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## A NOTE ON THE PTOLEMAIC ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων\*

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The highly bureaucratic administration of Ptolemaic Egypt has been a fruitful source for a vast amount of modern scholarly research. Even single officeholders, not to mention offices, have been studied in various articles<sup>1</sup> and monographs.<sup>2</sup> J. Frösén has studied the role of the ἐπίπλοοι in connection with the transport of grain in an earlier volume of this journal,<sup>3</sup>

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The information on the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is collected in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (=PPT), vol. I, *L'administration civile et financière* (Studia Hellenistica 6), Lovanii 1950, vol. VIII, *Addenda et corrigenda aux volumes I et II* (Studia Hellenistica 21), Lovanii 1975, now also available at <http://prospptol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index.html>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., M. R. Falivene, "Government, Management, Literacy. Aspects of Ptolemaic Administration in the Early Hellenistic Period", *Anc. Soc.* 22 (1991) 203–227, L. Mooren, "On the Jurisdiction of the Nome Strategoi in Ptolemaic Egypt", *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III, Napoli 1984, 1217–1225, J. D. Thomas, "Aspects of the Ptolemaic Civil Service: The Dioiketes and the Nomarch", *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 17.-19. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz 1978, 187–194, just to mention a few of the articles that will be referred to in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* III (Münch. Beitr. 36), München 1952, J. F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (BASP Suppl. 8), Atlanta 1995, S. Strassi, *Le funzioni degli ὑπηρέται nell'Egitto greco e romano* (Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 3), Heidelberg 1997, J. D. Thomas, *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt 1: The Ptolemaic epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. 6), Köln 1975, A. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120–110 B.C.)* (Pap. Lugd.Bat. 29), Leiden – New York – Köln 1998.

<sup>3</sup> J. Frösén, "Le transport du blé et le rôle des ἐπίπλοοι", *Arctos* 12 (1978) 5–17.

and my aim is to comment briefly on the role of the official called ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in Ptolemaic Egypt.

It is easily detectable from the title (ὁ) ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, '(the one) in charge of the revenues', that the duties of this officeholder were mainly concerned with state income in general. The responsibilities included the income from the royal land and its arrears, tax collection, and state monopolies, as well as supervising distribution of both money and grain from the state to the soldiers as salary. All these duties are very similar to those of an *epimeletes*, whose role has recently been studied by B. McGing.<sup>4</sup> McGing has noted that "towards the end of the 2nd century BC the *epimeletes* disappears from the scene, his importance having diminished from about the mid part of the century, as the role of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων expanded."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, M. R. Falivene writes that "in the case of the οἰκονόμος, this official appears to have been superseded by the στρατηγός in his newly acquired capacity of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, F. Preisigke suggested almost a century ago that in the first half of the first century BC, the nome ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων equalled the νομάρχης.<sup>7</sup> All these observations suggest that the function of the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is far from clear. There seems to be a consensus about the fact that the person acting as ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was usually the nome *strategos* and this is also easily detectable from the surviving papyrological evidence. But was the office of an ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων ever considered to be an independent one among the highest officials at the nome level of the administration?

H. Bengtson<sup>8</sup> has suggested that the first officials called ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are Protarkhos and Ptolemaios who were both called ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα in the 180s BC (*BGU* III 992, 2-3, and *P.Haun.* I 11, 5). ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is also restored in *P.Lond.* II 227, 5-6 as the title of Ptolemaios who was possibly the nome *strategos* of the Pathyrites before 169/168 BC. All these three officials worked in Upper Egypt where the special status of the Thebaid is commonly acknowledged and the restoration of *P.Lond.* II 227 is, to my mind, quite uncertain. Thus, it seems that the first

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<sup>4</sup> "Illegal salt in the Lycopolite nome. Appendix: The Ptolemaic Epimeletes", *APF* 48/1 (2002) 51–64.

<sup>5</sup> Note 4 above, 52.

<sup>6</sup> Falivene (see note 1 above), 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, Strasßburg 1914, 47–50.

<sup>8</sup> Bengtson (see note 2 above), 47 note 2, 99.

certain occurrence of the wording ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is in *P.Tebt.* III.2 959, 2 (140 BC) where a person called Phanias is said to be the στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.<sup>9</sup> The same Phanias (with an honorific title τῶν πρώτων φίλων) occurs in *P.Tebt.* III.1 785, 2, 786, 2, possibly in 787, [1], and *P.Duke inv.* 716.<sup>10</sup> These documents, dated to 138 BC in the *editio princeps*, are petitions addressed to him as *strategos*, who is also the one in charge of the revenues, from cultivators of the crown land.<sup>11</sup> Phanias worked in the Arsinoite nome, and his land holdings are still referred to in reports on the crops of Kerkeosiris some 25 years later (*P.Tebt.* I 61b, 47, 118-117 BC, and *P.Tebt.* I 72d, 360, 114-113 BC).

Phanias was succeeded by Apollonios,<sup>12</sup> who is mentioned as a shipowner with the title στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in *P.Tebt.* III.1 802, 7 (135 BC). Since Apollonios, too, was a *strategos*, it is likely that he is the addressee of a petition by the priests of the temple at Socnopaiou Nesos in 132 BC (*P.Amh.* II 35, 2). In the 130s, the combination στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is further attested in the Herakleopolite nome in a mutilated declaration on oath addressed to the *strategos* Polemarkhos (*P.Tebt.* III.1 810, 13, 134 BC).

In the 120s, ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is found only in *P.Tebt.* III.1 700, 67 (124 BC) and in an inscription from Philae (see the first Hermias in the table). *P.Tebt.* III.1 700, 67 attests a person called Eubios as πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ and the one in charge of the revenues. The fragmentary locus gives little idea of the duties of Eubios or the reason for him being mentioned there, but the two occurrences of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων confirm that this function was still connected to the function of the office of the *strategos* in the 120s. According to L. Mooren,<sup>13</sup> Eubios was an assistant *strategos*

<sup>9</sup> Apollonios (or Apollodoros) mentioned in *P.Ryl.* II 253, 2, would, if in fact the supplement ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is correct, be some three years earlier. The document is dated to 143/2 BC and assigned to the Hermoupolite nome. H. Henne has, however, suggested that the title of the person is ἐξηγητής (see *BL* III 161).

<sup>10</sup> Judging by the date (about 139 BC) and the region, that is the meris of Polemon in Arsinoites, *P.Tebt.* III.2 828 might also have been addressed to the same Phanias.

<sup>11</sup> About the possibility that *P.Tebt.* III.1 786 and III.2 959 could both date to 140 BC, see J. D. Sosin, "Abduction at the Threshing Floor: P.Duk.inv. 714–716", *ZPE* 127 (1999) 132.

<sup>12</sup> See also Sosin (note 11), 134 who speculates that the same Apollonios would have worked in the office of Phanias as a deputy-*strategos* in the early-130s.

<sup>13</sup> Mooren (see note 1 above), 1220.

and this interpretation is now supported by Sosin's overview of the occurrences of the title πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ in *ZPE* 127 (1999), 134 (see note 11 above). If an assistant *strategos* was appointed to the office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, this might well indicate that the duties of the *strategos* were becoming too much of a burden for one person only. Actually, it seems to me that the office of 'the one in charge of the revenues' gained an independent status in the administration at the beginning of the 110s at the latest.

*P.Tebt.* I 5 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53), dated to 118 BC, contains a series of decrees issued by Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II and the two Kleopatras, the 'sister' and the 'wife'. In one of the decrees which is preserved in the fourth column of the papyrus, the wording concerning the checking of the measures is: [π]ροσ τετάχασι [[καὶ]] τοὺς στ[ρ]α(τηγούς) καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προ(σόδων) καὶ τοὺς βα(σιλικούς) γραμματεῖς τὰς στήθμας τῶν μ[έ]τρων | [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ποεῖσθαι... (l. 88-89). This passage is commonly understood to refer to the *strategoī* and to 'those in charge of the revenues' as different persons from one another. In fact, I believe that this ordinance is the earliest surviving document referring to an independent office of 'the one in charge of the revenues' and that the persons acting as ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων were ranked – just like the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus* – among the highest officials in the nome. It is interesting to note that in 117 BC in Thebes the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was assigned not to the *strategos* but to another high official in the area. In *UPZ* II 162, Herakleides is the ἐπιστάτης τοῦ Περί Θήβας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ νομοῦ whereas Hermias is said to be συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ νομάρχης.

Between 117 and 113 BC, the only references to ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are preserved in *P.Tebt.* I 61, 64 and 72. All these documents are reports on the crops of Kerkeosiris, and they include several references to the cultivated land in the past. Thus, even though landholdings of Phantias, στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, are mentioned, it is clear that the situation referred to was in regnal years 30-34, that is the actual period when Phantias was the officeholder in Arsinoites, as mentioned above. *P.Tebt.* I 72, 25-26 is somewhat problematic because the land in question is said to be rented to three persons, Phaies, Marres, and Horos, by a διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὰς προσόδους in year 4 (114-113 BC). One speculative explanation for the vague reference to the revenues in



connection with the duties of the *strategos* may be that the person is said to be διεξάγων which, according to A. Verhoogt,<sup>14</sup> means a person under probation. Even though the office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων would have been considered separate from that of the *strategos*, the *strategos* had to be aware of (and learn about) state income in general.

It seems to me that a strong argument in favor of the office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων as an independent administrative unit can be found in the references to those working for 'the one in charge of the revenues', that is to οἱ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in *P.Tebt.* I 64b, 17 and 72c, 263.<sup>15</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that in *P.Tebt.* I 27 (113 BC) we meet Asklepiades (see also *P.Tebt.* III.1 792) and Hermias who are "only" ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in the Arsinoite nome. Whether the one was subordinate to the other (as suggested by Preisigke<sup>16</sup>) cannot be answered here. What can be said is that, besides Arsinoites, we meet those in charge of the revenues as independent officeholders both in Upper Egypt and in Memphis about the same period. ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is the title of Hermias in Pathyrites in 112 BC (*P.Amh.* II 31, 2). Furthermore, Ptolemaios X Alexander's circular concerning the Serapeum was addressed to the nome officials in Memphis in 99 BC (*UPZ* I 106-107 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 62-63). In this circular, the *strategos* and the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are listed as two different persons just like in the ordinance of Euergetes II issued some twenty years earlier.

Shortly after the turn of the first century (95 BC), we again meet the combination στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in the title of Lysanias in Arsinoites. In the 80s in Herakleopolites, however, it seems that Sarapion was "only" ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων whereas Theris was acting as the *strategos*. The honorific title of Sarapion is τῶν πρώτων φίλων (*BGU* XVIII.1 2747, 23), and Theris has the higher status of a συγγενής.<sup>17</sup> The circumstances in Herakleopolites might have been somewhat exceptional in the 80s, but soon after the succession of Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos, the function of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was also systematically united with the office of the *strategos* in the Herakleopolite nome.

<sup>14</sup> Verhoogt (see note 2 above), 32 note 57.

<sup>15</sup> A person working in the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is also attested in the Ombite nome in 65 BC, that is Poroues or Portes in *O.Joach.* 13 (=SB III 6924), 5-7.

<sup>16</sup> *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, Straßburg 1914, 46. Cf., however, P. Handrock, *Dienstliche Weisungen in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, Diss. Köln 1967, 38.

<sup>17</sup> See further *BGU* XVIII.1 24-28, and *P. Berl. Salmen.*, 62-64.

From the beginning of the 70s BC onwards, our surviving evidence comes mainly from the Herakleopolite and the Ombite nomes (see Table). In Ombites between 78 and 65 BC, Pelaias is said to be συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ νομάρχης (*O.Joach.* 2, and 5) whereas Hermias, son of Kallias, holds the titles οἰκονόμος (*O.Joach.* 1, 5, and 7), ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Ὀμβίτου (*O.Joach.* 10), and βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (*O.Joach.* 2, and 4) in addition to his sacral role of πορθότης (a priestly office, 'the great one of Thoth'). The situation becomes more complicated when the same persons are mentioned in the 50s, Pelaias as συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων and Hermias as ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ (*O.Joach.* 18). In the *editio princeps* (p. 45), Preisigke suggested that Hermias was an official of the toparchy and Peremans and Van't Dack have suggested that Hermias was a *collega minor* of Pelaias working at the nome level of the administration.<sup>18</sup> It seems to me that the division of labour between these two officials can be detected in their different roles in the controlling system as the one is said to be the *strategos* and nomarch and the other the *oikonomos*.

It is interesting to note that as the function of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was combined with the person acting as *strategos* in the Herakleopolite nome, another official was introduced to the administrative personnel, namely the ὑποστράτηγος. Besides the Herakleopolite archives of the first century BC, ὑποστράτηγοι are attested, as far as I know, only in Memphis (*UPZ* I 124, 34, 175 or 165 or 118 BC) and in Thebes (*UPZ* II 215, 10, 130 BC) in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>19</sup> Both Memphis and Thebes, however, seem to have a more sophisticated administrative apparatus than the rest of the *chora* for obvious traditional reasons.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer all the questions connected with the division of labour or the well-defined reciprocal control system of various officials such as the οἰκονόμος or νομάρχης and the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in this context. It is, however, important to bear in mind that sometimes the overlapping functions of various officials is only apparent, as

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<sup>18</sup> W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, *Prosopographica* (Stud. Hell. 9), Louvain-Leiden 1953, 105–107.

<sup>19</sup> In the Roman period, a ὑποστράτηγος is only attested in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2340, 5 which is an Alexandrian document from AD 192. Two other documents, dated to the Augustan period in the *ed.pr.* mention a *hypostrategos*, *BGU* IV 1060 and 1061. The dating of these two documents, however, should perhaps be reconsidered.



Falivene has noted.<sup>20</sup> Thus, I am convinced that the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, as well as the other officials involved with the control of the state income, have had specific duties of their own even though their function sometimes evades our interpretation.

To conclude, it seems to me that the title ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was first introduced to further define the duties of the *strategos* who was referred to as στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων during ca. 140-118 BC. At about the same time, the *epimeletes* disappears from the administrative scene of the Egyptian *chora*. The duties of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων were then separated from those of the *strategos*, and other officials, too, may have taken over the overseeing of the revenues as is the case in *UPZ II*, 162 (117 BC) in Thebes. By 113 BC, an independent office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων had been introduced, and this officeholder had a staff of his own (οἱ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων). The duties of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων were again united with the office of the nome *strategos* in the 90s in Arsinoites, and the same phenomenon is attested elsewhere from the beginning of the 70s and onwards. In the Herakleopolite nome, from which the bulk of the material of the first century BC survives, another official, that is the ὑποστράτηγος, was introduced at the same time.

### List of persons holding the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων

| NAME       | DOCUMENT   | DATE           | REGION     | TITLE                                | PP# NUMBER                                | NOTES   |
|------------|--|----------------|------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Protarkhos | <i>BGU III</i> 992, 2-3 (=SB I 4512, [2-3]); <i>SB VI</i> 9367 <i>passim</i> | 187/6          | Thebaid    | ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα             | 995 = 911 (that is <i>hypodioiketes</i> ) | Protarkhos is also a <i>hypodioiketes</i> .       |
| Ptolemaios | <i>P.Haun.</i> I 11, 5 (=SB VI 9424)   | 183/2          | Thebaid    | ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα             | 997 = 913                                 | Ptolemaios, too, is also a <i>hypodioiketes</i> . |
| Ptolemaios | <i>P.Lond.</i> II 227, 5-6   | Before 169/168 | Pathyrites | στ[ρα]τηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων (?) | 996 = 313                                 |   |

<sup>20</sup> Falivene (note 1 above), 221: "The overlap with the nomarch's functions is more apparent than real here, as executive power (ἄρχειν) is to be distinguished from managerial power (οἰκονόμος)."

|                        |   |                      |                                    |   |  |  |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Sarapion               | <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.2 924, 1-[2]  | 144                  | Arsinoites                         | στρα(τηγός) και ἐπι[                                    | 998 = 327 = Mooren 069 (L. Mooren, <i>The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography</i> , Brussel 1975). | This Sarapion is not the same person as the one mentioned in <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1, 743, see Mooren, <i>La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque</i> , <i>Stud. Hell.</i> 23, Lovanii 1977, 216-217 and Sosin (note 11 above), 135. |
| Phanias                | <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 785, 2, 786, 2, and possibly in 787, [1], <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.2 959, 2; <i>PSI</i> XIII 1310, 1&9; <i>P. Duke</i> inv. 716, 1-2 | 140-135<br>(118-114) | Arsinoites                         | τῶν πρώτων φίλων, στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων        | 1001 = 340 = Mooren 071  | Phanias is also mentioned in <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 61b and <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 72 some twenty years later. Interestingly, he is said to have been νομορχήσας in year 34 ( <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 72, 205).                              |
| Apollonios             | <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 802, 7<br><i>P. Amh.</i> II 35, 2   | 135-132              | Arsinoites                         | τῶν πρώτων φίλων, στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων        | 973 = 222 = Mooren 072   |  |
| Polemarchos            | <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 810, 13   | 134                  | Herakleopolites                    | στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων                          | 993 = 307 = Mooren 098   |  |
| Eubios                 | <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 700, 67   | 124                  | Arsinoites                         | πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίαι και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων                 | 981 = 255  | Identified with Eubios, ἐπιμελητής in 118/7 (= <i>PPt</i> 941, see vol. VIII).   |
| Hermias, son of Platon | A. Bernard, <i>Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I</i> , Paris 1969, doc. 64, 8 (= <i>SB</i> III 6116) + <i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1483 + 1663              | 125-118 (?)          | Thebaid                            | τῶν πρώτων φίλων και στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων     | Mooren add.  | The dating '125-116' can be refined to '125-before 118' if the ordinance of Euergetes II marks the independence of the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.   |
| Eirenaios              | <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 72, 243   | Before 114-113       | Arsinoites                         | ὅποτε ἦν στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων                 | 977 = 250 = Mooren 079Bb   |  |
| Herakleides            | <i>P. Tor. Choach.</i> 12 (= <i>UPZ</i> II 162)   | 117                  | Peri Thebas                        | ἐπιστάτης τοῦ Περι Θήβας και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ νομοῦ | 984 = 380 = Mooren 0142  |  |
| Asklepiades            | <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 27, 99, 254; <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 792  | 113                  | Arsinoites, perhaps a single meris | τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων        | 975 = Mooren 0188A   |  |

|                            |   |                 |  |   |                                  |  |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|--|---|----------------------------------|--|
| Hermias                    | <i>P.Tebt.</i> 127, 18  | 113             | Arsinoites,<br>perhaps a single<br>meris | ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων   | 978                              |  |
| Hermias                    | <i>P.Amh.</i> 31, 2;<br><i>MDAIK</i><br>21(1966) 143-<br>144, no 3  | 112-110         | Pathyrites                               | ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων   | 979                              |  |
| Lysanias                   | <i>SB V</i> 8888, 3-6;<br><i>SEG VIII</i> 466,<br>38-39; <i>SB III</i><br>6152, 26-27                                       | 95-93           | Arsinoites                               | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 986 = 277 =<br>Mooren 082A       |  |
| Sarapion                   | <i>BGU XVIII.1</i> &<br><i>P.Berl.Salmen.</i><br><i>passim</i>  | 88-85           | Herakleopolites                          | τῶν πρώτων<br>φύλων, ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | Mooren add.                      | Theris (= Mooren 0100) as<br>συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς at the<br>same time.  |
| Andromakhos                | <i>SB V</i> 8754-56;<br><i>BGU IV</i> 1187;<br><i>BGU XVIII.1</i> ,<br>2753-57;<br><i>P.Berl.Salmen.</i><br>17-20           | 78-77           | Herakleopolites                          | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | = 211 = Mooren<br>099            |  |
| Hermias, son of<br>Kallias | <i>O.Joach. passim</i> ,<br>(= <i>SB III</i> 6027-<br>34 & 6920-33)   | 78-65<br>54     | Ombites                                  | οἰκονόμος, ἐπὶ<br>τῶν προσόδων,<br>βασιλικὸς<br>γραμματεὺς<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων καὶ<br>βασιλικῶν<br>γραμματέων<br>καὶ χειρισμοῦ | 980 = 443 =<br>1069              | Cf. Pelaias  |
| Pelaias                    | <i>O.Joach. passim</i>  | 54              | Ombites                                  | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 991 = 303 = 403<br>= Mooren 0148 | Attested as<br>συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>νομάρχης in 78-<br>65.   |
| Dionysios                  | <i>BGU VIII</i> 1741-<br>45, 1747-54,<br>1767   | 63              | Herakleopolites                          | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 976 = 245 =<br>Mooren 0101       | About the<br>succession of the<br>Herakleopolite<br><i>strategoī</i> and the<br>political situation<br>in the country,<br>see L. Criscuolo,<br>"Guerre civili e<br>amministrazione<br>tolemaica. Il caso<br>degli <i>strateghi</i><br>dell'<br>Herakleopolites",<br><i>Anc. Soc.</i> 22<br>(1991) 229-234.<br>N.B., however,<br>that<br>Andromakhos<br>was in office in<br>the early 70s BC. |
| Heliodoros                 | <i>BGU VIII</i> 1730,<br>1772, 1782,<br>1788, 1825,<br>1880, see further<br>Mooren 0102                                     | 61/60<br>53/2   | Herakleopolites                          | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 983 = 258 =<br>Mooren 0102       |  |
| Paniskos                   | <i>BGU VIII</i> 1755-<br>57, 1781, 1813-<br>18, 1820-24, see<br>further Mooren<br>0103                                      | 60-55           | Herakleopolites                          | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 989 = 295 =<br>Mooren 0103       |  |
| Seleukos                   | <i>BGU VIII</i> 1761,<br>1810, 1826-28,<br>1831-33, 1847  | 15.2.51-16.3.50 | Herakleopolites                          | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 999 = 330 =<br>Mooren 0104       |  |
| Soteles                    | <i>BGU VIII</i> 1759-<br>60, 1794, 1834-<br>37, 1842-46; <i>SB</i><br><i>V</i> 7611 (= <i>BGU</i><br><i>VIII</i> 1794 A-B), | 27.5.50-49      | Herakleopolites                          | συγγενῆς καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων  | 1000 = 334 =<br>Mooren 0105      |  |

|              |   |                      |                 |  |                             |  |
|--------------|---|----------------------|-----------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| Eurylochos   | BGU VIII<br>1769?, 1848-50,<br>1852; SB V<br>7609 | 47                   | Herakleopolites | συγγενής καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων       | 982= 256 =<br>Mooren 0106   |  |
| Aristomachos | BGU VIII 1783                                     | Between 80 and<br>30 | Herakleopolites | Σ[υγγενής] καὶ<br>στρατ(ηγός) καὶ<br>[ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων] | 974 = 229 =<br>Mooren 0108  |  |
| Kallimakhos  | SB V 8334, 3-4;<br>SEG XXIV<br>1217, 3-4          | Between 44 and<br>39 | Peri Thebas     | Συγγενής [καὶ<br>στρατηγὸς καὶ<br>ἐπὶ τῶν<br>προσόδων      | 985 = 267a =<br>Mooren 0143 |  |

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