44 confirms the connections between Pois, Herakleopolis (1.9), the Tekmi toparchy (Tou and Kollintaathyr are listed) and Phinheious. Tebename, appearing at the end of this list, was already associated to Pois in P. Hamb. I 91.

Κάτω κοι Ἴππες settled at Pois are mentioned in BGU VIII 1772 and 1817.
SB I 1550, 1508 and 1515, and O. Meyer 513, show that donkeys for the transport of corn to the θησαυρός of Theadelphia (in the Arsinoites) were requisitioned from Pois, as well as from other villages of the Arsinoite, Memphite, Herakleopolite, Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite nomes. Pois, however, had its own θησαυρός as attested in P. Tebt. I 857.
BGU XVI 2579 is a declaration of sheep and goats by an inhabitant of the village.
CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).4

Σ. ΟΥ5

I B.C.
BGU XIV 2446,1

ΤOΠΑΡΧΙΟΥ: Tekmi.

This place-name is the heading of a section of the land-survey in the Tekmi toparchy (BGU XIV 2441-2444 and 2449-2450). The following fossil kleroi are mentioned, which also appear at other points in the land-survey: Στράτανος τοῦ Δαμήτριου (4); Πολέμωνος τοῦ Δωρίου (5-6); Φιλίππο του Τιμοκράτου (6,13,22), Θεογένου (8,17).

ΣΑΓΑΡΟΣ6

V A.D.

1 Cf. BL 7,22.
2 The land (1.5 ar. near Pois) is located by reference to the fossil kleros of Laomedon.
3 These four ostraka are part of a larger group, including SB I 1505-1516, O. Meyer 51-55 and O. Fayum Towns 24-40.
4 See s.v. NINΩ.
5 Tou is attractive, but the traces (checked by me on a photograph, and by William Brashear on the original) do not quite fit.
6 «Kol II 2 nennt vielleicht das bisher unbekannte Dorf Σαγαρος» (letter from Johannes Diethart, February 25, 1994).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

ΣΑΔΩΛΕΙΟΥ

51/50 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1786, 4  
τοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Σαδώλειου ἀνδρῶν (3-4)

51/50 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1831, 17  
ἐκ τοῦ Σαδώλειου κατὰ Σαδαρ' (λειον) (1; cf. BL 3, 24); ἐκ τοῦ Σαδώλειου (7)

I B.C.  
BGU VIII 1763, 10

TOPARCHY: Koma? περὶ Πόλιν?

ETYMOLOGY: derived from the Thracian personal name Σαδώλας, which is elsewhere attested in the Koma toparchy: in BGU XIV 2390 (l.139) a Σαδώλας is among the six Thracian witnesses to a lease contract of the year 160/159 B.C.; in BGU XIV 2432 (l.23) Σαδώλας is the father of Σασίπατρος, who is registered under the entry for Thmoobastis, in the Koma toparchy; in BGU VIII 1789 (l.8) Σαδώλας is one of the two λυγεντοῖ at Koma. A Thracian cleruchy is attestated in the Memphite nome, too; cf. Edgar’s comments on P. Cairo. Z. III 59473 (also referring to Koma and Onnes, in the Herakleopolites). The -ειν ending is commonly used for the name of a sanctuary 2.

A village by the name Σαδώλου is well attestated in the Oxyrhynchite nome 3. Stephanus of Byzantium records a Σαδώλας Αἰγυπτία πόλις.

Apparently a rather troublesome community (establishment of Thracian settlers?). People ἐκ τοῦ Σαδώλειου seem involved in a riot in BGU VIII 1763, while in BGU VIII 1831 the petitioner complains of damage he has suffered from Theophilos son of Nikobios, εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Σαδώλειου, apparently as a consequence of an inflammation in the land cultivated by the petitioner on account of Hierax (who also had land near Tokois, in the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy). This piece of land is located περὶ Αννής.

ΣΑΚΑΠΡΥΤ

IV A.D.  
CPR I 42, 11

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν.

Lease contract (both parties are from Herakleopolis) for land distributed between several villages: Sobtis (περὶ Πόλιν), Sakapry, Ninopakan, Noeris (περὶ Πόλιν). The land allotment is further located by reference to the mouth of a canal (τομίου, l.13) and to a path (τρίβου, l.14).


3 See Pruneti, Centri abiti, s.v.; also Calderini-Daris, Dizionario, s.v. Cf. the inscription from Safanfya (in the northern part of the ancient Oxyrhynchite nome, and probably to be dated to the mid-II B.C.) published by Heintz Heinen in TAVO B 69, pp.258-267: it is a list of men belonging to a συνόδος, including Λεώνιος τοῦ Σαδώλου Ἐφραίμ, Περίκλειξιός τής συνόδου (l.3). Another Thracian personal name (ending with -ζαλίς) is mentioned in the inscription published ibid., pp.251-258.

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CATALOGUE

ΣΑΡΑΠΟΥΔΟΣ

V A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  

*Stud. Pal. X 233, col.1 A,9*  
*Stud. Pal. X 212,3*  
*Stud. Pal. X 227,4*  

χ(ωρίον) Σαραπουδοῦς(ος)  
άπο χ(ωρίου)  
Σαραπουδοῦς(ος)

ETYMOLOGY: Σαραπούδος is the genitive of the female personal name Σαραποῦς (see PREISIGKE, Namenbuch, s.v.).

Mentioned in *Stud. Pal. X 212* as part of the same διοίκησις to which Thelbonthis (which was in the Techtho Nesos toparchy) belongs. In *Stud. Pal. X 227 Φρούριον* and Talae (Koities) also appear.

ΣΙΘΕΩΣ1

I B.C.  
I B.C.  

*BGU XIV 2433,52*  
*BGU XIV 2438,46*

TOPARCHY: Μέση?

*BGU XIV 2438* assigns this village to the περὶ Φέβιχθν toparchy, like Tosachmis (I.50). However, a list of villages in the Middle toparchy precedes (II.40-45: Phys, Techynis, Ποιμένων κόμη), and a location in the Μέση would be consistent with *BGU XIV 2433*, where the place-name ΣΙΤΗΣΘΕΩΣ (included in a list of villages of the Μέση with Chennis, Phys and Peenepochra: II.47-55) can be made into two known villages: ΣΙΣΙΝΗ (see s.v.) and ΣΙΘΕΩΣ.

ΣΙΝΑΡΤ

about 255 B.C.  
about 250 B.C.  
about 245 B.C.  
243-242 B.C.  
243-242 B.C.  
29 June 239 B.C.  

*P.Hib. I 132, descr.*  
*P.Hib. II 248, fr. III,9*  
*P.Hib. I 60,4*  
*P.Hib. I 34,2,4*  
*P.Hib. I 73,[8],11*  
*P.Strasb. VII 662,20*  

Σινάρτ  
Σινάρτ  
εις Σινάρτων  
εις τὸ ἔν Σινάρτην  
δεσμωτηρίου (2); [ἐκ τοῦ  
ἔν Σινάρτην]  
δεσμωτηρίου (4)  
ἐν Σινάρτω  
ἐπὶ Σινάρτω

1 The Editor suggests (see Index) Σιθεώς for the nominative.

2 ΣΙΤΗΣΘΕΩΣ ed.pr. (where the possibility is also suggested for this toponym to be divided into two parts).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

mid-II B.C.  P.Tebt. III 876,51  ἐκ Σιναρί
14 B.C.  BGU IV 1061,3;5;18  ἐκ Σιναρί τοῦ Πέραν (3); ἐκ τῆς Σιναρί (3); αὐτή τῆς Σιναρί (18)

I B.C.  P.Oxy. XLIX 3462,3  ἀπίο Σιναρί
I/II A.D.  (? P.Hib. II 218,89;95 1

Literary Sources

V A.D.  STEPH. BYZ. s.v.  Ψεννηρος

TOPARCHY: Sinary is consistently assigned to the Κάστω (i.e. northern) toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the sources dating from the Roman and Byzantine periods; however, BGU IV 1061 (14 B.C.) locates it in the Πέραν. Only the sources from the Ptolemaic period are discussed here; these, however, also point to connections mainly with the northern Oxyrhynchites.

ETYMOLOGY: (p3. pij + -n - (genitive) + Hr-wd3: «(the) lake of Haryothess» (the personal name Haryothess being reduced to Hary) 2

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Sinarī 6 See TAVO B 69, p.232: «Der Ort liegt am alten Bahr Yūsuf. (Grob

1 P.Oxy. X 1281,15 (= CPJ II 414), of 21 A.D., is the earliest source which assigns Sinary to the Oxyrhynchite nome. The Editor of P.Oxy.Hels. 10 (34 A.D.) suggests that P.Hib. II 218, where Sinary appears (l.89, 95) within a long list of Herakleopolite villages, should therefore be re-dated to the first part of the first century A.D. (this document was dated by Eric G. Turner, on palaeographical grounds, to the late first or early second century A.D.). It is however not surprising to find Sinary in such Herakleopolite company: most villages listed in P.Hib. II 218 were in the southernmost Herakleopolite toparchy (Koites), which bordered upon the Oxyrhynchites.

2 Ψεννηρος κόη, τὸ ἔνοικον Ψεννηρῆς τὸ τοῦρα τῆς χώρας.
Meineke thought that Ψεννηρος («Ψεννηρος ἐξεύρηνος contra usum nomencl plus quam byssillaborum Aegyptiacorum» could be the same place as Ψεννηρος, which is entered next in Stephanus’ lexicon, and should be identified with the northern Oxyrhynchite locality by this name: see PRUNETI, Centri abitati, s.v.; Sinary, on the other hand, is available for identification with Ψεννηρος (same vocalisation as in the Coptic name for this village: Pseraro). This identification, first proposed by JOHN BELL (Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Bulāq 1942, p.174) is accepted in TAVO B 69, p.99.

3 See PRUNETI, Centri abitati, s.v.; also CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v. To these references the following may now be added: P.Col. VIII 214,3 (about 86 A.D.); P.Wash.Univ. II 78, col.II,10, 16 (first half of I A.D.); SB XVIII 13958,5 (193/194 A.D.); P.Wash.Univ. II 84,5 (IV or V A.D.); SB XX 14235,1 (VIII A.D.).

4 SB XVIII 13958, dated to 193/194 A.D. and containing a reference to a κόημα Σιναρι, has been tentatively assigned by its Editor to the Herakleopolites, on account of «the occurrence of the name Ψεννηρος in l.15 which occurs in only one other text, Stud.Pal. II p.27,10, and this papyrus originates from the Herakleopolite nome» (PIETER J. SIPESTEIJN, ZPE 63, 1986, p.299).

5 Etymology suggested by Katelijn Vandorpe.

6 «Shenra, which is near the edge of the desert west of Fent may be the Oxyrhynchite Σιναρι... The boundary between Oxyrhynchites and Herakleopolites was perhaps slightly altered in Roman times... somewhere between Feshn and Fent, and nearly opposite Hibe, which lies on the east bank» (P.Oxy. XII 1416,13 n.). See also P.Oxy. LI 3638, 12 a.: the ESM of 1930 shows Shinara on the eastern bank of the old Bahr Yusuf, which agrees with the new information provided by this papyrus «that land at Sinary was bounded on the west by the river Tomiss» (Τόμις ἤτοικος was the ancient name for the
catalogue

2 km north-west of the village, the remains of a new Drainage Channel were found. The pottery at this site is mainly of the early Hellenistic period. In the area around the site, there were also remains of earlier settlements, dating back to the Mycenaean period. The remains of a wall, possibly part of the city walls of the Hellenistic period, were also found.

BGU IV 1061 reports an assault by robbers from Sinary against the Bousiris (this must be the village in the northern part of the Herakleopolite nome). Dorion, the épisotátes who in P. Hib. I 72 was sent a υπόμνημα on the disappearance of the official seal belonging to the Herakles temple at Thebichis (Koites), also figures in the intricate case of a stolen donkey (P. Hib. 34 and 73: a petition to the king and a letter to the epistates, respectively). Following his instructions, the thief (a certain Kallidromos) had been put in prison at Sinary, but Patron the ἀρχηγὸς of the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome (the same one to which Sinary is consistently assigned in the Roman and Byzantine sources) «then intervened, and not only released Kallidromos from prison but himself took possession of the donkey» which he now keeps at Takona. We may well have a conflict between different authorities of the two neighbouring nomes, possibly originating from the ambiguous location of Sinary.

More connections with Takona and other localities of the Northern, Western and Thmoisepho toparches of the Oxyrhynchites: P. Hib. I 60, P. Hib. I 132, P. Hib. I 248, P. Oxy. XLIX 3462.

P. Tebt. III 876 lists Sinary with at least one Herakleopolite village (l. 5: Petachor, in the Ἀγιμά toparchy; Sinary, however, only occurs at l. 51); Sinary and Petachor are both listed in P. Hib. II 218, too.

ΣΙΝΕΒ

185/186 A.D. O. Wilck. II 1099,3 Ἠρωκολαίτης (ἐπιστόλη)

Σινεβ 3

Corn-transport by donkey from Σινεβ.

ΣΙΝΙΝΗ

25 Feb.–25 March 261 B.C. P. Hib. I 101,6 έν Σινίνη

I B.C. BGU XIV 2433,52 Σινίνη 4

TOPARCHY: Ἀγιμά.

Bahr Yusuf.

1 The épistolástes Dorion of P. Hib. I 73 is probably the same official as in P. Hib. I 34 and 72. Grenfell and Hunt (in the introduction to P. Hib. I 73) thought that these were different officials, presumably because in the first document Dorion appears to be épistolástes in the Herakleopolites, whereas in the other two papyri certain Oxyrhynchite localities are mentioned. In my opinion, however, this is sufficiently explained by the location of Sinary in the borderland between the two nomes.

2 P. Hib. I 34, Introduction (p. 173).

3 Lesung wahrscheinlich richtig, x statt e kaum möglich» (Günther Poethke, letter of April 14, 1994).

4 Σινινησθεως ed. pr. (where the possibility is also suggested for this toponym to be made into two, i.e. Σινίνη and Σινθεως).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ETYMOLOGY: Σισίνης was a Persian personal name; see P. Heid. VI, p.23. See also s.v. ΙΒΙΟΝ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ ('Arsāmēs is also a Persian personal name).

P. Hib. I 101: receipt for rent paid to the sitologos of the Αγηματοχροσ in account of land cultivated near Sisine. The same place is listed with villages of the Μέσποη toparchy (among them Chennoi, Phoenix, Peenephochara) in BGU XIV 2433, 47-55: a similar shifting is attested for the village of Peenameus.

(?)ΣΚΥΠΙΩΝ

late III A.D.  

BGU XIII 2365,9

Comprised in a list of toponyms, some of which certainly refer to Herakleopolite villages (Techtheo, Papa, Thelbo).

ΣΟΥΡΓΙΤ

VI A.D.  

Stud. Pal. X 228,8  

ἐν τόπῳ Σουργίτ

This could be the same as Σουργίτ/Σουριτς, a place-name in the Polemos division of the Arsinoites, well attested from the beginning of the II A.D. to the VII A.D. (see Calderini-Daris, Dizionario, s.vv.).

ΣΟΥΧΕΩΣ

V A.D.  

Stud. Pal. X 94,1  

Σουχεως

VI/VII A.D.  

(?)SB XX 15072,2  

Σουχεως

ETYMOLOGY: this place-name is presumably connected with the god Sobk. A διώροχος Σουχεωντος is attested in 152 A.D. in the Arsinoites. Also in the Arsinoites, there was an ἐποίκιον called Σουχεως (SB VI 9269: 297 A.D.?).

Σουχεως and Daphne recur in both documents. Villages also mentioned in SB XX 15072, which could be in the Herakleopolites: Ψωβοθης (l.2) and Pois (l.4), both in the περι Πολυκτα τοπαρχy; Νεμερεως (l.7); Μουχεμπι (πεχμπυ?) (l.9). Other localities appearing in the same document belonged to the Arsinoite and possibly Lykopolite nomes.

1 See also CPJ 128,4 n. («Since there were Jewish settlers in Egypt under the Persian domination, Iranian names do not exclude the possibility of their bearers being Jews»).


CATALOGUE

ΣΥΓΚΕΜΜΕΝΕΙ

V A.D.  
P. Oxy. XVI 2017,7

ΣΧΝΩΜΘΙΟΣ

212/211 B.C.  
P. Lille I 59, 29, 41; 61, 114  
Σχνώμθεως (29, 41; 114)  
Σχνώμθεως (61)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438, 62  
Σχνώμθεως

I B.C./I A.D.  
BGU IV 1192, 15  
περί κόμην Σχμόνθεν

3 August 174 A.D.  
SB XIV 11341, 8 (= P. Mich. IX 531 re-ed.)  
Σχμόθεν

TOPARCHY: Tilothis.

ETYMOLOGY: the same component —νομθ— may recur in the toponyms Σχνωμάτις and Μοχχέννωμθου.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Ishmánt (on phonetical and topographical grounds: see Introduction, p. 8).

BGU XIV 2438 indicates that Schnomthiis belonged to the Tilothis toponomy, along with Peenpasbytis and Tanchais (entries for the Koma toponomy follow): the same four villages appear in P. Lille I 59 (with other villages of the Koma and Tekmi toponymes).

BGU IV 1192 (official report, apparently on arrears in the payment of taxes) mentions two strategoi of the Heracleopolite nome, Paniskos and Heliodoros, both well known from BGU VIII documents.

SB XIV 11341: «... Tastous has put herself down to appear before the archiereus [Ulpius Serenianus] with a request about land. ... Apparently she had failed to appear, and Serenianus had written to enquire about her. .. five months later, the scribe reports that she is in Alexandria».

ΣΩΒΘΙΟΣ

early I A.D.  
(?) P. Corn. 22, 4; 73  
Σωβθεῖτις (4);  
Σωβθεῖτις (73) (ethnic)

I A.D.  
P. Oxy. VIII 1145, 19  
Σωβθεῖς

early II A.D.  
P. Köln II 98, 11  
Σωβθεῖος

1 It is difficult to establish whether the first letter is Σ or E (reading checked by me on a photograph and by William Brashier on the original); Σχμονθεως ed. pr.


5 PETER J. PARSONS, Chr. d'Ég. 49, 1974, p. 137.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

17 April 395 A.D.  
(? CEL 231,3 (= CPR V 13, col. II + P. Rain. Cent. 165, col. I)  
praefecto k(astro) Psofithis

396 A.D.  
(? CEL 232,3 (= CPR V 13, col. I)  
praefecto k(astro) Psofithis

IV A.D.  
MPER XV 84,3  
Σῳβθεως

IVV A.D.  
MPER XV 83,10  
ὑποδ(έκτου) Σῳβθεως

401 A.D.  
(? CEL 233,3 (= P. Rain. Cent. 165, col. II)  
praefecto k(astro) Ps(ofthi)s

VI A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 207,5  
ὁπ' Ψωφθεος

VI/VII A.D.  
CPR XIV 36,7  
ὁπ' Ψωφθεος(ος) Δ κομη(νος)  

VII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 220,8  
ὁπ' χ(ορίου) Σωφθεως

VI/VI A.D.  
SB XX 15072,2  
Ψῳβθεως

26 Dec. 642 A.D.  
(? SB VI 9578,1;4  
Ψωφθεος(ος) (1); ἀπὸ  
Σωφθεως(ος) (4)

VII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 220,8  
ὁπ' χ(ορίου) Σωφθεως

Literary Sources

V A.D.  
Not. Dign. Or. XXVIII 33  
Sosteos

ETYMOLOGY: Ρ-τη, «the wall».

1 Cf. JOHN R. REA, ZPE 56, 1984, pp.79-84; CPR V 13 and P. Rain. Cent. 165 can be joined, so that «what we now have are the remains of a section of a roll containing three letters in a damaged but substantially comprehensible state, each from a different comes et aux Aegypt to three different prefects of the camp at a place in Egypt called Psophithis. Each letter occupies a separate column. The earliest in date, 17 April A.D. 396, has the central position and is shared between the many fragments [...]». Next in date, A.D. 396, comes the letter [CEL 232] occupying the left-hand place [...] Last in date, A.D. 401, [CEL 233] occupying the right-hand column» (p.79). It is not at all certain that this Sobbihs was in the Herakleopolites.

2 «Δ κομη(νος)» can denote Τετρακομης, which is the name of an Arisinoite village in SPP X 138 II 11 and CPR VI 82,7, or be resolved as Τετράκομη or Τετράκομες (Τετράκομος) κομης, by analogy with κομη(νος) K found for Ελευσι κομης in Stud. Pal. III 617,2. The relationship of town and village to each other may best be brought out in the translation "Tetrakomia-by-Sophiths» (Ed. ad loc.). This document also contains three references to the Herakleopolite village of Tanchais (II.4;8;12).

3 The document has been published by PIETER J. SIEPESTEIN, ZPE 81, 1990, pp.245-251, who indicates that villages by the name Psobhis are known in the Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolitite and Arisinoite nomes. Although the spelling with initial Ψ does not seem to be otherwise attested for the Herakleopolites; my reason for including this reference is that another Herakleopolite locality is entered on the same line (Σωφθεως; see s.v. ΣΩΨΗΕΩΣ).

4 This must be the Herakleopolite Sobbihs, as it appears here in the same list with Daphne, another Herakleopolite village also attested in Stud. Pal. X 94.

Evidence from these sources is either insufficient or ambiguous, so that it is not possible to establish which of the two Heracleopolite villages called Sobthsis (ἡ μεγάλη or ἡ μικρά; see s.v.v.) is meant. Thus, connections with localities of the Koites as attested in P.Oxy. VIII 1145 (Koba) and P.Köln II 98 (Temenkyrakis) might be more likely for Sobthsis ἡ μεγάλη, which was probably more to the south; such connections, however, are also attested in P.Rain.Cent. 82, which certainly concerns Sobthsis of the περί Πόλεωι toparchy, i.e. Σόβθθεως ἡ μικρά.

SB XX 15072 and Stud.Pal. X 220 must refer to the same Sobthsis, as the village of Daphne is mentioned in both documents. SB XX 15072 also contains a reference to Pois, which was probably in the Tilothis toparchy; a connection with this toparchy is also suggested by CPR XIV 36 (where Tanchais recurs three times).

The prefect of a fort Psophis or Psophitis is the addressee of two letters in Latin contained in a military dossier of unknown provenance (CEL 232 = CPR V 13; see also CEL 231 and 233)¹: in favour of a location in the Heracleopolites it may be argued that (a) these documents probably originate from Ihnäsiya al-Madina/Heracleopolis²; (b) the Heracleopolites appears to have been well endowed with military establishments³.

ΣΩΒΘΣ ἡ μεγάλη

V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 8.3 Σώβθεως Μεγάλης
VI A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 254,1 Βοῆθος Σώβθεως Μεγάλης

TOPARCHY: Κάτω toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome? (See Introduction, p.11).

ETYMOLOGY: P3-sbt, «the wall».

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Saft el-Hirsa?

Other villages mentioned in Stud.Pal. X 8 include Choinomis (on the same line with Sobthsis ἡ μεγάλη), Ἀλυσαρν, Techitho, Phnebious (Μέση toparchy).

HANSON, ZPE 47, 1982, p.239.

¹ The fort should perhaps be identified with Sostesos, station of the ala II Assyriorum in the Notitia Dignitatum, and possibly with the κάστρον Ψόβθθεως known from P.Oxy. XVI 1883 (504 A.D.) and P.Oxy. XVI 2004 (V A.D.). But, as noted by the Editor of CPR V 13, «the Oxyrhynchite nome is not a very likely provenance for this document». According to him, however, «there is a strong likelihood that the κάστρον Ψόβθθεως, Sostesos, and our Psophitis are all the same and that we are dealing here with the ala II Assyriorum, but it is less sure whether the fort should be located at one of the Oxyrhynchite villages called Psobthsis or at one of the other similarly named places in the Heracleopolite and Arsinoite nomes». See also: KLAAS A. WORP, «Observations on some Military Camps and Place-Names in Lower Egypt», ZPE 87, 1991, pp.291-295; CONSTANTIN ZUCKERMANN, «Le camp de Ψόβθθεως/Sostesos», ZPE 100, 1994, pp.199-202.

² See Introduction, p.29.

³ P. Berl. Zill. 1 and 2, for instance, provide us with details about the building of a fort near Heracleopolis in the mid-second century B.C.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΣΩΘΕΙΣ ἢ μικρά

mid-II B.C.  P.Tebt. III 876, 66, 87  ἐν Σώθεις (66);  Σώθεος (87)
96-94 or 63-61 B.C.  BGU XIV 2429, 11  Σώθεος (85)
64/63 B.C.  BGU VIII 1753, 6  εἰς τὸν ἐν Σώθεις ἰβιόνα
31 Dec. 57 B.C. (cf. BL 9, 28)  BGU VIII 1821, 15  ὁ λογευτής Σώθεος
48/47 B.C.  BGU VIII 1795, 6  ἐν Σώθεις (εἰς τὸν ἐν Σώθεις ἰβιόνα)
36/35 B.C.  BGU XIV 2376, 17, 36  [ἐν κόμην Σώθεις] (17);
36/35 B.C.  BGU XIV 2377, 42  [ἐν κόμην Σώθεις] (36)
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2432, 13  ἐν κόμην Σώθεις
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2434, 25  Σώθεος
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2437 (fr. 4), 70  περὶ Σώθειν
I B.C.  P.Hib. II 218, 38, 80, 87  Σώθειν
II A.D.  P.Berl. Leihg. I 2 recto, 2  Σώθεης (38);
167/168 A.D.  P.Oxy. Hels. 37, 1  Σώθεης (80);
190 A.D.  P.Tebt. II 301, 3  Σώθεης (87)
II A.D.  P.Tebt. II 575, desc.  κόμης Σώθεος
304/305 A.D.  P.Rain. Cent. 82, 11  ἀπὸ Σώθεις
384/385 A.D.  BGU III 938, 3  ἀπὸ κόμης Σώθεος (2-3)
384/385 A.D. (cf. BL 7, 16)  eis Σώθειν
IV A.D.  CPR I 42, 9  περὶ κόμην Σώθειν
V A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 9, 2  περὶ πεδίων Σώθεος μικράς (εἰς περὶ κόμην Σώθειν μικράν κύκλῳ τοῦ χωρίου)
VI/VII A.D.  CPR VIII 68, 3  Σώθεος ᾽Μικράς
VII A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 22, 1  Σώθεος ᾽Μικράς

1 New reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).
2 See s.v. ΑΙΛΟΥΤΟΣ.
TOPARCHY: this village is assigned to the περὶ Πόλιν until 304/305 A.D.; soon after this date, the pagi were instituted, so that a village was no longer to be identified by referring to its toparchy; as a consequence, the new denomination Sobthis ἡ μικρός, as opposed to Sobthis ἡ μεγάλη (q.v.), is found from the late fourth century A.D. onwards. The coincidence of Sobthis ἡ μικρός with Sobthis of the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy is assured by the fact that both are connected to Tokois, another village of the same toparchy (as shown by BGU VIII 1821 and Stud.Pal. X 22, respectively).

ETYMOLOGY: P3-sbt, «the wall» (see s.v. ΞΩΒΘΙΣ).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Saft Rašin? (See Introduction, p.11).


See also TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, V, p.2230 f. (s.v. Saft Rašin).

A village by the name Sobthis is assigned, or connected with the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy in BGU XIV 2376 (of which BGU XIV 2377 is a copy), BGU XIV 2432, BGU VIII 1753 (corn provisions for an ibis sanctuary at Sobthis) and, in 304/305 A.D., P.Rain.Cent. 82 (a lease contract for land in the fossil kleros of Ptolemaios near Sobthis in the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy: the lessee is from Choinothmos). In BGU XIV 2376 (= 2377) a piece of garden-land near Sobthis is located by reference to a διώρυξ called ὁμφολόντια (south) and to the ὀδὸς ἁρταλῆς (north).

Other documents witnessing the connection of a Herakleopolite village called Sobthis with localities of περὶ Πόλιν and other toparchies in the northern Herakleopolites, besides relationships with the Arsinoite nome, are likely to refer to the same Sobthis. These include:

- BGU VIII 1821 (Adrastos, who looks after his brother’s holding at Tokois, complains about harassment by a λογευτής from Sobthis; Adrastos’ brother is an ἐκκλησιαστής at Herakleopolis);
- Stud.Pal. X 22 (again connection with Tokois);
- BGU VIII 1795 (petition from Semtheus son of Horos, who was both προφήτης of the temple of Semthiakentoi at Tekm, and ἀρχιερεὺς of the temple of Herakles at Sobthis);
- Stud.Pal. X 9 (connection with Mouchis, also in the Tekm, toparchy).

Of the documents explicitly referring to Sobthis ἡ μικρός, BGU III 938 is a lease contract for land in the surroundings of Ἀρταλεοῦ; CPR VIII 68 is a lease contract for land near Sobthis, more precisely located with reference to «the kleros called Pia... or Ailous’ reservoir» (the land-owner is from Herakleopolis).

Stext. III 876 and P.Oxy.Hels. 37 apparently connect Sobthis with the port of Herakleopolis.


Connection with Petachor (Ἐγγύτος): BGU XIV 2429; P.Hib. II 218; P.Tebt. III 876.

Connection with the Περίπολη: BGU XIV 2432; P.Tebt. III 876 (Sinary).

Connection with the Arsinoite nome: P.Tebt. II 301 is a death notification sent to the komogrammatheus of Tebytis by the two guardians of a young priest (the guardians are: a priest of Isis and Serapis from Sobthis in the Herakleopolite nome, and a priest of «the famous temple of the village of Tebytis»); P.Berl.Leisg. 12 recto concerns the transport of corn from the δησποτής of the Themistos and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome by the κτηνοτρόφος of Sobthis (and of some villages in the Kynopolite nome).

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1 Other sanctuaries at Sobthis: BGU VIII 1753 and BGU VIII 1795 (both discussed above).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΣΩΤΤΙΑΝΟΣ


Τ[..]Α[...


This petition is addressed to Euergetes II, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III, by a βασιλικὸς γεωργός from Sebennytos (Arsinoites, division of Herakleides). It concerns a property apparently located in the Herakleopolite nome: the people against whom the petition is directed originated from there.

Τ[..]Α[...

VI-VII A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 5,3  βοηθ(ῶν) Τ[..]Α[...

Other villages listed in the same document: Onosis (I.4); Tinteris (I.5); Kolintaathy (I.6); Nino (I.7).

Τ[..]Α[...

60/59 B.C.  BGU VIII 1818,2;28  περὶ Τ[..]Α[...]: (2); περὶ Τ[..]Α[...]: (28); cf. II.17-18: τοῖς τῆς κώμης φυλακτητοῖς

Petition concerning a φυλακτητικὸς κλήρος located near this village, where λινοκολάμη had been sown. The ed. pr. suggested Τ[..]Α[..]αν] as a possible supplement at I.2: it may be noted that P. Cairo. Zen. IV 59782(b), where Tanchais is listed with other villages, deals with the production of flax.

Τ[..]Α[...

200 A.D.  P. Oxy. VI 899,22

See also: TATAP( )

TOPARCHY: in the northern part of the nome.

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1 «Kol. II 11 ist der bisher unbekannte Dorf Σωττίανος (..πασ.. Wessely) zu lesen» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).

2 According to Johannes Diethart (letter of September 13, 1994)

3 Günther Poethke (letter of April 14, 1994) indicates Τ[..] or Τ[..] as possible readings.
CATALOGUE

The document refers to land cultivated by the same person περὶ τε κόμην Βουσείριν καὶ θυτήριν καὶ Τα. [. . .]. χος κόμας του Ἡρακλεοπολίτου.

ΤΑΜΜΗΧΕΩΣ

31 Jan. 49 A.D. P.Oxy. XXXI 2582,4 ἄπο κόμης Τασμήχεως του Κωτίου

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Koites.

The document records the sale of a slave at Euergetis (in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoites?): the seller is from Oxyrhynchus, the buyer is ἄπο κόμης Τασμήχεως, ἐν ὀγνιᾷ Εὐόρμῳ ("in the street of the good moorings").

ΤΑΜΜΟΡΟΥ

mid-III B.C.1 P.Fuad Crawford 5, recto,8 Τασμορούς
mid-III B.C. P.Strab. IX 802,6 Τασμαρός
I/II A.D. P.Hib. II 218,21 Τασμόρον
192/193 A.D. P.Langres inv. 907.1.39 ὅσοι ἐποίησαν τὰ ὄροι ταύτα
verse,1 Τασκαμοροῦ[
29 Aug.-27 Sept. 241 A.D. CPR VIII 14,3;12;20 [στόλης ἐν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ]
[τοῦ τασμοροῦ] 2 (3-5); ὑπ(ερ) πρ(ε)κτορειας]
[τασμοροῦ καὶ ἄλλων κομίων 13: στι(ο)λόγος τασμοροῦ καὶ(1) ἄλλων κομίων] (20-21)
241/242 A.D. P.Vind.Tand. κόμης Τασμοροῦ (43); τῆς αύτῆς Τασμοροῦ (47)
11,[19];[24];43;47
242 A.D. P.Lond. VI 1914,58 Τασμοροῦ
May-June ἀπὸ Τασμοῦρο; εἰς Τασμοῦρο
335 A.D.(?) P.Rain. Cent. 86,4; verso,26 ( = Stud.Pal. XX 103,4) Τασμοροῦ (4)
25 Feb. 381 A.D. ἄπο κόμης Τασμοροῦ (4); Τασμοροῦ (26)
IV A.D. P.Neph. 12,11;17 Τασμοῦρῳ (11); Τασκαμοροῦ (17)2

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1 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.
2 «Das Griechisch des Serapion ist desolat ... Den Ortsnamen Tadmuro, der griechisch in den verschiedensten graphischen Varianten bezeugt ist, verstehet er mit einem Koptischen Buchstaben ... Serapions Muttersprache [ist] vielleicht Koptisch» (ed. pr. ad loc.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

IV A.D. 1

P. Ross. Georg. V 61 B recto 2;12; C verso 7;8;13;
D recto 2;18; D verso 13

όπο Ταμμουρί (B recto 2;12; C verso 7;8;13; D recto 18);
όπο κάμπης Ταμμουρί (D recto 2); οπο Ταμμουρί (D verso 13)

IV/V A.D.
P. Laur. II 42,7

Ταμμουρί (cf. BL 8,164)

VI A.D.
P. Oxy. XVI
1917,63;82;111;113

όπο Ταμμουρί (63; 113);
όπο Ταμμουρί (82);
δ(τ)υ τόν
πρωτός(ομητόν)
ταμμουρί υπέρ τής
ἀνάρμοχθ(είσθη)
διώρ(ήγος) ἡ ο ἀπηλικτόν
Πελομάχες (111-112)

VIII A.D.
Stud. Pal. X 109,4

Ταμμουρί (cf. BL 7,258)

See also: ΙΒΙΩΝ ΤΑΜΜΟΡΟΙ.

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: the "bilingual" spelling of P.Neph 12 is most similar to Ταμμουρί(ο) of P.Langres inv. 907.1.39 (published by P. CAUDELLIER, Chr. d’Ég. 63, 1988, pp.317-322).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Dahrmarū: see TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 53), and p.202: «Ein Dorf mit einem großen Kom... Die Oberflächenkeramik ist in spätantike Zeit zu datieren. Über dem Eingang des Scheichsgrabes ist ein Architekturfragment mit kopkischen Ornamenten wiederverbaut. In der Nähe der Moschee wurden Säulenbasen gesehen, die vermutlich aus einer älteren Kirche Stammen...». See also TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, VI, p.2464 f. (s.v. Tahlmourou).

The border with the Oxyrhynchite must have been near Taamorou. A canal, which ran east of Pselemaschis (Koites), probably ran past Taamorou, too (cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1917, also mentioning Nokle, and the Oxyrhynchite Ἰβτών and Palosis) 2. Pselemaschis is found in the same document with Taamorou since the III B.C. (P.Strab. IX 802, listing various other villages in the Koites; P.Fuad Crawford 5, also mentioning Talae and Psychis); like Pselemaschis, Taamorou is part of a net of Meletian monasteries attested in the Nepheros archive (P.Neph. 12; P.Lond. VI 1914).


ΤΑΑΜΜΥΡΟΙ

V A.D.

Ogou (Tekmi toparchy) precedes this village in the list.

2 Cf. the Editors’ comment on P.Neph. 13, II.11 and 17. This Ἰβτών may well be the same as Ἰβτών Ταμμουρί(ο) (see s.v.) of PSI IX 1037.
3 P.Vind.Syrp. 19 and P.Vind.Worp 4 (both mentioning Telebeti) are documents very similar to Stud. Pal. XX 52.
CATALOGUE

TABAI

78/77 B.C. \( \text{BGU VIII 1737,18} \) \( \text{περὶ Ταβαί} \) \(^1\)

See also s.v. TABOKLAIΣ

Reference to a βασιλικὴ ῥύμη is made at i.13.

TABOKLAIΣ

1 B.C. \( \text{BGU XIV 2440,17} \) \( \text{περὶ Ταβ(όκλαν)} \)

222 A.D. \( \text{Stud. Pal. XX 26,28} \) \( \text{άπὸ κόμ(ή)ς} \)
\( \text{Tαβόκλεως} \) \(^2\)

See also: Ταβαιοί.

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

\textit{Stud. Pal. XX 26}: previous owners of a plot of land at Tanaso (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy) are listed up to A.D. 153: one from Taemis (contract of sale drawn up by the ὀγορονόμος at Tekmi in 204), another from Tanaso (contract drawn up by the ὀγορονόμος of the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy in 196), a third one from Taboklis (contract drawn up by the ὀγορονόμος at Tekmi). It seems likely, however, that these villages have been in the border-area between the περὶ Πόλιν and the Tekmi toparchies.

\textit{BGU XIV 2440}: II.17-18 survey land granted to Herakleides son of Isidoros, partly in the Tekmi toparchy (uncultivated land near Ταβ( ), entered under Tochontou) and partly in the Koites (near Pselemachis).

TARGHAIΣ

260-259 B.C. \( \text{(cf. BL 9,282)} \) \( \text{SB XVI 12387,4} \) \( \text{ἐν κόμῃ Ταργχαί} \)

212/211 B.C. \( \text{P.Lille I 59,14;38;100;123} \) \( \text{Tαργχάεως} \) \(^3\)

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\(^1\) The reading in the \textit{ed. pr.} is correct (checked on a photograph). This may just be a different vocalisation for the place-name Taboklis.

\(^2\) The \textit{ed. pr.} dubitatively suggests Ταβ(μισσά). Taemis does in fact recur in connection with Tochontou in \textit{BGU XIV 2437} (cf. II.1-6): both villages were in the Tekmi toparchy. However, the traces fit a β better, which leads to Ταβ(θ(μισσά), also a village in the Tekmi toparchy (reading checked by me on a photograph, and by William Brashear on the original).

\(^3\) My readings (checked on Plate XII of the \textit{editio princeps}): Ταργχάεως (14;38;100;123) \textit{ed.pr.}; Ταργχάεως Hombert (cf. BL 2.2.78).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

mid-III B.C. | P. Cair. Zen. 59782 (b), 626583
96-94 or 63-61 B.C. | BGU XIV 2429,9
after 84/83 B.C. | BGU XIV 2370 (fr. 1), 87
57 or 51/50 B.C. (cf. BL 8, 48) | BGU VIII 1780,2

after 52/51 B.C. | BGU VIII 1808,29,37
9 August 47 B.C. | BGU VIII 1811,6
I B.C. | BGU VIII 1778,3-4
I B.C. | BGU VIII 1825,3-4

I B.C. | BGU VIII 1845,4
I B.C. | BGU XIV 2436,5:8;12
I B.C. | BGU XIV 2438,71
21/20 B.C. - 5 A.D. | BGU XVI 2641,11
21 Dec. 10 B.C. | BGU XVI 2630,15
VI/VII A.D. | CPR XIV 36,4:8;12

See also: Ἐκ Ταγχά(εως)

TOPARCHY: Tilothis.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Tansa Al-Malaq (on phonetical and topographical grounds: see Introduction).

BGU XIV 2438 assigns Tanchais to the Tilothis toparchy; BGU VIII 1808 (II.36-38) apparently refers to an ἀρχηγὸς there.

1 On the dating of this document see above, p. 60 n. 3.
2 Ἐκ Ταγχά ed. pr. I could not check this reading on a photograph, but it seems rather assured in view of the other place-names recurring in the same document (see below).
3 A very doubtful reading: τ and ε both much effaced, p perhaps to be read instead of τ. If Ἐκ Ταγχ(εως), this may be a variant spelling for Ταγχά(εως) (see also next note).
4 After checking a photograph, my opinion is that the scribe meant to write the same place-name in all three occurrences. Ταγχά(εως) can perhaps be read at 1.12, too (reading checked for me by William Brashear).
5 The Editors of BGU VIII 1780 and EDMOND VANT DACK, Chr.d'Ég. 23, 1948, p. 151, infer from this document the existence of a toparchy παρὰ Ταγχά, with a ὑποστροφίας of its own. This, however, is not attested elsewhere: all other sources, including those dating (like BGU VIII 1780) from the I B.C., assign Tanchais to the Tilothis toparchy. The reference in BGU VIII 1780 perhaps simply identifies the place where the ὑποστροφίας had the misadventure he is reporting to his superiors.
The lists of villages in *P. Lille* I 59 and *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59782 (b) largely coincide: besides Bousiris, they include villages of the Koma toparchy (Koma, Krekis, Machor; in addition, *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59782 (b) mentions Thmoiobasistis and Tou), the Tilothis toparchy (Tilothis, Tanchais; in addition, *P. Lille* I 59 mentions Peenpasbyt(is) and Schnomthsis) and the Tekmi toparchy (Onnes; in addition, *P. Lille* I 59 has Peenepy). Many of these villages are recorded in *BGU* XIV 2370, fr. 1; these are: Koma, Tou, Machor and Thmoiobasistis (apparently under the main entry κάτω τοπαρχίας, Onnes, Tilothis, Tanchais. A second fragment (*BGU* XIV 2370 fr. 2), written by the same hand, has a reference to Bousiris. Much the same group of villages recurs in *BGU* XIV 2438: Tilothis, Schnomthsis, Peenpasbyt(is), Tanchais, Koma, Tou (preceded by entries for the following toparchies: Ἀγημων κάτω, Μέση and περί Φεβίχθιν). In *BGU* XVI 2631 (letter concerning the transport of grain) Bousiris, Tanchais and the Τροφείτις are stations on the route. In *BGU* XVI 2641 (register of ten farmers) the names and/or villages of three farmers are preserved: Koma, Tanchais, Trikonia. These connections are confirmed in *BGU* VIII 1808: Tekmi, Koma, Trikonia, Onnes, Thmoiobasistis, Bousiris again recur in a sequence; Tanchais appears a few lines below, following entries for the Πέρσων, Techtho Nesos, Ἀγημων (Alilais, Kollasoucha, Korphotoi), περί Φεβίχθιν and Μέση (Phebicbus), and immediately preceding Pois (there follows a reference to the περί Πόλιν toparchy: I. 31). This is consistent with the information contained in *BGU* XIV 2436, where three land-holdings are surveyed: Kastor’s is split between Tosachmus, Phebichis (both in the Koites) and Tanchais; Ptolemaios’ is split between Pois, Tanchais and Tosachmus; Hierax’ is distributed between Tanchais, Noeris (περί Πόλιν toparchy) and Pois. It also seems consistent with *BGU* XIV 2429, where some of the villages (Kollasoucha, Petachor, Hiera Nesos) also appearing in *BGU* VIII 1808 again appear in connection with Ταχ(ε) = Τάγχας.

*BGU* VIII 1776 contains another hint at the connection (suggested by *BGU* XIV 2370 fr. 1) between the (Ἀγημων κάτω τοπαρχία and Tanchais; this is the beginning of a report by a λοχαγόφορος who was to meet one of the κότοικοι της πεπεψης of Tanchais, and deliver a letter to the υποστράτης of the κάτω τοπαρχίας. Κότοικοι της πεπεψη settled at Tanchais are also attested in *BGU* XIV 1845.

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**ΤΑΕΜΣΙΣ**

30 Jan. 237 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,3

23 Feb. 214 A.D.  
SB XIV 11643,2:3 (= SB I 5163)

222 A.D.  
Stud. Pal. XX 26,15

first half of III A.D.  
CPR I 169,5

second half of III A.D.  
SB XVI 12241,5;10;15

See also s.v. ΤΑΕΜΣΙΕΙ.

**TOPARCHY:** Tekmi.

*BGU* XIV 2437,1-6: a τοπογραμματικός κλήρος, entered under the heading περί Τέκμη:


2 "Zeilenende, keine Kürzung angezeigt; vielleicht ist Ταξευσεως zu lesen" (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

Κολλιντασθόρης was distributed among several villages, all presumably in the Tekmi toparchy: Taemsis, Tou, Tochontou, Πεσενε'.

Stud.Pal. XX 26: previous owners of a plot of land at Tanaso (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy) are listed up to A.D. 153: one from Taemsis (sale contract, drawn up by the ὀγοροφονόμος at Tekmi in 204), another from Tanaso (contract drawn up by the ὀγοροφονόμος of the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy in 196), a third one from Taboklis (contract drawn up by the ὀγοροφονόμος at Tekmi). The fact that successive owners of the same plot are from different toparchies (Tekmi, περὶ Πόλιν and Ἀγημός) suggests that these neighboured each other and that Tanaso (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy), Taemsis and Taboklis (both in the Tekmi toparchy) were presumably near the boundary between these two toparchies.

SB XIV 11643 was drawn up in the office of the agoranomos of Taemsis: it is the ἐκκοσφράγισμα of a declaration by a woman from Taemsis, but presently living at Herakleopolis, to invalidate a will she had previously made.

PUG III 114: νυκτόκληρος declaration for the transport of corn from Peentechy, Taemsis and Tanaso to Alexandria.

ΤΑΕΤΜΕΙ

235-238 A.D.(?) \(^1\)  

CPR I 84,6  

ἐν κόμη Ταετμεί \(^2\)

See also s.v. ΤΑΕΜΣΙΣ.

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

The document is a παρακόμησις contract, drawn up in the office of the agoranomos at Tekmi. This place-name could be understood as Ταετμή<ς>εί or Ταετμή<ς>ει (variant spelling for Τοεμσει): at least one of the parties in the contract comes from this village.

ΤΑΕΩΣ

I/II A.D.  

P.Hib. II 218,49  

Τάεως

Των (Tekmi toparchy) follows in this long list, otherwise mainly including villages of the Koites.

ΤΑΚΡΙΑΝ

683/684 A.D.  

CPR X 135,7

Land ἐν διαφόροις κλήροις is surveyed in this document.

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\(^1\) Date uncertain: cf. BL 1,119 and 7,43 (with reference to SB I 4370); see also J.David Thomas, «SB XVI 13050 reconsidered», ZPE 88, 1991, p.124 and n.17.

\(^2\) ἐν κόμη Ταετμεί: die Entscheidung ist schwierig (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994). ἐν κόμη Πεσενε - suggested by Preisigke on the basis of a comparison with SB I 4370 where the same woman (called Θαεθίς) appears, seven years younger - cannot be read here.
ΤΑΛΗ/ΤΑΛΗ

264/263 or 263/262 B.C.  
about 246 B.C.

P.Hib. I 157 (descr.)  
SB XII 10783,7 (= P.Hib. 139 descr.)  

έκ [Τα]λάους  
έκ Ταλάη

246 (245) B.C.
244 (243) B.C.
239 (238) or 214 (213) B.C.

P.Hib. I 106,7  
P.Hib. I 107,6  
P.Hib. I 117,8

έκ Ταλάη  
έν [Ταλάη]  
έν Τάλη.  

235 (234) B.C.

P.Hib. I 37,4;12

φυλακίτη κόμης  
Ταλέους (4); φυλακίτη  
κόμης Ταλέους (12-13)

tοῖς ἐν Ταλάη  
φυλακίτας (1); ἐκ τοῦ  
Φιλολέου κληρονομοῦ  
περὶ Ταλάην (5)

232 (231) B.C.

P.Hib. I 75,1;5

φυλακίτης κόμης Τάλη

230/229 or 229/228 B.C.
229 (228) B.C.

P.Hib. I 144 descr.  
P.Hib. I 36,3;8

φυλακίτη Ταλέους (3);  
φυλακίτη Τάλη (8)

mid-III B.C.  
mid-III B.C.(?)

P.Fuad Crawford 5, verso,4  
SB X 10447 verso,27

Ταλάης  
ἐίς Ταλάη (cf. BL 6,168)

I B.C.
I B.C.
28/27 B.C.

BGU XIV 2431,8  
BGU XIV 2435,25  
BGU XVI 2665,17

ἐν Ταλή

Ταλέους  
τὸν περὶ Ταλή κληρον  
(16-17)

February 155 A.D.

SB V 7515,251 (=  
P.Berl.Frisk I =  
P.Bankatken 1)

Ταλάη[.]  

I/II A.D.

P.Hib. II 218,15;26;28;88

Τάλη (88: Τάλ[α]);  
μερισμοὶ Ἀπίσθ[νος]  
στατ(οναιίς) κόμης  
Ταλή σύμμαχος (ος) ἀ (5-7;  
cf. BL 8,287)

IV V A.D.

P.Rain.Cent. 153,7

ἀπὸ Ταλή

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1 Ταλη (dative according to the third declension) should perhaps be read.
2 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.
3 I suggest this reading instead of Ταλη[.] of the ed. pr. The Editor also notes ad loc.: «Ob etwas in der Lücke gestanden hat, ist sehr unsicher».
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

V A.D.  
*P.Oxy.* VIII 1126,7  
γίτονες νότου τον ἀπό  
Ταλη λιμός λίθος Κητις,  
ἀπηλιωτού λίθος μετὰ  
(7-9)

VII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal.* III 197,2  
Ταλη

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal.* X 227,5,6  
ἀπὸ χ(ορίου) Ταλη

toparchy: Koites.

etymology: Ταλη (possibly a more accurate rendering of the Egyptian place-name) is declined according to the first declension; Ταλη (spelling commonly adopted in the Roman period) follows the third declension (genitive Ταλέους).

modern arabic name: 'Talâ.

*P.Hib.* I 106 and 107: the agents of Taembs, who lives at Talae, pay the beer-tax into the *logeuterion* of Pephichis. Talae is also connected to Pephichis in *BGU* XIV 2431.

*P.Hib.* I 117: account of corn (138 1/2 art. olyra; 12 art. wheat) compiled by an official in charge of the State granaries of the Koites (presumably at Pephichis); the olyra is paid at Talae, on account of holdings at Psychis and Assya.

*BGU* XIV 2435: Assya again recurs as administratively subordinated to Talae, along with Kerke(ephis)?, as in *SB* V 7515 (mainly dealing with the Polemon division of the Arsinoites: κτιστηριώδεις from Kerkeosphis, Philonikou and Talae, in the Herakleopolite nome, are also involved). Talae and Kerkeosphis are both included in other lists of villages in the Koites (*P.Fuad Crawford 5; P.Hib.* II 218).

*BGU* XVI 2665 is a letter from a woman to her son, concerning land at Ogou, Mouchis (both in the Tekmi toparchy), Nois (περὶ Πόλιν) and Talae.

*P.Rain.Cent.* 153: villages of the Koites (Talae, Thmoines and Theneis), the Middle toparchy (Phys, Peenblykus) and the northern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome (Palosis) appear in the same accounts.

In *P.Oxy.* VIII 1126 Koba is also mentioned.

(?)*Tamersos(w)*

VI/ VII A.D.  
*SB* XX 15072,5

Other villages mentioned include Psobthis, Pois, Daphne.

Ταμφωνοθεις

I B.C.  
*BGU* VIII 1824,8  
Ταμφωνοθειν

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1 See *P.Hib.* I 36,3 n.

2 As already suggested by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* XII 1416,13 n. In *P.Hib.* I 117 Psychis (modern Ahstig, about 4.5 km SE of modern Talâ) appears to depend administratively on Talae. See also *Introduction*, p.11.

3 The document has been published by PIETER J. SIJPESTEIJN, *ZPE* 81, 1990, pp.245-251. It is not at all certain that Ταμερσοφος( ) was a village in the Herakleopolite: our source mentions several villages, which can be located in the Arsinoite, Herakleopolite, and apparently also Lykopolite and Aphroditeopolite nomes.
CATALOGUE

A petition to the strategos, concerning assault and robbery on the part of people ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης πλατείας. BGU VIII 1814, a petition to the same strategos written by the same hand, deals with land near Tebetyn (Πέραν toparchy).

TAN[.]-A.[

III A.D. P.Neph. 28,4 ἀπὸ κόμης Ταν[·] α.[1]

This fragment of a contract also mentions the villages of Papa, Phebichis, Pimein. Ταν[τοκ]α seems a possible supplement.

TANΑΣΩ

30 Jan. 237 B.C. PUG III 114,11 ἐκ Τανασών

139 B.C. P.Tebt. III 838,4 ὁ σιτολογὸς Τανασών περὶ Πόλιν (II.4-5) 2

139 B.C. P.Tebt. III 986,3 ὁ σιτολογὸς Τανασών πε[ρὶ Πόλιν (II.2-3) 3

222 A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 26,20; 31-32 (= Chr.M. 200) ἀπὸ κόμης Τανασών (19-20); πε[ρὶ κόμης Τανασών]

7 Dec. 227 A.D. (cf. BL 7,259) Stud.Pal. XX 29,12 ἀπὸ κόμης Τανασών

II/III A.D. P.Alex. inv. 563 (p.32),5 Τανασώ

III A.D. CPR I 66,10 ἐν τῇ στάτῃ κόμης Τανασώ

V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 47,3 Τανασώ

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν? περὶ Τεκμί?

Tanaso and Taemsis (Tekmi toparchy) recur together in PUG III 114 (ναύκληρος declaration for corn transport from Peentechy, Taemsis and Tanaso) and in Stud.Pal. XX 26: here Marcus Aurelius Horaeus applies to the βιβλιοφόλος ἐγκήρυκεον of the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy for an official statement concerning a plot of land he owns at Tanaso, in the fossil kleros Θεοδήμητου (I.32); this is to be sent to the οἰκονομός of the "Αγήμης toparchy. 4 Previous owners of the plot are listed up to A.D. 153: one from

1 «Dieses Dorf braucht allerdings nicht im Herakleopolitès gelegen zu haben» (Ed. ad loc.).

2 Τὴν ed.pr. Τηνασώτα is a likely supplement, as this must have been the same village as in P.Tebt. III 986,3 (where Ταν., is read in the ed.pr., and the indication of the toparchy can in turn be supplied on the basis of P.Tebt. III 838); no other village-name beginning with Ταν.— is attested in the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy.

3 See preceding note.

4 Presumably in order that he could then draw up a contract of sale: it may be that the buyer (not mentioned, in this document) originated from the "Αγήμης. Cf. however HANS JULIUS WOLFF, Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens.
Taemnis (contract of sale drawn up by the ἄγοραννόμος at Tekmi in 204), another from Tanaso (contract drawn up by the ἄγοραννόμος of the περὶ Πόλεων toparchy in A.D. 196), a third one from Taboklis (contract drawn up by the ἄγοραννόμος at Tekmi).

Connection between Tanaso and Peentechy: PUG III 114 (see above) and Stud.Pal. XX 29 (πορφιρόφραγμα) contract drawn up in the agoranomos office at Tekmi: some of the land ceded by a man from Tosachmis to his wife, who is from Tanaso, is near Peentechy).

Connection between Tanaso and Tosachmis: Stud.Pal. XX 29 (see above) and Stud.Pal. X 47, a list of villages including Onosis (1.1; περὶ Πόλεων toparchy), Mouchis (1.2; Tekmi toparchy), Tanaso and Tosachmis (1.4; Koites). This connection is corroborated by P.Alex. inv. 563, where Phebichis is also entered (1.7).

TANIS

mid-III B.C.  
P.Strasb. IX 802,12  
Tόγις

TOPARCHY: Koites.

There was a well attested Tanis in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoites, and a famous one in the Delta (cf. L.A., Bd.II, 194-209).

Most, or all villages listed in P.Strasb. IX 802 were in the Koites.

TANTOKA

between 173 and 130-128  
B.C. (cf. BL 7,273)  
P.Tebt. III 890,7  
εκ Ταντόκα

early II B.C.  
P.Tebt. III 1044,62  
Ταντόκα(κα)

See also s.v. TAN[...]-A.[

TOPARCHY: Mέη?

A village called Τοκα is attested in the Oxyrhynchites (see PRUNETI, Centri abitati, s.v.).

P.Tebt. III 890: bank accounts also mentioning Phnebieus (II.74,75,100), Kollesus (I.81), Me[ (1.97).  
P.Tebt. III 1044: advances of wheat and barley to cleruchs; Peensamo (Πέασα toparchy) also mentioned.

..... Die Beteiligung verschiedener Agoranaomeia an aufeinander folgenden Veräußerungen ein und derselben Liegenschaft bezeugt die herakleopolitische Eingabe Stud.Pal. XX 26. As remarked by Wolff (p.18, n.48), local dependencies of the central ἄγοραννόμος office of the Herakleopolities are well attested in the III A.D.: ἑπτημηγεῖοι were in charge of them.

1 «Plūtōt que Τόγις» (ed. pr. ad loc.).  

TAIPAMEI

VII-VIII A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 206,14

Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

TAIPIAMPESET


Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

TAIPOURSEHEI

VI A.D.  Stud. Pal. III 86,1;4  ὀπὸ ἑποίκιον
Tαπουρσηε τοῦ
Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ
(1-2); ἑποίκιον
Tαπουρσηε (4)

See also: TAPIROSIG .

TAIPROSIG


See also: TAIPOURSEHEI.

TOPARCHY: perì Πόλιν.

Stud. Pal. X 22 lists, among other place-names, Sobthis ἡ μυκρᾶ, Tokois and Charamou (all in the perì Πόλιν toparchy).

TARETTAPI

16 July 534 A.D.  SB VIII 9876,10-11  κλήρου Ταρέτταπη

TOPARCHY: perì Πόλιν.

Near Noeris.

1 «Ob eine Metathesis für Tαπουρσηε;? An und für sich kein Problem. Es könnte aber auch schon Wortende sein, was sich aber nicht sagen läßt» (Johannes Diethart, letter of September 13, 1994).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΤΑΡΩΤ

May-June 335 Α.Δ. (?)
end of VI/VII Α.Δ.

P.Lond. VI 1914,57
P.Köln VII 322,7

ἀπὸ Ταρωτ
[ἐν τόπῳ κα]λομένῳ
Ταρωτ

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. TEPTON().

MODERN ARABIC NAME: according to the Editor of P.Lond. VI 1914 (ad l.57), «no doubt to be identified with the Coptic Toreţ: he offers Derūt esh-Sherif and the nearby district capital Derūt («close to the junction of the Bahr Yusūf and the Ibrāhīmīyah Canal») as equally possible identifications for Tepot. On the whole, Tepot = Derūt esh-Sherif seems more likely: Derūt (the modern district capital) could be ancient Tērūt (in the Oxyrhynchite nome).

P.Köln VII 318-326 are all part of the same roll, which assembled several different documents: the place-names mentioned there (Papa, in the Koites; Peenpibyke, in the Mēsti) point to the Herakleopolites. In P.Lond. VI 1914 Taamorou (in the border-area between Koites and Oxyrhynchites) and Tumoskeos are also mentioned.

P.Köln VII 322 contains a lease of land (six aourae) with all its attachments: λάκκος, θορεύμα, μηχανή, μηχανοσυχνα, μηχανικά ὁργανα, πύργος (l.7-8). Borders: to the north a public road (ὅμοσις ὁδός), to the south the local canal (ἡ ἐκεί διάρος), to the east another landholding (l.9).

ΤΑΣΑΥΤΗΣ

V Α.Δ.


ἐποίκικον) Τασαυτής

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗЯ: Koma.

This place-name recurs between Thmoioebastis and Thmoiamoun(is), both in the Koma toparchy.

ΤΑΤΑΡ( )

VIII Α.Δ.

Stud.Pal. X 218,4

χ(ωρίον) Ταταρ( )

See also: Τα...[.....

Other villages listed in Stud.Pal. X 218 include Onosis (περί Πόλιν toparchy) and Tinteris. It may be that Ταταρ( ) is the same village as Τα...[..... of P.Oxy. VI 899.

1 Τασαυτής ed. pr.: reading revised by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).
CATALOGUE

ΤΑΥΡΟΣ

VII A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 66,3  
χ(αφίον) Ταύρος

Philonikou (Koites) is entered at I.5.

ΤΑΦΘΙΡΙΣ

after 27 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2599,6  
περὶ Ταφθιρίν

Petition from three farmers from Κεφαλαία, who claim that their respective seven-arourae kleroi (all near Taphthiris) have been insufficiently inundated.

ΤΑΧΕΩΣ

V A.D.  
Νέας Πόλεως κ(ων) Ῥώσ

ΤΑΧΟΝΙΑΧΝΟΥΒ / ΊΒΙΩΝ ΠΑΧΝΟΥΒΙΣ

mid-III B.C.  
P. Strasb. IX 802,8  
Ταχονιαχνοῦβ

131 A.D.  
P. Oxy. IV 715,21  
περὶ κόμην Ίβιῶνα  
Παχνοῦβιν

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY:  
Ταχο-ν παχνοῦβ is transliterated from the Egyptian T3-Chj-n-Pa-Hmn (no Greek case-ending): «the ibis-sanctuary of (founded/sponsored by) Pachnuum».

Ίβιῶν is the Greek translation of the Egyptian t3-Chj (otherwise transliterated as ταχο/ε), in combination with the same Egyptian personal name: Παχνοῦβ(ις). As might have been expected, the

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1 Reading suggested by Johannes Diethart: «Z.3 vermeine ich χ(αφίον) Ταύρος zu lesen, einen Ort im Herakleopolites, der bisher nicht bekannt war» (letter of February 25, 1994). The first Editor deciphered Τοπφίριν (or Ταφθιρίν).


3 VBP II 21 (March-April 117 A.D.) refers to an Ίβιῶν Πού (1.12) which could be the Herakleopolite Ίβιῶν Παχνοῦβεος, but also the Hermopolite Ίβιῶν Πανεκτόρεος (referred to in VBP II 26): cf. P. Heid. IV p.77 n.10.

earlier source attests the Egyptian place-name transliterated into Greek, whereas the hellenised place-name is found in a much later source.


P. Oxy. IV 715: the property inherited by two brothers living at Toemesis included some land in the «fossil kleros» of Zoilos and Noumenios, near Ἰβτόν Πέχυνουβίς, and some more in the «fossil kleros» of Menippos and Artemidoros, near Pseleamachis. The same villages already appeared in three consecutive lines in P. Strassb. IX 802: Pseleamachis (7), Tachonpachnoub (8), Toemesis (9). As there is no doubt that Pseleamachis was in the Koites, we can also be assured of the situation of Ταχονπαχννυβίς/Ἰβτόν Πέχυνουβίς in the same toparchy.

Another centre named after an ibis sanctuary near Pseleamachis was Ἰβτόν 'Αρσόμου; see also: Ἰβτόν ...
(P. Fuid Crawford 5, verso, 10).

TH()

VII-VIII A.D. | Stud. Pal. X 206,4

Apparently the name of a κληρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index, at the end of this volume).

TEBETYNY

247/246 B.C. | SB III 7203,11 | ἐν Τεβέτνυ
II B.C. | P. Lille 16,4 | ἐκ Τεβέτνυ
2 July 167 B.C. | P. Hamb. 191,4 | ἐν Τεβετνυοι
2 Sept. 162 B.C. | P. Hels. I 26 A,15,26 | Τεβετνυοι
II B.C. | P. Münch. III 49,2 | ἐν Τεβέτνυοι
61/60 B.C. | BGU VIII 1814,7 | περὶ Τεβέτνυοι
I B.C. | BGU VIII 1857,8 | ἐν τοῖς τῆς Τεβέτνυοι πεδίοις
I B.C. | BGU XIV 2432,15 | Τεβετνυοι
232/233 A.D. | Stud. Pal. XX 34,5,16 | ἀπὸ κοιμῆς Τεβέτνυ (5); περὶ τῆν συμπίνα Τεβέτνυ (16)
233/234 A.D. | P. Vind. Sip. 19,6 | σιτολόγων κόμης Τεβετνυ
234 A.D. | P. Vind. Worp 4,5 | σιτολόγων κόμης Τεβετνυ
446 A.D. | P. Rain. Cent. 95,6 | [Τεβέτνυ τοῦ Ἦροκλεοπολίτου

1 Vandorpe points out that the tax-payer referred to under the entry for Ταχονπαχννυβίς is called Πιβάς, a variant spelling for ΦΑΒΑΣ (Egyptian p3-hb, «the ibis»).
CATALOGUE

16 Oct. 599 A.D.  P.Köln III 158,13  ἀπὸ κόμης Τεβήτνυ
VI A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 44,14  χ’(ω’(ρίον) Τεβήτνη
VII A.D.  SB VI 9590,11;22;verso  Τεβήτνυ
VII/VIII A.D.  CPR IV 2,12  χ(ωρίον) Τεβήτνη
Byz.  SB I 5339,9  χ(ωρίον) Τεβήτνυ

TOPARCHY: Πέρον.
A Tebenty (modern Dafadnu) in the Polemon division of the Arsinoites is very well attested throughout the Graeco-Roman period (see also P.Vind.Worp 4,5 n.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten II, pp.491-492 (s.v. Dafadnu).

Both P.Hels. I 26 and BGU XIV 2432 mention Tebenty and Thmoiphthas as belonging to the Πέρον toparchy (in P.Hels. I 26, Peensamoi and Thmoinausiris are also assigned to the same toparchy).

Assuming that both Thmoinotholis and Bousiris referred to in SB III 7203 were the Herakleopolite villages thus named, the Tebenty also mentioned there is likely to have been in the Herakleopolites (note, however, that various Arsinoite localities appear in the same document, too).

Tebenity in the Herakleopolites is also attested in some sources of the third century A.D. (Stud.Pal. XX 34: an inhabitant of Tebenty applies to the strategos of the Herakleopolites for a grant of seed-corn; P.Vind.Sip. 19 and P.Vind.Worp 4: monthly reports from the sitologos of Tebenty to the strategos of the Herakleopolites 1), and of the sixth/seventh century A.D. (Stud.Pal. X 44: several other Herakleopolite villages are listed, including Pois, Tinteris, Tou, Kollintauthyri, Phnebeius; SB VI 9590: two aurari which Anatolios cedus to Pamoön are apparently split between Makaitonos, Tebenty and Chortaso).

P.Münch. III 49 recto contains an address [τοῖς ἐν] Τεβήτνυ τοῖς ἀρχηγοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (I.2), while on the verso an address to ἀρχηγοῖς of Herakleopolis is found (I.1: ἀρχηγοί[ν], who may or may not be «chiefs of the Jews» 2, and may or may not coincide with the «elders of the Jews» of Tebenty 3. There is anyway little doubt that the two texts, on the recto and verso of the same papyrus and both referring to Jews, are related, and thus offer a link between (the Jewish communities of?) Tebenty and Herakleopolis. The proximity of the Arsinoite Tebenty to Samareia, «probably a military establishment of Syrian soldiers (particularly Jews and Samaritans)» 4, may suggest a Jewish origin for the place-name Tebenty.

BGU VIII 1814 is a petition to the strategos Paniskos from a κάτοικος ἵππευς holding a klersos at Tebenty. BGU VIII 1857 reports a serious offence: the petitioner’s brother has been robbed and murdered on the way from Tebenty to Καντῖ (also in the Πέρον, as attested by BGU VIII 1834; the two villages also recur together in the Byzantine SB I 5339). A similar crime, though not with such tragic consequences, was already reported in the III B.C.: the petitioner survived to complain of having been assaulted while on his way from Tebenty to Korphot (in the Ἀγημωνία κότω), where he was to visit his sister. P.Hamb. I 91, again a petition to the strategos of the Herakleopolites (this is Kydias, who was in charge in 167 B.C.), apparently indicates Tebenty as the place where «spoils» were shared (I.1.3-4: ἀπὸ τῶν γενομένων σκόλα[ων] ἐν Τεβήτνυ) 5; the petitioner apparently complains about the loss of his

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1 Cf. the similar Stud.Pal. XX 52 (place-names mentioned there: Taumarou, Philonikou).

2 There is no way of knowing whether ἀρχηγοί[ν] was the last word in the line, and thus linked to τῶν Ἰουδαίων (which follows in the next line).

3 See the introduction to P.Monac. III 49 (p.9).

4 See CPJ I 22.6 n.

5 According to the Editor of this text, the occasion might have been a clash of opposed factions in the conflict between Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy VIII Euegetes II. See THEODOR C. SKEAT, The Reigns of the Ptolemies, München
share, consisting of four female slaves: one of these, retrieved on the slave-market at Memphis, apparently managed to escape to Pois.

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (iroponyms in Greek).

(?) TEKBH

36/35 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2376,18;38  
Τέκβη (18); Τέκβης[5]
(38)

36/35 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2377,22;45  
Τέκβης

BGU XIV 2376 and 2377 are copies of the same document, which concerns a confiscation procedure.

TEKMI

246-221 B.C.  
P.Strasb. VII 642,5  
κώμη Τ[έ]κμει

163/162 B.C. (?)  
P.Hels. I 24,1;6  
tό ἐν Τέκμῳ

149 or 138 B.C.³  
SB XVIII 13304,1;6  
κωμογραμματέως Τέκμη
καὶ Βεθκρόουδανον⁴

64/63 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1747,4  
περὶ Τέκ[μ]ι

63/62 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1771,16;20  
περὶ Τέκ[μ]ι (16); περὶ Τέκ[μ]ι (20)

21 June 51 B.C. (?)⁵  
BGU VIII 1832,7;13  
οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐφοδείας κώμης Τέκμη (6-7); εἰς χορτοθήκην ἐν κώμη[τ]ι Τέκμη (12-13)

51/50 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1838,4  
ἐκ κόμης Τέκμη

50/49 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1842,4  
φυλοκίτου κόμης Τέκμη
(3-4)


¹ See s.v. NINΩ.

² Cf. BGU XIV 2376,19 n.: «καὶ Τέκβης, d.b. γῆ, Auch am Zeilenende versehene man καὶ γῆ (πρότερον) Εὐζήλου»: according to the Editor, then, Τέκβη is probably the present landholder’s name - not a place-name.

³ The date 157 B.C. suggested by the first Editors (ROYCE L. B. MORRIS-JOHN F. OATES, «An official Report», BASP 22, 1985, pp.243-246) is wrong: cf. GREGG WILLIAM SCHWENDNER, ZPE 72, 1988, pp.275-276, suggesting the dates 149 or (preferably) 138 B.C.

⁴ Cf. DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 68, 1987, pp.84-85.

⁵ Cf. 1:120: (ἐτοιον) λ. καὶ σ. Ιο(ν)ν (year 30 which is also year 1): see THEODOR C. SKEAT, The Reigns of the Ptolemies, München 1954, p.18.
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<td>περὶ Τέκ(μι) (2); ἐν Τέκμι (4-5)</td>
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<td>[περὶ Τ]έκμι τοπ[αρχία]¹</td>
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<td>BGU XIV 2444,7;25;81;82</td>
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<td>I B.C.</td>
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<td>ἐν Τέκμι</td>
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<td>περὶ Τέκμει</td>
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<td>193-211 A.D.</td>
<td>CPR I 50,b,3</td>
<td>στολ(όγο) Τεκμί</td>
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<td>1 August 204 A.D.</td>
<td>O.Wilck. II 1121,1</td>
<td>δι[ἐπη]τη[ρητῶν] άγορασμίας περὶ Τέκμει</td>
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<td>PSI XV estr. 1546,30</td>
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¹ «Tekmi ganz zw.» ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

222 A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 26,12;26 δὴ ἐπιτηρητὴς(ῶν)
ἀγορ(ανομίας) περὶ
Τέκμει (11-12); δὴ ἐπιτηρητὴς(ῶν)
ἀγορ(ανομίας) περὶ
Τέκμει (26)

222–235 A.D. (emperor Severus Alexander) CPR I 76,5 1 [δὴ ἐπιτηρητὸν
ἀγορανομίας περὶ
Τέκμει]

222–235 A.D. CPR VI 73,8 ἀπὸ κόμης Τέκμει (7-8)

7 Dec. 227 A.D. (cf. BL 7,259) Stud.Pal. XX 29,6 δὴ ἐπιτηρητὸν
ἀγορανομίας περὶ
Τέκμει

235–238 A.D. (?) 2 CPR I 84,4 περὶ Τέκμει
CPR I 83,2 περὶ Τέκμει

first half of III A.D. CPR I 90,2 περὶ Τέκμει

first half of III A.D. CPR I 66,4 περὶ Τέκμει

III A.D. CPR I 87,6 περὶ Τέκμει

III A.D. Stud.Pal. VIII 1198,2 ἀπὸ χ(οριοῦ) Τέκμει
ποι(χ(α)(τος)
Ἡρακλ(εοπολείτος)

TOPARCHY: Tekmi was the main centre of its own toparchy.

A list of the villages that can be assigned to this toparchy is found on p.294.

Several documents, ranging from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., show that Tekmi was the main administrative centre of its own toparchy: P.Hels. 24 (tax payments at the logeuteron of Tekmi); SB XVIII 13304 (the village scribe of Tekmi and Bichinhouth reports the arrival of the strategos Euphranor, «leading to Tekmi the troops that had been transferred to Papa»); BGU XIV 2441-2448 and 2449-2450 (land-survey in the Tekmi toparchy); Stud.Pal. XX 25, PSI XV estr. 1546, Stud.Pal. XX 25, CPR I 76 and Stud.Pal. XX 29 (agoranosmos office at Tekmi where a number of παρασχώρησις contracts are drawn up).

BGU XIV 2441-2450 contain frequent references to the temple of Eseph at Tekmi. According to BGU VIII 1795, there was at Tekmi also a temple of the less well-known god Σμῆθεσεντος; Semetheus, son of Horos, is προσφήτης there, but also ἄρχησεν θεοὺς of Herakles’ temple at Sotthis (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy). Sacred land belonging to a temple of Hermes is surveyed in BGU XIV 2437: some of it is in the Tekmi area (1.17), some more at Thmoiphtha, in the Πόλιν toparchy.

BGU VIII 1807 deals with cargo-vessels: one of them was apparently made in the Troities 3, another seems to be identified by reference to its owner (1.7: Κράτσων) and its present whereabouts (1.8-9: οἶκος τοῦ κατὰ Τέκμει).

BGU XVI 2670 contains an account of contributions by individuals and groups of workers or craftsmen in view of the visit of a certain Lupus (presumably the nome strategos); other place-names mentioned are Φανύττος (also in the Tekmi toparchy) and Thmoiamoun(is).

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1 CPR I 76 and CPR I 79 are part of one and the same document.
2 Cf. BL 1,119 and 7,43; see also J.DAVID THOMAS, «SB XVI 13050 reconsidered», ZPE 88, 1991, p.124 and n.17.
3 In the Memphite nome: cf. BGU VIII 1784 (see s.v. Ἱερός Νῆσος).
CATALOGUE

ΤΕΜΕΝΚΥΡΚΕΩΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,[49]  
[[Τεμενκύρκεως]]

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,60  
Τεμενκύρκεως

early II A.D.  
P.Köln II 98,34  
Τεμενκύρκεως

toparchy: Koites.

eyymology: «the Hunting-Place»¹.

BGU XIV 2438 and 2440 indicate that this village was περὶ Φέβχιν: Tosachmis is listed with it in the first document, Peene in the second.
P.Köln II 98: taxes to be paid upon land-holdings near Temenkyrakis and Sobthis.

ΤΕΡΟΥΦΕΩΣ

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,45

toparchy: Koites.

Most toponyms listed in this document belong to the Koites; the entry for Τερουφεως comes after Papa (1.44) and before Phebichis (1.46).

ΤΕΡΤΩΝ( )

mid-III B.C.  
P.Strasb. IX 802,22  
Τέρτων( )²

toparchy: Koites.

eyymology: two possible etymologies for the prefix Τερτόν- are discussed by DREW-BEAR, Le nomme Hormopolite, p.289, s.v. Terot : (1) a point where the river branches («dérivation, division», as already suggested by Chambollon), or else (2) a «colline végétante» (as tentatively suggested by Jean Voyotte).

modern arabic name: cf. DREW-BEAR, ibid. («La correspondance entre ces toponymes et les bourgades appelées Devrou demeure très probable»).

Most or all villages listed in this document were in the Koites.

¹ See JEAN VOYOTTTE, RAdÉ 14, 1962, p.84; also quoted by DREW-BEAR, Le nomme Hormopolite, p.276: «(Voyotte) retrouve la racine ργγ, au sens de “poser un filet de chasse, un piège, une nasse” dans le toponyme Τεμενκύρκις, qui signifie “le dîm de chasse”; le premier élément du mot représente την en Copte, c'est-à-dire “la place, le village”».

² Checked on a photograph: the decipherment of the second τ and the following ο appears very uncertain.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

[ΤΕΠΤΟΝΑΛΙ] ( )

I/II A.D. \( P. \text{Hib. II 218,70} \)

TOPARCHY: Koites?

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΤΕΠΤΟΝ( ).

Most documents listed in this document belong to the Koites.

ΤΕΠΤΟΝΙΧ( )

I/II A.D. \( P. \text{Hib. II 218,40;48;79;83} \)

Τερτονιχ( ) (48);
Τερτονιχ( ) (79);
Τερτονιχ( ) (83)

See also: ΤΕΠΤΟΝΠΙΕΤΕΧΩΝΣ.

TOPARCHY: "Αγημα.

ETYMOLOGY: see ΤΕΠΤΟΝ( ).

This place-name is included in a series of villages of the "Αγημα (Alilais, Kollasoucha, Petachor, Peenaneus), περὶ Πόλιν (Sobthis) and περὶ Τέκμι (Mouchis) in \( P. \text{Hib II 218 verso, II.33-41} \); Tosachmis (Koites) follows (1.42). The connection with Sobthis and Tosachmis is confirmed in II.79-87, where Thmoines (1.85; also appearing soon after Tερτονιχ( ) at 1.48) and Niseus are also entered. A close connection between Niseus and Tertonpetechns (in the "Αγημα κάτω) is attested (see s.vv.).

ΤΕΠΤΟΝΠΙΕΤΕΜΟΥΝ

I B.C. \( BGU \text{ XIV 2437 (fr.5),77} \)

Τερτονπετεμουν\(^1\)

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΤΕΠΤΟΝ().

ΤΕΠΤΟΝΠΙΕΤΕΧΩΝΣ

III B.C. \( P. \text{Lille I 31,1} \)

Νισεύς καὶ
Τερτονπετεχόνς

I B.C. \( BGU \text{ XIV 2438 (fr.3),95} \)

Τερτον[πετεχόνς]\(^2\)

---

\(^1\) Τερτονπετεμουν ed. pr., but: «Now, 20 years later, I read quite clearly (I would even omit all the dots now): Τερτονπετεμουν in 1.74» (letter from William M. Brushe, November 10, 1995).

\(^2\) Τερτον[ ed. pr. BGU XIV 2438 (fr.3) lists villages of the "Αγημα κάτω toparchy; this in my opinion makes the
CATALOGUE

4 Aug. 2 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2591,1  
άπό τῆς Τερτονπετεχών  
τοῦ Ἀγάματος

222 A.D.  
PSI XV estr.1546,36  
άπό Τερτονπετεχών ¹

See also s.vv. ΤΕΡΤΟΝΙΧ( ), ΤΕΡΤΟΝΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΝ; Ἰ.ΠΕΤΕΧΩΝ.

TOPARCHY: Ἀγάμα κάτω.

ETYMOLOGY: see s.v. ΤΕΡΤΟΝ( ).

BGU XVI 2591 indicates that Tertonpetechons was in the Ἀγάμα: this village in fact appears on the same line with Niseus (Ἀγάμα toparchy) in P.Lille 31.

PSI XV estr.1546 comprises two παροχαρησίς contracts: in the first one Thmoiache (in the Techtho Nesos toparchy) and Tekmi (where the agoranomos office was) are mentioned; Tertonpetechons appears in the second contract.

ΤΕΧΘΩ (ΝΗΣΟΣ)

III B.C.  
P.Hamb. III 202,2;4;17-18  
τοπ[ύριχη] τῆς Τεχθώ  
νήσου (1-2); ἐκ Τεχθώ (4); εἰς [Τ]εχθώ (17-18)

second quarter of III B.C. ²
15 Nov. 215 B.C.  
P.Hib. II 198,128
П.Страшб. VI 563,9  
Τεχθώ

9 Dec. 215 B.C.  
P.Strasb. II 113,10  
ἐκ θησαυρου Τεχθώ (9-10) (cf. BL 7,246)

4,11,12 Jan. 210 B.C. (cf. BL 9,324)  
P.Strasb. II 103,5;15;26 ³  
ἐν τῷ ἐν Τεχθώ φρουρίῳ (5;15); ἐν Τεχθώ (26)

11 Jan. 210 B.C. (cf. BL 9,324)  
P.Strasb. II 104,8  
ἐν τοῖς ἐν Τεχθ[ῶ]  
φρουρίῳ (8-9)

163/162 B.C. (?)  
P.Hels. I 21,9  
τῆς κατὰ Τεχθώ ⁴

² The references in ll.147 and 160 are to 272/271 and 271/270 B.C., respectively (cf. BL 9,109).
³ Cf. Addendum after P.Strasb. VII 622 (p.32).
⁴ τῆς κατὰ Τεχθώ <τοπαρχίας> ed.pr. (cf. P.Hamb. III 202): «der im Bereich des Dorfes Techto (Toparchie)». One could also understand τῆς κατὰ Τεχθώ <νήσου>.

¹ άπό Τέρτον Πετεχών ed.pr.: «... è preferibile scrivere in una sola parola Τερτονπετεχων, ... il sigma alla fine poteva anche non essere registrato nella traslitterazione dall’egiziano (cfr. Ποχας/Ποχων); infatti nel PSI 1546 non c’è» (Manfredo Manfredi, letter of September 25, 1994).

² supplement Τερτον(πετεχών) very likely (Phnebieus, which follows at l.96, belonged to the Middle toparchy).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

2 Sept. 162 B.C. P. Hels. I 26 A,4; 12; 21; 37: Τὸν Κωίτην καὶ τὴν Τεχθὸν Νῆσον καὶ τὸ Πέρα (A,4); [Τ]έχθων Νῆσον (A,12); Τεχθὸς (A,21); Τεχθῶς Νῆσον (A,37); ἐν Τεχθῶ (B,13); Τεχθᾶ (B,19)

first half of II B.C. P. Tebt. III 920,20 ἐκ Τεχθῶς...

18 March 86 B.C. (?) BGU XIV 2424,6 Διονύς τεχθ(.)

after 52/51 B.C. BGU VIII 1808,15 Τεχθὸς (cf. BL 7,22)

I B.C. BGU XIV 2434,13 Τεχθῶς

I B.C. BGU XIV 2440,38 Τεχθῶς

5 Aug. 28 B.C. BGU XVI 2589,3 ὀπὸ κόμης Τεχθ[ω]ς

about 14/13 B.C. BGU XVI 2602,1 ὀπὸ Τεχθῶς

after 8/7 B.C. BGU XVI 2632,5 έις Τεχθῶς

about 7-4 B.C. BGU XVI 2662,13 περὶ Τεχθῶς

I/II A.D. P. Hib. II 218,71; 78; 91 Τέχθων (71); Ταξιθροφίων (78); Τεχθῶν (91)

late III A.D. BGU XIII 2365,12 Τεχθῶς

309 A.D. P. Hib. II 219,13 περὶ Τεχθῶς

V A.D. Stud. Pal. X 8,5


See also s.v. ΙΒΙΩΝ ΤΕΧΘΩ.

TOPARCHY: Τεχθῶς (Νῆσος).

See p.294 for a list of the villages that can be assigned to this toparchy.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Daštût 2.

This identification is phonetically and topographically convincing: note especially the recurring connection between Peensamoi/Al-Bahsamûn and Techtso/Đaštût: the second village is 6 kms south of the first, almost in direct line. Cf. TAVO B 69 p.212 (M92): «Nach Auskunft der Dorfbewohner sollen keine antiken Relikte vorhanden sein, jedoch wurden spätantike Keramiksherben gefunden».

See also TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten, VI, p.2469 f. (s.v. Tahtut).

P. Hamb. III 202 (petition to Tryphon, <toparches of Techtho Nesos>) indicates that Techtho already

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1 The Editor suggests the translation: «Dionys, (aus?) Techtho (?)»

2 As is apparent from the Map at the end of this volume, this goes against the identification with Teudâîl/T3:j, w-d3:j, i near Al-Hibh (see Catalogue, s.v. 'Ἀχαιωνί απόλες'), which I was inclined to accept in «The Heracleopolite Nome: Internal and External Borders», Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists. Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992, p.207 f. A strong objection against this identification was already made by Yoyotte apud WILLY CLARYSSE. Ancient Society 7, 1976, p.191: the Egyptian w is never rendered by the Greek χ.
CATALOGUE

had its own toparchy in the III B.C. A possible reference to this toparchy is also found in a II B.C. document (P.Hels. I 21), and there is a reference to it in BGU XVI 2662 (end of the I B.C.). Techtho still occurs as a separate entry in I B.C. documents such as BGU XIV 2434 and 2440.¹

P.Strasb. II 113 and 563 deal with the shipping of wheat from the θησαυρός at Techtho to Alexandria: Harmachis, the oikonomos' agent in charge at Techtho, also superintends affairs at Thmoipthha and Peontamoun (= Peensamoii), both villages of the Πέραν toparchy.² This connection is confirmed by P.Hels. I 26 (P.Hels. I 21 almost certainly belongs to the same document): the same official deals with tax-arrears from the Koites, the Techtho Nesos and the Πέραν. In turn, this is consistent with BGU VIII 1808 (entries for Πέραν and Techtho in a sequence: ll.14-15), BGU XIV 2440 (ll.12-13: entries for Πέραν and Techtho in consecutive lines), P.Hib. II 219 (where Πενεκσιούμοι should be supplied at ll.11; Techtho follows at ll.13), Stud.Pal. X 233, col.1 B (Techtho mentioned immediately before Peensamoii).³

BGU XVI 2602: οἵ ἄρα Τεχθόν γεωργοὶ write to the epistates and dioiketes Athenodoros reporting that one of his men has come from Thmoiachae to stop a funcionary of the strategos who was trying to compel them to do canal work. BGU XVI 2632 is a letter from Aphrodisios to Athenodoros concerning wine brought to Techtho. In BGU XVI 2589 an inhabitant of Techtho swears that he will renounce his claims on land ἐν τῷ Πογγιόμοις πεδίῳ.

P.Tept. III 920 (fragment of a report about a conflict with robbers) mentions people from Techtho and Phebichis. Techtho is included in a list of guard-posts appended to a royal ordinance on security measures along the Nile (P.Hib. II 198; this φρούριον is also mentioned in P.Strasb. II 103 and 104, recording monthly payments to the soldiers of the garrison stationed there).

ΤΕΧΘΗΜΙΣ

21 Oct. 163 B.C. P.Hels. I 13,9 ἐν κοιμῇ Τεχθήμι (8-9)
about 160 B.C. P.Hels. I 34,8 'Τεχθήμεος'
I B.C. BGU VIII 1802,3 περὶ Τεχθήμιν
I B.C. BGU XIV 2438,44 Τεχθήμεος
I B.C. BGU XIV 2440,10 Τεχθήμεος
late II A.D. P.Oxy. XLIV 3168,12 Τεχθήμεος ⁴

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

BGU VIII 1802 indicates that Techymis belonged to the Μέση toparchy: this is confirmed in BGU XIV 2438, where Techymis is mentioned in association with Phys, as already in P.Hels. I 34.

P.Hels. I 113 is a petition submitted to the oikonomos by an Egyptian woman who owns a βαλανεῖον at Techymis.

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¹ See ed. pr. ad loc.
² See WILLY CLARYSSE, Ancient Society 7, 1976, pp.185-207.
⁴ WILLIAM BRASHEAR, ZPE 60, 1985, p.239, recognised this as a place-name, to be located either in the Herakleopolites or in the Hermopolites. The Hermopolitan provenance was considered «virtually assured» for this document by its Editor (who, however, treated Τεχθήμεος as a personal name) because of the reference to ἀναχάμεις γῇ and the use of a specific siglum for «catoecic land» (both apparently exclusive of the Hermopolites). A third argument, i.e. that «three of the names of χάλιροι given recur in other Hermopolitan texts» is counterbalanced by the fact that Herakleopolite χάλιροι also bear the same names. As no Τεχθήμις is attested for the Hermopolites, I take this to refer to the Herakleopolite village.
P. Oxy. XLIV 3168 is a land-survey; several fossil kleroi are referred to: at least that of Φιλίσκου is also attested in other sources for the Herakleopolites. BGU VIII 1802 deals with cataecic land near Techymis (but no kleros name is preserved there).

ΤΙ[...].ΟΜ( )

I/II A.D. P. Hib. II 218,94

Other villages listed in this part of the document are Sinary (II.85,95; Πέρας τοπarchy); Onosis (II.90,92; περί Πόλεως τοπarchy); Techtho (I.91).

ΤΙΛΩΘΕΙΣ

212/211 B.C. P. Lille I 59,17;45;103 Τιλώθεως
mid-III B.C. P. Cair. Z. IV 59782 (b),66 εκ Τιλώθεως
ca. 138 B.C. P. Tebt. III 860,59 Τιλώθεως
after 84/83 B.C. BGU XIV 2370,16;17; (fr.1) 86 περί Τιλώθεως (16)
64/63 B.C. BGU VIII 1742,2 Τιλώθεως (17);
64/63 B.C. BGU VIII 1752,5 από Τιλώθεως (86)
60/59 B.C. BGU VIII 1817,12 τοίς εν Τιλώθει ἱερεύσι
ca. 48-46 B.C. BGU VIII 1848,4 Τιλώθεως
ca. 48-46 B.C. BGU VIII 1849,4;6 τοῦ πεταρφοροῦ ἱερέως
I B.C. BGU VIII 1734,5;8 τοῦ Τιλώθει (4-5); ἐν Τιλώθει (6)
I B.C. BGU VIII 1796,1 κοιμογραμματεύς
I B.C. BGU VIII 1852,4 ἐν Τιλώθει

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1 Cf. the list of Fossil Kleroi in the Herakleopolite Nome, s.v.
2 My supplement: Τιλώθεως ed. pr. On the redating of this document, see p.60 n.3.
CATALOGUE

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2434,3;24  
[περὶ Τιλώθην (3); περὶ Τιλώθην (24)]

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,55;  
(fr.2),84  
Τιλώθεως (55); περὶ Τιλώθην (84)

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,8  
Τιλώθεως

Jan.-Feb. 13 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2587,1;17  
Τιλώθεως (1); [περὶ Τιλώθην (16-17)

17 Dec. 10 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2611,9;16  
eἰς Τιλώθην (9); εἰς Τ{τ}λώθην (16)

19 Dec. 9 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2663,1  
διὰ Ἀδράστου προστάτου Τιλώθεως

about 7 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2608,3  
eἰς Τ{τ}λώθην (16)

about 7-4 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2662,15  
ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Τιλώθην πεδίοις (cf. BL 2.2.23)

I B.C./I A.D.  
BGU IV 1060,16  
Suda s.v. 'Ἡρακλέων'  
ἀπὸ κόμης Τιλώθεως οὐσίς ὑπὸ τῇ 'Ἡρακλέους πόλει

See also: ΝΕΙΛΟΥ ΠΩΛΙΣ; Τ[.]Α[.]

TOPARCHY: Tilothis was the main centre in its own toparchy.  
See p.294, for a list of the villages that can be assigned to this toparchy.

ETYMOLOGY: Coptic: Tilodi;
JEAN YOYOTTE, RdÉ 13, 1961, p.97 (on a map) indicates the equivalence with T3 38to-rt. «ohne jedoch eine Erläuterung hierfür zu liefern» (TAVO B 69, p.96).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Dalâs. For the triple identification Τιλώθης = Νείλον πόλις = Dalâs, see s.v. Νείλον πόλις.

The latest Greek papyri mentioning Tilothis date from the Augustan period, while the earliest source for the Herakleopolite Νείλον πόλις is dated to 103 B.C. (P.Mich. IX 551). The Egyptian toponym, however, must have remained current outside the official records: it is even found in the Suda entry on

1 Cf. HANS HAUBEN, ZPE 8, 1971, p.271 n.6.


3 The identification Tilothis = Dalâs was first put forward by JEAN YOYOTTE, «Études géographiques I», RdÉ 13, 1961, p.97, fig.5.
The lists of villages in *P. Lille I* 59 and *P. Cair. Zeno* IV 59782 (b) largely coincide: besides localities of the Tilothis toparchy (Tilothis, Tanchais; in addition, *P. Lille I* 59 mentions Peenapby(τ)is and Schnomthi) they include Bousiris, villages of the Koma toparchy (Koma, Krekos, Machor; in addition, *P. Cair. Zeno* IV 59782 (b) mentions Thmioiobai as and Tovu) and of the Tekmi toparchy (Onnes; in addition, *P. Lille I* 59 has Peenepys). Many of these villages recur in *BGU XIV* 2438 (Tilothis, Schnomthi, Peenapby(τ)is, Tanchais, Koma, Tovu; these are preceded by entries for the ‘Άγια κόττα, Μέση and περί Φέβιχριν toparcharies) and in *BGU XIV* 2370, fr. 1 (Koma, Tovu, Machor, Thmioiobais, recorded under the main entry κόττων τοπαρχ[ί]ας; references to Onnes, Tilothis and Tanchais follow; Bousiris appears in fr. 2). Two consecutive entries for the Koma and the Tilothis toparcharies appear in *BGU XIV* 2434.

*P. Tebt.* III 860 associates Tilothis with villages of the Kites, such as Koba, Pselemachis and Toemesis; the third locality (spelt Tημησις) recurs in the same document with Tilothis in the first column of *BGU XIV* 2440, too (II.8 and 14, respectively) which also mentions Phebichis, besides listing villages of the ‘Άγια κόττα, Μέση, and Tekmi toparcharies.

*BGU VIII* 1734, a poroschōrīσis contract, refers to some fossil kleroi in the Tilothis area (Πενεμονος, Πολέμουνος, Περιεγένου) and to a Φιλότου προπυργίον. The fossil kleroi of Πολεμον, Αλεξανδρος and Φιλοτης are also attested in *BGU XIV* 2441-2450 (land-survey of the Tekmi toparchy).

In *BGU VIII* 1849 Tasmithis remembers her parents’ journey from Peenemeus to the temple of Herakles at Tilothis, and how she came to marry Horos, the brother of a feather-bearing (περοφόρος) priest of this temple. Her parents are said to have travelled north (καταλέθυντων: down river), which is consistent with the identification of Peenemeus and Tilothis with modern Bahnemāh and Dalās, respectively; these two villages also appear together in *BGU XIV* 2440 (II.3 and 8).

A significant number of documents refer to people travelling by boat to Tilothis (see the above mentioned *BGU VIII* 1849), or away from it, to Alexandria: so do the run-away husband of *BGU VIII* 1848, and the untrustworthy travel companion of a κότων ιππες from Pois of *BGU VIII* 1817.

*BGU VIII* 1742 contains instructions for the shipment of wheat from the θησαυρός at Tilothis to Alexandria. In *BGU XVI* 2611 (a letter from Herakleides to the epistates and dioiketes Athenodoros concerning corn deliveries) Bousiris and Alexander are also mentioned.

In *BGU XVI* 2608 Herakleides writes to Athenodoros (these are the same people as in *BGU XVI* 2611) about beer-brewers in Tilothis.

*BGU XVII* 2587 is a declaration of sheep pasturing «around Tilothis and all over the nome» (II.15-17).

*BGU XVI* 2663 contains a reference to (the cult of?) Άισις Αφανίς; the (probably Arsinoite) village of Kerke is also mentioned (I.8).

**TINTHIRIS**

50/49 B.C. 

*BGU VIII* 1843,3  

ἐκ κότιμης Τινθρεως

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1. Personal names deriving from ἴμπροσθής were very common in the Herakleopolite nome: cf. e.g. the indexes of personal names in the *BGU VIII* and especially *BGU XIV* volumes.

2. *BGU VIII* 1752 deals with food provisions for priests residing at Tilothis.
### CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>tablets</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200 A.D.</td>
<td><em>P.Oxy.</em> VI 899,22</td>
<td>περὶ τε κόμην Βουσσάρι[ν καὶ Θυντήριν καὶ Τα[...].χος κόμας τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου (22-23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 February 538 A.D.</td>
<td><em>P.Michael.</em> 126,5</td>
<td>ἐν κόμη Τιντήρεως¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI A.D.</td>
<td><em>Stud.Pal.</em> X 44,6</td>
<td>χ’ω(ίον) Τιντή[ιε]ως²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-VII A.D.</td>
<td><em>Stud.Pal.</em> X 5,5</td>
<td>τὸν βοσθ(όν) Τιντήρεως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII A.D.</td>
<td><em>Stud.Pal.</em> X 109,7</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ χ(ορίῳ) Τιντή[ιε]ως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Stud.Pal.</em> X 218,7</td>
<td>χ(ορίον) Τιντήρε[ιε]ως</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOPARCHY:** in the northern Herakleopolites: περὶ Πόλιν?³

**ETYMOLOGY:** second component: *ntr.*w («gods»).⁴ The interchangeability of *I* and *r*, quite common in Egyptian⁵, accounts for the variant spelling of *Stud.Pal.* X 44.

**MODERN ARABIC NAME:** Dandil (phonetically and geographically likely); cf. *TAVO B* 69, p.221: «Etwa 2 km westlich des Dorfes am Südhang des Gabal Abū Șir befindet sich ein älterer Steinbruch, bei dem gebrannte Lehmkiegeln und Spätanitische Keramikscherben liegen».

*P.Oxy.* VI 899 refers to land cultivated by the same person περὶ τε κόμην Βουσσάρι[ν καὶ Θυντήριν καὶ Τα[...].χος κόμας τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου. Tinteris was in the northern part of the nome; in our sources, it is associated with:
- Onosis (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy) in *Stud.Pal.* X 5 (also mentioning Nino, which was in the "Ἀγάμα κόσμῳ") and *Stud.Pal.* X 218;
- Kollintaathyr (Τεκνι toparchy) in *Stud.Pal.* X 5 and *Stud.Pal.* X 44 (villages belonging to the same δόκησις; also listed: Pois and Toro, which was in the Tekni toparchy);

*BGU* VIII 1843 is a petition to the strategos: the βασιλικοί γεωργοί «and others» ask, presumably, for a remission of taxes as a consequence of an ἀβραχία which has occurred in the Herakleopolite nome.

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¹ The document is a contract, drawn up at Tinteris, between a man ὀπὸ Ὕλου πολεῖ [τοῦ] Ἡρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ and another from the village of Λεκυθοῦ in the same nome. It is not among the *P.Michael.* recently acquired by the Cambridge University Library.

² New reading, checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994): «Statt Τιντήρεως (Wessely) ist die Form Τιντήρεως für Τιντήρεως zu lesen: λ/ρ Wechsel».


⁴ Information from Katelin Vandorpe.

⁵ The λ/ρ exchange is also found in *BGU* VIII 1808,21 («Ἀριλάζως» for «Ἀλλάζως»).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΤΙΩΒΑΣΤΙ

III A.D. SB XIV 12193,2-4 ἀπὸ κόμης Τιωβάστι τῷ Ἦρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ

Two mummy labels, possibly «bourdeaux d'expedition»⁡. One may suspect a wrong spelling for Τιωβάστι (see s.v. ΘΜΟΙΟΒΑΣΤΙΩ).

ΤΚΟΥΝΩΣΕΙ

VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 206,9

Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

ΤΛΕΣΙΔΟΣ

V-VI A.D. Stud.Pal. VIII 955,1 Τλεσιδός (cf. BL 8,448)³
VI A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 148,1 Τλεσιδός⁴
VII/VIII A.D. (cf. BL 8,439) Stud.Pal. III 356,2 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου ΤΛΕΣΙΔΟΣ; cf. ἐν τ(ο) αὐτ(ο) ἐποικίῳ (3)

VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. XX 249 verso,2 ΤΛΕΣΙΔΟΣ

This village appears as the last entry in Stud.Pal. X 233 (a very long list of Herakleopolite toponyms). It is again assigned to the Herakleopolites by Stud.Pal. III 356. Stud.Pal. XX 148 is a loan contract between an inhabitant of Ποιμένων κόμη, in the Μέση toparchy and an inhabitant of Herakleopolis: ΤΛΕΣΙΔΟΣ appears at the beginning of the document as it is preserved (mutatis in initio).

ΤΜΟΙΕΝΕΤΙΣ

Aug.-Sept. 224 B.C. P.Coll.Youtie I 7,5 κατὰ Τμοιενετίν

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¹ This reading is confirmed by a photograph kindly provided by Bernard Boyaval (letter of August 18, 1994).
³ The reading ΤΛΕΣΙΔΟΣ shows that this document comes from the Herakleopolites (the first Editor indicated the Hermopolites as the possible provenance).
⁴ The Editor indicates a Hermopolite provenance for this document. However, no village by this name appears in DREW-BEAR, Le nome Hermopolite: the provenance of Stud.Pal. XX 148 is therefore most likely the Herakleopolite nome.
ETYMOLOGY: first component t3-m3j («new, newly gained land»): see s.v. ΘΜΟ().

_P.Coll.Youie_ I 7 contains a report concerning an assault and robbery: «le [bateau] d’Asonides ... sur lequel se trouvait Dorion ainsi que le pilote Erobasis, comme il se dirigeait vers l’amont, dans les parages de Tnoitenetis, a intercepté une barge sur laquelle se trouvaient des femmes ...» (Editor’s translation).

**TOEMHEIS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Source 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mid-III B.C.</td>
<td>P.Strabh. IX 802,9</td>
<td>Τοεμήσεις1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Sept. 162 B.C.</td>
<td>P.Hels. I 26, A,24; B,8</td>
<td>Τοεμήσεως (A,24); Θοεμήσεως (B,8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 138 B.C.</td>
<td>P.Tebt. III 860,109</td>
<td>φυ(λακίτου) Τοεμήσεως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2432,18</td>
<td>Τεμήσεως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2440,14</td>
<td>Τεμήσεως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Oxy. IV 715,6;13;14</td>
<td>άπο κόμης Τοεμήσεως (5-6); άπο τῆς αύτῆς Τοεμήσεως (12-13); ἐν τῇ αύτῇ Τοεμίσει (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late II A.D.</td>
<td>P.Vindob. G 23035,12</td>
<td>στολ(όγου) Τοεμήσεως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242 A.D. (cf. BL 8,108)</td>
<td>CPR VII 12,5</td>
<td>στολ(όγουν) κόμης</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>544-559 A.D.(?)</td>
<td>P.Rain.Cent. 118,4</td>
<td>Τοεμήσεως (3-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>544-559 A.D.(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ά]ξιο κόμης Τοεμέσεις</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOPARCHY: Koites.**

ETYMOLOGY: _t3-whm.t-(n-)Is.t_, «the dyke of Isis»3.

Two variant spellings are attested for this toponym: Θοέμησις (P.Hels. I 26) and Τέμησις (BGU XIV 2432 and 2440).

_P.Hels. 26_ indicates that Toemesis was in the Koites. This is confirmed by _P.Tebt. III 860_ (taxation returns and accounts), recording a payment effected at Pseblhonpenoupis on account of a phylakites from Toemesis: Pselemachis appears at l.104, and the connection between these two villages is corroborated by P.Oxy. IV 715, an ἀπογραφή addressed to the βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων (declaration by two brothers who have inherited part of a house at Toemesis, some catoece land near Ἰβίων Πάχνουβις in the fossil kleros of Zoilos and Noumenes, and some more land near Pselemachis in the fossil kleros of Menippos and Artemidoros). As a matter of fact, the three villages already appeared in three consecutive lines in P.Strabh. IX 802: Pselemachis (?), Τοχονπαχνουβ (8; Ἰβίων Πάχνουβις is the hellenised name of the same locality); Toemesis (9).

A reference to Ἰβίων Τεξθό is found in BGU XIV 2432 (1.20); a connection with Tilothis is attested in P.Tebt. III 860 and BGU XIV 2440.

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1 My reading (checked on a photograph): Πιμήσεις ed. pr.

2 Edito princteps: ROSARIO PINTAUDI, «Appunto (Etichetta, Memorandum?) per i sitologi», Analecta Papyrologica 5, 1993, pp.141-142.

3 Etymology tentatively suggested by Katelijn Vandorpe.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

CPR VII 12: monthly report from the sitologos of Toemesis to the strategos of the Herakleopolite nome.

ΤΟΕΝΕΓΟΥΣ

about 260 B.C.  
P.Hib. I 112,43

ΤΟΡΑΧΗ: Koites.

The other villages mentioned in P.Hib. I 112 belong to the Koites.

ΤΟΘΙΣ

mid-III B.C.  
P.Strasb. IX 802,18  
Τοθίς

ΤΟΡΑΧΗ: probably Koites.

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ: the name of the god Thoth is clearly recognizable in this toponym.

P.Strasb. IX 802: list of Egyptian tax-payers from several villages in the Koites. Tothis could well be the same place as Thmoitothitis (see s.v.)

ΤΟΚΩΣ

31 Dec. 57 B.C. (cf. BL 9,28)  
BGU VIII 1821,13  
eις Τοκών

51/50 B.C.  
BGU VIII 1761,8  
ἀπὸ κόμης Τοκόεως

1 B.C.  
BGU IV 1187,4  
ἐκ κόμης Τοκόεως

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,55  
Τοκόεως

mid-III A.D.  
P.Select. 17,5  
Αυρήλιος Ἀγ[ο]ντίαν

Oct. 300 A.D. (cf.BL 3,47)  
CPR I 40,8  
ἐξηγήτως ἦν

1 According to the Editor, this «seems to be a village rather than a personal name».
2 This possibility is suggested in the ed. pr.
3 ἀπηλεύσαν ed. pr.: see s.v. "Ἀγημα."
CATALOGUE

347 A.D.  
P.Athen. 34,14  
κλώμης Τοκώ[ω]ς (cf. BL 7,229 f.)

IV A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 221,1  
Τοκώ[ω]ς

end of IV A.D.  
SB VI 9597,5;11  
ἐν τῇ κόμη Τοκώ[ω]ς καὶ ἐν ἄλλας κόμης (3); [ἐν τῇ] κόμη Τοκώ[ω]ς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κόμησις (11)

V A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 233, col.I B,4  
Τοκώ[ω]ς

V-VI A.D.  
SB XX 14580,1  
Τοκώ[ω]ς ὑπ[οί]ς ¹

VI A.D.  
Stud.Pal. VIII 1257,3  
Τοκώ[ω]ς

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 22,6  
χ(ωρίον) Τοκώ[ω]ς

TOPARCHY: περὶ Πόλιν.

Connection with Pois: P.Hib. II 218 (Onosis, Tokois and Noeris are listed immediately before Pois); P.Select. 17 (lease contract ² between a lessee from Pois and Aurelius Anoubion, βουλευτής at Herakleopolis, previously an exegetes, decaprotus of the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy and of the "Αγημα, Tokois «and other villages» ³).

Connection with Herakleopolis: P.Select. 17; CPR I 40 (lease contract between two inhabitants of Herakleopolis for 50 aorai in the fossil kleros of Πρῶτος, near Tokois).

Connection with Sobthis: BGU VIII 1821 (Adrastos, who looks after his brother's holding at Tokois, complains about harassment by a λογευτής from Sobthis; Adrastos' brother is an ἐκλογιστής at Herakleopolis); Stud.Pal. X 22.

P.Athen. 34 is the report of a physician after an inspection effected ἀμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ύπερέτης κλώμης Τοκώ[ω]ς (II.13-14); the document also contains a reference to a βουλευτής of Herakleopolis.

ΤΟΛΕΩΣ

VI A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 207,3  
ἀπ’ὸ τόλεος; cf. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κλώμης(4)

There is a reference to Sobthis at I.5 of the same document.

ΤΟΟΥ

212/211 B.C.  
P.Lille I 59,28;31;47;55;83;  
Τουυ  
90;104;109;110;117


² The plot, near Pois, is located by reference to the fossil kleros of Laomedon.

³ Note the same wording («Tokois and the other villages») in SB VI 9597.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

mid-III B.C. \(^1\) P. Cair. Zen. IV 59782 (b), 55; 80
ca. 111 B.C. P. Tebt. III 878, 46
after 84/83 B.C. BGU XIV 2370 (fr. 1), 75
I B.C. BGU VIII 1789, 9
I B.C. BGU XIV 2438, 74
I B.C. BGU XIV 2439, 84
I B.C. BGU XIV 2440, 51
8/7 B.C. BGU XVI 2560, 7
8/7 B.C. BGU XVI 2561, 7
7 Aug. 218 A.D. (?) SB XVIII 13151, 6; 17
III A.D. P. Laur. IV 174, recto, 4
III A.D. P. Oxy. VII 1068, 17

See also: Σ.ΟΥ.

TOPARCHY: Koma.

ETYMOLOGY: ἄγων, «desert cliffs» (hence: any «secluded place; monastery») \(^5\). This toponym is also attested in the Aphroditopolite, Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes \(^6\).

Toou is consistently mentioned in connection with Koma (P. Lille I 59; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59782 b; BGU VIII 1789; BGU XIV 2370, 2438, 2439 and 2440). In P. Tebt. III 878 it is listed with Psilichi and Pyrgotos (Tekma toparchy), and with Bousiris. BGU XVI 2560 and 2561 are orders for seed grain; some fossil kleroi in the Toou area are recorded: Πιταλεμαίου (BGU XVI 2560, 7; 2561, 8), Θεοδώριτου Ἄγγελος (BGU XVI 2560, 8-9), Εὐπρεπίου (BGU XVI 2560, 9), Πετρόπουλος (BGU XVI 2561, 8), Σεβήθου (BGU XVI 2561, 10).

The sender of P. Oxy. VII 1068 is in charge of the transport of a mummy from the Arsinoeites to Alexandria; delays have intervened, and his assistants have «determined on account of a pressing need to

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\(^1\) On the re-dating of this document, see p. 60 n. 3.

\(^2\) The Editors deciphered ...τοῦν κρη( ), which I propose to resolve as ...τοῦν Κρη(κεφαλη). Both these villages were in the Koma toparchy: there is a reference to Koma at 1.8.

\(^3\) According to the Editor, κρη( ) may be understood as an abbreviation for χρηστημενλητής, χρηστημενλητής, χρηστημενλητής, or be resolved simply as χρήσις τοῦ Κρη(κεφαλη). ο(πέρ) νησί( ) το( ) ο( ) α( ) could also be read at 1.9: the Editor suggests that νησί( ) may be referred to an «island» or its inhabitants (νησίποτες, νησίποτες, νήσος), and το( ) may stand for τοποχείας, τόπου; finally, ο( ) could be a numeral.

\(^4\) This document comes from the Heroninos archive.

\(^5\) See Drew-Bear, Le nome Hermopolite, p. 305.

\(^6\) See TIMM, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten VI, s.v. Τοου.
go to Toou»; it is perhaps more likely that this was the Herakleopolite Toou, nearer the Arsinoite nome, rather than the Hermopolite village by the same name.

ΤΟΣΑΓΑΛΗΝ

21 March 8 B.C.  BGU XVI 2647,4  είς τοσαγάλην (3-4)

Letter to the epistates and dioketes Athenodoros, asking him to take care of Hieronikes who is being confronted with charges of shipwreck and loss of a cargo.

ΤΟΣΑΧΜΙΣ

139 B.C.  P.Tebt. III 838,13;16  περὶ Τοσάχμιν
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2436,4;9  περὶ Τοσάχμιν
I B.C.  BGU XIV 2438,50  Τοσάχμινος
12 Feb. 13 B.C.  BGU XVI 2580,1;2;12  Τοσάχμινος (1);
I/II A.D.  P.Hib. II 218,42;86  Τοσάχμινος (2); περὶ
192 A.D.  P.Heid. IV 301,II,15; III,11  Τοσάχμινος (12)
7 Dec. 227 A.D. (cf. BL 7,259)  Stud.Pal. XX 29,8;25  ἀπὸ κόμης Τοσάχμινος
V A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 47,4  (8); περὶ τήν αὐτήν
V A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 94,8  Τοσάχμινος
V/VI A.D.  P.Amst. I 83,2  Τοσάχμινος
VI/II A.D.  SB VI 9593,3;9  ἄπιλος Τοσάχμινος
VII A.D.  Stud.Pal. III 67,2  [ἐπὶ κόμης Τοσάχμινος
TOPARCHY: περὶ Φεβίχιν
ETYMOLOGY: τ3-šhm.t, «the land of Sachmet»

1 Etymology suggested by Katelijn Vandoorne; cf. ULRICH WILCKEN, APF 7, 1923, p.101: «In dem Dorfnamen Tosachmis steckt ... die Göttin Sachmis».
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

The lion-goddess Sachmet was often assimilated to the cat-goddess Bast, whose presence in the Herakleopolites is revealed by a place-name like Σαχμέττας (see s.v.). The main centre for the cult of Sachmet was in Memphis. A village by the name Σάχμις is also attested in the Lepetolite nome.

BGU XIV 2438 assigns Tosachmis to the περι Φέβωτου. This is confirmed by P.Heid. IV 301 (part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος containing προσαγγέλεια: contract recorded through the ἄγορονόμος of Phebichis).

BGU XIV 2436: Kastor’s holding is split between Tosachmis, Phebichis and Tanchais; the holding of Ptolemaios senior is split between Tosachmis, Tanchais and Pois.

Stud.Pal. XX 29: a man from Tosachmis cedes four parcels of land to his wife (who is from Tanaso, in the περι Πόλεως topanarchy): all parcels were near Tosachmis, except one which was near Peenteche; the contract was drawn up in the office of the agoranomos at Tekmi. The connection between Tosachmis and Tanaso is confirmed by Stud.Pal. X 47 (list including Onosis, Mouchis, Tanaso, Tosachmis, Kollouthou).


TOXONTΩΤΟY

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<tr>
<td>I B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XIV</td>
<td>Τοξοντωτου (17);</td>
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<td>2437,4;22</td>
<td>[Το]χοιογντιου (45)?)</td>
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<td>2440,17;45</td>
<td>κοινογραμματεώς Τοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?</td>
<td>κοινοτοξοντοφ) (1-2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOPOARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: Τοξο-ντον: assuming that τοξο- = τοξο- (see s.v. Τοξοντοματονικον), this would be «the ibis sanctuary of Τοῦ».

As is shown by its name, this locality was closely connected to Τοῦ: these two places share the same komogrammateus in BGU XVI 2597 (they are in fact considered as one village: ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς, 1.3) and twice recur one after another in BGU XIV 2437.

The readings in BGU XIV 2440, though uncertain, are on the whole safe: at 1.45, Toxontou is included in a whole section dealing with the Tekmi topanarchy (II.41-49); at 1.17, it is associated with Taboklis (which may be assigned to the same topanarchy).

---

2 UPZ I 72,14-15 n.: «In dem Dorfnamen steckt der Name der Göttin, die die Griechen der Απόλλων εν gleichsetzen. Es ist die Göttin Shmi ... vgl. P.Gurob 22,43 (Fajum), wo ein Σαχμέττου erscheint, ein Tempel der Sachmis neben einem Tempel ihres und des Ptah Sohnes Nefer-tem, einem Νεφίμεντον».
3 Several kleroi (including some fossil kleroi) are mentioned, in order to locate the different parcels being sold: Ἀπολλωνιου (I.18), Νεφίμενου (I.20), Θοδόρου (II.20-21), Μάρκους (I.23), Διδυμαντού (I.23), Ἡλιοδέρου (I.24), Διονυσίου (I.25), Ἡσο... (I.26), Ἠπερβασαντου (I.28).
CATALOGUE

ΤΡΙΚΩΜΙΑ

about 152/151 B.C.  UPZ I 70,24  ἐν τῇ Τρικωμία
mid-II B.C.  UPZ I 76,5  γῇγε Τρικωμίαν
52/51 B.C.  BGU VIII 1808,8  Τρικωμίας
21/20 B.C.-5 A.D.  BGU XVI 2641,12  Τρικωμίας

TOPARCHY: Koma? Tekmi?

ETYMOLOGY: this toponym obviously refers to the συνοικισμὸς of three originally distinct villages: in
view of the Greek new toponym, this must have taken place in the Ptolemaic period.
Cf. Δικωμία (also in the Herakleopolite nome).

In his comment to UPZ I 70 and 76 (respectively: a letter from Apollonios to the recluse Ptolemaios,
and the draft for another letter by Apollonios) Wilcken favoured the possibility that the Τρικωμία
mentioned in these documents might be located in the Herakleopolites, and thus distinguished from the
homonymous village in the Arsinoites. His hypothesis is supported by BGU VIII 1808, which includes
Τρικωμία in a group of Herakleopolite villages that recur together in several other documents, from the
III B.C. to the V A.D.: Koma (5), Thmoebasis (11), Bousiris (13), Onnes (9: Tekmi toparchy). It is
further confirmed by BGU XVI 2641 (I.12), which contains a list of ten farmers: the names and/or villages
(Koma, Tanchais, Trikoria) of three of them are preserved.

ΤΣΑΒΑ

VII A.D.  SB VI 9590,7  ἐν κλήρῳ καλομένῳ
           Τσαβα
See also s.v. ΤΣΑΒΑΤΩΥ.

A cession of land: one of the parties is the υποδικάκονος Anatolios, from Herakleopolis. The villages
of Makaitonos, Chortas, 'Απολλά and Tebetny are also mentioned.

ΤΣΑΒΑΤΩΥ

V A.D.  P.Oxy. VIII 1126,5  ἐν κλήρῳ καλομένῳ
            Τσαβατώου
See also s.v. ΤΣΑΒΑ.

TOPARCHY: Koites?

The villages of Talae and Kets are mentioned while describing the boundaries of this kleros.

1 «Dieser auf Synoikismus von drei Dörfern hinweisende Dorfname ist uns aus dem Faijüm schon für das III Jahrh. v.
Chr. mehrfach bezeugt. ... Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist damit nicht das ferne Dorf in Faijüm gemeint, sondern, da es im
Leben des Apollonios und seiner Brüder offenbar eine Rolle spielt, ein Dorf im Herakleopolites (vgl. Ψιχως)» (UPZ, vol. I,

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THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΤΣΗ[ ]


Apparently the name of a καλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

ΤΩΛ( )

VI A.D. (?) Stud.Pal. III 24 verso 12 ἀπὸ Τωλ( ) 1

Stud.Pal. III 24 verso contains a λόγος προβάτων. The village of Τωλ( ) has been identified in Calderini-Daris, Dizionario (vol. V, p.43) with Τολλα, apparently on the basis of CPR I 156 (whose Herakleopolite provenance is certain), where the reading is also doubtful: see s.v. ΤΩΛΛΑ[ ]. The village of Πεσμπαύθ( ) is mentioned on the recto (re-edited as P.Batav. XIX 23 bis).

ΤΩΛΑ[ ].

first half of III A.D. CPR I 156,2 περὶ κώμης[ν] Τολλ[ ].] 2

See also s.v. ΤΩΛ( ).

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

This document deals with the παραχώρησις of one aorura, whose location is given with reference to two fossil kleroi (Βίωνος and Κλέονορος), respectively περὶ κώμης[ν] Τολλ[ ], and περὶ κώμην Κολλίντωαθριο Τεκμι (Tekmi toparchy).

ΤΩΓ

about 51-49 B.C. BGU VIII 1846,3 ἐκ κώμης Τωγ
I B.C. BGU XIV 2437,3;4;20;21 Τωγ
I B.C. BGU XIV 2440,9 Τοκός 3
21/20 B.C. BGU XVI 2597,2 παρ' Ωρου κωμογραμματέως Τωγ καὶ Τοχοντώ (1-2)

1 «Τωλ( ) ist sehr unsicher, aber nicht auszuschließen» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
2 «Αλλ. sehr unsicher» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
3 Τοκός ed. pr. Reading checked on a photograph.
CATALOGUE

I/II A.D. P. Hib. II 218,50  Τωυ
IV A.D. P. Lond. III 985,11 (p.229) ἀπὸ κόμης Τώου
IV/V A.D. P. Rain. Cent. 154,2 πράκτ(ωρ) Τωου
VI A.D. Stud. Pal. X 44,7 χ’ω(ριόν) Τωου

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Tuwa? Cf. TAVO B 69, p.213 (M 100): «Im Dorf ein im Abbau begriffener Kôm schwer zu schätzender Ausdehnung ... An einem Abbruch findet sich etwas Keramik. Außer einer kleinen ionischen Säulenbasis aus Kalkstein wurden keine weiteren Werksteine festgestellt».

BGU XIV 2437 and Stud. Pal. X 44 attest the connection between Τωου and Kollintaathyr (Tekmi toparchy).

BGU VIII 1846: petition to the strategos from the κοινοκοινοῦντες at Τωου, who declare to be εἰς τέλος εξήσθηντες ἐξ ἐνηχθήκοντες and complain of too high taxes.

P. Lond. III 985: Flavius Papnuthis acknowledges the receipt of 30 solidi from the epimeletes Cyrilus, as payment for his military service.

P. Rain. Cent. 154: survey of land in the possession of Sarapion, praktor at Τωου; the following fossil kleroi are mentioned: Ἄσκληπιάδου, Ἡρακλείδου, Ἡγησιστράτου, Ἐρμοῦνακτος, Ἡρακλείδου, Εὐπολέμου, Ἀριστομάχου.

Φ(±3)?

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 227,11 ὕπο χ(ορίου) [Φ(±3)]

This could be the same as Φροφρίου (ll.1 and 2 in the same document).

Φ..ΓΕΑ( )

VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 109,8 ἐν τ(ῶ) χ(ορίῳ)
Φ..γελ( ) ¹

The other villages mentioned in the document were either in southern Koites (Taamorou, 1.4; Philonikou, 1.10) or in the Tekmi toparchy (Pyrgotos, 1.6).

Φ...ΡΥΤΕΑ

VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 109,3 ἀπὸ χ(ορίου)
Φ...ρυτέα( ) ²

¹ A doubtful reading, checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994). See next note.
² A doubtful reading, checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994). He pointed out to me that the place-name Φ..γελ( ), recurring at 1.8, is of a different length.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

This village is listed between Tinteris (l.7) and Thneis (Koite; l.9). The other villages mentioned in the document were either in the Koites (Taamorou, l.4; Philonikou, l.10) or in the Tekmi toparchy (Pyrgotos, l.6).

ΦΑΕΙΝ

4 Oct. 698 A.D.  
*CPR* VIII 76.4  
(=*Stud.Pal.* VIII 1186)  
κλήρου ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου(α)  
Φαιν

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal.* VIII 1183,2  
ἐν τ(ὸ) χ(αρίῳ) Φ'ν'ε(β)τ'  
κλή(ρου) Φαιν

VII-VIII A.D.  
*Stud.Pal.* X 206,10  
κλή(ρου) Φαινο

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

The place is connected to Phnebi(eus) in *Stud.Pal.* VIII 1183.

ΦΑΘΩΡ

323 A.D.  
(cf. *BL* 9,174)  
*P.Neph.* 48,4;5:9  
[ἐν ὅρι καλου]μένω  
[Φαθώρ τοῦ  
'Ἡράκλεοπόλιτου  
νομοῦ] (4); μονοχωφὸς τῷ  
αὐτῷ ὑ[πὶ Φαθώρ] (5); ἐξ]  
ἀπηλιώτου τοῦ  
μεγάλου πη[ξαμοῦ] [ἐν  
τῷ αὐτῷ ὅρι Φαθώρ (9)

19 March 334 A.D.  
*P.Lond.* VI 1913,3  
τοῖς προστάσι[ι]  
μονῆς μονοχωφῶν  
[καλουμένης] 'Αθόρ  
όντις ἐν τῷ  
ἀπηλιώτικῳ ὅρι τοῦ  
ἄγων Κυνοπολείτου (cf.  
*BL* 9,148)

about 330-340 A.D.  
*P.Lond.* VI 1920,2  
Φαθώρ

IV A.D.  
*P.Neph.* 11,4;27  
προσβυτέροις νομῆς  
(ἐν ο[νής] 'Αθώτι  
(3-4));  
[μονῆς] 'Αθώτιος (27)

IV A.D.  
*P.Neph.* 13,20  
Νεοφέρωτι πρ(επ)ι(κυρίο)  
τῆς Νήσου ἐν Φαθώρ

IV A.D.  
*P.Neph.* 49,2  
Φει[θώρ]  
ἐν κλήρου 'Αθώρ

V/VI A.D.  
*P.Heid.* III 246,13  
δια(κόνου) ἐπὶ χ(αρίου)  
Φαθώρ (1); χ(αρίου)  
Φαθώρ(9)

VII/VIII A.D.  
*SB* XVIII 13888,1:9

238
CATALOGUE

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: "House of Hathor" (Pr-hw.t-hrw, Pr-h.t-h)\(^1\).


The Nepheros archive offers a wealth of information on the monastery of (P)hathor, in the southernmost part of the Herakleopolites. A μονή by the same name is attested in the Kynopolites by P.Lond. VI 1913 (obviously the same as in P.Lond. VI 1920); a possible explanation could be that the border (to the east of the Nile) between the Herakleopolite and Kynopolite nomes altered between 523 and 334 A.D.

About four centuries later, SB XVIII 13888 mentions the same place-name as a χωρίον; the other villages listed (all of them near the border between the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites) are: Nokle, Kalamou, Ostrakinou, Thelbo, Hipponon.

### ΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΟΥ

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<tbody>
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<td>III B.C.</td>
<td>P.Entexus. 61,2</td>
<td>Τήν Φαιν[ι]ππού κόμην</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 14/13 B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XVI 2670,II,2</td>
<td>έν κόμη Φαι[νίπποι]ου</td>
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<tr>
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<td>CPR I 238,3</td>
<td>ὁπό κόμ[ις]ς Φαινίππου</td>
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<td>211-217 A.D.</td>
<td>SB XVIII 13858,15 (= Stud.Pal. XX 19,15)</td>
<td>Φ[α]νίπποι (12); κόμης Φαινίππου (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222-235 A.D.</td>
<td>CPR I 73,12;17</td>
<td>οπὸ κόμης Φαινίππου</td>
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<tr>
<td>III A.D. (first half)</td>
<td>CPR I 82, II,4</td>
<td>χ(ωρίον) Φαινίπποι'</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII/VIII A.D.</td>
<td>CPR IV 2,17</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

ETYMOLOGY: a Φαινίπποι κλήρος, located περὶ κόμην Π[ε]ννύο (in the Middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites)\(^2\) appears in a cession of land sworn in August 57 B.C. (P.Oxy. LV 3777,15). The Φαινίππος who since the III B.C. gave his name to the Herakleopolite village, however, must have been a higher-ranking man, being entitled to a whole κόμη. Two men called Φαινίππος are recorded in the Ptolemaic Topography: one (PPri I 105) may have been connected to the dioiketes Apollonios in some way\(^3\); the other (PPri VI 16721), a τραγωδιοῦς ποιητής, was one of the τεχνίτα της περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς 'Αδελφοῦς who caused an inscription to be put up at Ptolemais Hermiou in honour of his friends.

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\(^1\) Cf. P.Neph., Einl., p.11 n.1: "Zur Form Αθόρ bzw. Αθόρ, d.h. zur Weglassung des anlautenden Π konnten es vermutlich nur dadurch kommen, daß dieses als Artikel mißverstanden und somit als überflüssig angesehen wurde."

\(^2\) See PRUNETI, Centri abitati, s.v. Πεννύο.

\(^3\) P.Tebi. III 918,22-24 (early second century B.C.) Φαινίπποι τοῦ [προστ]ήκτος τῶν 'Απολλονίου τοῦ [δωκική]κασαντος.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

of their benefactor Lysimachos, son of Ptolemaios.

BGU XVI 2670 shows that Φαυνίσσων was in the Tekmi toparchy: this is an account of contributions from individuals and groups of workers or artisans in view of the visit by a certain Lupus, presumably the nome strategos; the place-name Thmoiamoun(is) occurs in the next column.

CPR I 238, CPR I 73, CPR I 82: contracts involving people from Φαυνίσσων; CPR I 73 and 238 also refer to Herakleopolis and Νείλου πόλις, while CPR I 82 is to be recorded through the ἄγονομυμα Κοιμήτου κοσμοτέρου (I.4-5).

SB XVIII 13858 (= Stud.Pal. XX 19): προσαγγελία effected through the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἀχο(ρομούμενος) Πέρα (I.12).²

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).³

ΦΑΜΕΙΘΟΥ⁴
V A.D. Stud.Pal. X 233, col. II.8

ΦΑΜΠΩΝΝΕΣΙΟΥ
683/684 A.D. CPR X 135,9 κλήρου Φαμπωννεσιοῦ
(or later)

Land ἐν διαφόροις κλήροις (see Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

ΦΑΡΣΕΣΙ
64/63 B.C. BGU VIII 1749,11 τοῖς ἀποτεταμενοῖς τις σοι ἐν Φάρσεσι
Θεβαίων ἐ ἀρ(ό)υ(ρον)
ἀνά(ρις) νη (I.11-12)

BGU VIII 1749: corn-provisions for 408 Theban 5-arourae-holders stationed ἐν Φάρσεσι, at the disposal of the strategos of the Herakleopolites.

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¹ SB V 8855 (= OGIS I 51),32 (the inscription is to be dated between 279 and 239 B.C.).
² New reading suggested «mit einigen Bedenken» by DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 34, 1979, p.110.
³ See s.v. NINΩ.
⁵ Cf. also II.6-7 of the same document.
CATALOGUE

ΦΕΒΙΧΙΣ ἢ μεγάλη

about 270 B.C.  
P.Hib. I 110 recto, 36  
ἐμ Φεβίχι

265/264 B.C. (cf. BL 8,427)  
P.Strasb. VII 641,4  
ἐμ Φεβίχι

263/262 (262/261) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 88, [5]  
[ἐμ Φεβίχι τοῦ Κωίτου]¹

263/262 B.C.  
P.Hib. II 209,5  
ἐμ Φεβίχι [τοῦ Κωίτου]

about 260 B.C.  
P.Hib. I 112,4;13;30;38;48,54;60;79;  
84;91

259 (258) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 96,3;19  
ἐμ Φεβ[ίχι] τοῦ Κωίτου] (3); ἐμ Φεβίχι τοῦ  
Κωίτου (19)

about 246 B.C.  
SB XII 10783,2 (= P.Hib. I 139)  
[ἐπὶ τὸ] ἐμ Φεβίχι  
λογευτήριον τοῦ  
Κωίτου (2-3)

246 (245) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 106,3  
tὸ ἐμ Φεβίχι  
λογευτήριον τοῦ Κωίτου

246 (245) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 138 descr.  
P.Hib. I 131 descr.

about 245 B.C.  
P.Hib. I 107,3  
tὸ ἐμ Φεβίχι  
λογευτήριον (2-3)

244 (243) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 136 descr.

244 (243) B.C.  
26 April 241 B.C. (cf. BL 2,2,76)  
P.Hib. I 72,2  
παρὰ Πετοσίριος τοῦ  
ἀρχιερέας τοῦ ἐμ  
Φεβίχει Ἡρακλεός  
Εὔθει.[.......ἰερου(?) (1-2)

239 (238) or 215 (214) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 117,15  
[ἐν Φεβίχει]

232/231 or 231/230B.C.  
P.Hib. I 143 descr.

229 B.C.(?)  
P.Fuad Crawford App. I, 3  
(and 4),[8  
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμ Φεβίχι τοῦ  
Κωίτου λογευτήριον

mid-III B.C.  
P.Strasb. IX 802,21  
Φεβίχεις

mid-III B.C.(?)  
SB X 10447 recto,60;  
verso,35  
Φεβίχεως τοῦ Κωίτου

after 168/167 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 14 D,  
col. II, 1

2 Sept. 162 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 26 B,3  
Φεβίχεως

¹ «The restorations of the lacunae in II.2-5 are derived from a fairly complete but much effaced agreement (unpublished)  
concerning a payment of rent, which belonged to the same piece of cartonnage and preserves nearly all the protocol» (P.Hib. I,  
p.251).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

first half of II B.C.  
64/63 B.C.  

**P.Tebt.** III 920,21  
**BGU** VIII 1748,3  

[ἐκ] Φεβίχεως  
ἀντιγρα(φεί)  
θη(σιμουρο) [τ]ερί  
Φεβίχεως  

after 52/51 B.C.  
I B.C.  

**BGU** VIII 1808,24  

peri Φεβίχεως  

I B.C.  

**BGU** XIV 2419,2  

τῆς Φεβίχεως  

I B.C.  

**BGU** XIV 2431,1  

Φεβίχεως  

I B.C.  

**BGU** XIV 2435,1  

Φεβίχεως  

I B.C.  

**BGU** XIV 2436,5  

Φεβίχεως  

I B.C.  

**BGU** XIV 2438,46  

peri Φεβίχεως  

I B.C.  

**BGU** XIV 2440,16;19:60;  
(fr.5),84  

Φεβίχεως (16); peri  
Φεβίχεως (19;84); peri  
Φεβίχεως (60)  

mid-I B.C.  

**SB** VIII 9790,3  

άπο Φεβίχεως  

20 Feb. 13 B.C.  

**BGU** XVI 2582,1;7  

Φεβίχεως; Κοι[ε του]  
(1); άπο Φεβίχεως τοῦ  
Κοιετού (7-8)  

I B.C./I A.D.  

**BGU** XVI 2593,1  

Φεβίχεως  

late I A.D.  

**P.Oxy.** XLVII 3357,14  

άπο Φεβίχεως  

I/II A.D.  

**P.Hib.** II 218,46,59  

Φεβίχεως [6]; [Φεβίχεως]  

II A.D.  

**PSI** VIII 967,19  

Φεβίχεως  

169-177 A.D. (cf. **BL**  
8,410)  

**PSI** XIII 1325,8;22  

(= SB V 7630)  

έν κοίμη Φεβίχεως τοῦ  
Κοιετοῦ (8); peri κοίμης  
Φεβίχεως (22)  

192 A.D.  

**P.Heid.** IV 301, II,14;  
III,10  

peri Φεβίχεως  

II A.D.  

**P.Petaus** 28,6  

οί απο Φεβίχεως  

II/III A.D.  

**P.Alex.** inv. 536 (p.32),7  

Φεβίχεως  

after 212 A.D.  

**P.Lund VI** 8,5 (= SB VI  
9358, I)  

τοπαρχ(ιακά) β peri  
........ Φεβίχεως  

after 212 A.D.  

**P.Lund VI** 9,4-5 (= SB VI  
9358, II)  

τοπαρχ(ιακά) β  
Τιρσαχ(εοπολίτου) και  
peri Φεβίχεως  

---

1 Another (apparently still unpublished) document from the same piece of cartonnage, and mentioning Phebichis, is referred to in **BGU**, Appendix, p.222: it dates from the 25th year of Augustus.

2 The supplement at 1.22 is suggested in the ed. pr., on the basis of 1.8.

3 Φεβίχεως ed.pr.

4 Jean Bingen, _Chr. d’Ég._ 29, 1954, p.153, writes: «Les deux textes (P.Lund VI 8 and 9) sont écrits en une cursive particulièrement difficile et plusieurs lectures restent incertaines; à la ligne 4 du n° 9, p.ex., je ne crois pas pouvoir lire...»
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title/Reference</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>222 A.D.</td>
<td>PSI XV estr. 1546,8</td>
<td>topoarchxiaos peri Φεβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 May 252 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Gen. 19,2</td>
<td>en koimē Φεβίχθυν i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. BL 2.2,61)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second half of III A.D.</td>
<td>P.Lond. II 171 b (p.176),7</td>
<td>en koimē Φεβίχθυν tou Καίτου (cf. BL 1.258)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III A.D.</td>
<td>P.Erl. 48,29-30</td>
<td>[Φεβίχθυν]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III A.D.</td>
<td>P.Neph. 28,5</td>
<td>Φεβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313/314 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Michael. 28,1</td>
<td>peri Φεβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 August 323 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Gen. I 10,2,5;7</td>
<td>en koimē Φεβίχθυν i                        αγγου (2-3); eti tis autois [kó]mwn [Φεβίχθυν] (4-5); eti tis autois [Φεβίχθυν] (6-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV A.D.</td>
<td>(?) PSI III 222,9</td>
<td>apō koimēs Πάπα peri Φεβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV or early V A.D.</td>
<td>P.Amh. II 147,2;4</td>
<td>apō koimēs Φεβίχθυν i αγγου (2); apō tis autois Φεβίχθυν (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Rain.Cent. 102,5</td>
<td>Φεβίχθυν megalēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>463 A.D.</td>
<td>Stud.Pal. XX 127,5</td>
<td>apo koimēs Φεβίχθυν MEGALHΣ MEGALHΣ (cf. BL 1.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-23 June 478 A.D.</td>
<td>P.Rain.Cent. 123,3;9 (= CPR V 15)</td>
<td>en koimēs Φεβίχθυν megalēs (3); apō koimēs Φεβίχθυν (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI/VII A.D.</td>
<td>P.Oxy. XVI 1866,2</td>
<td>apo Φεβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI/VII A.D.</td>
<td>Stud.Pal. VIII 1346,1</td>
<td>Φεβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beginning of VII A.D.</td>
<td>P.Laur. II 47,3</td>
<td>Φοβίχθυν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII A.D.</td>
<td>Stud.Pal. VIII 1326,1</td>
<td>apo χ(φοίνου) Φεβίχθυν (eis) Ме(γάλης)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ηρακλ(εσπολίτου). On this document see also DIETER HAGEDORN, ZPE 1, 1967, p.196.


3 As noted in the ed. pr., a horizontal stroke above Φ, at the end of 1.9, indicates that this was an abbreviated toponym, probably Φ(εβίχθυν); see s.v. ΠΑΠΑ. The reading peri Φεβίχθυν was suggested by Sergio Daris for II.9-10: cf. BL II 7,233; but on the original I could detect no β at the beginning of 1.10.)
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Byz. SB I 5338,11 Πεβίχον

See also: IB[Π]ΧΕΩΣ; Φ( ); [τ]ΧΟΩΣ.

TOPARCHY: Koites (XI pagus: P.Gen. 10; P.Ahm. II 147).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Al-Fašn TAVO B 69, p.89 (M 64) offers the identification of Al-Fašn with Coptic Πθεσίν 3, which I propose to identify with Greek Φεβίχος; this seems very likely from a topographical point of view; phonetically, however, the absence of the sound n in the Greek toponym is not easily accounted for. The location of Πθεσίν in the Herakleopolites was already suggested by the editor of the Coptic Brugshe Papyrus P.Col. inv.Nr. 600 (see s.v. ΠΠΕΝΕΣΩΣ).


The chief centre in northern Koites since the III B.C. In the V century it is sometimes styled η μεγάλη (earliest source: P.Rain.Cent. 102), apparently to distinguish it from Φεβίχος η μικρά (q.v.) 4.

P.Hib. I 106; 107; 136; 138; SB XII 10783 (= P.Hib. I 139): beer-tax payments on account of the same producer (Taemis, living at Talae) into the logeuterion of Phebichis («a kind of centre of the finance administration of the Koites») 5. P.Hib. I 112 was «perhaps written at the logeuterion of Phebichis, recording money payments for various taxes at different villages of the Koites» 6.

The θεσσαρός of Φεβίχος is mentioned in BGU VIII 1748, and an agoranomos office in P.Heid. IV 301.

P.Lund. VI 8 and 9: χειρόγραφα of the πράκτορες στατίκων at Phebichis.

Connections with the northern Oxyrhynchites: BGU XIV 2419; P.Oxy. XVI 1866; P.Laur. II 47 (Apion estate). Phebichis and ιερον κόστο (in the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrhynchites 7) recur together in the last two documents, and in Stud.Pal. VIII 1346 (Koba also appears both in P.Laur. II 47 and Stud.Pal. VIII 1346).

P.Tebt. III 920 (fragment of a report about a conflict with robbers) mentions people from Techtho and Phebichis.

P.Hib. I 96: agreement between two military settlers from Phebichis; at least one of them is a Jew.

The verso of P.Hib. I 110 preserves part of the day-book of a post-office in an intermediate station on the route from Alexandria to the desert. It is one of the few documents that indicate when it was written. The date is given as Πεβίχον 7.

1 «Wohl Φεβίχον (?)» Preissigke (ad loc.).

2 This identification is further supported by the equation ΤολατήΡολατή (near Phebichis) = modern Tala (not far from Al-Fašn): cf. Introduction., p.13.

3 «Der koptische Name dürfte auf altägyptisch *Pḥbḥn zurückgehen. Die 2. Sektion des P.Wilbour, die die entsprechende Gegend umfaßt, führt mehrere Orte dieses Namens auf, so daß eine eindeutige Identifikation nicht möglich ist» (TAVO B 69, p.89).

4 Where no special designation appears in the documents dating from this period, I assume that Phebichis η μεγάλη is meant.


6 P.Hib. I, p.296.

7 See PRUNETI, Centri abitati, s.v.
the route from Alexandria to southern Egypt and the Thebaid (and back)\(^1\); what is left of this text does not indicate where this station was, but the two Editors appear to consider Phebichis a suitable location, as this is one of the place-names appearing on the recto (account of corn, some of which was transported to Alexandria)\(^2\).

There was a temple of Herakles/Eseph at Phebichis (\textit{P.Hib.} I 72); \textit{P.Hib.} I 131 mentions the ἀρχερεύς of Phebichis.

ΦΕΒΙΧΗΣ ἤ μικρά

V A.D. \hspace{2cm} \textit{Stud.Pal.} X 233, col.II,16 \hspace{2cm} Φεβίχης[ας] Μυκρ(ᾶς)\(^3\)

VIII A.D. \hspace{2cm} \textit{Stud.Pal.} X 199,3 \hspace{2cm} χ(ωρί)ον Φ<ε>βίχεως
Μυκ(ρᾶς)\(^4\)


ΦΕΛΕ( )

VII-VIII A.D. \hspace{2cm} \textit{Stud.Pal.} X 208 verso,3 \hspace{2cm} Φελέ( )

According to Johannes Diethart the reading Φελέ«dürfte stimmen»\(^6\). One might perhaps assume a scribal error for Ψελέμυσχις.

ΦΕΝΑΜΕΝΙ

April-August 42 A.D. \hspace{2cm} \textit{P.Mich.} II 121 recto, col.IV. \hspace{2cm} ὀπὸ κοσμη(τος) Φεναμενι
tοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφις
Ἱροκλεσπαλιτ(του)

This is one of the abstracts from the ἀναγραφαὶ τῆς γραφείων of the Tebtyne and Kerkosouchon Oros\(^7\).

---

\(^1\) The document has been re-examined by STEPHEN R. LLEWELLYN, \textit{ZPE} 99, 1993, pp.41-56.

\(^2\) See the introduction to this document (\textit{P.Hib.} I, p.287). Hiero Neso, also mentioned on the recto, is another possibility.

\(^3\) Reading checked for me on the original by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994).

\(^4\) This reading was checked for me by Johannes Diethart (letter of February 25, 1994): «In dieser Steuerliste aus dem 8.Jh.
hat Wessely in seiner Edition nur eine Nachzeichnung des Ortes in Z.3 gebracht, auf dem Original läßt sich χ<ε>βίχεως
Μυκ[ρᾶς] lesen».

\(^5\) Cf. JOHANNES DIETHARTH, \textit{Tyche} 10, 1995, p.239.


THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Φι.... 1

223 A.D.  
P. Ross. Georg. V 20, verso,  
col. II,5

TOPARCHY: Koites.

This is a census list, also mentioning Thmoinache, Thelbo, Phebichis (all in the Koites). On the recto, reference to Korphotoi ("Ἀγημά toparchy).

(?) ΦΙΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ

88-81 B.C.  
BGU XIV 2374,6  
ἐν Φιλαδέλφειας 2

This is presumably the same locality attested for the Arsinoites in SB I 1214 (mummy label; undated).

ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΟΥ 3

III B.C.  
P.Petr. III 99  
recto, 10,17,28 4  
περὶ τὸ Φίλονίκου  
ἐπισκόπησαν (10-11); ἐκ  
τοῦ Φίλονίκου  
ἐπισκόπησαν (17); περὶ τὸ  
Φιλονίκου  
ἐπισκόπησαν (28)

I/II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 218,6; 11,20; 23  
Φιλονίκου (11;23)  
[περὶ Φιλονίκου 5]

after 150 A.D.  
Stud. Pal. XX 7,12 (= CPR I 22)  
κόμης Φιλονίκου

155 A.D.  
SB V 7515,223 (=  
P.Berl. Frisk = P. Bankakten 1)  
early II A.D.  
P.Oxy. III 504,7  
ἀπὸ Φιλονίκου

1 According to the ed. pr., not Φιλονίκου.

2 «Die Lesung ist sehr unsicher... Ein Dorf, genannt Philadephos, ist in SB I 1214,6 für den Arsinoites belegt, aber  
eins für den Herakleopolites fehlt bisher» (ed.pr.).

3 The toponym Φιλονίκου is also attested on an inscription (SB I 2246,6-7): cf. BERNARD P. GRENFELL - ARTHUR S.  
ruledly carved on a block of limestone measuring 50 x 30 cm. records the death of Φιλονίκου.  
Φιλονίκου» (ed.pr.).

4 Clarysse’s new reading at 1.12 ("Ὑποκλεισάολήτου instead of Ἐντηκλεισάολήτου"); cf. JAN KRYSZTOF WINNICKY,  
Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 17, 1986, p.19 and n.10) confirms that this papyrus refers to Herakleopolite localities.

5 «καὶ κακὰ γεγονεῖ» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
late II or III A.D.  
P.Ryl. II 225,37  
peri Philonikeou

231 A.D.  
Stud.Pal. XX 32,8;14  
[sutollogoi Koitou  
Aiono Philonikeou  
(7-8; cf. BL 2.2,158); ek  
theoauron tis oytis  
Philonikeou (14)

242 A.D.  
Stud.Pal. XX 52,15  
praktorosi[ti] stikaw  
Philonikeou

III A.D.  
P.Oxy. VI 965, descr.  
apo Philonikeou

III A.D.  
P.Oxy. VIII 1156,4  
komarchou tis  
Philonikeou

313/314 A.D.  
P.Michael. 28,11  

4 April 328 A.D.  
SB XVIII 13260, [8];22  
ousetr(o)yn apo  
[xorion] [Filonikeou]  
(7-8); oustranf [apo  
xorion] Philonikeou (21-22)

17 April 344 A.D.  
P.Neph. 32,5  
apo koiyes, Philonikeou  
tou [per Mevon  
Heraclleopolitou nomou  
apo Philonikeou

IV A.D.  
P.Lond. VI 1924,5  
en [k]edios Philonikeou

411 A.D.  
Stud.Pal. XX 117,5  
apo [xorion]  
Filonikeou [tou  
H[pa]k[la]eoupolitiou  
nomou] 1

V A.D.  
SB XII 10939,7  

V A.D.  
Filonikeou

VI A.D.  
SB VI 9139,18  
Filonikou

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 66,5  

beginning of VIII A.D.  
SB XVIII 13870,2  
chi(riou) Filonik(onou) 2

VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 109,10  
apo chi(riou)  
Filonikou pagon(y)- 

VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 199,5  
chi(riou) Filonikou'  

TOPARCHY: Koites (XII pagus: P.Michael. 28).

ETYMOLOGY: like the koiym called Phaulippeou, this epoikion Philonikeou must have been named after

1 My reading (checked on the photograph in the editio princeps): Filonikou [p]...k...ou poli[pr]chou ed. pr.
2 ‘Filonikon ist sicher’ (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).
some (arguably less important) Greek person; however, ἐν Φιλόνικος appears in the Prosopographia Ptolemaica.

Philonikou recurs in the same document with Thelbo in P.Ryl. II 225 (Nokle, Koma, Machor also mentioned), P.Michael. 28 (Papa, Pselemachis and other villages also listed) and in P.Hib. II 218 (with many other villages, mostly in the Koites). It also appears in two documents of the IV A.D.: P.Neph. 32 (here Ἡσιππος κόσμη is mentioned as well) and P.Lond. VI 1924, which both belong to dossiers relating to «apparently influential monks» ¹ (Nepheros and Papnouthios, respectively) in two monasteries of the Herakleopolites.

Stud.Pal. XX 52: the sitologi of Tzamorou acknowledge the receipt of corn from Philonikou²; both villages also recur in P.Hib. II 218.

More sitologi receipts: SB V 7515 (mainly dealing with the Polemon division of the Arsinoites: Herakleopolite villages include Kerkesshef, Talae, Philonikou); Stud.Pal. XX 52. Πράκτορες στικτῶν appear in P.Oxy. VI 965.

A naukelros receipt: Stud.Pal. XX 32 (corn shipped at the θησαυρός of Philonikou, to be transported to Alexandria).

Stud.Pal. XX 7: marriage contract; the bride’s dowry comprises land at Pharbaitha (in the Arsinoites) and more possessions at Philonikou.


**ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΟΣ**³

17 Jan. 245 B.C.⁴ P.Petr. III 43 (2), col. III,30 (= Chr.W. 387) τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐν Φιλεψιζε καὶ τὴν ἀγούσαν εἰς Χαγνασάναν (38).⁵

III B.C. P.Petr. III 62 b,4 εἰς τὸ ἐπιτρόπιον Φιλεψιζε (cf. BL 7,162)⁶

between 173 and 130-128 B.C. P.Tebt. III 890,74;75;100 ἐκ Φιλεψιζε (74); ἐκ Φιλεψιζε (75); ἐκ Φιλεψιζε (100)

II B.C. BGU VI 1244,6;38 Φιλεψιζε καὶ Πελενσηον (6)⁷; ἐπιστάτης Φιλεψιζε (38)

¹ On these monks and their monasteries see PETER VAN MINNEN, «The Roots of Egyptian Christianity», APF 40/41, 1994, pp.79 ff.

² P.Vind.Siip. 19 and P.Vind.Worp 4 (both mentioning Tebetny) are documents very similar to Stud.Pal. XX 52.

³ The place-name Πελενσηον, attested in the lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium, may perhaps be compared.

⁴ See ALAN E. SAMUEL, Ptolemaic Chronology, München 1962, p.92.

⁵ Reading checked for me by Brian McGing: «Φιλεψιζε quite clearly right» (letter of 8 September 1994).

⁶ Reading checked for me by Brian McGing: «Φιλεψιζε absolutely clear» (letter of 8 September 1994).

⁷ Φιλεψιζε («hier auch möglich?») καὶ Πελενσηον (see s.v. Πελενσηον) read by Günther Poethke (letter of April 14, 1994), who checked this reading for me.
after 84/83 B.C.  

BGU XIV 2370 (fr.1),79  

Φνεβίει

52/51 B.C.  

BGU VIII 1827,6  

Νικάρχωι τοι ἐν ὑποστάσει Ἀφραδίου οὗτος καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ (6-7) 1

52/51 B.C.  

BGU VIII 1828,4-8  

tοῦ ἐν Φνεβίει  

dεσμωτηρίῳ (4-5); ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ἀπικσίου προσόδου περὶ Φνεβίεα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Ἀγελαίου κληροῖ (7-9)

51/50 B.C.  

BGU VIII 1837,4  

tῶν ἐκ κόμης [η] Φνεβίεας κτηνοτρόφου βασιλίσσης (3-5)

after 52/51 B.C.  

 BGU VIII 1808,25  

Φνεβίεως (cf. BL 7,22)

I B.C.  

BGU VIII 1798,1  

ἀρχιφυλακίτη  

Φνεβίεως

I B.C.  

BGU VIII 1803,3-6,7  

Φνεβίεα (3); [Φνεβίεα (6-7)]

I B.C.  

BGU VIII 1855,2  

Φνεβίεως

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2432,11  

Φνεβίεως

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2434,28  

perὶ Φνεβίεα (l. Φνεβίεα)

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2438,22;  

(fr.3),96  

Φνεβίεως (22); [Φνεβίεως (96)]

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2440,15  

[Φεβ] ινέως 2  

27 April 15 B.C.  

BGU XVI 2607,14  

ἐκ νυμφίος  

Φνεβίεως

5 Feb. 13 B.C.  

BGU XVI 2583,1:8,21  

Φνεβίεα (1); ἀπὸ  

Φνεβίεας (8); perὶ  

Φνεβίεα (21)

II/III A.D.  

P.Köln II 99,1 3  

Φνεβίεως

V A.D.  

Stud.Pal. X 8,7  

χ(ρήσιν) Φνεβίεως

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1 «τοποχεία» nur Vermutung; diese Toparchie ist nicht belegt. Nikarchos muß eine hohe Person sein, die ohne weiteres dem Hypostratei n übergeordnet erscheint» (ed. pr.).

2 ...νέως ed.pr.; the reading [Φεβ]νεως is supported by the fact that this village recurs twice more in the same document with Pois (BGU VIII 1808; Stud.Pal. X 44). Besides, references to the "Λῆμνος κάτω to and the Koites are found both in BGU VIII 1808 and in the first column of BGU XIV 2440. All three documents also mention villages of the Tekmio toparchy.

3 «Vielleicht vor Z.1 [perὶ Φνεβίεα]» (ed. pr.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

V A.D. Stud. Pal. X 9,3 Φενεβίος
VI A.D. Stud. Pal. III 341,1 ἀπὸ Ἐπίτοι(κίου) Φενεβί τοῦ 'Ἡρ(ακλεο-)π(οίτου) νομοῦ

VI A.D. Stud. Pal. X 44,10 χ'ω(ρίου Φενεβί
VII A.D. Stud. Pal. III 202,2 Φενεβί 1

VII/VIII A.D. CPR IV 2,18 χ(ορίου) Φενεβί

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. VIII 1183,2 έν τῷ χ(ορίῳ) Φενεβί

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 208 verso,2 Φενεβί

VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 109,12 ἐν τῷ χ(ορίῳ) Φενεβί

TOPARCHY: Μέση 2.

ETYMOLOGY: a few variant spellings are attested for this place-name: Φενεβί(ε)ς (P. Petr. III 43,2) and Φενεβί(ε)ς (P. Petr. III 62,8), both attested only once, may result from different attempts at rendering the Egyptian original: the (apparently simplified) spelling Φενεβί(ε)ς prevails in the documents of the later period. In BGU XIV 2432, the reading Φενεβί is uncertain: if correct, Φενεβί (lege Φενεβίς, as in P. Petr. III 43,2) is perhaps meant by the scribe; and Φενεβί (found in the sources from the VI A.D. onwards) seems to be a simpler form of this spelling.

A locality called «the Mound of P-neb» is attested in P. Wilbour B 13,20; is this the same as Per-nebit mentioned in the «inscription of Shoshenq I» (Journal d'entrée du Musée égyptien du Caire no. 39410, 1,24; mid-X B.C.)? 37

P. Petr. III 43 (2), coll. III-IV: contract for maintenance work on bridges and canals; the work has been given out (after proclamation by a herald) at Κροκοσέοις πόλις (Arsinoites) by the oikonomos, in the presence of the chief architect and the basilikos grammateus. It is to be performed in several localities, some of which may have been either in the Herakleopolites (like Φενεβί(ε)ς) or along the border between the Herakleopolites and the Arsinoites: like Hiero Nesos (coll. III, II.23-26) and Tebnet (coll. IV, 18).

BGU VIII 1827: a dispute between husband and wife concerning a plot of land near Pensecho is brought in front of the strategos, with the request that he should write to a certain Nikarchos ἐν πιστορίῳ ἤ διπλαίνει, and to the ὑποποιτής about it. Phinebus was in fact the main centre of the Μέση toparchy, appearing in almost all documents where other localities of the same toparchy are mentioned (P. Tebt. III 890; BGU VIII 1803; BGU XIV 2370 and 2438; P. Köln II 99).

The connection with Pensecho is confirmed in BGU IV 1244 (petition submitted by a brewer from Phinebus).

BGU VIII 1798 is addressed to the ορθοφυλακήτης of Phinebus, where there was also a prison.

1 My reading: Φενεβί... ἐν pr.

2 One (or two) villages with a similar name are attested in the Arsinoites. The «northern» (κότο) Φενεβί (see CALDERINI-DARIS, Dizionario, s.v.; cf. also GENEVIÈVE HUSSON, Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology. Cairo 2-9 September 1989, Cairo 1992, vol. I, p. 100) is connected to Memphis in the sources. Another «southern» (<data> Φενεβί could coincide with the Phinebus of the Petrie Papyri, which I am inclined to assign to the Herakleopolites (see also Introduction, p. 96): it is read doubtfully (Φενεβί) in P. P. EG 107, 11 (219 B.C.). SERGIO DARIS, Aegyptus 64, 1984, pp. 118-119, suggests the reading Φενεβί in P. JIFAO III 42,3 (II A.D.), where Hiera Nesos and Tebnet also appear (the Arsinoite Kerkeus also recurs in both documents).

(BGU VIII 1828).

BGU VIII 1837 is a petition submitted by the κτηνοτρόφου of the Queen at Phnebueus.

BGU XVI 2607 concerns the shipping of timber, also mentioning the place-name Ποτίζον τοῦ νομοῦ (in the same toparchy).

BGU XVI 2583 is a declaration of sheep and goats νεμόμενα καὶ ποτιζόμενα καὶ αὐλιζόμενα περὶ Φούρπιου and δι’ ὀλοκλήρου τοῦ νομοῦ: their owner lives at Phnebueus.

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek) 1.

ΦΡΟΥΡΙΟΝ

V A.D.  
VII A.D.  
VII-VIII A.D.  

†Stud.Pal. X 233, col. I A,5†  
†Stud.Pal. X 66,4†  
†Stud.Pal. X 227, 1:2†  

Φρουρίου  
χ(ωρίου) Φρουρίου  
ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Φρουρίου  
(1); ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Φρουρίου (2)  

TOPARCHY: Koites?

ETYMOLOGY: «guarding post».


Guarding posts (φρουρία) in the Herakleopolites are attested at Techtho and Herakleopolis (P.Berl.Zill.1 and 2). A reference to a φρουρίον in the Herakleopolites is also found in SB I 5137,5 (237 A.D.).

ΦΥΣ

259 B.C.  
probably 259/258 or 249/248 B.C. (cf. BL 3,84)  
4 July 238 B.C.  
(?)/23 Oct. 163 B.C.  
about 160 B.C.  
about 160 B.C.  
159 B.C.  
49/48 B.C.  

†P.Mich.Zen. 30a,10; (?),b,2†  
†P.Hib. I 108,2†  
†SB III 7179,6†  
†(?),P.Hels. I 9,8†  
†P.Hels. I 27,1†  
†P.Hels. I 34,10†  
†P.Hels. I 38,5†  
†SB V 8755,4†  

ἐν Φύς  
ἐν Φύς λογοντῆρον  
τόι ἐμ Φύς τραπεζίτη  
...[...].[.]Φ..  
Φύς  
Φύς(ς)  
Φύς  
ἐκ Φύς (cf. 1.7: περὶ τήν κόμην)  

1 See s.v. NINΩ.

2 «In der Lücke könnte man den Dorffnamen erwarten, z.B. ἐν κώμης Φύς» (ed. pr.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

Assigned to the Μέση toparchy in BGU XIV 2438 (where it is listed with Phnebicus, Peenhendet(is), Peenpibyk(is), Ποιμένον κώμη, Techmys) Phys recurs with some of the same villages in BGU XIV 2433 (Ποιμένον κώμη, Chennis), P. Köln II 99 (Phnebicus, Peenpibyk(is), Kerkytos, Thmothistos), P. Hels. I 34 (Techmys). The attribution is confirmed by CPR I 64, a παραπληρός contract recorded in the agoranomos office of the Μέση toparchy at Peenameus between Aurelius Sarapammon (from Herakleopolis but apparently living at Kerkytos) and a woman living at Thmothistos (cf. P. Köln II 99); the woman acquires 9.5 aroura near Phys (in the fossil kleros of "Αμμωνος) and a few more near Thmothistos (in the fossil kleros "Αριστοποξουο). Phys and Peenpibyk(is) appear once more together in P. Rain. Cent. 153,9, which also lists villages of the Kites (Talae, Thmoipesila, Thnies, Palosis of the northern Oxyrhynchites). In BGU XIV 2438 the list

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1 Published by PIETER J. SIJPESTEIJN. Tyche 5, 1990, pp. 171-174.
2 φ(υς) seems the most likely resolution here; Φυς (sic) ed. pr.

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ΦΟΥΣ

ΦΟΥΣ

ΦΟΥΣ

ΦΟΥΣ

ἐν τῇ ἐν τοίς δρόμοις 

ὅποι κόμης, ἐν τούς δρόμοις ὑπὸ κόμης, ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις ὑπὸ κόμης (6)

πεδίων (25), πεδίων (49)

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

ἐν πεδίῳ κοίμηται, ἐν πεδίῳ κοίμηται

σιννέ

ἐν πεδίῳ κοίμηται, ἐν πεδίῳ κοίμηται

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ

ἐποίησεν (25), ἐποίησεν (49)

σιννέ
of villages of the Μέση toparchy is followed by sections devoted to the περὶ Φέβχιν), Tilothis and Koma toparchies.

Other documents point to a connection with the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy: MPER XV 63 contains a reference to Noeris (I.16; περὶ Πόλιν toparchy); P.Vind.Sip. 9 is a lease contract for land in the plain of Phys (the land-owner is from Herakleopolis); in P.Bon. 25 two inhabitants of Phys act as mutual sureties, as they borrow 100 silver drachmae from Nemesianus, ex-γυμναστήριος, ἀρχειρεύς at Herakleopolis. BGU XVI 2592: oath sworn by a man from Herakleopolis but residing (κατοικών) at Phys, concerning timber for house-building.

Possible connection with the Koma toparchy: BGU XIV 2439 registers Phys at the end of a document otherwise devoted to the Koma toparchy; MPER XV 91 also includes references to the πεδίου Βουσίρεως (II.34,37) and to the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome; P.Vind.Tand. 18 (accounts drawn by Victor, Βουσίρεως at Phys, and Hierax: payments in gold are recorded; one of the payers is from Bousiris, another from Onnes, in the Tekmi toparchy).

P.Hib. I 108: tax on baths paid at the λογευτήριον of Phys.
SB V 8755: corn loan granted to a βασιλικός γεωργός from Phys.
BGU XVI 2669: inventory list of various objects «in a room in the house in the port at Phys» (II.2-4), including a Βήσης κατοικία (a tin statue of Bes, I.28).
CPR X 105 is part of a small archive consisting of eight documents concerning a man called Odysseus¹.
CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek)².

**ΦΥΧΙΤΗΣ**

20 Feb. 13 B.C. 
BGU XVI 2582,12;14 
Φυχίτης (12); [Φ]υχίτης (14)

Declaration of sheep; the owners are from Phebichis and perhaps from nearby Psychis (assuming a scribal error at 1.12: Φυχίτης for Ψυχίτης). A derivation from Φως seems unlikely.

**ΦΦ**

V A.D. 
MPER XV 103,5 
ἀπὸ πεδίου ΦΦ

A kleros belonging to a certain Φοιβάμων was in this πεδίον. Reference to the πεδίον Μαχόρ (a village assigned to the Koma toparchy in some I B.C. sources) at 1.17.

(?) **ΧΑΝΑΛΛΑΙΣ**

17 Jan. 245 B.C.³
P.Petr. III 43 (2), col. III.30 
τὴν γεφυραν τὴν ἐν 
Φεβίγει καὶ τὴν 
ἐγέουσαν εἰς Χανάλλαιν

---

¹ See BRIGITTE ROM, ZPE 56, 1984, pp.103-106.
² See s.v. NINΩ.
³ See ALAN E. SAMUEL, Ptolemaic Chronology, München 1962, p.92.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ETYMOLOGY: a place-name of Jewish origin.1

This could be a locality in the Ptolomion division of the Arsinoites.2

ΧΑΡΜΟΥΣ

V A.D.  
VI A.D.  
Stud. Pal. X 22, 2  
Χαρμους...ζ3  
χ(ωρίου) Χαρμοῦ.4

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: περὶ Πόλιν.

ETYMOLOGY: «Etymologisch ist das Wort wohl durch das in einer Glosse des Hesych genannte χαρμοῦς· ἡ τῆς γῆς διοικείας, οἶον χρηματίζεις: "Auseinanderklaffen der Erde, wie Erdspalt" zu fassen».5

Stud. Pal. X 22 lists, among other place-names, Sobthis ἡ μικρὸς and Tokois (both in the περὶ Πόλιν toparchy, according to I B.C. sources). Tokois immediately follows Χαρμους...ζ in Stud. Pal. X 233, too.

ΧΑΡΜΙ'Κ' ( )

VII/VIII A.D.  
CPR IV 2, 14  
χ(ωρίου) Χαρμι'κ'

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Herakleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek).6

ΧΕΝΝΗΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2433, 48  
Χενν[ε]ςζ

---

1 See A. KASHER, The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, p. 67 n. 166.
4 Χαρμμοῖον ed. pr.: new reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of September 13, 1994).
5 JOHANNES DIETHART, Tyche 10, 1995, p. 239.
6 See s.v. ΝΙΝΩ.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2438,101</td>
<td>Χέννεως¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 July 8 B.C.</td>
<td>BGU XVI 2594,9</td>
<td>οἱ δέκα τῶν ἀπὸ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Χέννεως θηρατ[ ].......οι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>θηρατῶν πάντες(8-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/II A.D.</td>
<td>P.Hib. II 218,60</td>
<td>Χέννεως²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII/VIII A.D.</td>
<td>CPR IV 2,13</td>
<td>χ(ωρίον) Χέννε(ος)³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also: ..NIN.

TOPARCHY: Μέση.


Chennis appears in BGU XIV 2433 with villages certainly belonging to the Μέση, like Ποιμένων κώμη and Phys. It is therefore safe to read the same place-name in BGU XIV 2438, which assigns it to the Μέση (along with Phneubius, Peenbend(ις), Peenpiby(ις), Phys, Techymis, Ποιμένων κώμη, etc.), and in P.Hib. II 218 (note the immediately preceding entry for Phneubius).

BGU XVI 2594: sale contract (translated from Egyptian κοτό τῶν δυνατῶν, 1.2): part of a house is apparently being sold by ten men, who are said to be hunters.

CPR IV 2 (a bilingual document in Coptic and Greek) lists many villages of the central toparchies of the Heracleopolite nome (toponyms in Greek)⁴.

ΧΟΙΒΝΩΤΜΙΣ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>about 260 B.C.</td>
<td>P.Hib. I 112,26;86</td>
<td>Χοιβνωτμις (86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 May 247 B.C.</td>
<td>SB VIII 9841,3;17</td>
<td>ἐκ Χοινότβιος (3); ἐκ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Χοινότβιος (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about 228 B.C.</td>
<td>P.Hib. I 68,3</td>
<td>ἐν Χοιβνώτμει</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-III B.C.⁵</td>
<td>P.Fuad Crawford 5, recto.6; verso.15</td>
<td>Χοιβνώτμις (verso,15)⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| mid-III B.C. | P.Strasb. IX 802,11 | μελισσομυρην | Хοινό(θ)μεως ³⁴
| 4 Aug. 13 B.C.| BGU XVI 2600,2   |                      |

¹ Χέννεως seems to fit the traces, as suggested in the ed. pr.: «Vom ersten Buchstaben sind allerdings nur einige Punkte vorhanden» (Johannes Diethart, letter of September 13, 1994).

² I suggest this reading, which I could not check on a photograph: Χόννεως ed. pr.

³ Χέννε ed.pr.

⁴ See s.v. NING.

⁵ On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.

⁶ Χοιβνωτμις ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

3 July 138 A.D.  P.Heid. IV 320,10  εἰς τὸ κατὰ
138-161 A.D.  P.Hib. II 277,12  Χοινάθεος (?)
about 165/166 A.D.  P.Oxy. LIX 3975,6  ὁπὸ καὶ καὶ Χοινάθεος
215 A.D.  P.Oxy. XII 1463,8  ὁπὸ Χοινάθεος
217 A.D.  PSI XII 1229,8  ὄνηλ(ήτα) κόμης Χοινάθεος (7-8)
304/305 A.D.  P.Rain.Cent. 82,5-6 (= CPR 141)  κομάρχων κόμης
V A.D.  Stud.Pal. X 8,2  Χοινάθεος
566 A.D. or later  P.Oxy. LV 3805,91  δι(τί) Παλαιότος

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: in the spelling Χοινάθεος (only attested in SB VIII 9841, of the III B.C.) the β, coming after -νος- (rather than before it, as in the more common spelling Χοινάθομας) also assimilates the following μ. In later documents (from the late I B.C. onwards) the β is dropped altogether, and in at least one case (P.Oxy. XII 1463), the final μ is also missing; at the same time, a θ replaces the τ of the earlier spellings.


BGU XVI 2600: petition from the bee-keepers of Chennis, who claim to have duly paid their taxes seven years before.

P.Heid. IV 320: the two χωμῆς (απεμπαληται) of the two Koités (i.e. "Ano and Káto, southern and northern Koïtes) acknowledge payment of the νευμον-ταξι by twenty inhabitants of Ankyron, for maintenance-work on the dyke near Choinomis.

P.Hib. I 68: weavers living at Choinomis are to be paid for the manufacturing of cloths of various kinds (weaving is also attested at nearby Ankyron). Both Choinomis and Ankyron also recur in P.Hib. I 112 and P.Fuad Crawford 5.

P.Oxy. LIX 3975 contains the beginning of a sworn declaration by Klemens, skipper of a private riverboat, originating from the village of Choinomis but residing in Sesphtha in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

P.Oxy. XII 1463: application to the nomarchs of Antinopoliós for examination (ἀνάκρισις) of a slave to be sold by the owner (from Choinomis) to an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus 1.

P.Rain.Cent. 82: land near Sobthis of the πετί Πόλιν toparchy, in the fossil kleros of Ptolemaios, is assigned for compulsory cultivation to the villagers of Choinomis.

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1 Connections between this area and the Oxyrhynchite nome and Antinopoliós: see s.v. ΑΓΚΥΡΩΝ ΠΟΙΛΗΣ.
CATALOGUE

ΧΟΡΤΑΣΩ

V A.D.  
stud. pal. X 233, col. II,5  
Aperio(u) (?) καὶ  
Χορτασων

Second half of  
VI A.D.  
P. Berol. inv. 25009, 5  
ἐπὶ τὴν Χορτασό

VII A.D.  
SB VI 9590, 4, 11, 22; verso  
Χορτασώ (4; 11);  
Χορτασο (22)

Literary Sources

V A.D.  
steph. byz. s.v.  
Χορτασω

Toparchy: Πέρον?


Etymology: Stephanus of Byzantium offers what may well be a pseudo-Greek etymology from the future of the verb χορτάζω (from χόρτος: hay and other green fodder, used especially to feed horses and cattle): according to his lemma (presumably originating from the Aegyptiaca of Alexander Polyhistor) this place-name commemorated the inhabitants’ cooperativeness with a queen Cleopatra on the occasion of an unspecified war.

SB VI 9590: two aorae which Anatolios (from Herakleopolis) cedes to Pamoûn are apparently split between Makaitonos, Tebetny (Πέρον toparchy) and Chortaso, and situated to the west of the γῆ Βασίλεια, έν κλήρῳ κυλουμένω Τσάβα. These are ceded in exchange for two aorae near a κώμη (II, 12) whose name is lost at the beginning of II, 13: note, however, the reference to Noeris at I, 22. The two witnesses are from Herakleopolis.

This village already appeared in Stud. Pal. X 233, col. II, where it is associated with Aperio(u), of uncertain reading and otherwise unknown: the first entry (Ψυχειονός?) in the same column may refer to Psychis, which was in the Koites; Thimoepisi (I, 14 in the same column) is connected with Noeris (περὶ Πόλιν toparchy), Pasis and Peensamoï (Πέρον toparchy) in Stud. Pal. X 84.

1 A very uncertain reading: «Aπεριο(u) (?) καὶ Χορτασων: durcheinam möglich» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994).

2 This document was published by MARGARET MAEHLER, GRBS 17, 1976, pp. 197-203 (reference from Peter Van Minnen).

3 Πάλης Αγίουτος. ὁτι μέλοντος ὀ ς σηματομόνος, ἡ γάρ τοῦ καλύνω ἕν καὶ τοῦ χορτάσιον Χορτασών. Ἰστοροῦσα («Alexander, ut opinor, in Aegyptiacis»: Meineke ad loc.) γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς πολέμιον μὴ ἔχειν σίτιον, ταῖς δ’ ὄλοικοι τῶν τοπιῶν τοιχίνην παράσχεθα τούτου τὴν ἀφθονίαν ὅστε χορτάσιο πάσαν τὴν στρατιάν καὶ ὅνωμι τὴν πόλιν παρ’ αὐτῆς ἐντείθην τεθήναι.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

ΧΩΜΑ

1 August 25 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2590,9  
τὸ λεγόμενον Ζανήρως

1 August 25 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2590,9-10  
τὸ λεγόμενον Μεγάλης Ὀδοῦ

1 August 25 B.C.  
BGU XVI 2590,10  
τὸ ἀπὸ λιβός τοῦ ᾿Ανίου

3 July 138 A.D.  
P.Heid. IV 320,10  
τὸ κοτά Χιουγόθμιν χώμα

BGU XVI 2590 contains a sworn agreement by the elders of Korphotoi to undertake maintenance work of the three public canals near the village.

P.Heid. IV 320, a receipt for maintenance-work on a dyke near Choinomis, was issued by Phanias and Atreus, οἱ δύο χωμ(α)τερεψελήτωι Κοτά(ος) δύο: it appears therefore that this canal ran across both Northern and Southern Koites.

ΨΑΝΑΤΙ( )

VII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 214,8  
ἐν π(εδίω) Ψανατι( )

VII-VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 206,13  
Ψαντι

TOPARCHY: Koites?

Listed as a κλήρος in Stud.Pal. X 206 (with several others: see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume), and referred to as a πεδίον in Stud.Pal. X 214 (where Peroe appears at the head of the following list of toponyms).

ΨΑΝΝΕ

V A.D.  
P.Vind.Sijp. 9,8  
ἐν πεδίον Φύς ἐν κλήρο  
Ψαννέ

VII/VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 217,4  
ἐν κλήρῳ(ρῷ) Ψαννέ

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

A kleros in the πεδίον around Phys (Μέση toparchy), according to P.Vind.Sijp. 9, Psanne is connected to the village of Daphne in Stud.Pal. X 217.

ΨΕΒΘΟΝΕΜΒΗΣ

245 (244) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 33,7-8  
ἐν κόμη Ψεβθονέμβη  
τοῦ Κασίτ(ον)ου
CATALOGUE

III B.C.(?)  P.Fuad Crawford App. II, rcto.9  Ψεβθονέμβης
I/II A.D.  P.Hib. II 218,27;30  Ψεβθονέμβ(ης)

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: *P3-sbt-n-jub.t* «the wall of Embes»¹. The second component of this toponym is also found in the place-name Μουχινεμμής (q.v.); on the first component *p3-sbt*, see s.v. ΣΩΒΘΗΣ. Cf. also RENATE MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN, «Zur Lokalisierung von Orten in Mittelägypten», Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology (Cairo 2-9 September 1989), Cairo 1992, vol.I, p.716.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: to be identified with Saft al `Urafa (see *Introduction*, p.11 f.)? Cf. TAVO B 69 § 4.3 (M 65), and p.206: «Im Dorf befindet sich ein flacher, ausgedehnter Kōm. In der Nähe der Dorfmoschee liegen ein ca. 2,5 m. langer Säulenschaft aus dunklem Stein, eine Säulenbasis sowie andere Blöcke und Fragmente aus Stein. Die an dieser Stelle des Dorfes befindlichen Keramikscherben sind in Spätantike und arabische Zeit zu datieren».

*P.Hib. I 133*: a Thracian military settler (Aroimeotes) owns eight sheep at Psebthonembes.

ΨΕΒΘΟΝΙΠΕΝΟΥΦΙΣ

about 260 B.C.  P.Hib. I 112,25  Ψεβθον(πενούφις)²
about 138 B.C.  P.Tebt. III 860,21;105  Ἐν Ψεβθονπενούφει (21); Ψεβθονπενούφει (105)

TOPARCHY: Koites.

ETYMOLOGY: *P3-sbt-n-P3-nfr*, «the wall of Penoufis»³. On the first component *p3-sbt*, see s.v. ΣΩΒΘΗΣ; the second component is a personal name.

MODERN ARABIC NAME: to be identified with Saft al `Urafa? Or with Izben Saft? See *Introduction*, p.11 f.

*P.Tebt. III 860* records a payment effected on account of a φυλακίτης from Toemesis (1.105); at 1.104, Pselemachis is also mentioned (as in *P.Hib. I 112*).

ΨΕΒΧΗΠ[}

about 160 B.C.  P.Hels. I 27,2

In the same document: Phys (1.1; Middle toparchy) and Koma.

¹ Information from Katelijn Vandorpe.
² Ψεβθον(πενούφις) was suggested, rather dubitatively, by the Editor; but in *P.Tebt. III 860* Ψεβθονπενούφει is attested in conjunction with Pselemachis, which also recurs in *P.Hib. I 112*.
³ Information from Katelijn Vandorpe (letter of July 18, 1995).
Τhe Herakleopolite Nome

ΠΕΛΕΜΑΧΙΣ

about 260 B.C. P.Hib. I 112,36 περί κομητ[ν Ψελέμαχιν
(35-36)

mid-III B.C.1 P.Fuad Crawford 5 recto,2; verso,13 Ψελεμαχίς (recto,2);
Ψελεμαχίς (verso,13)

mid-III B.C. P.Strasb. IX 802,7 Ψελεμαχίν

about 138 B.C. P.Tebt. III 860,104 περί Ψελεμάχιν

I B.C. BGU XIV 2440,18 περί Ψελεμάχιν

131 A.D. P.Oxy. IV 715,24 περί Ψελεμάχιν έκ τού Μεγαλίτου καὶ
'Αρτεμιδόρου κλήρου

313/314 A.D. P.Michael. 28,8 γῆς κατοικ[ν Ιερο[ν[ Ιερο[ν[ (24-
25)

IV A.D. P.Neph. 11,19;21 κίσμης Ψελεμάχεως

VI A.D. P.Oxy. XVI 1917,93;94;100;112;114 έν Ψελεμάχεως (19); είς
Ψελεμάχιν (21)

δ(ι) τῶν
πρωτοκ(ομητών)
Ψελεμάχεως (93);
Ψελεμάχεως (94;100);
δ(ι) τῶν
πρωτοκ(ομητών)
Ταυρωνοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἀνωρθήσεως(εἰς)
διορ(γος) ἐς ἀποθεωτοῦ
Psiλεμάχεως (111-112);
ἀπὸ Ψελεμάχεως (114)

See also: ΦΣΛΕΔΙΕ(;) ΨΩΛΕΙ.

ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ: Κοίτες (XII págus: P.Michael. 28).


P.Tebt. III 860 (taxation returns and accounts) records a payment effected at Pselephonouph(is) on
account of a phylakites from Toemesis: Pselemachis appears at 1,104, and the connection between these
two villages is corroborated by P.Oxy. IV 715, an ἀπογραφή addressed to the βιβλιοφυλακες
ἐγκτήσεων (two brothers have inherited part of a house at Toemesis, some catocic land near Ἰβίων
Πάρνοιτος, in the fossil kleros of Zoilos and Noumenios, and some more land near Pselemachis, in the
fossil kleros of Menippos and Artemidoros). The three villages also appear in three consecutive lines in
P.Strasb. IX 802: Pselemachis (7), Ταυρωνοῦ τοῦ (=Ἰβίων Πάρνοιτος, 1,8), Toemesis (9); they are
followed by Choinotmis (11), which also recurs in the same document with Pselemachis in P.Fuad
Crawford 5 and in P.Hib. I 112.

P.Neph. 11: a monk of the monastery of (P)hathor writes to the πρεσβύτερον there, to inform them

1 On the re-dating of this document see Introduction, p.14 n.7.
that he has been robbed of his clothes at Pselemachis. A net of Meletian monasteries in the southern Koites (at Pthaithor, Taamorou, Ankyron, Νήσισις κόμητι, Pselemachis) has been postulated by the Editors of the Nepheros archive\(^1\). A connection between Pselemachis and Taamorou is suggested in \textit{P.Oxy. XVI} 1917: a canal originating east of Pselemachis apparently reached Taamorou.

*Stud.Pal.* X 208 verso: Pselemachis listed after Phnebieus and Θημίων().

**ΨΙΛΙΚΗ**

about 111 B.C.  
\textit{P.Tebr. III} 878,16  
Ψιλική

**TOPARCHY:** Tekmi?

The document contains an account of receipts in money. The following villages are also mentioned: Pyrgotos (19; Tekmi toparchy), Bousiris (22) and Toou (46; Koma toparchy). In the lines preceding the entry for Psilichi, reference is made to the ἱερός γῆς Ἑρμοῦ (8), which is also attested in the Tekmi and Πέρας toparchies (\textit{BGU XIV} 2437,7-8; 37-38).

**ΨΙΝΑΠΕΛΕΥ**\(^2\)

mid-III B.C.\(^3\)  
\textit{P.Fuad Crawford 5},  
recto,10

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

**ETYMOLOGY:** first component + genitive: \textit{p3-śy-n-} («the lake of»)\(^4\).

The other villages mentioned in the same document belong to the Koites.

**ΨΥΧΕΩΝΟΣ**\(^5\)

V A.D.  
*Stud.Pal.* X 233, col. II,1

**ΨΥΧΙΣ**\(^6\)

about 260 B.C.  
\textit{P.Hib. I} 112,11;57

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\(^1\) See \textit{P.Neph.}, \textit{Einleitung}, pp.17-18.
\(^2\) According to the Editor, \textit{Φ} (instead of Ψ) could also be read at the beginning of this village name.
\(^3\) On the re-dating of this document see \textit{Introduction}, p.14 n.7.
\(^4\) Information from Katelijn Vandorpe.
\(^5\) «Hermann Harrauer schlägt Ψυχεωνος vor» (letter from Johannes Diethart, February 25, 1994).
\(^6\) The Psychis mentioned in \textit{BGU VI} 1216 (II.3, 134, 167) is assigned to the Memphite nome in CALDERINI-DARIS, \textit{Dizionario}, s.v. Ψυχις (where other sources for the Memphite village are also listed); this may well be correct, but it is worth pointing out that this document surveyed cult-places etc. in the Memphite, Aphroditopolite and Herakleopolite nomes.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

239 (238) or 214 (213) B.C.  
P.Hib. I 117,8;10  
perί Ψύχιν

mid-III B.C. 1  
P.Fuad Crawford V, recto,5  
Ψύχις

2 Sept. 162 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 26 A,19  
Ψάχεως

9-10 Oct. 162 B.C.  
P.Hels. I 19,5  
περί κόμης Ψύχιν

161/160 B.C.  
UPZ I 9,5  
ἐν Ψύχι τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου

160/159 B.C.  
UPZ I 10,7  
περί κόμης Ψύχιν τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου

160 B.C.  
UPZ I 11,6  
περί κόμης Ψύχιν τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου

29 A.D.(?)  
P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2842,5  
Ψύχις(εως)

I-II A.D.  
P.Hib. II 272,4  
ἀπὸ κόμης Ψάχεως τοῦ κόσμου Κοίτου

I/II A.D.  
SB XX 14115,3 3  
ἐν Ψύχι

II/III A.D.  
P.Heid. IV 303, II,2  
Ψάχεως

October 210 A.D.  
P.Hamb. I 17,II,5; III,1  
Ψάχεως

beginning of III A.D.  
P.Erl. 48,20  
Ψάχεως

419 A.D.  
P.Oxy. XVI 1953,2  
μεχρί Ψάχεως

V A.D.  
P.Oxy. XVI 1953,2  
Ψάχεως

VII A.D. 5  
ἀπὸ χειρότερου Ψέιχ(εως) Μεγ(αλής)

VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. VIII 1309,1  
χορήγησαν Ψύχις(εως)

TOPARCHY: Koites (northern Koites: P.Hib. II 272).

MODERN ARABIC NAME: Absūg. 6


1 See above, p.261 n.3.

2 Cf. UPZ, Einleitung, p.145: «Da das Original nicht auffindbar war, konnte Brunet de Présie nur die ihm vorliegende Transkription von Letronne reproduzieren. Auch mir bleibt nichts anderes übrig ...».

3 A letter from a certain Herakleides to Sarapion, published by PIETER J. SIPESTEIN, Egyptus 70, 1990, p.36. There were villages called Psychis in the Herakleopolitae, Memphites, Kynopolitae and Hermopolitae. It may be noted that the personal name Herakleides is especially well attested in the Herakleopolites; Sarapion is also frequent there (see for example BGU XIV, Index III, Personenennamen, s.vv.).

4 Reading checked on a photograph: Ψάχεως ed. pr.; «vielleicht » Ψάχεως BL 8,120.

5 «Quittung wohl aus dem 7. Jh.» (Johannes Diethart, letter of February 25, 1994). Wassely dated it to the VII-VIII A.D.

6 In P.Hib. I 117 Psychis appears to depend administratively on Talae (modern Tala about 4.5 km NW of Absug); the identification was suggested by BERNARD P. GRENFELL - ARTHUR S. HUNT ad P.Oxy. 1416,13.
CATALOGUE

UPZ I 9-11: Ptolemaios son of Glaukias, Macedonian by descent, the recluse in the Serapeion at Memphis, originated from Psychis in the Herakleopolites.

ΨΩΒTON( )

mid-III B.C. P.Strasb. IX 802,13 Ψωβτον( )

ETYMOLOGY: on P3-sbt («the wall») see s.v. ΣΩΒΘΙΣ.

TOPARCHY: Koites.

Most, if not all, villages listed in P.Strasb. IX 802 were in the Koites: Ψωβτον() here might be shortened either for Psebthonembes or Psebthonpenouph(is), both in the Koites.

ΨΩΛΕΙ

II-III A.D. 3 BGU III 958a Κοίτου ἄνω Ψώλε[ι]

TOPARCHY: southern Koites.

Because the original of this document was burnt, it is impossible to verify the reading of this toponym. One might think of a wrong decipherment for Ψέλε[μαχίς], whose connections with the southern Koites are attested.

ΩΣΕΙΡΙΣ

236 A.D.(cf. BL 7,259) Stud.Pal. XX 47,7 (= CPR I πεπρ[ή] κόμην Ωσειριν 6,7)

TOPARCHY: "Αγημα.

A παραχώρησις contract drawn up at the agoranomos office of the "Αγημα toparchy, for land situated πεπρ[ή] κόμην Ωσειριν, in the fossil kleros of Theodoros. The vendor is from Peenibik(is) (Μέστη toparchy), the buyer is called an οστός (from Alexandria, presumably). This contract was written by the same scribe who recorded CPR VI 73 (contract drawn up at the same agoranomos office, between parties from Tekmi and Herakleopolis)4.

A fossil kleros Θεοδόρου is also mentioned in Stud.Pal. XX 29, among the neighbours of some land to be sold near Tosachmis (Koites).

---

1 See DOROTHY J. THOMPSON, Memphis under the Ptolemies, Princeton 1988, pp.213-231.
2 Ψωβτον ed. pr.
3 On the dating of this papyrus, see s.v. ΚΩΙΤΗΣ.
4 See s.v. ΠΕΡΑΦΘΙΣ.
Acephalous Toponyms

[± 3]ΑΓΕΩΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2440,48

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

BGU XIV 2440, II.41-49, surveys land granted to φυλακήτας, μόχιμοι and ἔφοδοι in the Tekmi toparchy. Euphrates son of Epimachos, who is granted 24 arourae at Ἰσχείας, must have been an ἔφοδος.

..[±3]ΑΙ

VIII A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 84,6  
χ(ορίον) ..[±3]ατ

...ΑΙΝΕΩΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2438,36

TOPARCHY: Μέση.

Comprised in a group of villages of the Μέση toparchy, with Phneieus, Peenbendet(is), Peenpiblek(is), Phys, Techymis, Ποιμένον κόμη.

[...].ΑΡΑΙΕΩΣ

I B.C.  
BGU XIV 2437,15

TOPARCHY: Tekmi.

This place-name appears under the main entry Τέκμι· περί Άνθην (1.12); a reference to Πυργιστός (in the same toparchy) precedes (1.14).

[± 2]ΑΡΕ.ΩΣ

V A.D.  
Stud.Pal. X 233, col. II.6  
Κ.ορμου κοί

[±2]ορεως

---

1 μη ed.pr.; X..[±3]ατ («gut möglich; nach der Klammer kein μ») or Ψ[...]ατ («es kann sich aber nach der Art der Unterlänge um den unteren Rest eines μ, p oder φ handeln») Johannes Diethart (letters of February 25 and September 13, 1994).

2 «Κ.ορμου schlägt H. Harrauer vor» (letter from Johannes Diethart, February 25, 1994). What follows looks like κόλ
CATALOGUE

[±4] AT

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 206,7
Accordingly the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

[... ] ATMY[ ]

Included in a list of villages with Thmoinache (Techho toparchy) and Phebichis (Koites).

[. ] E[... ] BEOΣ

1 B.C. BGU XIV 2433,51
TOARCHY: Μέση.
Listed in a group of villages belonging to the Μέση toparchy, among them Phys (4.49).

[. ] E[. ] A[ ]

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 206,4
Accordingly the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

.. ENE( ) ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ


[±4] ETA

VII-VIII A.D. Stud. Pal. X 206,6
Accordingly the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

---
to me (cf. Απεριον(ο) καὶ Χορτασω in the preceding line); after this, [...] τως ας, as in the ed. pr.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

[...]ΘΕ.. [M]ΙΚΡ( )

V A.D.  


[± 5].ΙΝΩ

V A.D.  

Stud.Pal. X 94,4

Cf. Νινω.

[.]..ΚΑΧ...[....]Ν

14/13 B.C.  

BGU XVI 2581.6  

ὁπό [.]..ΚΑΧ...[....]Ν (cf. ἐπι[ν] τὴν κ[όμη]ν: II.15-16)

Declaration of sheep and goats.

..ΚΕΝΗ

III A.D.  

BGU III 927,2  

κολύμης ..ΚΕΝΗ

....ΛΣΙΟΥΤ

I B.C.  

BGU XIV 2440,97

TOPARCHY: Techtho Nesos.

...Θλήνθος and Thmoίn(ache), in the Techtho Nesos toparchy, are apparently subordinated to ....ΛΣΙΟΥΤ: after a blank space, an entry for Olonthis follows.

(. ) Μ(Ε)Γ(ΑΛΗ?)'

VII A.D.  

Stud.Pal. X 231,2

TOPARCHY: Koites?

---

1 [ ]χω ed. pr.: new reading by Johannes Diethart (letter of September 13, 1994).

266
Thelbo (Koites) is listed at 1.1. In the Herakleopolites, we know of a Φέβιχις ἡ μεγάλη, a Σώβθις ἡ μεγάλη, and a Παπα ἡ μεγάλη.

ΜΕΙΑ

V A.D.  P. Oxy. VIII 1126,9  γίτονες νότων τον ἀπὸ 
Τάλη λιβός λίδης Κήτς, 
ἀπη[λ]ιώτου λίδης 
μεια (7-9)

See s.v. ΚΗΤΣ.

[...] ΝΕΑ

VI-VII A.D.  Stud. Pal. III 25,1  ἀπὸ κώμης ...] Νέας τοῦ 
Ἡρ(ακλεο)π(ολίτου) 
νομοῦ

[± 8]ΝΕΑΣ[ 1

309 A.D.  P. Hib. II 219,10

TOPARCHY: Koites.

Assessment of linen-pieces to be produced by the λινοῦφοι of Ankyron (II.4, 12), also on account of other villages, including Techtho (I.13).

ΝΙΝ

I B.C.  BGU XIV 2434,27  περὶ ..νιν

See also s.v. ΧΕΝΝΙΣ

Χέννιν might be a possible reading (note the reference to περὶ Φ<νε>βιέκα in the following line).

1 «Or ἱνημίς. Perhaps there is nothing lost after the ç» (Ed. ad loc.).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

[±5]ΝΟΣ

313-314 A.D.     P. Michael. 28,7

[κομάρχοις]     

±5]νος ¹

TOPARCHY: Koites (XII pagus).

The document is a contract of hire between a νοῦτης and the κομάρχοι of seven villages in the 12th pagus², including Papa, Pselemachis, Thelbo, Philonikou (all of them belonging to the Koites).

[± 8]ΟΥΝΕΩΣ

309 A.D.     P. Hib. II 219,15

Assessment of linen-pieces to be produced by the λινοφόρος of Ankyron (I.4, 12) also on account of other villages (including Techoth 1.13). [Θημιστη]ούνεως could be an attractive supplement, but this was a village in the Koma toparchy, whereas this document apparently deals with villages of the southern Herakleopolites.

.ΠΕΙ.'Α'


Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this volume).

.ΠΕΤΕΧΩΝ

I B.C.     BGU XIV 2437 (fr.5),74

The supplement Τερτογιπεχον is tempting, but «it is impossible to say what the trace before the initial ρι in -πεχον might be. It is too ambiguous» ³.

.Π..ΑΤΟΥ

I B.C.     BGU XIV 2438,34

¹ [κομάρχοις κόιτης ιουνος ed. pr. (on the analogy of II.3 and 9 in the same document, but leaving little room to supply a village-name here). Μαν κόιντε ιουνος ςι την κρήτην] εργασίεν (cf. P. Neph., Einleitung, p. 129 n. 4). I can detect no trace of ω on the photograph I have checked.
³ Letter from William M. Brashear (November 10, 1995).
CATALOGUE

See also s.v. ΚΕΡΚΥΤΟΣ.1

TOPARCY: Μέση.

Included in a list of villages of the Μέση toparcy (mentioning Phys, Phnebies, Peenpibyk(is) and
other localities).

[.....]ΡΕΩΣ

191 A.D. P.Mert. II 78,3 ἀπὸ κῶ[μης .....]ρεως

TOPARCY: περὶ Πόλιν?

Two persons ἀπὸ κῶ[μης .....]ρεως borrow 600 drachmai from the ex-gymnasiarches of
Herakleopolis 2.

(?) [....]ΣΕΙ

224/225 A.D. SB XVI 12836,12 (= CPR I 243) ἀπὸ ἐδωφ[ῶν τῆς]

προκιμένης [ο]ύσιας

π[ερι(?)...]σει ἐκ τοῦ

Μενελάου κλήρου 3

[-]ΤΑΕΩΣ

I B.C. BGU XIV 2370 (fr.2),94

Reference to Bousiris at l.92.

[±4]ΤΙΟΜ

VII-VIII A.D. Stud.Pal. X 206,10

Apparently the name of a κλήρος, listed with several others (see the Reverse Index at the end of this
volume).

1 ρ..οτον ed. pr. Κερχύτου might perhaps fit the traces (reading checked by me on a photograph, and by William
Brashear on the original).

2 Another document of the same kind (two years later): Stud.Pal. XX 16.

3 π[.....]σει ed. pr. The οὐσία in question is the Μεσσαλινιανή οὐσία. «Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine
nähere geographische Bestimmung» (Ed. ad ill.11-12).
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

\[\ldots\]\[\ldots\]

VIII A.D.  Stud. Pal. X 72, 1  \(\chi(\omega\rho\iota\nu) \ldots\)

\([\pm 8]\)\(\Gamma\Psi\Pi\ldots\)\[\ldots\]N( )

309 A.D.  P. Hib. II 219,9

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

Assessment of linen-pieces to be produced by the \(\lambda\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\nu\) of Ankyron (II.4, 12), also on account of other villages (including Techtho, I.13).

**\(\Phi\Theta\omicron\Omega\Sigma\)**

I B.C.  BGU XIV 2435,19

**TOPARCHY:** Koites.

*BGU* XIV 2435 is part of a land-survey concerning villages in the Koites, as shown by the entries for Phebichis (I.1) and Talae (I.25).

\([\pm 8]\)\(\chi\varepsilon\omicron\omega\sups{\simeq}\)

309 A.D.  P. Hib. II 219,7

Assessment of linen-pieces to be produced by the \(\lambda\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\nu\) of Ankyron (II.4, 12), also on account of other villages (including Techtho, I.13). [\(\Phi\beta\iota\)]\(\chi\varepsilon\omicron\omega\sups{\simeq}\) seems the most likely supplement here.

\([\ldots]\).\(\chi\omicron\varsigma\)

200 A.D.  P. Oxy. VI 899,23

\[\pi\epsilon\riph\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\mu\iota\eta\nu\ \theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\sigma\vartheta\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\nu\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\omicron\iota\nu\tau\iota\rho\iota\nu\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\chi\ldots\ \ldots\] \(\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\varsigma\) (22-23)

The document refers to land cultivated by the same person \(\pi\epsilon\riph\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\mu\iota\eta\nu\ \theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\sigma\vartheta\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\nu\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\omicron\iota\nu\tau\iota\rho\iota\nu\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\chi\ldots\ \ldots\] \(\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\varsigma\).

---

1 The Editor offers the supplement [O]\(\omicron\), for no apparent reason.
CATALOGUE

[...].Ω

IV/V A.D. P.Rain.Cent. 153,13 ἀπὸ [...].Ω

TOPARCHY: Koites? Méση?

The other villages listed in this document were either in the Koites (Talae, Thmoinesla, Thneis) or in the Méση (Phys, Peenipbykis). Palosis (in the Oxyrhynchite nome, near the border with the Herakleopolites) is also mentioned.
2 Fossil Kleroi

The names of the first Graeco-Macedonian settlers in the Egyptian χώρα stayed as topographical indications in the records of the Graeco-Roman administration, long after their bearers had given up the land they had been granted. I shall refer to these as fossil kleroi. The officials in charge of the survey and re-distribution of land (an on-going process) obviously found it convenient to refer back to the first mapping of the newly conquered land by the Ptolemaic administrators. The final disappearance of fossil kleroi must have coincided with the re-organisation of the χώρα into pagi, at the beginning of the IV A.D. ².

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fossil Kleros</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Α.νευδ()</td>
<td>Talae</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2435,25</td>
<td>I B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αγοθθ().()</td>
<td>Koma toparchy</td>
<td>BGU XVI 2563,6</td>
<td>8/7 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αγοθθοκλέους</td>
<td>Pyrgotos</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2441,98;</td>
<td>I B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>109;122;213;241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αγοθθοκ(λέους)</td>
<td>Techymis</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2443,29</td>
<td>I B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ταψρωκ()</td>
<td></td>
<td>BGU XIV 2447,39</td>
<td>I B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αγοθθονος</td>
<td>Kerkes(ephis)</td>
<td>BGU XIV 4248,45;</td>
<td>I B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αγελάκου (=</td>
<td>Pnebeius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Απικκίου)</td>
<td>Ogou</td>
<td>BGU III 922,8</td>
<td>286 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.Oxy. XLIV 3168,9</td>
<td>late II A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Only fossil kleroi certainly located in the Herakleopolites are included in this list; villages referred to under the heading Location are those mentioned in the source in which the kleros also appears. Cf. also F. ZUCKER, Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnament, Festschrift Oertel, (cited on p.180 n.1), pp.101-106.

² Byzantine documents also refer to χάριτρα: these, however, are usually no fossil kleroi: see the list of Other Kleroi in the Herakleopolite Nome (below, p.289).
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Town</th>
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<td>BGU XIV 2448,59</td>
<td>1 B.C.</td>
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<td>BGU XIV 2443,32</td>
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<td>P.Köln II 98,24</td>
<td>119;135 I B.C.</td>
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<td>70;78;95;100</td>
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<td>P.RyI. II 225,32</td>
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<td>CPR I 115+</td>
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<td>+145,20</td>
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</table>

1. The land assigned to Apollonios and Herak() is split between Pyrgotos (about one aroura in the fossil kleros of Phialatos) and Kollinpetaou (5+ arourae), plus some land in the perimetra of 'Alleoxandrrou (further located by reference to a Dionysioi, possibly the same as in BGU XIV 2440,74).

2. Ποροχώρησες contract: the land being ceded was split between Phys and Thmoinothis (in the fossil kleros of 'Aristomachos).

3. 'Ανδρονίκου () ed.pr.

4. Spelt 'Andronikou in this document.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>BGU XVI 2662,14</td>
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<td>Tosachmis</td>
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<td>P.Hib. II 282,21</td>
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<td>227 A.D.</td>
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<td>Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αρέιου</td>
<td>Pyrgotos</td>
<td>PSI XIII 1325,29</td>
<td>176-180 A.D.</td>
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<td>CPR I 64,15 3</td>
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<td>'Αριστομάχου</td>
<td>Thmoinothis</td>
<td>P.Rain.Cent. 154,10 4</td>
<td>IV/V A.D. 5</td>
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<td>BGU III 929 B 3</td>
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<td>'Αριστονέικου</td>
<td>Techymis</td>
<td>P.Oxy., XLIV 3168,13</td>
<td>late II A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Μενίππου καὶ Αρτεμιδόρου</td>
<td>Toemesis Pselemaichis</td>
<td>P.Oxy. IV 715,24-25</td>
<td>131 A.D.</td>
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<td>'Αρχεπόλεως</td>
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<td>Kerkes(ephis)</td>
<td>BGU XIV 2435,39</td>
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</table>

1 The papyrus reads τοῦ Αμεόω το(ι) 'Απολλωνίου καλ(ήρου).

2 Κοίτη was «a topographical section in which the land was divided, especially for purposes of ἑπίσκεψις» (P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2847, col.II, 18 n.).

3 'Αριστο...[α]...ος ed.pr. This is a παραχώρησις contract, also concerning land near Phys (see above s.v. 'Αμμονος).

4 P. Rain. Cent. 154 records land belonging to Sarapion, son of Serenus, previously ἄρξεως [Ἀν]τ(ι)ν(όου) πόλεως, but presently πρόκτωρ Τοου: one may wonder whether this place should rather be located in the Hermopolites, but the spelling differs from Τοου, which is in fact attested there (see Drew-Bear, Le nome Hermopolite, s.v.). Besides, two of the fossil kleroi out of which Sarapion's land is made up are attested for the Herakleopolites ('Αριστομάχου, 'Αρχέπολεως).

5 This dating seems to be in contrast with the reference to several fossil kleroi, as these were as a rule no longer referred to in documents later than the creation of the papyri.
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

'Asklepiadou ¹

TOU

α KOITI

Baskiou

Balkhrou

Bitonos

Bohrou

Gle[

Δalkiskou

BGU XIV

2449,58,64,87

BGU XIV

2444,5

BGU XIV

2435,29

CPR I 111,4

CPR I 156,2

BGU XVI 2572,4

PSI XIII 1325,28

BGU XIV

2441,11,17

BGU XIV

2442,14

BGU XIV

2443,41,53

BGU XIV

2448,63

BGU XIV

2435,43

BGU XIV

2435,3

BGU IV 1193,7

BGU VIII 1732,5

BGU VIII 1856,2

BGU VIII 1872,19

PSI XIII 1325,31

BGU XIV 2445,20

BGU XIV 2445,14

BGU XVI 2562,7

BGU XIV 2435,24

PSI VIII 897,68

BGU XIV

I B.C.

P.Rain.Cent.

154,4²

IV/V A.D.

I B.C.

I B.C.

II A.D.

III A.D. (first half)

6/5 B.C.

176-180 A.D.

I B.C.

I B.C.

I B.C.

I B.C.

I B.C.

I B.C.

51/50 B.C.

176-180 A.D.

I B.C.

I B.C.

8/7 B.C.

I B.C.

93 A.D.

¹ A fossil kleros 'Asklepiadou is also attested in the neighbouring Polemon division of the Arsinoites: P.Mil.Vogl. II 87,9; 88,9 (150/151 A.D.).

² See above, p.275 n.4.
| Δωρίδεως | Peensemtheus | BGU XIV 2444,14;77;98;101 | I B.C. |
| Δωρίνος | Tekmi | BGU XIV 2445,28 | I B.C. |
| Ε[ | Pyrgotos | CPR I 90,12 (cf. BL 1,452) | III A.D. |
| 'Εμπεδοκλέους | Pyrgotos | BGU XIV 2441,108 | I B.C. |
| Επιαραλ. | Koma | BGU XIV 2441,105;114;120;236;243;250 | I B.C. |
| Επιφανίου | Toou | BGU XVI 2569,2 | 3 B.C. |
| Επιχάρο(νς) | Techymis | BGU XVI 2560,10 | 8/7 B.C. |
| Ερμώνακτος | Των 1 (ζ κοίτη) | P.Oxy. XLIV 3168,37 | 3168,37 |
| Ερμώνος | Tilothis | P.Rain.Cent. 154,7 | IV/V A.D. |
| Ευ... | "Αγημα | BGU VIII 1796,8 | I B.C. |
| Ευάνδρου | Kekis | SB V 7611,13;15 (cf. BL 7,195) | 50/49 B.C. |
| Ευβίου | Techymis | BGU XIV 2439,22 | I B.C. |
| Ευδόξου | Peenepocha | P.Oxy. XLIV 3168,9 | late II A.D. |
| Ευμήλου | Sobthis/Heracleopolis | BGU XIV 2440,122 | I B.C. |
| | Sobthis/Heracleopolis | BGU XIV 2376,19;39 | I B.C. |
| | Pyrgotos | BGU XIV 2377,45 | I B.C. |
| | Σου | BGU XIV 2441,83 | I B.C. |
| | BGU XIV 2444,13;17,64;113 | I B.C. |
| | BGU XIV 2445,30 | I B.C. |

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1 See above, p.275 n.4.
2 See above, p.275 n.4.
### THE HERAKLEOPOLITE NOME

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<th>Date</th>
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<td>Εὐτίμου</td>
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<td>Εὐφρονος</td>
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<td>Machor</td>
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<td>Ζωίλου καὶ Νουμινίου</td>
<td>Ἰβιέων Πάχνουβίς</td>
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<td>131 A.D.</td>
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<td>Ἡγησιδήμου</td>
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<td>Techtheo</td>
<td>BGU XVI 2662,13</td>
<td>about 7-4 B.C.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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1. This Strasbourg papyrus from cartonnage may well originate from the Herakleopolites (see Introduction, p.14): no certainly Herakleopolite place-name recurs in this document, but a kleros Ἐνιστρατίου (as in I.3; see s.v.) is attested in the Herakleopolite nome.

2. See preceding note.

3. | زوبل(ου) | ed.pr.

4. See above, p.275 n.4.

5. See above, p.275 n.4.

6. See above, p.275 n.4.
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<td>Taemmis, Tanaso, Taboklis, &quot;Αγημα&quot;</td>
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</table>

^1 «Die Erg. Ήρακλέους paßt zum Raume besser als Ήρακλείδου», Edd. ad loc.: Ήρακλείδου would fit the space equally well.

^2 «...payment of the tax upon the mortgage ... of catecic land near Psobthis ... and of other land near Σινοχ in the κλήροι of Herakles and Callistratus...»: there is little doubt that Σινοχ, not Σινοχ, is to be read here.

^3 Other kl eroi are mentioned, all of them in the Northern toparchy of the Oxyrynchite nome.

^4 Some arourae located within the limits of this fossil kl eroi are «put down» to a certain Epiphanius: ὑποτεθεμένος Ἐπιφανίου.

^5 Ἰππονίκου τοῦ Πρωτεστάτη τοῦ Πρωτεστάτου ἔπης κλήρον (l.16).
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1 Other papyri from the same cartonnage point to a Herakleopolite origin (see Introduction, p.18).
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1 See above, p.278 n.1.

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1 «La lecture Περικλέους (plus rare) l'emporte sur Περιγένου» (Ed. ad loc.).
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¹ See above, p.281 n.1.
² A kleros Φιλωνος is attested in P. Köln IV 194,14, too (I A.D.; provenance unknown), and in the Oxyrhynchites (see PRUNETI, «I KΛΗΠΟΙ del nomo Ossirinchite», pp.204-205).
³ There is a reference to a Φιλωτου προσώρηγον, located at Tilothis, in BGU VIII 1734,8 (I B.C.).
⁴ See above, p.278 n.1.
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3 C.
3 Other Kleroi

I list here those toponyms that are referred to as κλήροι in the sources of the Roman and Byzantine periods (full reference to the relevant sources is found in the Catalogue, under the appropriate entries). These were different from the fossil kleroi (see Appendix 1) which disappeared from all records at the time of the institution of the pagi. In one case, the denomination τόπος is employed for what is elsewhere called a κλήρος (see s.v. Ψάννε); in another case, what may be the same toponym (Νανησινευ/Νεμησινευ) is once identified as an ἐδαφος (Stud.Pal. XX 117) and another time as a κλήρος (P.Rain.Cent. 113); finally, a κλήρος Ἄθωρ is mentioned in P.Heid. III 246,13: this was presumably connected with the homonymous ὅρος, μονή, or χωρίον (see Catalogue, s.v. Φαθωρ). Κασάνουπος(ις), though attested in four different documents, is only once termed a κλήρος. I also include the Μεσοσαλιννατική (ούσια), and the toponym Ακεις, designating a μηχανή, i.e. a plot of land inclusive of an irrigation machine.

Ακακινητή  Πιονεκιμ
Ακεις  Πολιτι(ε)
'Ακώτον  Τακριον
Διδιμανοῦ  Τατμαμ
Ιερκινκ[  Ταταμαμε[ο
Καννού  Ταταμιμπητ
Κασαννονατις  Τατταμαρη
Κλεονος  Τη("
Κομι[  Τσιουνσισει
Λόλιανον  Τσαβία
Μάρωνος  Τσοβάτατοου
Μεσσαλιναστική (ούσια)  Τση[ο
Μικροουάλια  Φαες
Νανησινευ  Φαμίτουνσεου
Νεμη boon Ψάννε
Νεμησινευ  Ψαντι
Νεσσανανού  Ι[=4]ιτη
Νεακ[  =4]οτα
Παλατς[  .πει'α'
Πινεκαμου
1 Villages arranged by Toparchy

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ΑΓΚΥΡΩΝ πόλις/κόμη
THE HERAKLEOPOLITE Nome

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<td>P.Strasb. VI 563</td>
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| CPR I 62 | | CPR I 88 | 218-222 A.D. | III A.D. (first half) |
| CPR I 64 | | CPR I 90 | 227 A.D. | III A.D. (first half) |
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**ΑΜΕΝΤΑ (fossil klers)**
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ΞΕΩΣ
ΦΕΘΕΙΣΤΕΣ
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**ΚΟΜΑ**
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| SB XX 15072,2 | ΣΩΓΥΧ(Σ) | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| SB XX 15072,4 | ΠΙΘΟΣ | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| SB XX 15072,5 | ΠΙΘΟΣ | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| SB XX 15072,7 | ΔΑΦΝΗ | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| SB XX 15092,5,8 | ΜΟΤΣΙΜΠΙΑΡΟΥ (?) | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| SB XX 15130,2 | ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΣ | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI I 52,38 | ΠΑΝΑ ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI I 52,38 | ΠΑΝΑ ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI III 183,1 | ΚΟΒΑ | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI III 184,4 | ΒΟΓΙΩΡΙ | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI III 222,7 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI III 222,9 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI III 222,9-10 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI V 510,2 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI V 510,4;11 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI VI 587,4 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI VI 928,12 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI VIII 897,66-66 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI VIII 897,68 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI VIII 962,25 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI VIII 967,19 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI IX 1037,9 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XIII 1292,8 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XIII 1325,8 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XIII 1325,8,22 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XIII 1325,14,50 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| PSI XIII 1332,10-11 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XV extr. 1546,5,14 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XV extr. 1546,8,30 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| PSI XV extr. 1546,36 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| * P.Strab. II 99,3 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| P.Strab. II 103,5;15,26 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| P.Strab. II 104,8 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| * P.Strab. II 111,23 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| P.Strab. II 113,10 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| P.Strab. V 318,13 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| P.Strab. V 356,3 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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| P.Strab. VII 642,5 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| P.Strab. VII 643,2 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
| P.Strab. VII 662,20 | ΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ | ΦΩΣ | ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΤΟ | ΞΩΜΟΙΝΘΕΣ |
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