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Religious encounters on the southern Egyptian frontier in Late Antiquity (AD 298-642)

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Appendix 1. Priscus and Procopius on Philae

1. Priscus, F 27 Blockley (= *FHN* III 318)

... εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀκώλυτον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἴσιδος διάβασιν, τοῦ ποταμίου σκάφους Αἰγυπτίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐν ᾧ περ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ ἐντιθέμενον διαπορθμεύεται. Ἐν ῥητῷ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι χρόνῳ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν διακομίζοντες τὸ ξόανον.

... and that, in accordance with the ancient right, their crossing to the temple of Isis be unhindered, Egyptians having charge of the river boat in which the statue of the goddess is placed and ferried across the river. For at a stated time the barbarians bring the wooden statue to their own country and, after having consulted it, return it safely to the island.

2. Procopius, *Persian Wars* 1.10.34-37 = *FHN* III 328

Καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νεῖλῳ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρών ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτη δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεώς τε καὶ βωμούς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσις οἰόμενος. Διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. Ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεούς, οὐσπερ Ἕλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὅσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον. Οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἄνθρωποις τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασι. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερά οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἄτε ἠτύτομοληκότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθη, τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τὰ τε ἱερά καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἄγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν.

Even so this emperor chose an island in the river Nile somewhere very near the city of Elephantine and constructed there a really strong fortification. And in that place he founded some temples and altars for the Romans and for these very barbarians in common and settled in this fortification priests of both (parties), in the expectation that their friendship would be secure for the Romans because they shared the sanctuaries with them. This is the reason why he named the place "Friends" (Philae). Both these peoples, the Blemmyes and the Nobatai (Noubades), revere all the other gods in which pagans believe, as well as Isis and Osiris, and not least Priapus. But the Blemmyes even have the custom of sacrificing human beings to the sun. These barbarians retained the sanctuaries on Philae right down to my day, but the Emperor Justinian decided to destroy them. Accordingly, Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans, and who was in command of the troops there, destroyed the sanctuaries on the Emperor's orders, held the priests under guard, and sent the images to Byzantium.

Appendix 2: List of Demotic Graffiti in Egypt

After Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen*, 201-5. Additions and corrections have been indicated. The localities are arranged along the Nile downstream, concluding with the marginal areas of the deserts and oases. Some localities within a region have been combined to make the table as convenient as possible.

a. Tombs

Location	Number of Graffiti	First Date	Last Date
el-Kab	2 ¹	?	?
Armant	? ²	late Ptolemaic	early Roman
Thebes West	48 ³	122/121 BC	42/43 AD
Saqqara	at least 155 ⁴	early Ptolemaic	late Ptolemaic
Dakhleh Oasis	2	I AD	I AD
Bahariya Oasis	4	?	?

b. Stone Quarries

Location	Number of Graffiti	First Date	Last Date
Gebel el-Tarif (el-Debba)	1	?	?
Gebel el-Silsila	116	12/11 BC	32/33 AD
Gebelein (el-Dababia) ⁵	?	?	?
Gebel el-Sheikh el-Haridi	1	63/62 BC	63/62 BC ⁶
Gebel Sidi Moussa	31	?	?
Gebel Abu-Feda	1	?	?
Wadi en-Nachleh	ca. 30	376/375 BC	372/371 BC ⁷
Darb el-Karaib	3	Ptolemaic	Ptolemaic
Antinoopolis (Deir Abu Hennes) ⁸	?	?	?
Tura/el-Masara	57 ⁹	393/392 BC	328 BC
Wadi Hammamat	160 ¹⁰	Saite/Persian period	beginning of Roman period
Kharga Oasis (Gebel el-Teir)	159 ¹¹	140 BC	113 AD

¹ Farid counts one graffito, but cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus* 6, 1539.

² Farid counts eleven graffiti, but the exact number cannot be established, cf. R. Mond, O.H. Myers (eds), *The Bucheum*, 3 vols (London, 1934) 2.69-70.

³ Add J.K. Winnicki, 'Vier demotische Graffiti in den Königsgräbern in Theben', *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 163-8, and 'Zwei demotische Namen', *JJP* 25 (1995) 171-4 at 173-4.

⁴ E. Bresciani, 'L'attività archeologica in Egitto dell'università di Pisa: Saqqara 1974-1977', *EVO* 1 (1978) 1-40 at 13-4, mentions two graffiti instead of one.

⁵ G. Daressy, 'Les carrières de Gebelein et le roi Smendès', *RecTrav* 10 (1888) 133-8 at 135.

⁶ Re-edited by E. Cruz-Urbe and A. Farid, 'A New Look at an Ancient Graffito', *JSSEA* 27 (1997) 27-33.

⁷ Devauchelle, 'Notes', 181-2.

⁸ J. Jarry, 'Nouvelles inscriptions coptes, grecques, arabes, et syriaque de Deir Abou Hennes', *BSAC* 21 (1975) 55-81 at 78: 'Ces carrières possèdent aussi des graffiti démotiques qui malheureusement n'ont pas encore été déchiffrés'; A. Gasse, 'Rapport préliminaire d'une mission épigraphique à Deir Abou Hennes', *ASAE* 69 (1983) 95-102 at 102.

⁹ Devauchelle, 'Notes'. Farid has overlooked this publication and counts only forty.

¹⁰ Add E. Cruz-Urbe, 'Demotic Graffiti from the Wadi Hammamat', *JSSEA* 28 (2001) 26-54.

¹¹ E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project. Volume 2: The Demotic Graffiti of Gebel Teir* (San Antonio, 1995).

c. Temples

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of Graffiti</i>	<i>First Date</i>	<i>Last Date</i>
Kawa	2	?	?
Naqa	1	II/III	II/III ¹²
Dodekaschoinos	109 ¹³	145-116 BC	III
Philae	450	Ptolemaic	452 AD
Aswan	38 ¹⁴	189 BC	184 AD
Elephantine	8 ¹⁵	282/281 BC	first century BC
Kom Ombo	6	Roman	Roman
Edfu	49 ¹⁶	end second century BC	first century AD
El-Kab	2 ¹⁷	Ptolemaic/Roman	Ptolemaic/Roman
Tod	4	155 BC	88 BC
Karnak	several hundreds	late Ptolemaic	late Ptolemaic
Thebes-West	ca. 481	Ptolemaic	Roman
Nag' el-Madamud	2 ¹⁸	late Ptolemaic	early Roman
Qift	1 ¹⁹	41-54 AD	41-54 AD
Abydos	6 ²⁰	Persian period	late Roman
Athribis (near Sohag)	39	late Ptolemaic	early Roman
Kom Madi	2	?	?
Kom Abu Billo	1	Ptolemaic	Ptolemaic
Tanis	1	?	?
Wadi 'Abbad (Eastern Desert)	1	?	?
Kharga Oasis (Ain Amur)	at least 1 ²¹	Roman	Roman
Bahariya Oasis	? ²²	?	?

¹² H.-J. Thissen in K. Zibelius, *Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan). IV: Die Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 38-40, proposes reading Qeren, son of Wayeqiye, who is mentioned in *LDak.Dem.* 31.1.

¹³ *L.Philae.Dem.*, supplemented by Bresciani, *Dodécaschoene*, who has fifty-one still unedited texts in addition to Griffith's catalogue: Maharraqa one, Dakka twenty-two, Kalabsha eighteen, Qertassi ten. Moreover, Farid counts two graffiti at Dendur, whereas Griffith mentions only one.

¹⁴ But cf. Bresciani and Pernigotti, *Assuan*, 121: 'Purtroppo, su un'ottantina almeno che furono tracciati sulle pareti della sala con pilastri e sui pilastri stessi, le tracce attuali di circa metà sono tali, che non mi sono sentita di proporre neppure un tentativo di lettura'.

¹⁵ E. Lüddeckens, 'Das demotische Graffito vom Tempel der Satet auf Elephantine', *MDAIK* 27 (1971) 203-6; K.-T. Zauzich in Jaritz, *Elephantine III*, 78-80; U. Kaplony-Heckel, 'Zum demotischen Baugruben-Graffito vom Satis-Tempel auf Elephantine', *MDAIK* 43 (1987) 155-69.

¹⁶ Cf. Devauchelle, 'Graffites', who mentions 'une cinquante' of graffiti and lists forty-nine numbers, but the actual number of graffiti under these headings is higher.

¹⁷ P. Derchain, *Elkab I. Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'Ouady Hellal* (Brussels, 1971) 77, mentions two graffiti.

¹⁸ W. Spiegelberg, 'Demotica II (20-34)', *SBAW* 1928, no. 2, 1-57 at 28.

¹⁹ According to Thissen, *Medinet Habu*, 2, this inscription does not conform to the definition of demotic graffiti, for it was inscribed on a wall that was intended for that purpose.

²⁰ Add P.W. Pestman, J. Quaegebeur, R.L. Vos (eds), *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues I: Transcriptions* (Leiden, 1977) no. 11, a demotic text written in Greek letters and dated to the beginning of the second century BC.

²¹ A. Fakhry, 'A Roman Temple between Kharga and Dakhla', *ASAE* 40 (1940) 761-8 at 764, publishes one graffito. More graffiti were visible but the exact number is not specified, W.J. Harding King, *Mysteries of the Libyan Desert* (London, 1925) 333.

Appendix 3: List of Bishops of Syene and Philae in Late Antiquity

Syene

<i>Bishop</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>
Neilammon	Ath. <i>ap. sec.</i> 49.3	346
	Ath. <i>ep.</i> 19	347
Neilammon	Ath. <i>ep.</i> 19	347
	Ath. <i>h. Ar.</i> 72.2	356
Valerius	<i>PO</i> 3.3, pp. 276-277	predecessor of Ammonius
Ammonius	<i>PO</i> 3.3, pp. 276-277	380-385 or 457-477
Macrinus	<i>PO</i> 3.3, p. 277	successor of Ammonius
Hatre	<i>PO</i> 3.3, pp. 430-434	385-412
Appion	<i>P.Leid.</i> Z 3	425-450

Philae

<i>Bishop</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>
Macedonius	Ath. <i>apol. sec.</i> 49.3	346
	<i>Life of Aaron</i> , fol. 11b, 12a, 13a, 13b, 15b, 22b (2x), 23b, 24b, 25b, 26a, 32b, 33a, 34b, 56b	
Mark	Ath. <i>h. Ar.</i> 72.2	356
	Ath. <i>tom.</i> 10	362
	IFAO, Copte 25, fol. 8a	368
	<i>Life of Aaron</i> , fol. 17b (2x), 18a (2x), 18b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 22a, 23a (2x), 24b (3x), 25b (3x), 26b (2x), 27a (2x), 29b	

²² Cf. the remark by F. Colin, 'Un ex-voto de pèlerinage auprès d'Ammon dans le temple dit "d'Alexandre", à Bahariya (désert Libyque)', *BIFAO* 97 (1997) 91-6 at 92-3 (n. 6).

	(2x), 30a, 34b, 56b	
Isaiah	IFAO, Copte 25, fol. 8a <i>Life of Aaron</i> , fol. 17b, 18a, 19b, 23a, 24b, 25b, 32b (2x), 33a, 33b, 34a, 56b	368
Psoulousia	<i>Life of Aaron</i> , fol. 36b <i>Life of Aaron</i> , fol. 34b, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37a (2x)	385
Daniel(ios)	<i>I.Philae</i> II 194.7-8 <i>I.Philae</i> II 195.8-9	449 or 464 450 or 465
Theodore	Joh.Eph. <i>h.e</i> III 4.9 Brooks (p. 189.8) Joh.Eph. <i>h.e</i> III 4.7 Brooks (p. 186.17), cf. 4.49 (p. 233.24) Eirpanome inscription, l. 5 Joh.Eph. <i>h.e</i> III 4.49 Brooks (p. 233.24) <i>Documenta Monophysitica</i> , pp. 137.22, 138.5, 10 Chabot <i>I.Philae</i> II 200.6, 202.5, 203.3, 204.5 Joh.Eph. <i>h.e</i> III 4.9, 10 Brooks (pp. 189.8, 30), <i>Documenta Monophysitica</i> , pp. 272.8, 273.5, 7, 274.12, 20, 27, 275.13, 22, 28, 276.4, 278.4 Chabot <i>I.Philae</i> II 216.8	c 525 536-548 544 or 559 551 565 after 567 (?) 575 577

Appendix 4: *P.Cair.Masp. I 67004*

Text and translation after Fournet, *Entre document et littérature*, 192-216, whereas the numbering of the lines of Dijkstra, 'Cult of Isis', has been maintained. When Fournet's translation has not been adopted, this is indicated, with reference to the discussion in the main text.

Antinoopolis

567 AD

- 1a. + χμγ// + χμγ//
1. **Ϡ** Φλαυίω [Τρια]δίω Μαρνανῶ Μι[χα]ηλίω Γαβρηλι[ί]ω Θεοδώρω Κωνσταντίνω <Μάρτυρίω> Ἰουλιανῶ Ἀθανασίω, τῶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ, ἀπὸ ὑπάτῳ[ν καὶ ὑπ(ερ)φυεστ(άτῳ) πατρικίῳ πραιφέκτου Ἰουστίνου, δούκι καὶ αὐγουσταλίῳ τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας τὸ β//.]
 2. **vacat 51 cm** + Δέησις καὶ ἰκεσία πα(ρὰ) τῶν ἐλεεινοτάτων βουλευτῶν Ὀμβων τῶν δούλων τῆς ὑμ[± 28]
 3. Ἔγνωσται τοῖς ἐν[οικ]οῦσι πᾶ[σα]ν τὴν ἀθλι[ί]αν ἡμῶν Θηβαίων χώραν ὁ πρ[ὸ]ς Θ(εὸ)ν καὶ σωτῆρα Χ(ριστὸ)ν ἰλασμὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἡμετέραν ταλαιπωρίαν ἀξιούσθαι πάλιν τῆς διαβεβοημένης ὑμῶν καὶ πανευφημουμένης (?)]
 4. παρουσίας, ἐλπίδ[ας] σ[ω]τηριώδε[ι]ς ἔχοντες ἐκ ταύτης ἐπ' ἀληθείας τυχεῖν λήθης τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν πικρῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀνάπαυλαν ἐνδελεχῆ χορεῦσαι ὑπερευχ[± 28]
 5. μέρεσιν ἐφιλοπρ[αγμ]ονήθημεν οὐκ ὡς ἔτυχεν καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρᾶγμα ἐξεῖπεν οὐκ ἠύραμεν, μὴ ὄντος λυτρουμένου μήτε σώσοντος εἰ μὴ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ὑπεροχωτάτους καὶ ἐνδόξους [± 28]
 6. τοῦ πανοικτιστοῦ Θε(ο)[ῦ]. Τὸ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρᾶγμα ἐν τούτοις ἔχομεν. + Διδάσκωμεν τὴν ὑπερφυῆ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐνδοξον δεσποτείαν ὡς μωρίαν καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν ἀμύθητον ἐνόσησεν τις ἀταξία φερόμ[ενος ± 24]
 7. καταγόμενος πρὸ [τῆς] π[ό]λεως (?) καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκπληξιν τῶν νόμων καρπούμενος μήτε ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος κατὰ φόβον Θεοῦ. Οὐκ ὤκνησεν γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος μάταιος καὶ ὀλισθηρὸς καὶ .[± 28]
 8. πονηρὸν ἀπεργά[σασθαι] ἑαυτῶ βίον τε καὶ ἐργαστή[ρ]ιον καὶ τὸ μεμημένον [.οι] χριστιανικὸν ἀθετῆσαι σέβας καὶ θρησκός, καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ ξοάνοις ἀφιερῶσαι σήκους, ἀντιπολέμιον ἑαυτὸν ο[± 28]
 9. σκάνδαλα ποιησά[μενος] ἐν τῶ αὐτὸν τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἦτοι Βλέμυσι ἀ[ν]ακαινίσασθαι, μεθ' ὃ καίπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν αἴδιον ἐπιγινώσκουν Θεὸν ὑπεστράφοντο τῶν ἐξουδενώσεως εἰδώ[λων ± 25]
 10. ὠμοφάγων. Ὁ τοιοῦ[τος δ'] ἐπισπώ[μ]ενος ἔθελεν συν ὁμοίων ἀτάκτων· καὶ ἐπραίτευσαν ἡμᾶς παντελῶς καὶ ἀο[ι]κῆτους τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐξεπόρθησεν οἰκίας, λεηλατήσας τὰ παντοῖα ἡμῶν πρᾶγματ[α ± 27]
 11. τέκνα πλέον βαρβ[άρων] τ[ο]ύτοις κακῶς διαπραξάμε[ν]ος συνομόνοι[α]ν τοῖς [εἰ]ρημέ(νοις) βαρβάροι[ς] καὶ ἄδειαν πράττω[ν] ἐν ἅπασι κεχρη[μ]ένοι[ς] κακοῖς αὐτον[ο]μί[α]ς τρόπῳ καθ' ὃ [Ἰ]ερωβοάμ τὰς δαμάλει[ς ± 27]

12. εἰς τὰ εἶδωλα· ὁ τοιοῦ[τος π]λέον τούτ[ου] ἐξεργάσατο [ύ]πήκοο[ς] βαρβάρους γενόμενος καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐζήτει ἐκῶν (?) τότε Κολλοῦθος [ὁ] λαμπρό(τατος) ἐπιφάνει[αν] πρὸ[ς] αὐτό[ν] διὰ τὴν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ κτισθέν[τος] ἡ[παρ]ανομίαν καὶ [ἐ]πιτιμίαν ἡπαμίαν[αν] τοῦ [± 28]
13. συνήθροισεν πολλοὺς [τοιού]τους παρ[ε]πομένους [αὐ]τῶ, ἐπο[ί]ησεν μετὰ τὴν [πό]ρθησιν τῶν οἰκημά[των] ἡμῶ[ν] καὶ τῆ[ν] ἐκε[ί]νων δια[ρ]παγήν, [κ]ατέ[στρ]εψεν τὰ πλεῖ[σ]τα μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ [..]α κατ' ἐ[ν]έπρησεν ο[...].α. [± 28]
14. ἡμῖν καὶ νηπίων τέ[κνω]ν κο...[.].[.].νον ...εν ὑ[.]. ὁ ὠμοφάγος ἐκ[εῖ]νος [καὶ (?)] μίξοβάρβαρος[ς] καὶ μίξ[έ]λλη, ἀπόντω[ν] ἡμῶν [καὶ] παρόντω[ν] ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]σ[δε] [τ]ῆς πόλεως Ἀν[τ]ινόου[ς] δημοσίας χρε[ί]ας ἐνεκ- ± 27]
15. αὐτονομῶν ἀπήτ[η]σεν ἑαυτῶ οἰκειωσάμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐπομένης αὐτῶ τῶ[ν] ἀτάκτων συνόδου· [κατ]εδαπάνωσαν εἰς ἑαυ[τ]οὺς ἀφόβως καὶ τὰ ἀ[μ]πελικά αὐ[τ]ῶν χωρία ἀπετρύγησεν ἀπηλ[2/3].η.[± 28]
16. μείναντα πρὸς λύμην τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου καὶ τελεί[αν] ἡμῶν ἀνατροπήν· ἐξω[2/3].ι πρόσπορίσας βαρβάρους ἔθνεσι δῶρα καὶ λωτίσματα, συνθηρη[σ]κεύων τοῖς τοιού[τοις] ὁ βέβηλος καὶ πα[ρ]θeno.. [± 31]
17. δεῦρο ὑπὸ συλλησ[τῶ]ν (?) τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδικὴν ἐγγόν[η]ν (?) καταμοιχεύσας [..]. ἀδεῶς. Καὶ προσε[π]ι τούτοις τὰ ἱερά σίκνα χ[ω]νεύ[σας] χρυσᾶ εἰς κλα[ν]ίου[ν] ἄβρας βαρβάρω[ν 2/3] χειρῶν καὶ αὐτό[ς] μεταποιησάμενος ± 27]
18. εἰ οἷόν τέ ἐστι. Διὸ παρ[ακα]λοῦμεν τὴν ὑπερφυῆ ὑ[μῶ]ν εὐκλειαν τὰ πάνδεινα τούτ[ου] τοῦ ἀτοπωτάτου καὶ ἀναξί[ως] ἔχοντος τῆς [κλή]σεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνό[μα]τος, ἅτινα χάρτης [οὐ] χωρεῖ οὔτε γλώσ[σαις] ἐκφράσαι [± 31]
19. ἀνασταλῆναι καὶ [παντε]λῶς ἀναιρεθῆναι πλ[έον] καπνοῦ εὐκατάγν[ω]στον (?) σ[βέν]νυσθαι ὥστ[ε] τὸ μνημ[ό]συνον τούτου καὶ τῆς ῥ (?) ἰζης πώποτ[ε] ...]θῆναι, ὅπως ἐ[ύ]ρωμεν εὐκόλω[ς] βι[ώ]ναι οἷοι [± 31]
20. τὰ ἴδια τῶ δημοσίῳ [λόγ]ῳ ἐξυπηρετῆσαι τῇ το[ύ]τ[ου] εἰσ[φορᾶ] κατὰ τ[ὸ] ἔθος καὶ εὐρωμεν ἡσ[ύ]χως] διατρίψαι, προσ[ευ]χ[ό]μενοι ἀδιαλείπτως] τῶ ἀγαθῶ καὶ παν[ε]πόπτη Θεῶ ὑπ[ε]ρ [σωτ]ηρίας καὶ διαμονῆς ± 24]
21. ὑπερφύεστα(τοι) καὶ ἐ[ύ]κλεέστα(τοι) στρατηλ(άται), ὑπατοι, [π]ατρικιοι, δοῦκες, ἀγ[ο]υστάλιοι, κύριοι. † αω +[+]+

¹ To Flavius Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Theodorus Constantinus <Martyrius> Iulianus Athanasius, the most glorious commander, ex-consul and most extraordinary patrician of Justin the prefect, *dux et augustalis* of the Thebaid for the second year.

² Petition and supplication from the most pitiable councillors of Omboi, the slaves of your [...].

³ The inhabitants of the whole of our unfortunate Thebaid know well that we have found favour with (our) God and Saviour Christ since our wretchedness is again deemed worthy of your celebrated presence [which is praised all-around], ⁴ we who,

on the basis of that (presence), entertain the salutary hope of really forgetting the bitter injustices that have befallen us and of celebrating perpetual rest, praying (?) [...] ⁵ we were the victims of greed out of proportions and had no chance to explain our case in its entirety, as there was nobody who could deliver or save us except for you, most eminent and glorious [...] ⁶ of God who pities all. Our case is as follows.

We inform your extraordinary and glorious lordship that someone has fallen ill with unspeakable madness and instability, being carried away by disorder [...] ⁷ ... before the city, and having enjoyed no terror for the laws nor sparing people out of fear of God. For that fool, renegade and [...] did not shrink [...] ⁸ from making his own life and deeds evil, from setting aside the taught Christian worship and religion and from consecrating shrines with demons and wooden statues, [(thereby) declaring himself (?)] an adversary [...] ⁹ and he laid traps by renewing the sanctuaries for the barbarians, that is, Blemmyes, after which they, although they had turned away from the despicable idols to know the eternal God, [...] ¹⁰ eaters of raw meat. By persuading them, that man bewitched (them) with his outlaws looking like him. They plundered us completely and he destroyed our houses, so that they became uninhabitable after having robbed (all) our various possessions ... [...] our] ¹¹ children, worse than barbarians (do), having concluded an evil agreement with these said barbarians, and passing over fearlessness on every occasion to those wicked people who behaved by taking the law into their own hands, just as Jerobeam [who ...] the heifers [...] ¹² to the idols. That person achieved, even worse than (Jerobeam) did, submitting himself to barbarians, and the things for which the illustrious Kollouthos then for his own accord sought to let him appear in front of him (?) because of the lawlessness of that which was built by him and the all-abominable crime [...] ¹³ he assembled many such people escorting him; he also caused, after the destruction of our houses, their robbery; he overturned the bulk with their help and laid in ashes [...] ¹⁴ to us and of our young children [...] that eater of raw meat, half barbarian and half pagan,²³ while we were absent and present here in this city, Antinoopolis, on account of official (tax) business [...] ¹⁵ taking the law in his own hand, he collected [the taxes (of the ordinary taxpayers)], appropriating (the taxes) for himself with the band of outlaws which accompanied him. They also fearlessly spent (the taxes) on themselves. And he harvested the vineyards of (the ordinary taxpayers) [...] ¹⁶ having remained, to the detriment of the public treasury and our total destruction. Moreover, after he had even sent the choicest gifts to barbarian tribes and worshipped together with these people, the wretched man and [violator (?)] of girls [...] ¹⁷ here by fellow-brigands of the same person and having fearlessly violated his own daughter (?). And on top of that having melted the imperial standards into gold to make a bracelet for a favourite barbarian slave girl [...] and having himself pretended [...] ¹⁸ if it is possible.

We therefore entreat your extraordinary honour that the all-dreadful deeds of that perfectly crazy man who is also not worthy of the name he bears, (deeds) which a papyrus roll cannot contain and which we cannot describe with (our) tongues [...] ¹⁹ are suppressed and that he is totally eliminated who deserves (?) to be condemned until he is quenched and is more reduced than smoke, so that the memory of that man [and of his family (?)] is forgotten (?) once and for all, in order that we find means to live peacefully [...] ²⁰ our part (of the taxes) to the fisc and to assist according to custom in the collection of this (part) and in order that we find means to pass our time in peace, while we continually pray to the good God who sees all on behalf of the salvation and preservation [of ...], ²¹ most extraordinary and honourable commanders, consuls, patricians, *duces, augustales*, lords.

²³ See p. 162 (n. 253).

Appendix 5: Recently Published Late Antique Inscriptions from the First Cataract Area

Text and translation are taken from Dijkstra, 'Late Antique Inscriptions'. Nos. 1-4 are from the East Church at Philae, nos. 5-8 from a Late Antique quay wall at Elephantine.

1. † Μᾶρκος 'Markos'
2. Νίγερ Δῖος † 'Niger, Dios'
3.
Λουκᾶ διακ(όνου) 'of Loukas, the deacon'
Μακεδωνίου . 'of Makedonios'
† Δῖος Κολλοῦθος 'Dios, Kollouthos'
4. †† Θεόδωρος Σευῆρος 'Theodoros, Severos'
5.] καὶ Δῖος Πασμητ ἀκτουάρ(ιος)
'... and Dios, son of Pasmēt, *actuariūs*'
6. ια ἰνδ(ικτίονος)
†
'at the eleventh indiction'
7. εἷς (?) Θεὸς
ὁ βοηθός
'there is one (?) God, the helper'
8. ἀνέβη ὁ *traces?*
Νῖλος ἐπὶ τῆς πόδ(ας ?) ἐκίνου
ὑποποδίου τοῦ σταύρου
τοῦ μηνὸς Θῶθ κ
†

2. Νῖλος: read Νεῖλος, τῆς: read τοὺς (?), ἐκίνου: read ἐκείνου

'The Nile rose to the feet (?) of that foot bench of the cross in the month Thoth, the 20th'.