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LIST OF τελῶναι AND ἐπιτηρηταί OF THE TEMPLE GRANARY AT THEBES

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## List of **τελώναι** and **ἐπιτηρηταί** of the Temple Granary at Thebes

Tax farmers (**τελώναι**) and supervisors (**ἐπιτηρηταί**) are known to have collected **βαλανευτικόν** and **τέλος ταφῆς** at the **θησαυρὸς ἱερῶν** in Thebes from the reign of Galba through that of Commodus.<sup>1</sup> The following lists may be useful to editors and other persons studying Theban ostraca of the period. It will be noted that in general **τελώναι** and **ἐπιτηρηταί** do not appear in texts of the same year,<sup>2</sup> though there are a few persons who may have held first one post and then the other.<sup>3</sup>

A name given without comment in the lists has in the original the form NN καὶ μέτοχοι **τελώναι** (or **ἐπιτηρηταί**) **θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν**, generally abbreviated in some way. The omission of **ἱερῶν** after **θησαυροῦ** has been indicated with an asterisk. It seems to have no particular significance, as the same collector can be referred to in both ways in the same year; see for example the various entries for **Πετεχεσποχράτης**. I assume that as a rule the collectors served in the regnal year for which the tax was paid; a few texts in which the tax was paid after it was due are marked with +. Many **ἐπιτηρηταί** and one **τελώνης** (Herieus in 138-139 A. D.) were defined as officials of the “tax” rather than simply of the “granary”. These are entered as **τελώνης** or **ἐπιτηρητῆς τέλους** in the lists. Receipts are occasionally signed: when the name of the signatory is the same as that of the tax collector, I assume that the same person is meant. Since the signatories never bear any other title, such as **γραμματεὺς** or **βοηθός**, there is some chance that they are always members of the collection board and should themselves be counted as **τελώναι** or **ἐπιτηρηταί**. To take account of this possibility, signatories appear in the Index of Names both as signatories and as officials, but in the last case with a question mark.

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<sup>1</sup> **Βαλανευτικόν** was collected before this, but the officials who collected it are not called **τελώναι** or **ἐπιτηρηταί** **θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν**. The changeover (whether substantive or only in form of the receipts) appears to have occurred between 24 October AD 61 (O. Tait II 670) and 23 August (O. Tait II 671).

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions are known in AD 90-91, 112-113, 132-133, 137-138 and 139-140.

<sup>3</sup> The following names were borne by both **τελώναι** and **ἐπιτηρηταί**: **Ἀπελλᾶς** **τελ.** 176-177, **ἐπιτ.** 159-160, 161-162; **Ἐπικράτης** **τελ.** 111-112 (and 128-129?), **ἐπιτ.** 131-132, 136-137; **Παμώνθης** **τελ.** 123-124, 126-127(?), 127-129, 132-133, 139-140, 143-144, **ἐπιτ.** 136-137 (the **ἐπιτηρητῆς** of 190-191 will almost surely have been a different person); **Πανίσκος** **τελ.** 141-142, 144-145, **ἐπιτ.** 172-173; **Φομῖνις** **τελ.** 101-102, **ἐπιτ.** 132-133, 134-135; **ᾠρος** **τελ.** 142-143, **ἐπιτ.** 163-164. In no case is an identification of two office-holders assured.

### Τελώναι

Year	Reign	Name, Source, Other remarks
68	Galba 1	Χαταβοῦς O. Tait 671 = SB I 1088
69	Vitellius 1	Χαταβοῦς O. Tait 672
73-74	Vespasian 6	Ἄπολλῶς WO 775
75-76	Vespasian 8	a) Θέων O. Tait 684. The text does not name the reign, but because of the known dates of the taxpayer Vespasian is much the most likely. Nero 8 predates the earliest known τελώνης θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν, in Domitian 8 ἐπιτηρηταί are expected, anything thereafter is plainly too late. b) Παίων O. Tait 673
77-78	Vespasian 10	Θέων O. Thebes 44
79-80	Titus 2	a) Ἄπολλῶς O. Thebes 46. b) Παίων O. Tait 674.
80-81	Titus 3	Θέων O. Tait 675 <sup>+</sup>
82-83	Domitian 2	a) Θέων O. Tait 683 (?). Editor rightly cautious about reign, which is not named in text. b) Πεκῦσις (?) O. ROM II 87. Πεκῦσις καὶ μέ(τοχοι) τελώναι β (ἔτους) collect 4 dr. ὑπ(ἐρ) βαλανίου. Probably not τελώνης θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν.
88-89	Domitian 8	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
89-90	Domitian 9	Παίων Παίου WO 782. No partners mentioned, signed Ἐσο(υήρις?).
90-91	Domitian 10	Παίων Παίου WO 784. 5. No partners mentioned. See also list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
91-92	Domitian 11	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
92-93	Domitian 12	Ἄπίων O. Tait 679.
93-94	Domitian 13	Πετεχεσποχράτης WO 785, O. Tait 680. This man or a homonym was in office for many years and the name is always abbreviated, but the expansion can hardly be doubted.
94-95	Domitian 14	Ἄπίων WO 786.
95-96	Domitian 15	Ἄπίων WO 1415.
97	Nerva 1	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
98-99	Trajan 1	Ἄπίων WO 789, O. Tait 681 <sup>+</sup> , restored in O. ROM I 13.
	Trajan 2	Πετεχῶνσις O. Leid. 82*.
99-100	Trajan 3	a) Ἀρχίας (?). O. Str. 478 has the muddled Ἀρχίας καὶ μ(έτο)χ(οι) θησ(αυροῦ). b) Εἰρηνίων O. Leid. 88. c) Ἐπώνυχος O. Tait 682.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Reign</u>	<u>Name, Source, Other remarks</u>
(99-100	Trajan 3)	d) Ψενχῶνσις WO 1417, O. Cair. GPW 46, perhaps O. ROM II 95.
100-101	Trajan 4	Εἰρηνίων O. Tait 686.
101-102	Trajan 5	a) Γάιος WO 795. Possibly grandfather of the Gaius of Pius 10. b) Φαμῖνις WO 796, 797; O. Wilb. 44. c) Ψενμῶνθης O. Tait 687.
103-104	Trajan 7	Διοσκουρίδης WO 798 <sup>+</sup> .
104-105	Trajan 8	a) Εἰρηνίων O. Leid. 386*. b) Ἴηρακλῆς O. Tait 688*.
105-106	Trajan 9	Νεμώνιος O. Tait 689.
107-108	Trajan 11	Διοσκουρίδης O. Tait 690*.
111-112	Trajan 15	Ἐπικράτης O. Cair. GPW 47, Ashm. GO 129 ined.
112-113	Trajan 16	Ψενχῶνσις O. Leid. 91. Type of τελώνης is not specified, but the payment is for βαλ(ανευτικόν). See also list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
113-114	Trajan 17	Πετεχespoχράτης WO 807*.
114-115	Trajan 18	Πετεχespoχράτης O. Tait 691, 692.
115-116	Trajan 19	Πετεχespoχράτης O. Tait 693.
117-118	Hadrian 2	Πετεχespoχράτης O. Tait 694, 1071.
118-119	Hadrian 3	Ἄπολ( ) O. Tait 695, 696, WO 812 [signed Ἄμενώθ(ης)]. Expand Ἄπολ(λοδ ), if the same tax farmer as in O. Leid. 99.
119-120	Hadrian 4	(?) PUG II 88 has Διονύσιος καὶ μ [ without room for μέ[τ(οχοι) τελ(ῶναι) θησ(αυροῦ) ἰε(ρῶν)]. The tax paid is supposedly βαλαν(ευτικόν), but I cannot read it on the plate.
120-121	Hadrian 5	a) Ἄπολλοδ( ) O. Leid. 99. Expanded Ἄπολλόδ(ωρος) in the edition. b) Πετεχespoχράτης O. Tait 697, O. Ams. 46.
121-122	Hadrian 6	a) Ἄπολ( ) O. Tait 698. b) Πετεχespoχράτης O. Str. 479*, 482*, O. Wilb. 45.
122-123	Hadrian 7	Παμώνθης WO 815, O. Tait 699.
123-124	Hadrian 8	a) Παμώνθης WO 818, signed Παμ( ). Ashm GO 131 ined. b) Φθουμῶ(νθης) O. Tait 700.
124-125	Hadrian 9	Πετεχespoχράτης WO 819*, O. Tait 701.
125-126	Hadrian 10	Πετεχespoχράτης O. ROM II 113.
126-127	Hadrian 11	a) Πετεχespoχράτης O. ROM II 116. b) Name lost, signed Παμώνθης O. Leid. 102.
127-128	Hadrian 12	Παμώνθης O. Tait 702.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Reign</u>	<u>Name, Source, Other remarks</u>
128-129	Hadrian 13	a) Ἀρχιάς O. Tait 706, probably also O. Tait C 60, where text has . . . χ . . . . b) Παμώνθης O. Tait 703 (signed by same), 704 [signed by Ἐπικ(ράτης)], 705 (?) [signed by Ἐσσυ(ήρις)]. c) Πετεχεσποχράτης O. Str. 480* (signed Ἀσκλᾶς).
129-130	Hadrian 14	a) Κρόνιος O. Tait 707. b) Πετεχεσποχράτης O. Str. 481*.
130-131	Hadrian 15	a) Κρόνιος διὰ Ἀσκλᾶτος υἱοῦ O. Tait M 3. b) Πετεχεσποχράτης O. Tait 708*, C 61; O. Ams. 46.
131-132	Hadrian 16	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
132-133	Hadrian 17	a) Εἰρηνίων WO 842, O. Leid. 109. b) Παμώνθης WO 843. c) Πετεχεσποχράτης διὰ Φαμίνιος καὶ μετόχων ἐπιτηρητῶν WO 844*, 845*, 846*, O. Wilb. 46*, O. Tait 709*. The date of the last can be considered secure, as the formula occurs only in this year.
133-137	Hadrian 18-21	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
137-138	Hadrian 22	WO 857 is issued by ἐπιτηρηταί, but signed NN τελ(ώνης) ἐπηκολ(ούθηκα).
138-138	Pius 2	a) Ἐριεὺς τελώνης τέλους WO 862, O. Leid. 121. His son may have been tax farmer in Pius 10. b) Φα . . . O. Str. 483 (?). Date uncertain. Phaëris (?).
139-140	Pius 3	a) Παμώνθης WO 864, O. Tait 716, 717 (? see note there), O. Str. 485 (?). b) Πικῶς O. Tait 717 (? see note there), O. Str. 484, 485 (?), SB V 8054. See also list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
141-142	Pius 5	a) Κο . . . τίων O. Tait 718, signed Πανίσκος. b) Πανίσκος O. Tait 719, 720.
142-143	Pius 6	Πετεμενωφίς καὶ ᾠρος WO 871 (signed ᾠρος), WO 875. No partners are mentioned.
143-144	Pius 7	a) Ἴεραξ WO 877. b) Παμώνθης O. Leid. 127.
144-145	Pius 8	a) Πανίσκος O. ROM II 128. b) Πετεμ(ενῶφίς) O. Wilb. 47. c) Φίλων WO 882.
145-146	Pius 9	Ἴεραξ WO 885.
146-147	Pius 10	a) Γάιος Ἐριέως O. ROM II 129. No title given, but the other collectors this year are τελῶναι. Possibly a son of the Herieus of Pius 2. The Gaius of Trajan 5 could be his grandfather.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Reign</u>	<u>Name, Source, Other remarks</u>
(146-147	Pius 10)	b) Ἴέραξ O. Tait 722. c) Πετεψάις O. Tait 721.
148-149	Pius 12	Ἴέραξ O. Tait A 45.
149-150	Pius 13	a) Ἴέραξ O. Tait 723, 724. b) Πετεψάις O. Wilb. 48.
150-151	Pius 14	Ποριεύθης O. Tait 740, 741; O. ROM I 26. The payments are described as τιμή of $\frac{1}{12}$ artab wheat.
151-152	Pius 15	a) Ἴέραξ WO 1251. b) Πεμψάις O. Tait 742, 743, 744 (all τιμή of $\frac{1}{12}$ artab wheat). c) Πετεψάις O. Str. 440 (τιμή of $\frac{1}{12}$ artab wheat; signed Πικῶς). Editor also considers date under Marcus Aurelius despite absence of Αὐρηλίου from dating formula, but payments in that year were handled by ἐπιτηρηταί and do not mention value of wheat. d) Φιλωνᾶς (?) O. Str. 486. Something is wrong, as same man payed this year in O. Str. 440. Really year 8, same as Φίλων (?).
153-154	Pius 17	a) Πεμψάις WO 1587 [τιμή of $\frac{1}{24}$ artab wheat; signed Πορ( )]. b) Ὠρίων O. Tait 725 (signed by same), O. Tait P 116.
154-155	Pius 18	Ποριεύθης O. Leid. 135, signed Ονο( ).
155-156	Pius 19	Κλεωνᾶς O. Tait 726, signed by same.
156-157	Pius 20	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
157-158	Pius 21	Πε[.].[.]..... O. Str. 487 (?). Date uncertain.
159-160	Pius 23	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
161-164	Marcus & Verus 1-4	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
167-168	Marcus & Verus 8	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
171-175	Marcus Aurelius 12-15	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.
176-177	Marcus & Commodus 17	Ἀπελλᾶς O. Tait P 117.
177-178	Marcus & Commodus 18	Ἀπολλῶς O. Tait 735.
183-184	Commodus 24	Ἀσκλᾶς O. Tait 736.
189-191	Commodus 30-31	See list of ἐπιτηρηταί.

#### Uncertain:

Ἄγαθος, year 22, O. Tait 737.

Ἀσκλᾶς under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus O. Str. 490.

Πετεχεσποχράτης under Hadrian O. Str. 482\*.

Σαραπίων, no title, receives βαλα(νευτικόν) Κερα(μείων) in O. Tait 685 and O. Meyer 12. I suppose this is different from bath tax paid to officials of the temple granary.

## Ἐπιτηρηταί

Year	Reign	Name, Source, Other remarks
88-89	Domitian 8	Πισάις καὶ Ψενμῖνις, no partners mentioned WO 780*, 781*; O. Tait 676, 677.
90-91	Domitian 10	Πισάις καὶ Ψενμῖνις WO 784. No partners mentioned. See also list of τελῶναι.
91-92	Domitian 11	Διογ( ) καὶ Ψενω( ) Ashm. GO 191 ined., correcting O. Tait 678. No partners mentioned.
97	Nerva 1	Κούτιος O. Cair. GPW 45.
112-113	Trajan 16	Name doubtful, Ashm. GO 130 ined. See also list of τελῶναι.
131-132	Hadrian 16	Ἐπικράτης WO 835, 1426 (?), O. ROM II 121. The last bears no title.
132-133	Hadrian 17	Φαμίνας. See entries for this year in list of τελῶναι.
133-134	Hadrian 18	Φαήριος O. Tait 710.
134-135	Hadrian 19	Φαμίνας ἐπιτηρητῆς τέλους WO 853.
135-136	Hadrian 20	a) Ἡρῶς O. Tait 711. Signed by Ἄσκ(λᾶς) and Ἐριό(φμοίς). b) Ἰσίδωρος ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait 712*.
136-137	Hadrian 21	a) Ἐπικράτης ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait 714 <sup>+</sup> , signed Παμών(θης). b) Παμώνθης ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait 713. c) Φαήριος O. Str. 273 (?). Date unsure.
137-138	Hadrian 22	Ἄσκλᾶς WO 857, signed NN τελ(ώνης) ἐπηκολ(ούθηκα). Cf. WO 853.
139-140	Pius 3	Φαήρις O. Tait 1072. See also list of τελῶναι.
156-157	Pius 20	Ἰμούθης O. Tait 727.
159-160	Pius 23	Ἄπελλᾶς ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait 728.
161	Marcus & Verus 1	Ἄπελλᾶς ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait 729.
161-162	Marcus & Verus 2	Ἄπελλᾶς ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait C 62.
162-163	Marcus & Verus 3	Ἄονωφρις ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Tait 730.
163-164	Marcus & Verus 4	Ἔωρος O. Tait 731; O. ROM II 131.
167-168	Marcus & Verus 8	Ἄσκλᾶς ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Str. 489. In the text μέτοχοι or an abbreviation has been fallen out before ἐπι(τηρηταί).
168-169	Marcus & Verus 9	...]α...τοσ( ) O. Tait 107*.
171-172	Marcus Aurelius 12	Ἄσκλᾶς O. Tait 732.
172-173	Marcus Aurelius 13	Πανίσκος O. Tait 733.
173-174	Marcus Aurelius 14	Ἄσκλᾶς O. Tait 734.
174-175	Marcus Aurelius 15	Μέλλας ἐπιτ. τέλους WO 1452.
189-190	Commodus 30	Ἄωριγέ(νης) ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Thebes 54*.



Year	Reign	Name, Source, Other remarks
190-191	Commodus 31	Παμώνθης ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Thebes 55.

## Uncertain:

Γάιος Ἄντ(ώνιος?) Εὐδαί(μων) ἐπιτ. τέλους O. Ams. 51, signed Πικῶς.

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 Ὠρος τελώνης Pius 6