

THE HELIOPOLITE NOME
In the Historical Writings and the Papyrus-Documents
in the Ptolemaic and Roman Eras.
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INTRODUCTION

Heliopolis is the Greek name for the Egyptian city of On, or rather On Mehet (Northern On), to be distinguished from (Southern On) which was called by the Greeks Hermonthes (or Armant as it is called today). Heliopolis is situated about seven miles to the north east of the centre of Cairo. It was the seat of the worship of the sun-god in Egypt and the college of the priests who were reputed as the most learned of the whole priestly colleges of Egypt. The priests of Heliopolis systematized the Egyptian religion and evolved a theological system which was known as the Great Ennead of Heliopolis. According to this Ennead (or nine gods), the sun-god Rê, Khepri, Atûm evolved himself out of the watery chaos, the Nûn. He then begot of himself two other gods, Shu and Tefnut, the divinities who support the heavens. They in their turn produced Gêb and Nut, the earth-god and sky-goddess who, in their turn, produced Osiris and Sêth, Isis and Nephthys. This Heliopolitan Ennead continued to be the most highly revernced among the the other enneads of Egypt. The forms of the sun-god which were worshipped at Heliopolis were the Hawk-headed Ra-Horakhte, and the Human-headed Ra-Atûm, of whom the sacred Mnevis bull of Heliopolis was the emblem.

In accordance with this prominent religious and cultural position of On, it was highly esteemed by the Egyptians. This sanctity of On was maintained even after the rise of Thebes and its local god Amûn in the

XVIIIth Dynasty. Amun had to take regard to the claims of the sun-god of On, and to identify himself with Rê, under the compound name of Amûn-Rê before he could hope to commend himself to the whole Egyptian community. The revenues of the temple of the sun-god at On continued to exceed those of any other temple in Egypt, except that of Amûn at Thebes. The city of On and its temple of the sun-god continued to enjoy their high standing and importance in the Egyptian State to its latest day, and even under conquering Pharaohes such as the Ethiopian Piankhy (1).

Now, let us turn to Heliopolis as depicted by the Greek and Roman historians and geographers, and as it appears in the documentary papyri of the Greco-Roman period.

Let us begin the article by trying to define the situation of ancient Heliopolis as is mentioned in the writings of the Greek and Roman historians and geographers in their chronological order. The first of those historians was Herodotus who visited Egypt in the fifth century B.C. He defines the situation of Heliopolis as close to the apex of the Egyptian Delta, i.e., the southernmost boundary of the Delta. He stated at first that the length of the Egyptian seaboard (on the Mediterranean) as three thousand and six hundred furlongs (Book II,7), i.e., 666 kilometres as the kilometre equals 5.4

(1) James Baikie, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, London, 1932. pp.99-103. See also: Hermann Kees, *Ancient Egypt, A Cultural Topography*. Translated from German to English by Jan I.D. Morrow, London, 1961, pp.168-182.

furlongs (1). Then, he goes on to say "Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy"(2). It is clear that he means here the land of the Delta; and he estimates the distance from the seaboard (from which point in particular we do not know) to Heliopolis as one thousand and five hundred furlongs(3), i.e.,277 km.Herodotus considers that Upper Egypt begins from after Heliopolis and southwards, and says "Beyond and above Heliopolis Egypt is a narrow land (4), meaning the Nile-valley. From this geographical description of Herodotus, it is clear that Heliopolis was situated near the apex of the Delta where the Nile begins to divide into seven branches .

Before the middle of the first century B.C.,Diodorus Siculus described in his first book ancient Egypt, its gods, Pharaohes, judicial codes, and the customs of its population. He speaks highly of a great Pharaoh whom he called Sesosis, and to whom he attributed very significant achievements and triumphes which largely extended the Egyptian Empire (5). As for mentioning Heliopolis in this context, it occurs when Diodorus stated that this king fortified the eastern side of the Delta as he " fortified with a wall the eastern side of Egypt to defend it against the raids and conquests from Syria and Arabia; that wall being built across the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis, its length was fifteen hundred stadia (6). This distance between Pelusium and Heliopolis, i.e.,1500 stadia, is the same disance mentioned by Herodotus between the sea-coast and Heliopolis. This suggests that Herodotus meant the sea-coast near or at Pelusium.

That wall built by the Egyptian king in the desert to the east of the Delta means that Pelusium constituted the beginning of the base of the Delta from the east and that Heliopolis was situated on the apex of the Delta to the south east.

In the first century A.D. Pliny the Elder relates that Heliopolis was in the vicinity of the Arabian border (the eastern desert of Egypt in general was called Ἀραβία, and this also was the name of one of nomes in the eastern side of the Delta, of which the capital was Phaccousa (Saft El-Henna in Sharkeia Governrate nowadays). The Arabian border mentioned in the statement of Pliny refers, no doubt, to the Arabian desert situated to the east of the Nile in general (i.e. the broader sense of Ἀραβία). Pliny states that Heliopolis (or Solis Oppidum) enjoyed a great reputation "claritatis magnae" (7).

In the second century A.D. the reputed Alexandrian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemaios defined the position of the Heliopolite nome as situated on the longitude of 62,5 and latitude of 30 1/6 its capital being On (the ancient Pharaonic name) or Heliopolis (the name of the Ptolemaic and Roman era) (8). But c. Ptolemaios mentions once more another town with the same name of Heliopolis situated on the same above-mentioned longitude, but on the latitude of 29 5/6 (9) to the south of On. This is an argumentative point and raises a question as to whether there really existed two towns bearing the name of Heliopolis within the Heliopolite nome, or that the matter was merely an error on the part of Ptolemaios and it existed only one and the same Heliopolis situated on the site of the present Matariah, which was then

the capital of the Heliopolite nome(10).

It is also necessary, in this context, to view the geographical description of Strabo of this area, although he did not call it the Heliopolite nome by name, but rather the Delta. He states that "The Nile flows from the Aethiopian boundaries towards the north in a straight line to the district called "Delta", and then, being "split at the head", as Plato says, the Nile makes this place as it were the vertex of a triangle" (11). In another position, he mentions how the Delta was formed as an island between the sea and the two streams of the river, and then he states that "the district at the vertex has been given the same name (Delta) because it is the beginning of the above-mentioned figure; and the village there is also called Delta (12). The definition of the site of the "minor Delta" mentioned by Strabo was identified by some as the Heliopolite nome (13), by others as the present Warrak district (14).

From the above-mentioned information derived from the ancient historians and geographers one can roughly imagine the site of Heliopolis and the "minor Delta" as follows: from the statement of Diodorus Siculus it is apparent that the Egyptian Pharaoh Sesosis (or rather Senosert III from the twelfth dynasty) built a huge wall to defend the eastern frontier of Egypt against the attacks of the Syrians and the Arabs, a wall which extended from Pelusium to Heliopolis. This information leads one to think of the site of Heliopolis as situated on the eastern bank of the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile immediately after the split of the river at the vertex of the Delta, and that the wall was extending alongside with that branch of the Nile from its beginning near Heliopolis to

its mouth at Pelusium. This identification of the site of Heliopolis on the eastern bank of the Pelusiac branch at its beginning is confirmed by the statement of Pliny that Heliopolis was in the vicinity of Arabia "Arabiae conterminum". As for the "minor Delta" at the vertex of the original Delta, it was situated between the two main branches of the Nile at the beginning of their split, and in front of the capital Heliopolis on the opposite bank (the western bank). Thus, one might say that this village called Delta constituted a part of the Heliopolite Nome. This village was mentioned in some of the documents of Zenon Papyri (15).

Another point to be dealt with, also in the light of the information derived from the historical writings, is the eminent intellectual and cultural reputation of Heliopolis in ancient Egypt. Herodotus praises the people and states that "the people of Heliopolis are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians" (16). The context in which this statement was said is that Herodotus heard a story from the priests of Ptah in Memphis indicating that the Phrygians were older than the Egyptians, i.e., they were the oldest nation on earth (17). He wanted, however, to make sure how far was the truth of such story. The best way to do this was through asking the other prominent priests of Egypt, those of Heliopolis and Thebes, and it seems that the priests of Heliopolis were recommended to him as the best and reliable source of knowledge.

The prestige of the three ancient cultural centres of Egypt was also pointed out by Diodorus Siculus when he speaks of the

judicial system of ancient Egypt. He pointed out that the Egyptians " by appointing the best men from the most important cities as judges over the whole land they did not fall short of the end which they had in mind. For from Heliopolis and Thebes and Memphis they used to choose ten judges from each " (18). Perhaps mentioning Heliopolis at first bears a particular significance of that city .

Strabo, in his turn, speaks highly of the distinctive role played by Heliopolis in the cultural history of ancient Egypt, he says : " In Heliopolis I saw large houses in which the priests lived; for it is said that this place in particular was in ancient times a settlement of priests who studied philosophy and astronomy; but both this organisation and its pursuits have now disappeared " (19). This statement of Strabo is true since, in the time of Strabo, the role played by Heliopolis diminished considerably as it was then replaced by that of Alexandria, the great capital of the new era; particularly since the establishment of the Great Library and the Mouseion by Demetrius of Phaleron in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter. Therefore, Strabo stresses the cultural eminence of Heliopolis before the arrival of the Ptolemies and the Romans, and goes on relating: " at Heliopolis the houses of the priests and schools of Plato and Eudoxus were pointed out to us ; for Eudoxus went up to that place with Plato, and they both passed thirteen years with the priests, as is stated by some writers ; for since these priests excelled in their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, albeit secretive and slow to impart it, Plato and Eudoxus prevailed upon them in time and by courting their favour to let them learn

some of the principles of their doctrines; but the barbarians concealed most things" (20).

Arrian reports that Alexander the Great, on his arrival in Egypt, visited first Heliopolis and then Memphis, where he sacrificed both to the Apis bull and other gods and held gymnastic and musical contests (21). Geographically, Heliopolis is the first important place to encounter when one enters Egypt from the East from the side of Pelusium, i.e., it was in the way of Alexander. However, it is not unlikely that Alexander visited it on purpose, especially that he was a highly cultured personality and a student of Aristotle and consequently knew the historical and cultural value of the place. It seems also that at the time of Alexander's visit Heliopolis still maintained some of its cultural precedence as is evidenced by the fact that the Egyptian priest Manetho, who explained the details of the Egyptian religion and stressed the priority of Egypt's antiquity during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter, was a high priest at Heliopolis. This honourable past of Heliopolis led Pliny to describe it as "of great reputation" (22); he undoubtedly meant its cultural and religious reputation.

Now, let us turn to the few papyrological documents which deal with the Heliopolite nome, and try to recognize the picture portrayed in them and its main features. Such documents are presented and discussed chronologically during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The first of these documents is an interesting one dated from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and its subject is about the

tax imposed on the vineyards φόρος τῆς ἀμυγέλου which amounted- according to the ordinances of the king, as is shown in the document- to 26drachmae and 3¼ obol per aroura(23). The official who wrote this document-he seems to have been a high administrative official in the region of Heliopolis and Memphis-states that the people of Heliopolis who own poor vineyards around Heliopolis and all the others who inhabit that nome undertook to pay such a tax except a few of the wealthy owners of the vineyards(24). Those well-to-do owners who refused to pay the tax inflicted damages to the royal revenue -as is pointed out in this report of the official- in spite of the fact that their vineyards were quite profitable and situated in the district near Memphis and close to the Nile (25). The official goes on in his report to accuse these wealthy owners of conspiring, instigated by the nomarch Achoapis who wanted in every possible means to minimize the rate of the tax. It is also clear in the report that Apollonios (perhaps the finance minister of Philadelphos) visited the district frequently and no one complained to him about this tax nor did he receive any petition in this concern (26).

From the above-mentioned document it is evident that there were many and spreaded vineyards in the Heliopolite nome; and that many of its inhabitants were moderate or poor owners of vineyards who used to pay the taxes for such vineyards without discussion, while a few of those owners were quite wealthy on account of having extensive vineyards close to the river. The latter used to complain of the rate of the tax imposed upon them perhaps because the total sum of the tax on each of them would be high owing to the considerable size and the high produc-

tivity of his vineyard. It is evident from the document that the mentioned nomarch owned an extensive size of vineyards ,and so he consequently urged the rest of the large owners to complain of the rate of the vineyards'tax .

From another document from about the same period,the dioiketes Apollonies writes to his agent Zenon that he is going to send him one hundred jars of wine from Heliopolis that Zenon might sell them lucratively and buy carpets with their price (27). Apollonies mentions also by the end of his letter that he had still more wine in the Heliopolite nome (28). From this letter it is clear that Apollonies owned large and extensive vineyards in the Heliopolite nome in addition to his vineyards in three other nomes , namely: the Arsinoite,Aphroditopolite (the present Atfih)and the Memphite (29).

In a third document from Zenon Papyri there is a list of provisions and food required for the journey of Zenon or one of his colleagues and some other followers from Egypt to Syria through Pelusium. This list includes provisions such as grains,imported and local wine,honey,oliveoil , salted fish,beans and lentil(30). What belongs to our topic here is that the local wine which was to be delivered to the travelling person at Pelusium was from the Heliopolite nome (31). This might imply that it was of the good kinds of wine. Another point to be inferred from this document is that the trade-route from Memphis-for example-to Syria and Palestine used to pass through Heliopolis , then along the East of the

Delta to Pelusium , then to Palestine and Syria .

From the contents of the three above-mentioned documents it is obvious that the Heliopolite nome had a considerable area of vineyards and was consequently reputed for producing wine; it was also a station on the trade-route from Upper Egypt and Memphis to Palestine and Syria .

The next point to be treated, as is mentioned in the documents, is the relation between the Heliopolites and the neighbouring nomes. In this concern, there are two important documents belonging to the British Museum from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The first is addressed to Apollonios the finance minister and the second to an official called Zoilos against a nomarch called Damis(32). Both of the two documents are complaints presented from peasants came to Philadelphia in the Fayyum from the Heliopolite nome (it is not clear in the documents whether their residence was intended to be permanent or temporary in the Fayyum). The number of these peasants was apparently big as they had three Elders of peasants: ηρεοβύτεροι as their chiefs , they constituted presumably a community of their own. They leased one thousand arourae of the ten thousand of the estate of Apollonios in Philadelphia. It seems that they contracted either with Apollonios himself or the above-mentioned Damis, the nomarch, before their coming to Philadelphia. Soon after their arrival in Philadelphia they encountered problems and obstacles: one of the agents of Apollonios prevented them from residence in the city ηόλις , and disputes arose between them and

the nomarch Damis about the agricultural work and sowing the land. They also state in their complaints that the nomarch prevented them from working in the land, deprived them of the thousand arou-rae which they contracted to lease, arrested their elders and compelled them to concede the previously agreed upon contract of lease γράφη ἀνοστήσιου . They suggested that Damis pay them their salary as hired workers so long as they were cleansing and sowing the land, but Damis refused this proposal and preferred to let the land as it was without ploughing or sowing .

This is the content of the complaints of those peasants from the Heliopolite nome who went to Philadelphia to work in Apollonios' estate. But we do not know exactly the reason of their disputes with Damis and how far was the truth of their claims. However, regardless of the circumstances of this case, it is obvious from these documents that large numbers of peasants from the Heliopolite nome used to lease the lands of the neighbouring nomes in groups of partners, a fact which indicates that the Heliopolite nome had a surplus of peasants. These documents also indicate that these peasants were efficient in agricultural work as they point out in their complaint to Apollonios that "there were many faults in the administration of the ten thousand arou-rae as a result of the lack of the person who understands the agricultural work; we beg you to call some of us and listen what we are going to tell you ". They offer this same suggestion once more to the other official, Zoilos, and ask him to grant them the opportunity to meet

Apollonios to tell him about some matters (33). Hence, one can deduce that the nomarch Damis did not feel comfortable about those peasants who criticised his management of the estate and he wanted to get rid of such troublesome peasants. It seems that many of the Heliopolites settled in the Fayyum near Philadelphia that a village there bore the name of Heliopolis " (34).

Persons from the Heliopolite nome are mentioned in documents from other nomes. In the Zenon Papyri, for example, a man from Heliopolis received - on behalf of someone else - four drachmae from Zenon, Apollonios' agent, to cultivate a parcel of land of Apollonios' estate in Philadelphia (35). In a receipt of the rest of the price of sale of a boat, the two parties are from Memphis, but the seller had some sort of connection, which is not clear owing to the lacunae, with Heliopolis (36). One of the parties of another contract states that he is a Heliopolite but was previously living in Oxyrhynchos, i.e., he was an Oxyrhynchite who settled later in the Heliopolite nome (37). The last two documents are dated c. the middle of the second century A.D.

There is still another point to be discussed in the documents available about Heliopolis. This point is mentioned in a document dated 59 A.D. It is a contract of debt in the form of deposit in which three of the Jews, a father and his two sons, acknowledge that they received from a Roman soldier a sum of six hundred drachmae of the imperial silver coins as a deposit $\pi\chi\rho\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta$ to be paid back to him within two months without interest $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$. If they

fail, however, in paying back the sum in the stated period, the three Jews would then be obliged to pay back the six hundred silver drachmae in addition to the interest of this sum for the period after the two stated months, as well as a penalty for the non-payment in the due time ἐπίτιμον, this penalty is 120 drachmae. In this case also the Roman cavalry soldier (the creditor) would have the right of execution on the person of the three Jews and their property (38).

What concerns our topic (the Heliopolite nome) in this document is that the three Jews in this contract belong to the "village of the Syrians" near Heliopolis, the metropolis of the Heliopolite nome (39). We find in the documents many villages bearing that name in the different nomes such as the Alexandrian Chora (BGU.1123;1132), the Arsinoite nome in the Heraclides division (P.Tebt.II,p.402), the Oxyrhynchite nome (P.Oxy.II.270,22;VII.1052,5,17,27) (40). The next information about the Heliopolite nome in this document is that the document is dated the sixth year of the reign of Nero as well as the time during which a certain Erinaeus occupied the office of "agoranomos" in the Camp (Fortress) of Babylon belonging to the Heliopolite nome (41). The dating with the time of office of this agoranomos may be attributed to the fact that the creditor was a Roman cavalry soldier who was serving in that Camp. What is of interest here is to learn that Babylon belonged administratively to the Heliopolite nome during that time (about the middle of the first century A.D.), an information which is attested nowhere else-to my knowledge- in the papyrological documents, although it is implied in the work of Ptolemy the Geographer of the second century A.D. (Ptolemy, IV.5.54).

Let us return once again to the above-mentioned information in this document concerning the existence of the Jews in the Heliopolite nome. The publisher P.M.Meyer links between the three Jews of this document (the debtors) and other Jews from the military settlers whom Ptolemy VI Philometor had formerly colonised in the Heliopolite. He also links between the settlement of the Jews in this nome and the time during which temple of Onias was erected in Leontopolis (Tell El-Yahoudiah) between 170-160 B.C. and states that at that time there was a Jewish settlement in Heliopolis (42).

Finally, this document fills some gap concerning the Jews of the Heliopolite nome and the neighbouring districts. We hear nothing of them between 48/47 B.C. When the Jews of the settlement of Onias played a role with Caesar in his battles against the Alexandrians, and 73 A.D. When the temple of Onias was closed after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. and the arrival in Egypt of some of the Jews of Jerusalem who attempted, in vain, to urge the Jews of Egypt to revolt against the Romans (43).

NOTES

(1) See the calculations throughout the book of J. Ball, Egypt in the Classical Geographers, Cairo, 1942. E.g., p.14.

(2) Herodotus, II.7 :

ένθευτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἕς τὴν μεσόγαιαν
ἔστι εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, ἑοῦσα πασα ὑπτιή τε καὶ ἔνυδρος καὶ
ἰλῶς .

(3) Ibid.:

εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἔς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ
θαλάσσης πληροὶ ἕς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου .

(4) Ibid. II.8

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἴουντι στεινὴ ἔστι Αἴγυπτος .

(5) Diodorus Siculus, I. 53-55.

By Sesosis Diodorus presumably means the Pharaoh whom Herodotus called Sesostris (II.102-104, 106-108, 110-111, 137) who is actually Senosert III from the 12th Dynasty and reigned between c.2099-2061 B.C. See: James Baikie, Op.Cit., p.22.

(6) Ibid., I. 57 :

ἔτειχισε δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολάς νεύουσαν πλευρὰν
τῆς Αἴγυπτου πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐμβο-
λὰς ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου μέχρι Ἡλιουπόλεως διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, τὸ
μῆκος ἐπὶ σιαδίου χιλίου καὶ πεντακοσίου .

(7) Pliny, Natural History, V. 14 . 61 :

unum praeterea intus et Arabiae conterminum claritatis magnae,
Solis oppidum .

(8) Ptolemy, Geography, IV.5.53.

Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός,

καὶ Ἡμιρόπολις (Ἡλίου ἢ) Ἰονίου

βλ γδ

(9) Ibid. IV. 5.54 .

Ἡλίου πόλις

εβλ κθ δγ

(10) J. Ball, op.cit., pp. 110-111.

(11) Strabo XVII. 1.4. :

Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν τερμόνων ρεῖ ἐπ'εὐθείας ὁ
Νεῖλος πρὸς ἄρκτους, ἕως τοῦ καλουμένου χωρίου Δέλτα
εἶτ' ἐπὶ κορυφὴν σχιζόμενος ὁ Νεῖλος, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων,
ὡς ἂν τριγώνου κορυφὴν ἀποτελεῖ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον .

(12) Ibid . :

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ χωρίου ὀμωνύμως κέκληται διὰ τὸ
ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ λεχθέντος σχήματος, καὶ ἡ κῶμη δὲ ἡ ἐπ'
αὐτῷ καλεῖται Δέλτα .

(13) H. Gauthier, Les Nomes d'Égypte depuis Herodote jusqu'à la
conquete Arabe, Le Caire, 1935, pp. 44-45.

(14) J. Ball, op.Cit., p.63 .

(15) P. Zenon 59090, 1.7; 59470, 1. 8; 59705, 1. 23.

(16) Herodotus, II.3 :

οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολίται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίῳ εἶναι λογιώτατοι.

(17) Ibid. II. 2.

(18) Diodorus Siculus I. 75.3 :

διόπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανesiάτων πόλεων τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἄνορα ἀποδεικνύντες δικαστὰς κοινοὺς οὐκ ἀπετύγχον τῆς
προαιρέσεως . ἐξ Ἡλίου γὰρ πόλεως καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Μέμφεως
δέκα δικαστὰς ἐξ ἐκάστης προέκρινον .

(19) Strabo XVII. 1. 29 :

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἠλίου πόλει καὶ οἴκους εἶδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς . μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγονέναι φασὶ τὸ παλαιόν , φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν . ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νυνὶ τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἡ ἄσκησις .

(20) Ibid . . :

ἐκεῖ δ' οὖν ἐδείκνυτο οἷ τε τῶν ἱερέων οἴκοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί . συνανέβη γὰρ δὴ τῷ Πλάτωνι ὁ Εὐδόξος δεῦρο καὶ συνδιέτριψαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἑνταῦθα ἐκεῖνοι τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη, ὡς εἴρεται τισι . περιττοὺς γὰρ ὄντας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων, μυστικοὺς δὲ καὶ δυσμεταδότους , τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς θρασείαις ἐξελιπάρησαν, ὥστε τινὰ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἱστορήσαι . τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἀπεκρύψαντο οἱ βάρβαροι .

(21) Arrian, III. 1.4 :

(22) See note 7 above .

(23) P. Hibeh II 205, 260-250 B.C., 1. 10 :

(εἷσπ) ράσσειν τῆς (ἀρούρας) (δραχμὰς) κς (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (τέταρτον); 1:12 παρ) οὐσ (ι) ξγτολῆι; 1.14: πρᾶσσειν (τον φόρον) τῆς (ἀ) μη (έλου

(24) Ibid., 11.16-22 :

καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἡλίου πόλεως|..... κτλ. ἔκτημένοι
 ἐν τοῖς τό (πο) ις τοῖς περι Ἡλίου πόλιν καταδεεστέρου(ς)
 | (ἀμ) πελῶνας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ | (νομ)
 ῶι καταβεβλήκασι πλήν ὀλίγων τ(ῶ)ν | (...) ἰσχυόντων .

(25) Ibid., 11.22-26 :

οὗτοι δὲ μ(δν) οἱ πρὸς τὰς προσ(δ)δο(υς) |(παρ)αβαίν_
 ουσιν λυσιτελε (σ) τάτους ἀμπελῶνα(ς) ἔχοντες καὶ διὰ τὴν
 γῆν αὐτήν .. (...)αν|([..τῷ καιροῦ] τὸν τόπον [ἔχε_
 ιν] πρὸς τῷ |([πό] ταμῶι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Μέμφει]

(26) Ibid., 11. 26-29 :

ἐπισυνίσταν-| (ται) δὲ διὰ Ἀχοάπιος τοῦ νομάρχου.βού_
 λεται γὰρ (οὔ) τος)κατὰ πάντα τρόπον τὴν πρᾶξιν | (ῶ)ς
 ἐλάχιστην πρῆξιν .

(27) P. Cairo Zenon II, 59170, 254 B.C., 11. 2-4:

(Ἡ)λιοπολίτου νομοῦ εἰς πρᾶσιν οἴνου κερ(ἀμια) ρ φρ.
 (δοντισον οὔν) (δπω)ς πραθῆι τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος, τὴν δ (ἐ
 τιμὴν αὐτοῦ δός) (εἰς) τοὺς ἀμφιτάπους .

(28) Ibid., 1.6 :

(ὕπ) ἀρχει γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πλείω οἴνος ἐν τῷ Ἡλιοπόλ (ἴτηι) .

(29) See : M. Rostovzeff, A Large Estate in Egypt in the third Cen-
 tury B.C., Madison, 1922 , p; 103; Cl. préaux, Les grecs en
 Égypted'après les Archives de Zenon, Bruxelles, 1947, p.60.

(30) P. Michigan Zenon 2, about 259 B.C.

(31) Ibid., 11. 5-8:

[[οἴνου ξενικοῦ ἃ δεήσει ἐκ Πη- | λουσίτου ἀγορασθ-
έντα δοῦναι κερ(άμια) ι]] ἐπιχωρίου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡλιο-
πολίτου | προσενεγκεῖν ἐνταῦθα κερ (άμια) ι

(32) P. Lond. Inv. 2090 and 2094 . See Rostovtzeff, Large Estate,
pp. 73-75.

(33) P. Lond. Inv. 2090, 1.7 ff.:

καὶ οὐκ ἄλῖγα δὲ ἁμαρτήματα ἐστὶν ὅτι ταῖς μυρί-
αις ἀροβραῖς διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν συνετὸν | περὶ γεω-
γίαν. δεόμεθα οὖν σοι εἴ σοι δοκεῖ εἰσκαλέσθαι τιν-
ας ἡμῶν καὶ εἰσακοῦσαι περὶ ὧν βουλόμεθα σοι ἀναγγ-
εῖλαι. P. Lond. Inv. 2094 , 11. 5 - 6 : καὶ εἴ σοι
δοκεῖ εἴσαγον ἡμᾶς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον . ἔστιν | γάρ
τινα ἃ βουλόμεθα ἀναγγεῖλαι ὠφέλιμα αὐτῷ .

(34) Dorothy Crawford, J. Quaegebevr, W. Clarysse, Studies on Pto-
lemaic Memphis (Studia Hellenistica 24, 1980), p. 108.

(35) P. Cairo Zenon 59137, B.C. 256, 11. 11-15:

ἔχει Ἦρος Ἀρωάτου δι' ἐν | (γύο) υ Πάσιτος Ἡλιοπ-
ολίτου | (παρὰ) Ζήνωνος τοῦ παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου | (ἐμ Φι-
λ) ἀδελφείαι τῆι ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτη | (νομ) ὧι εἰς
ἁμίλιαν ἃ δεῖ αὐτὸν (ἃ) περγάσασθαι . ι δ .

(36) P. Lond. II. 317, p.209, A.D. 156, 11. 5-6:

Ἀνουβιων Ἀνουβιωνος Μεμφειτης ἀπο γυμνασιο | υιοσ
ἀπ. οικου Ἡλιου πολιν Ααβοιτι Ἀνουβι- | νος μητροσ Τνε-
φερω Μεμφειτη κτλ .

(37) P. Rendel Harris 66, A.D.155,11. 5-6 :

Παρά Ἀπολλωνίου) υ Ψάμμιδος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μητ-
(ρος) Δημητράς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου πόλεως τὸ πρὶν ἀπὸ | (
Ἰουδαίῳ) υ πόλεως Ἡρακλείδ(ῆ) Ἀπίωνος..... κτλ.

(38) P. Hamourg 2, A.D. 59: C.P.I. II 417 .

(39) P. Hamb.2, 11. 4-8 :

Πετώ χελκίου | καὶ ο(ι) τοῦτου υιο(ι) χελκίας
καὶ Δωρ (.)κοας οἱ τρεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγο-
νῆς τῶν (ἀ)πὸ Σύρων κώ-|μης Αουκίω Ούττιω ἰππῖ ἄλης
ὄσοκουντίων τύρης Αογγίμου .

(40) Ibid., 1.6, note .

(41) Ibid., 11. 3 - 4 :

ἐπ' ἀγοράνομου Εἰρηναίου Παρ(εμ)βολῆς τῆς πρὸς Βαβυ-|
λώνη τοῦ Ἡλιοπολείτου νομοῦ

(42) Ibid., Introduction, p.6.

(43) H.I. Bell , Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt, Liverpool,
1954, pp. 35 - 36.