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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

VOLUME SIX

Michigan. University.

DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI FROM THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

GERALD M. BROWNE

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PREFACE

The present edition comprises twenty-six documentary papyri from the collection at the University of Michigan. It continues the enumeration of the Michigan series and starts from the last number in the collection edited by Mrs. Elinor Husselman, a volume which is now in press. The texts are in Greek, with the exception of No. 592, a Latin military document. Although the papyri cover a period of 750 years, from the mid-third century B.C. (No. 601) to the sixth century A.D. (No. 591), most of them belong to the first three centuries of our era. They have been chosen to illustrate many different aspects of the civilization of Greco-Roman Egypt. The edition nevertheless contains several groups of closely related documents. Three texts (Nos. 583-585) illuminate the history of a piece of house property in the Fayum village of Bacchias. Nos. 592 and 593 are lists of soldiers which reflect the military organization of the early Dominate. Nos. 589-591 are all orders for arrest, while Nos. 595-597 concern obligations and taxes connected with the maintenance of the irrigation system. Of the remaining texts, two are of special interest: No. 578 establishes the probable existence of the fourteen-year census in 19/20 A.D.; No. 594 bears on the severe economic crisis in Egypt during the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

This edition was originally submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the University of Michigan in 1968. I wish to express my sincerest appreciation to Professor H. C. Youtie, who supervised the dissertation; without the encouragement, guidance and criticism which he generously provided, this work could not have been written. My thanks go also to Professors O. M. Pearl and A. E. Samuel and to Dr. J. Rea for their help and advice. To Professors R. O. Fink and J. F. Gilliam I am grateful for assistance in resolving the perplexities afforded by the military papyri in this volume. Finally, to my wife, who made it all worthwhile, I am especially indebted.

Gerald M. Browne

Cambridge, Massachusetts
February, 1970

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EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

In this volume, the standard editorial procedure of papyrus publications is followed. I have added all accents, breathings and punctuation which appear in the text and have recorded in the *apparatus criticus* any diacritical marks occurring in the original. The symbols have their customary meaning:

[ ]	lacuna
⟦ ⟧	deletion in original
⟨ ⟩	omission in original
{ }	superfluous letter or letters
( )	resolution of a symbol or abbreviation

Dots within square brackets indicate approximately the number of lost letters. Dots outside brackets represent visible but illegible letters. A dot placed under a letter signifies that the letter is uncertain.

In the *apparatus criticus* I have normalized all aberrancies in spelling and have noted various diplomatic details which are not reproduced in the transcript of the text, such as the insertion of a word above the line.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations of papyrus publications, periodicals and works of reference are those which are in common use. In addition, the following should be noted:

BASP = The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.

Doc. Eserc. Rom. Eg. = Daris, S., *Documenti per la storia dell' esercito romano in Egitto.* Pubblicazioni dell' Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Scienze storiche, Vol. IX, Milan, 1964.

O. Sijpesteijn = Sijpesteijn, P. J., *Griechische Ostraka aus dem Riiksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.* Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijkmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden XLIV, 1963, pp. 34-47; XLV, 1964, pp. 56-86

P. Mich. Michael = Michael, E. M., *A Critical Edition of Select Michigan Papyri.* Diss. Michigan (publ. on microfilm), Ann Arbor, 1965.

P. New York = Lewis, N., *Greek Papyri in the Collection of New York University.* Vol. I: Fourth Century Documents from Karanis, Leiden, 1967.

P. Omaggio XI Congr. = Bartoletti, V., et al., *Dai papiri della Società Italiana: Omaggio all'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Florence, 1965.

P. Yale = Oates, J. F., Samuel, A. E., Welles, C. B., *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, Vol. I. American Studies in Papyrology, Vol. II, New Haven and Toronto, 1967.

577. Official Letter Concerning Ἀφήλικες

Inv. 832 | 14 x 14 cm. | Time of Claudius or Nero

The papyrus contains an official form (lines 3-6) in a skillful hand which resembles that of *P. Graec. Berol.* 16b (67 A.D.). Above and below these lines is a letter written in a rather unpracticed, sprawling hand, which is similar to that found in *P. Lond.* III, 1166 (= *Facsimiles* III, pl. 19) of 42 A.D., though the latter is more cursive. We may infer that the form was written first because the prescript of the letter (lines 1-2) has been crowded into the space above it.

The palaeographical parallels which we have just cited are sufficient for dating the text to the time of Claudius or Nero. This date is also supported by the fact that this text, which reflects a degree of economic distress, fits in well with what we know of the critical state of affairs in Egypt under these emperors.[1] During this period persons subject to poll tax (λαογραφία) defaulted in large numbers;[2] in Philadelphia, for example, perhaps more than half of the male population were in arrears for that impost in the seventh year of Claudius (46/47 A.D.).[3] In our papyrus, in which the correspondents are probably both πράκτορες λαογραφίας,[4] the writer of the letter asks the recipient to exact payment of poll tax from ἀφήλικες (lines 9-11) who are in arrears (lines 3-6). The word ἀφῆλιξ is used in the papyri to refer to any male below the age of 14, i.e., below the age of liability for poll tax.[5] No evidence has ever appeared that ἀφήλικες were subject to λαογραφία,[6] and the whole tax structure of Roman Egypt is opposed to such a concept.[7] Consequently the Michigan papyrus poses an embarrassing problem, though perhaps not an insoluble one.

A similar situation is seen in *P. Col.* II, 1, recto 2, ii.33; v.13, 20,[8] 22; viii.24. Here persons who are 14 years old and subject to λαογραφία are designated as ἀφήλικες in marginal notations. As the editors suggest (p. 39), "the taxpayer involved had just been inserted in this tax list from the register of *aphelikes*." The reference to him as ἀφῆλιξ is a bookkeeping device for showing

1. For a discussion of this crisis, see introd. to *P. Mich.* 594.

2. On the poll tax (λαογραφία) of Roman Egypt, see S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 2, Princeton, 1938, Ch. 8, and V. Tcherikover, "*Syntaxis* and *Laographia*," *JJP* 4, 1950, pp. 179-207. It was paid by every male starting at the age of 14, with the exception of certain privileged classes, such as Roman citizens and citizens of the Greek cities. The age of exemption seems to have varied between 60 and 62; see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 107-109.

3. See introd. to *P. Mich.* 594, pp. 65-67.

4. On these liturgical tax collectors, see Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 290; and see also below, introd. to *P. Mich.* 582, pp. 14f.

5. See, e.g., N. Hohlwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, Brussels, 1912, p. 267.

6. See Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 105; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 197. An apparent exception is *WO* 52, in which Ἀρπαῆσις Φενώφεως ἀφῆλ(ι)ξ pays eight drachmas for λαογραφία (cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 400, n. 55). But the reading is not at all certain. Where Wilcken read ἀφῆλ(ι)ξ, the original editors (*The Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, 2nd Ser., Vol. I, London, 1884-94) read Ἀφῆαξ, a personal name, and the plate reproduced in the *editio princeps* strongly supports their reading (see pl. I, no.5). The passage is too uncertain to be used as evidence.

7. Consider, e.g., the census, the primary purpose of which was to determine who was responsible for λαογραφία. It was held every 14 years, so that no person, previously an ἀφῆλιξ, could escape (see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 96 and 105).

8. The editors read ἀφῆλ(ιξ) ἄπ(ασα) λαο(γραφία), but a similar notation in *P. Mich.* 578.9, restored as ἀπαί(τησον), suggests that the Columbia papyrus be resolved ἀπ(αίτησον) λαο(γραφίαν) *aut sim.*

that he has just been removed from the list of *ἀφήλικες* and transferred to the poll-tax register.

The interpretation of *ἀφήλικες* in the Michigan papyrus is further facilitated by reference to the official form, around which the letter was written. This form, which was meant to serve as a model for drawing up the poll-tax receipts,[9] runs as follows: *ἀφηλίκων παραγεγραμμένων πρὸς ἔτη η L λαογραφίας ἐτῶν τόσων δραχμαὶ αἴδε*. The verb *παραγράφειν* is to be especially noted; it refers specifically to the registration of a debt against a person's name on tax lists,[10] in this case poll-tax lists. We thus have here implicit reference to a transfer from lists of *ἀφήλικες* to poll-tax registers, a transfer similar to that observed in the Columbia papyrus. *Πρὸς ἔτη η L* could be taken as a unit dependent on *παραγεγραμμένων*; the meaning would then be "registered for debt for eight years." However, not only is L (= *ἔτη*) redundant, but, more serious, a contradiction is set up with *ἐτῶν τόσων*, a phrase which implies variation in the length of the period of indebtedness. It is preferable to associate *η L* (= *ἔτους*) with *παραγεγραμμένων*, i.e., "registered for debt . . . in the eighth year." At the same time, if we add the article to *πρὸς ἔτη*, the resultant phrase will refer to the attainment of majority,[11] a meaning which is entirely appropriate to the context. The phrase *πρὸς ⟨τὰ⟩ ἔτη* may be rendered "with reference to the age of majority," i.e. "by virtue of their having reached majority."

(2nd hd.) *Ἡρακλείδης Διωγένης χαίριν καὶ διαπαντὸς ὑγένω.*
(1st hd.) *ἀφηλίκων παραγεγραμμένων*
πρὸς ⟨τὰ⟩ ἔτη η (ἔτους)
λαογραφίας ἐτῶν τόσων
δραχμαὶ αἴδε.
(2nd hd.) *οὐδενὶ δέδωκεν τῦς πρακτώροις μα{χα}χαιρωφόρον. μέχρι τῆς ἀριθμήσαιως γόργευο ὅσον δύνῃ πυεῖν καὶ ἀπετῆσαι. πάντος τοὺς ἀφήλικος ἀπέτησον καὶ κατάντησον εἰς μικρὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρίθμησιν. {ἐὰν [ἔ]χις} ἐὰν ἔχις Βελλῆν μετὰ σοῦ ἔχαι αὐτόν. πέμψις ἄνω εἰς Πεταῖσιν υεἰὸν..[..]..[...].[..].[..].[.].[ca. 7]*

— — — — — — — — — — — —

1. *Διογένη, χαίρειν.* 2. *ὑγιαίνειν.* 7. *οὐδείς* (see note), *τοῖς.* 7-8. *πράκτορσι.* 8. *μαχαιροφόρον.* 9. *ἀριθμήσεως, γόργευε.* 10. *ποιεῖν, ἀπαιτῆσαι, πάντας.* 11. *ἀφήλικας, ἀπαίτησον.* 13-14. *ἔχῃς.* 14. *ἔχε.* 15. *πέμψεις.* 15-16. *υἱόν.*

(2nd hd.) Herakleides to Diogenes, greetings and lasting health.

(1st hd.) For the poll tax on *aphelikes* registered in virtue of their majority in the registers of year 8, for x years, x drachmas.

9. Forms were often used to draft documents; see especially *SB* VI, 9226 which preserves official forms for documents of *ἐγγύη* and *μίσθωσις ἐλαιῶνος*. Cf. *P. Cair. Preis.* 21, introd., for the preparation in advance of the various parts of the poll-tax receipt.

10. See G. Chalon, *L'Edit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, Lausanne, 1964, p. 214, and n.3.

11. Cf. the common expression *οὐδέπω ὢν τῶν ἐτῶν* used to refer to *ἀφήλικες*; for examples of this expression see *WB* I, s.v. *ἔτος*, 1.

(2nd hd.) No one has given an armed guard to the tax collectors. Up to the *arithmesis* exert yourself and do all you can and exact payment. Exact payment from all the *aphelikes* and return for a short time for the *arithmesis*. If you have Belles with you, hold on to him. You will send up to Petaisis, son of . . . .

4. *η* (*ἔτους*): either year 8 of Claudius (47/48) or year 8 of Nero (61/62).

5-6. The role played by the indefinite pronouns *τόσων*, *αἵδε* can be compared to the similar use of *τις*, *ποθέν*, *ποιός* and *ποσός* in *SB* 9226, where line 2 has *τωὶ στρ(ατηγῷ) τίς τινός ποθεν*, and lines 11-12, *τωί τινός ποθεν παρὰ τίς τινός τοῦ τ[ι]νός ποθεν*. For *αἵδε* see *LSJ* s.v. *ὅδε*, I.6.

7-8. This sentence can be corrected in a number of ways. The simplest is to assume that *οὐδενί* is a blunder for *οὐδείς*.

8. *μα{χα}χαιρωφόρον*: the *μαχαιροφόρος* is associated with the *πράκτορες λαογραφίας* in *P. Teb.* 391.20. The need for such an armed guard suggests the difficulties involved in obtaining payment, and is a further indication of the economic distress of the time. Cf. Chalon, *Edit*, p. 58 and n.27.

9. *ἀριθμήσαιως*: the *ἀριθμησις* denotes the report of collection, which tax collectors were required to make regularly to the state banks and to the strategos. These reports normally covered a period which extended from the middle of one month to the middle of the next. See V.B. Schuman, "Issuance of Tax Receipts in Roman Egypt," *Chron. d'Egypte* 38, 1963, p. 312, n.3. Frequently, as here and in line 13, the meaning of *ἀρίθμησις* is extended to include the accounting period and the accounting itself; cf. *P. Mich.* 582, ii.8-9.

γόργευο (= *γόργευε*): a rare word, found in Hesychius, who has *γόργευσον· τάχυνον, σπεῦσον*; Symmachus, *Eccles.* 10, 10. In the papyri it is found elsewhere only in *P. Par.* 18.6, 12, and *BGU* 1097 (= B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*, 1925, No. 38), line 16; see further Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe*, 38, 16n.

15. *Πεταῖσιν*: on the various ways in which the name Isis appears in Egyptian names, see G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 61.

578. Census List

Inv. 616 — 10.2 x 17.5 cm. — Probably 22/23 A.D.

The papyrus contains a list of boys who are approaching, or in some cases have reached, the age at which they must begin paying the poll tax (viz. 14 years[1]). The list was compiled to provide information for the officials who were concerned with entering the names of fourteen-year-old youths among the taxpayers. The name of each individual is followed by the names of his father and mother, then by the regnal year—6, 7 or 8—of an unnamed emperor, and finally by the individual's age. A similar method of indicating ages occurs elsewhere, e.g., *P. Ross. Georg.* II, 12;[2] cf. *P. Lond.* II, 261, p. 53 (= *Stud. Pal.* IV, p. 62) Cols. iii-xviii.[3]

The provenance of the papyrus, though not recorded, is certainly Philadelphia. Not only does it belong to a small group (inv. 615-619) inventoried as coming from Philadelphia, but also most of the names found in it are common at Philadelphia. Especially significant is *Στράτιππος Τιτᾶνος* (line 10), who is found only twice elsewhere, in *P. Alex.* 9.7-8,[4] which the editor assigns

1. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 197; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 105.

2. See M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Egypte romaine*, *P. Lugd.-Bat.* V, 1952, pp. 143f.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 138f.

4. Here the reading of the edition, *Στράτιππος τειτανος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ*, may be corrected to *Στράτιππος Τειτᾶνος* (= *Τιτᾶνος*) *ὡς (ἐτῶν) λξ*. (The plate provided at the end of the volume shows that the dotted letters are quite certain.) A comparison of the Alexandrian papyrus with the Michigan text, where Stratippos' age is 14 in 21/22 A.D. (see below, p. 4) enables us to date the Alexandrian papyrus in 44/45 A.D.

to the Fayum and dates to the first century, and P. Mich. Michael 10.3, which is explicitly stated to be from Philadelphia and was written in 48 A.D.[5] The rarity of the name Titan[6] makes it certain that the same Stratippos is referred to in all three papyri. Since P. Mich. Michael 10 comes from Philadelphia, we may conclude that the other two papyri have the same provenance.[7]

We may determine the date of *P. Mich.* 578 by again concentrating on Stratippos, son of Titan. In P. Mich. Michael 10, dated in 48 A.D., Stratippos was old enough to have a son who was λαογραφούμενος (14 years old or older). *P. Mich.* 578 records Stratippos' age as 14 in year 8 of an unnamed emperor, and consequently it must have been written early in the Principate, almost certainly under Tiberius, in which case year 8 = 21/22 A.D. It is highly unlikely that it refers to the 8th year of Augustus, i.e., 23/22 B.C., as this would make Stratippos 84 years old in 48 A.D. The assignment of the papyrus to the reign of Tiberius also derives support from palaeographical considerations. The hand of *P. Mich.* 578 resembles quite closely the third hand of *P. Mert.* 10, which is dated in 21 A.D. *P. Mich.* 578 was probably drawn up not later than the 9th year of Tiberius (22/23 A.D.), as is suggested by line 9, where a marginal note – ἀπαί(τησον) – is prefixed to an entry which gives the age of the boy in question as 13 in year 8. If correctly resolved (see n. *ad. loc.*), ἀπαί(τησον) implies that he had reached the age of poll-tax liability when the list was drawn up. And, since no date later than the 8th year is given, it is unlikely that the list was written later than year 9.

Theoretically, the source of the information from which such a list could be made would be provided either by (a) the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί, census declarations, as collected in the τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι[8] or summarized in the census registers;[9] or (b) the ὑπομνήματα ἐπιγεννήσεως, notifications of birth, as recorded in the γραφαὶ ἐπιγεγενημένων.[10] The second category, however, may be eliminated from consideration, because the γραφαί seem to have been drawn up only in the πόλεις.[11] Furthermore, the ages of the persons entered in such lists were arranged in chronological order,[12] while we have instead in our papyrus a haphazard arrangement of years. Thus, the census returns seem to have been the only source available for population lists at the village level, and the fact that the τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι and the census registers were arranged topographically, by household,[13] could explain the apparently random arrangement of ages in the Michigan papyrus.

The lists drawn from the census documents were of a fiscal character; those that have thus far been published[14] not only list the age group which was subject to λαογραφία, but often include ἀφήλικες and ὑπερετεῖς.[15] It is with such lists that the Michigan papyrus is to be classed. Consequently, assuming that it was drawn from census declarations, we find a useful analogy in *P. Lond.* II, 261, p. 53 (= *Stud. Pal.* IV, p. 62), a tax list which was in part based on census returns. In lines 28ff. it shows that the 8th year of Nero (61/62 A.D.) was the census year and

5. For the text, see below, introd. to *P. Mich.* 579, p. 8, n. 19.

6. In papyri it occurs elsewhere only in *P. Oxy.* 2230. 5, 6, 11; *P. Cornell* 21.269; *BGU* 1559.3, and perhaps also in *P. Princet.* 8 iv.7 (if we read Τιτάν for the editor's Τίταν(ος)). The first of these comes from Herakleopolis, while the others are from Philadelphia.

7. Further prosopographical study based on *P. Lond.* II, 257 (p. 19), which lists λαογραφούμενοι from Philadelphia (cf. *BGU* 1614, introd., p. 116), reveals that certain individuals recorded there may be descendants of those recorded in *P. Mich.* 578: Θέων son of Πανομγεῦς *P. Mich.* 578.1 and *P. Lond.*, 257.39; Κεφάλων son of Πατούαμτις *P. Mich.* 578. 7 and *P. Lond.*, 257.212.

8. Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, p. 131

9. O.M. Pearl, "Census Documents from Karanis," *Chron. d'Egypte* 28, 1953, p. 352.

10. Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, p. 141.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

12. Cf. P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres . . . , Mémoires LIII, ii, Brussels, 1958, p. 60.

13. . Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, p. 135; Pearl, "Census Documents," p. 352.

14. They are discussed in detail by Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, pp. 136ff.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-139.

that the returns were sent in during that year and the subsequent three years.[16] The three-year period in the Michigan papyrus points to a comparable situation; we may thus regard year 6 of Tiberius, i.e. 19/20 A.D., as a census year and assume that the list was excerpted from the returns of years 6, 7 and 8.

With year 6 of Tiberius as a census year, we have additional evidence of the existence of a quatrodecennial census 14 years earlier than the date previously accepted as the beginning of the first cycle. Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, pp. 47-52, carefully considered the evidence then available and came to the following conclusion: "si aucun document n'empêche de faire remonter le cycle plus haut que 33/34 après J.-C.,[17] aucun cependant n'en atteste l'existence avant cette date."[18] They found that *P. Oxy.* 254 suggested the possibility of a census in 19/20, but that its evidence was far from conclusive. That text is a census return addressed to Eutychides and Theon in their capacity of topogrammateis and komogrammateis of Oxyrhynchus; these men are known from *P. Oxy.* 252 to have been in office in the 6th year of Tiberius, i.e., 19/20 A.D.[19] But Hombert and Préaux concluded that this return did not have to be dated in 19/20 A.D., since the office in question was probably of five years' duration,[20] and that consequently the text need not fit into the quatrodecennial cycle; it could just as easily represent the annual *ἀπογραφή*, a Ptolemaic institution which survived in the Roman period until the introduction of the 14-year cycle.[21] However, the new evidence provided by *P. Mich.* 578 strongly suggests that *P. Oxy.* 254 is to be referred to the census of 19/20.

Θέων Πανομγέως μητρὸς
[Τα]νετβῆις L ς L ιγ
[....]οῦθος Πτόλλιδος μητ(ρὸς) Κολεῦς ....
.[..].θας Ἁρμώσιος μητ(ρὸς) Ταήσιο(ς) L ς L ι.
Ἰσχῖς Μάλλιτος μητ(ρὸς) Θεναμούνιος L ς L ιδ
Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλήου μητ(ρὸς) Ἡραίδος L η L ιγ
Κεφάλων Πατουάμτις μητ(ρὸς) Ταουῶτος L η L ι[.]
Ψοσνεῦς Ἀτρήους μη(τρὸς) Ταλοῦτος L ζ L ιγ
ἀπαί(τησον?) Ἡρακλῆς Ὀρσενούφιο(ς) μη(τρὸς) Ταήσιος L η L ιγ
[Σ]τράτιππος Τιτᾶνος μη(τρὸς) Ἑλενοῦ(τος) L η L ιδ

7. Ταουῶτος: ου written above α.

Theon, son of Panomgeus and Tanetbeis, 13 years old in year 6.
....outhos, son of Ptollis and Koleus ....
....thas, son of Harmiusis and Taesis, 1. years old in year 6.
Ischis, son of Mallis and Thenamounis, 14 years old in year 6.
Herakles, son of Herakles and Herais, 13 years old in year 8.
Kephalon, son of Patouamtis and Taouos, 1. years old in year 8.
Psosneus, son of Hatres and Talous, 13 years old in year 7.
Exact payment. Herakles, son of Orsenouphis and Taesis, 13 years old in year 8.
Stratippos, son of Titan and Helenous, 14 years old in year 8.

16. See *ibid.*, pp. 79 and 138-140 for discussion of this text.

17. 33/34 is the date of the earliest census return, *SB* 5661, which fits into the 14-year cycle.

18. *Recensement*, p. 50.

19. See *P. Mich.* 580, p. 11.

20. *Ibid.*

21. See *P. Oslo* II, p. 72, and Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, pp. 48-50.

2. [Τα]νετβῆις: on the common use of -ις for -ιος, both in the nominative and in the genitive, see D.J. Georgacas, "On the Nominal Endings -ις, -ιν, in Later Greek," *CP* 43, 1948, pp. 243-260; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1923-1938 I, ii, p. 21, n.3.

3. [....]οῦθος: perhaps [Κολλ]οῦθος or [Μεν]οῦθος.

Κολεῦς: for the indeclinable use of personal names, see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, iii, p. 195, 26.

5. Μάλλιτος: only here, as far as I have been able to ascertain; *NB* has Μάλλιος, Μαλλίων, Μάλλος.

6. Ἡρακλήου: in the *κοινή* the genitive of Ἡρακλῆς is usually -κλέους during the Ptolemaic period, while in the Roman period the heteroclitics -κλήου, -κλέου, -κλείου became more usual; cf. G. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 162, n.2; Mayser, *Grammatik* I, i, p. 206, n.1; ii, p. 40, 4, a, *Anmerk.* 3.

7. Πατουάμτις: cf. note to line 2.

9. ἀπαί(τησον?): ἀπαιτέω is the technical term for the exaction of taxes; see *P. Mich.* 577.10 and 11, and *WB* I, s.v., 3; IV, s.v., 1. I have not been able to find an exact parallel for this word as a marginal notation, but ἀφῆλιξ ιγ (ἐτῶν), found in *SB* 9555b, 28 (*marg. sinistr.*), a census register, is comparable, since both notations are concerned with liability for poll tax. See also above, p. 1, and n.8. Cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 318.

579. Notification of Death

Inv. 1810 7.1 x 10.7 cm. Ca. 150 A.D.

The papyrus is incomplete at the bottom, and the lower half of the extant portion is damaged by numerous small holes. The hand, though less cursive, is similar to *P. Graec. Berol.* 23, which is dated in 144 A.D.

The text is a notification of death addressed to the grammateus of the city of Oxyrhynchus. The sender, Papontos, son of Alypos, reports that his father, who is described as τέλεως and ἄτεχνος, i.e. an adult without a trade, died in the month of Choiak.

The notification of death was an important part of the documentation used to implement the census in Roman Egypt.[1] It was necessary that the lists of those who were subject to poll tax should be kept up to date;[2] to this end the administration established a system whereby additions to, and subtractions from, the tax lists could easily be made.[3] Additions to the lists were made in the πόλεις by the aid of the notifications of birth (ὑπομνήματα ἐπιγεννήσεως), the records of the epicrisis, and the census declarations,[4] while in the κῶμαι only the records of the previous census seem to have been available.[5] Removal of a taxpayer's name from the lists was necessary if he had died or had disappeared from his ἰδία, or legal residence. In the latter case his flight was announced to the officials (in the villages as well as in the cities) through a declaration in which the nearest relatives declared that he had fled his residence (ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ξένην).[6] In the case of death, the cancellation of the taxpayer's name from the list was effected through a

1. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 105.

2. These lists are discussed by Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, pp. 136-141.

3. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 105.

4. Birth notifications and the epicrisis have been most recently studied by Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, pp. 48-65, 99-128.

5. Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, p. 144.

6. See N. Lewis, "Μερισμὸς Ἀνακεχωρηκότων," *JEA* 23, 1937, p. 68, n.5. For an example of such a notification, see *P. Mich.* 580.

notification sent by members of the family of the deceased to local officials.[7] Such notifications were submitted both in the cities and in the villages, and follow the general form of the *ὑπόμνημα*, with slight variations from nome to nome.[8] For the Oxyrhynchite Nome this form is usually the following:[9]

1) Address, in the form *τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*. The official regularly addressed is the *ἀμφοδογραμματεύς* or the *γραμματεὺς πόλεως*, if the return is made in the city of Oxyrhynchus; if it is made in one of the villages of the nome, it is usually addressed to the *κωμογραμματεύς*.

2) Notification of death, with indication of the status of the deceased as regards the poll tax. This is included because, if a person subject to poll tax died within the first six months of the year, his heirs paid only half of the amount due from him for the year.[10] The Oxyrhynchite declarations record whether the deceased was *ἀφῆλιξ* (under 14 years of age) or *ὑπερετής* (over 60).[11] The word *λαογραφούμενος*, common in death notices from other nomes, is not found in those from Oxyrhynchus, and consequently the status which it denotes is usually only implied by the absence of *ἀφῆλιξ* or *ὑπερετής*.[12] The Michigan papyrus explicitly refers to the person who died as *τέλειος*. This term, which appears only here in notifications of death, is elsewhere often used to indicate one who is not an *ἀφῆλιξ*.[13] Whether it is synonymous in this text with *λαογραφούμενος* is not certain, but this seems likely. In this section of the death notifications the declarant mentions the date of death as well as the section of the city in which the deceased is registered.

3) Request that the name of the deceased be entered in the *τάξις τετελευτηκότων*.[14]

4) Oath, in which the declarant swears by the *τύχη* of the emperor that his notification reports the truth.

5) Date on which the declaration was drawn up.

6) Subscription of declarant, which is generally omitted in the death notifications.

7) Subscription of officials involved. Like 6), this item is usually omitted.

The extant portion of the Michigan papyrus follows the above-mentioned form; it contains the address (lines 1-6) and the notification proper (lines 6-14). It breaks off after indicating the month in which the death occurred.

The literature which touches upon declarations of death has long debated whether their submission was optional or obligatory. Wilcken had assumed that it was optional, because the

7. Recent studies of death notifications are O. Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano: V. Le denunce di morte," *Aegyptus* 26, 1946, pp. 111-129; Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, pp. 65-77. To the list of notifications of death given in Montevecchi, pp. 111f., may be added *P. Flor.* 308; *P. Bouriant* 26; *P. Mert.* 9; 84; *P. Phil.* 6; 7; *SB* 9627; *P. Oxy.* 2564; *PSI* 1522; P. Mich. inv. 795 and 853 (partially published in *P. Mich.* II, p. 41); P. Mich. Michael 9 and 10; *BGU* 2021 and 2087; *P. Strassb.* 200; 306; 312.

8. See Montevecchi, "Denunce di morte," pp. 113-117. For the general form of *ὑπομνήματα* see Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, p. 100.

9. Montevecchi, "Denunce di morte," pp. 114-117; Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, pp. 68-76.

10. Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, p. 72.

11. Deaths of *ἀφήλικες* were reported because, as Scherer, *P. Phil.* 6.10n., remarks, "un *ἀφῆλιξ* était appelé à être un jour inscrit sur les rôles de la *λαογραφία* (cf. *WChr.* 62.7: *μήπω καταλήξας εἰς λαογραφίαν*). D'où l'utilité de déclarer son décès." Montevecchi ("Denunce di Morte," p. 119) and E. Seidl (*Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, Münch. Beitr. XVII, 1933, p. 53) wonder why the deaths of *ὑπερετεῖς*, who were not subject to poll tax, were also announced. The answer is probably that the notifications of death were used for making cancellations not only in the tax lists, but also in those general population lists which included everyone, regardless of age or sex (for which see Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement*, pp. 135f.).

12. Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, p. 72, n.95.

13. Cf. especially *P. Oxy.* 485.29-31: *ἐπιδοῦ(ναι) τούτου ἀντίγρ(αφον) τῇ Σ[αρα]πιάδι ἐὰν περιῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, κληρονόμοις [α]ὐ[τῆ]ς τελει[ο]ις, ἐὰν δὲ κα[ὶ] ἀφήλικ[ες] ὦσι, νομίμοις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρόποις* . . . . Cf. also *SB* 5342.6; and *P. Oxy.* 237 vii.15; R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (2nd ed.) Warsaw, 1955, p. 178.

14. For an example of such a list see J.G. Milne, "The Hawara Papyri," *Archiv* 5, 1913, pp. 395f.

taxpayer's survivors would naturally be eager to submit the declaration in order to avoid payment of at least some of the tax owed by the deceased.[15] First Seidl, then Montevecchi, questioned this assumption, on the grounds that the notifications of death were probably used for other purposes than simply to remove the dead person's name from the tax list.[16] To support their view they noted that death certificates were occasionally submitted for *ὑπερετεῖς*. Montevecchi also wondered whether the *τάξις τετελευτηκότων*, which seems to have been a well-established official listing, could be kept up to date and made accurate if it depended solely on voluntary declarations. Recently Mertens has expressed agreement with Montevecchi's view. To her arguments he adds a theoretical consideration, namely that the government had every reason to make the declarations obligatory because, unless it was notified that a taxpayer had died, it would have had no reason to look to his heirs for payment of the tax.[17]

Although Montevecchi has championed the view that these declarations were obligatory, she has expressed a serious reservation. In her own words: "una difficoltà a questa ipotesi potrebbe venire da un *argumentum a silentio:* cioè dalla mancanza di qualsiasi allusione a un obbligo, a una disposizione dell'autorità, nelle denunce stesse . . . ."[18] Her objection is now met, I believe, by P. Mich. Michael 10,[19] a notification of death which closes with an unusual phrase, *ἵν' ὦ ἀναίτιος καθάπερ καί εἰμι* (lines 18-19). These words, immediately following the request that the notification be submitted to the proper authorities, must mean that the purpose of sending the notification is that the declarant be *ἀναίτιος*, i.e., "free from guilt."[20] It is difficult to understand what the significance of this phrase would be, unless the declarations were obligatory. We are therefore forced to reconsider their purpose. They can no longer be interpreted as simply providing an opportunity for the survivors to avoid, at their own convenience, the payment of at least some of the poll tax of the deceased. They must now be regarded, as Mertens suggests, as fulfilling a requirement imposed by the government so that upon being informed of a death it could easily direct its demand for poll tax to the survivors.

Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ καὶ Σαραπίωνι
γρα(μματεῖ) πόλ(εως)
παρὰ Παποντῶτος Ἀλύπου
τοῦ Παποντῶτος μητρὸς
Ταρᾶτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεως. ὁ πατήρ μου
Ἄλυπ[ο]ς Παποντῶτος
[μη]τρὸς Τειρωνείας ἀπ[ὸ]
[τῆ]ς αὐτῆς πόλεως τε-

15. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 196; followed by E. Bickermann, "Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte: II. Ἀπογραφή, Οἰκογένεια, Ἐπίκρισις, Αἰγύπτιοι," *Archiv* 9, 1930, p. 25.

16. See above, n.11.

17. *Services de l'état civil*, p. 77.

18. "Denunce di morte," p. 119.

19. Because this text is not generally accessible, it is convenient to reproduce it here: Μάρωνι κωμογραμματεῖ Φι- |λαδελ(φείας) |παρὰ Στρατίππου τοῦ Τει- |τᾶνος τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδελ- ||φείας. ὁ υἱός μου Νεμεσίων |λαογραφούμενος περὶ τὴν |κώμην, ἐτελεύτησεν τῇ ε̄ |τοῦ Χοιὰχ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος |ἐνάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου ||Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος |Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ |Αὐτοκράτορος. διὸ ἐπιδί- |δωμί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως |προσανενέγκῃς οἷς καθή- ||κει καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα περι- |αιρεθ[ῆ] καὶ ἀνενεχθῇ |ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελευτηκ[ό-] |των τάξει ἵν' ὦ ἀναίτιος |καθάπερ καί εἰμι. ||εὐτύχει.

20. This is the meaning of *ἀναίτιος* elsewhere in the papyri; see *WB* I and IV, s.v., and cf. *SB* 9558.6: *ἀναιτίως*. It is also the most common meaning of the word in the literary language; cf. *LSJ* s.v. For a parallel to the Michigan text, see *P. Mert.* 9.11-16: *ἀξιῶ ταγῆναι τὸ τούτου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ[ι] τῶν τετ[ε]λευτηκότων γραφῇ ὑπὲρ [τ]οῦ ἀπαρενόχλ[ητό]ν με γενέσθαι* (editors' translation of the last phrase: "so that I may not be disturbed"). The phrase *ὑπὲρ [τ]οῦ ἀπαρενόχλ-[ητό]ν με γενέσθαι* has the same implication as *ἵν' ὦ ἀναίτιος καθάπερ καί εἰμι.*

10 λε[ι]ος [ἄ]τεχνος ἀναγρα-
φόμενος ἐπ᾽ ἀμφόδου
Χηνοβοσκῶν ἐτε-
λεύτησεν τῷ διελθόν-
τι μηνὶ Χ[οιάκ

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

8. Τιρωνείας.

To Ptolemaios also called Sarapion, secretary of the city, from Papontos, son of Alypos and Taras and grandson of Papontos, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. My father Alypos, son of Papontos and Tironeia, from the same city, an adult without a trade, registered in the quarter of the gooseherds, died in the past month of Choiak . . . .

2. γρα(μματεῖ) πόλ(εως): each metropolis generally had two γραμματεῖς πόλεως. This liturgic office existed from about the middle of the first century of our era to the beginning of the third, when it was replaced by the office of the ἀμφοδογραμματεύς. The γραμματεῖς πόλεως, like the κωμογραμματεῖς, were responsible for drawing up the cadaster, or topographical land register. On the basis of this register they determined the taxes and liturgical responsibilities of the city under their jurisdiction. It was primarily to their office that the fiscally oriented declarations of birth and of death were sent. For further information on the γραμματεῖς πόλεως, see Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, pp. 2-7; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie,* Leipzig, 1917, pp. 160-162; Hohlwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, pp. 171f.; and *P. Mert.* 84, 1n.

3. Ἀλύπου: the name is found elsewhere in the papyri only in *SB* 6340; *P. Col. Zen.* 32.7; and perhaps *SB* 6203.4. *NB* records the name only for *OGIS* 742.4. The related name Ἀλύπιος occurs frequently in the papyri; see *NB,* s.v.

5. Ταρᾶτος: the name Ταρᾶς is found only here in the papyri, but the masculine Παρᾶς is attested; see *NB.*

8. Τειρωνείας: this feminine of Τίρων is not found elsewhere in the papyri.

10. [ἄ]τεχνος: this word is of frequent occurrence in death notices. Its purpose is to show that the deceased was not subject to the trade taxes, or χειρωνάξια. See Mertens, *Services de l'état civil*, pp. 72, 74, 77, 131; for χειρωνάξια see *P. Mich.* 598, p. 74.

11-12. ἐπ᾽ ἀμφόδου Χηνοβοσκῶν: for the "quarter of the gooseherds," see H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus,* Diss. Giessen, 1924, p. 27. For the meaning of ἄμφοδον, see *P. Mich.* 598, p. 73, n.1.

14. Χ[οιάκ: i.e., Nov. 27 - Dec. 26.

580. Notification of Disappearance

Inv. 1973 11.5 x 11.8 cm. ca. 19/20 A.D.

As pointed out in the introduction to *P. Mich.* 579, removal of names from the tax lists was effected for those who had disappeared from their residences as well as for those who had died. In both cases the lists were revised after submission of declarations to the appropriate officials. The present text is a notification of disappearance written in Oxyrhynchus ca. 19/20 A.D. Soeris announces that her son Apollonios μηδένα πόρον ἔχων ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ξένην and requests that his name be entered ἐν [τῇ τῶν ἀνακε|χωρηκότων τάξει.

I have been able to trace only three other such declarations among the published papyri, viz., *P. Oxy.* 251; 252 (= *WChr.* 215); and 253.* These texts, like the Michigan papyrus, come from the city of Oxyrhynchus and were written in the early first century of our era. They all have a similar structure, which is quite close to that used in the notifications of death from Oxyrhynchus.[1] The formal pattern may be represented as follows:

1) Address: *τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*. In the three texts which preserve the address (*P. Mich.* 580; *P. Oxy.* 251; 252), the officials in question hold the joint office of *τοπογραμματεύς* and *κωμογραμματεύς*. In the villages such declarations were probably submitted to the *κωμογραμματεύς*.[2]

2) Notification proper, beginning with the name of the person who has disappeared, followed by an indication of the place where he is registered and the fact of his disappearance, accompanied by a statement of his lack of a *πόρος*.[3]

3) Request that the person be entered in the list of *ἀνακεχωρηκότες*.[4] The Michigan papyrus breaks off in the middle of this section.

4) Oath, to the effect that the above-mentioned statements are true. In *P. Oxy.* 253 the oath is incorporated into the signature. *P. Oxy.* 252 probably had the same arrangement, but not enough remains of the signature to permit a sure conclusion.

5) Signature of declarant. *P. Oxy.* 252 breaks off after the beginning of this section.

6) Date of declaration.

The meaning of certain technical terms used in these texts requires consideration. The word *πόρος* in line 6 signifies "means", i.e., resources, property, wealth; and not "income" or "revenue" as was once believed.[5] A person who lacks such a *πόρος* is technically *ἄπορος*, a word which, as succinctly expressed by J.F. Oates, "can have either of two meanings: (1) it can signify a person residing in a village who has not the means to pay his taxes or perform a liturgy and who has been so certified by the proper authorities; or (2) it can signify someone who has left the village and who has no property which can be used by the state to satisfy its tax claims."[6] It is the second meaning which concerns us here, for in this sense *ἄπορος*, or its semantic equivalent, *μηδένα πόρον ἔχων*, is generally associated with *ἀναχωρεῖν*.[7] Traditionally *ἀναχωρεῖν* and the noun *ἀναχώρησις* have been taken to mean illegal absence, especially in consequence of fiscal oppression.[8] Recently it has been suggested that *ἀναχωρεῖν* can at times mean simply to move or migrate, without any idea of withdrawing from fiscal responsibilities.[9] In the notifications of disappearance, however, the causal participial phrases[10] associated with *ἀνεχώρησεν* (see above, n. 3) clearly show that fiscal evasion is involved, and Lewis, discussing Oates' position,[11] has urged that the terminology "is certainly not suggestive of innocent absence from home." The nexus between

*While this volume was in press, a similar notification was published as *P. Oxy.* 2669.

1. See introd. to *P. Mich.* 579, p. 7.

2. N. Lewis, "Μερισμὸς Ἀνακεχωρηκότων," *JEA* 23, 1937, p. 68, n.5.

3. See the Michigan papyrus, lines 6-7; *P. Oxy.* 252.9-11: *ἀνεχώρησεν [εἰς τὴν] ξένην μηδενὸς ἑτέρου [αὐτῷ πόρου] ὑπάρχοντος* (Editors' note: "i.e. no *πόρος* except the above-mentioned part of a house which he had purchased."); 253.6-8: *ἀνε[χώρησαν εἰς τ]ὴν ξένην μηδενὸς [ἑ]τέρ[ου αὐτοῖς π]όρου ὑπάρχοντος*. *P. Oxy.* 251 omits the lack of a *πόρος* at this juncture but refers to it specifically later, in the oath (lines 18-23): *[καὶ ὀμ]νύω . . . [ἀληθῆ εἶναι] τὰ π[ρ]ογεγρα-(μμένα) κ[αὶ μηδένα] πόρον ὑ[πά]ρχ(ειν) τ[ῷ αὐτῷ]*.

4. For an example of such a list, see *P. Ryl.* 595.

5. The earlier view is represented in *WO* I, pp. 506f., and Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 342; the current opinion is stated in *P. Leit.* 1, introd., p. 5.

6. "Fugitives from Philadelphia," *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, American Studies in Papyrology I, New Haven, 1966, p. 93.

7. *Ibid.*

8. See introd. to *P. Mich.* 594, p. 64.

9. Oates, "Fugitives," p. 93.

10. See Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, p. 561, 8; and cf. *P. Mich.* 582 ii.11-12n.

11. N. Lewis, "NOHMATA ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ," *BASP* 4, 1967, pp. 17-19.

ἀπορία and *ἀναχώρησις* is well expressed by V. Martin: "La rédaction de ces déclarations . . . fait apparaître la relation qui existe entre l'*ἀπορία* et l'*ἀναχώρησις*; la première est la cause de la seconde. L'épuisement financier et économique . . . conduit à la ruine financière (*ἀπορία*) et celle-ci à l'évasion devant les conséquences inévitables, contrainte par corps, emprisonnement comme débiteur du fisc."[12]

Another technical term encountered in the notifications of disappearance is the phrase *εἰς τὴν ξένην*, added to *ἀναχωρεῖν* (*P. Mich.* 580.7; *P. Oxy.* 251.10-11; 252.10; 253.7). The word *ξένη* is regularly in opposition to *ἰδιά*; the latter is the village where one has his legal residence, and *ξένη* is anywhere else.[13] The phrase *εἰς τὴν ξένην ἀναχωρεῖν* is used to refer to any person who, legitimately or not, is absent from his *ἰδία*. The expressions *ἐπίξενος* and *ξένος* are similarly used.[14]

Because of the lacuna in line 10, we do not have the date of our papyrus, but an approximate date can be established from the fact that Theon and Eutychides, who are mentioned as holding the joint office of *τοπογραμματεῖς* and *κωμογραμματεῖς* (lines 1-2), are found with the same titles in *P. Oxy.* 252, which is dated in the sixth year of Tiberius, i.e., 19/20 A.D. This office was probably of five years' duration.[15]

Θέωνι καὶ Εὐτυχίδηι τοπογραμματεῦσι
καὶ κωμογραμματεῦσι Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεω(ς)
παρὰ Σοήριος τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου μετὰ
κυρίου Ζωίλου [το]ῦ Ζωίλου. ὁ υἱός μου
Ἀπολλώνιος Θέωνος ἀναγραφόμενος
ἐπὶ λαύρας ῥύμ[ης] Ὀννώφρ(εως) μηδένα πόρον
ἔχων ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ξένην ἔτι
πρὸ πλείονος χρόνου. διὸ ἀξιῶι τοῦτοὶ
ἀναγράψασθαι ἐν [τῇ τῶν ἀνακε-]
χωρηκότων τάξει [ἀπὸ τοῦ 3-5]
του ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσ[αρος

3. Ἀσκληπιάδου: π corrected from α. 8. ἀξιῶ.

To Theon and Eutychides, topogrammateis and komogrammateis of the city of Oxyrhynchus, from Soeris, daughter of Asklepiades, with her guardian Zoilos, son of Zoilos. My son Apollonios, son of Theon, registered in the quarter of the street of Onnophris, because he has no means withdrew abroad a considerable time ago. Therefore I ask that you register him in the list of those who have departed, henceforth from year . . . of Tiberius Caesar . . . .

1-2. *τοπογραμματεῦσι καὶ κωμογραμματεῦσι*: the simultaneous holding of these offices was a Ptolemaic practice which did not long survive the Roman conquest. The functions performed correspond to those of the *γραμματεὺς πόλεως* (for which see *P. Mich.* 579.2n), whose office was probably established around the middle of the first century of our era; for an elaboration of these and other features of the joint office of *τοπογραμμα-*

12. *Les Papyrus et l'histoire administrative de l'Egypte gréco-romaine,* Münch. Beitr. XIX, 1934, pp. 147f.; see also N. Lewis, "Μερισμός," p. 68; H.I. Bell, "The Economic Crisis in Egypt under Nero," *JRS* 28, 1938, p. 6; H. Braunert, "Ἰδία," *JJP* 9, 1955, pp. 264f.; *idem*, *Die Binnenwanderung*, Bonn, 1964, pp. 200, 245; H. Henne, "Documents et travaux sur l'anachôrèsis," *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955*, Vienna, 1956, p. 59.

13. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, pp. 22-27.

14. Lewis, "Μερισμός," p. 68, n.6; cf. also Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, pp. 25-27.

15. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 158.

τεύς and κωμογραμματεύς, see Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 157f., 164f. For other examples of a κωμογραμματεύς of a πόλις see *BGU* 1859, B.2 and *P. Mich.* 170.2; cf. *O. Pr. Joachim*, p. 58.

3-4. μετὰ κυρίου: for the κύριος, or woman's legal guardian, see R. Taubenschlag, "La compétence du κύριος dans le droit gréco-égyptien," *Opera Minora*, II, Warsaw, 1959, pp. 353-377; *idem, Law*[2], pp. 175f. A κύριος was required when a contract in which a woman was a party was drawn up by the public notary office; in other transactions a woman was free to act with or without a κύριος.

6. For the meaning of λαύρα and its synonym ἄμφοδον, see *P. Mich.* 598, p. 73, n.1; for ῥύμη, "street," see Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 6f. The ῥύμη Ὀννώφρεως appears as the name of an ἄμφοδον elsewhere only in *PSI* 1034.7.

9. ἀναγράψασθαι: the passive is expected, but cf. *P. Flor.* 308.6-7.

581. Petition to a Strategos

Inv. 201 — 7.1 x 14.8 cm. — ca. 126-128 A.D.

The papyrus, broken at the bottom, is written in an angular but fairly even cursive, which resembles *P. Graec. Berol.* 23, (144 A.D.). The text may be more accurately dated by its reference to Asklepiades, strategos of the Arsinoite Nome, division of Herakleides (line 1). This Asklepiades is probably to be identified with a strategos of the same name in the Herakleides division, whose incumbency is attested in the following documents: P. Gen., ined., of Mesore (July 25 - August 23), 128 A.D., and *P. Strassb.* 216, of Tybi of the 11th year of Hadrian (Dec. 27, 126 - Jan. 25, 127 A.D.).[1] Since the office of a strategos was normally of three years' duration, our text may be dated ca. 126-128 A.D.[2]

The text is a petition addressed to the strategos by Horos, son of Horos, of the village of Bacchias. Horos' complaint concerns a theft of hay, but the substance of the text is difficult to grasp, owing to the petitioner's mediocre powers of expression.[3] A short analysis of the content may be helpful:

(lines 3-8) Horos reports that a quantity of hay has been stolen, but unfortunately neglects to mention the names of the culprit and the owner of the hay. To intensify the villainy of the crime, Horos adds that as the thief stole the hay he also took a sheaf of wheat for his horses.

(lines 9-15) After Horos remonstrated with the thief, the latter, apparently an influential person, went to the local police chief with the intention of charging Horos with the theft; the fact that Horos could be regarded as the thief is the only clear indication in the petition that he was not the owner of the stolen hay.

(lines 15-18) This section is interrupted by the break in the papyrus, and consequently its meaning is far from clear. Alexas, one of the village elders, is involved, but in what way we cannot tell. Apparently he is acting with the police chief.

Though the papyrus breaks off at this point, it is clear that the text is what Mitteis called a *Schutzgesuch,* directed to the strategos in his capacity as head of the police operations of the nome. Such texts regularly close with ὅθεν οὐ δυνάμενος καθησυχάζειν, ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν δέουσαν ἐπέξοδον *aut sim.*[4]

1. H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens,* L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Mémoires LVI, Cairo, 1935, p. 52; G. Mussies, "Supplément à la liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens de H. Henne." *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XIV, 1965, p. 17, No. 64. For a recent bibliography on the strategos see Chalon, *Edit*, p. 174, n.6.

2. Chalon, *Edit*, pp. 172-182, especially p. 181: "la triennalité apparaît comme la durée normale d'exercice de la stratégie."

3. Other petitions concerning thefts of hay are *P. Ryl.* 129; *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XIII, 8.

4. Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 33.

Ἀσκληπ(ιάδῃ) στρα(τηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρᾳκ(λείδου) μερίδ(ος)
παρὰ Ὥρου τοῦ Ὥρου ἀπὸ κώ-
μης Βακχιάδο(ς). ἐκλέπῃ δὲ
χόρτος ἐν πεδίῳ τῆς κώμης,
χόρτου γόμος εἷς. τούτου
δὲ αἴροντος τὸν χόρτον
κλεψιμαίως, ἔλυσε δράγμα
πύρι⟨ν⟩ον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἵπποις.
ἀλλὰ καὶ συνζητήσαντό[ς]
μου αὐτῶι περὶ τούτων
ἀνήγκασαι τὸν τοῦ πεδίου
ἀρχέφοδον κατενγυῆσαι
ὃν καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχω γειτνεύον-
τα χόρτου αὐτοῦ προφάσι
καὶ ἐμὲ ⟨κε⟩κλοφέναι ὥστε
ἕνα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
Ἀλεξᾶν συμβαλεῖν τὸν
χόρτον ἀσύμφωνον εὗρε

9. συζητήσαντος. 11. ἠνάγκασε. 12. κατεγγυῆσαι. 14. προφάσει.

To Asklepiades, strategos of the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite Nome, from Horos, son of Horos, from the village of Bacchias. Hay was stolen in the plain of the village, one load of hay. And while this person was furtively removing the hay, he loosened a sheaf of wheat for his own horses. But, after I remonstrated with him about these matters, he compelled . . . on the pretext that I in fact was guilty of the theft, so that one of the elders, Alexas . . . .

3. ἐκλέπῃ: cf. κλεπείς in *BGU* 454.19. These forms would normally be ἐκλάπη and κλαπείς respectively. The ε was probably due to analogy with other forms of the verb where κλεπ- predominates. Cf. the variation of τραπῆναι and τρεπῆναι observed by Mayser, *Grammatik* I, ii, p. 161, 26.

δέ: for the vulgar use of δέ and οὖν after the introductory formulae in letters and petitions, see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, iii, p. 179, 13-14, 23.

4. χόρτος: this term was used to refer to both green and dry forage. Cf. T. Reekmans, *A Sixth Century Account of Hay: P. Iand. inv. 653*, Brussels, 1962, p. 31; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten*, Münch. Beitr. VII, 1925, pp. 211-218.

5. γόμος: the word signified, in its broadest sense, a beast's load. It was also a metrological term, which in P. Iand. inv. 653, of the 6th cent. A.D., has been calculated at ca. 44 lbs. See Reekmans, *Account of Hay*, pp. 28-30. Whether or not it had a similar value in the earlier period is uncertain. Cf. *WO* I, p. 755 and n. 1.

5-6. τούτου . . . αἴροντος: for the genitive absolute even when the subject is the same as that of the main verb, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, iii, p. 68, 29.

7. κλεψιμαίως: the adjective κλεψιμαῖος occurs in *P. Lond.* II, 422 (p. 318).3, but the adverb has not appeared elsewhere in the papyri. *LSJ* cite Dositheus p. 412 K, where κλεψμαίως is given as the equivalent of *furtim*.

ἔλυσε δράγμα: cf. *P. Fay.* 120.8-9: καὶ λύσις (= λύσεις) εὐθέω⟨ς⟩ εἰς Ἀ.[..] τὰ δράγματα; *P. Lond.* III, 1170 Verso (p. 193).126: λύοντι τὰ δράγματα ἐν [κ]λήρ(ῳ) Κυτοῦς. According to Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 169, λύειν δράγμα refers to the binding of the sheaves. His view rests on *P. Fay.* 120.8-9 (see above), where εἰς Ἀ.[..] is interpreted by the editors as a proper name. This papyrus was re-edited by Olsson (*Papyrusbriefe*, No. 62), who suggested εἰς ἄλ[ων]. This suggestion allows us to take λύω in its normal sense of "unbind." In the Michigan text the thief is represented as loosening a sheaf for his horses to feed on.

7-8. δράγμα πύρι⟨ν⟩ον: for the phrase and spelling, see *P. Ryl.* 137.13-14: πυρίνων δραγμάτων; *BGU* 757. 16: πυρίνων δραγμάτ(ων). The same error occurs in *SB* 7665.10.

11-15. The writer's control of Greek has not served him well in this section. Precisely what he was trying to say does not come out clearly. The problems in understanding this passage arise chiefly in connection with κατενγυῆσαι (line 12) and χόρτου αὐτοῦ (line 14). If we take the Greek as it stands, the clause ὃν καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχω

γειτνεύοντα reads as object of κατενγυῆσαι, and the context then demands that κατενγυῆσαι mean "make A (i.e., Horos' neighbor) stand surety for B (i.e. Horos)." There is no parallel for κατεγγυάω in this sense; elsewhere in the context of surety it means "make A provide surety for himself." See *MChr.* 27.17-18; *P. Petr.* II, 17 (1).30; *P. Oxy.* 472.39; *P. Teb.* 490. Even though fluctuations of meaning are common in compounds of ἐγγυάω (see J. Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht,* Leipzig and Berlin, 1909, pp. 89-91), it is unwise to insist on an unparalleled meaning in a passage which is so poorly drafted. As for χόρτου αὐτοῦ, it is tempting to take the phrase as dependent on γειτνεύοντα; but the dative is regular with such verbs (see *LSJ*, s.vv. γειτνιάω, γειτονεύω, γειτονέω; *P. Oxy.* 2190, 57n.). The genitive can be explained on the basis of the common replacement of the dative by the genitive in later Greek (see J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en grec,* Paris, 1930, pp. 163-173); but one wonders whether the writer did not rather intend χόρτου αὐτοῦ as a loose genitive of relation, which would be taken in a causal sense and refer back to κατενγυῆσαι.

11. ἀνήγκασαι: this method of augmenting ἀναγκάζω, in which ἀν- is falsely interpreted as a preposition, is unknown in the Ptolemaic period (Mayser, *Grammatik* I, ii, p. 109, 25), but is attested in the Roman κοινή: e.g., *P. Brem.* 38.11; *P. Amh.* 133.12; *P. Oxy.* 2563.21-22. For the vulgar tendencies in augmenting verbs, see L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1925, pp. 86f.

11-12. τὸν τοῦ πεδίου ἀρχέφοδον: for the archephodos, or head of the village police, see introd. to *P. Mich.* 589-591, p. 51; on the particular significance of τὸν τοῦ πεδίου ἀρχέφοδον, *ibid.*

13. ὃν καί: on the frequent use of adverbial καί after relative pronouns, see Mayser, *Grammatik,* II, iii, p. 144, 25.

16. ἕνα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων: the πρεσβύτεροι were liturgic officials on a village level, whose main function was to ensure the productivity of land for the central administration (A. Tomsin, "Etude sur les πρεσβύτεροι des villages de la χώρα égyptienne," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique,* 5e series, XXXVIII, 1952, pp. 467-532). It is under this main agricultural function that most of their varied activities are to be explained; they are concerned with the maintenance of law and order in the agricultural community, the supervision of dike works and canals, as well as the collection of certain taxes (*ibid.*, p. 525). The reference to πρεσβύτεροι in the Michigan papyrus is probably related to the fact that they often worked together with the ἀρχέφοδος in police matters (*ibid.*, pp. 500-503).

582. Draft of a Petition, with Tax List

Inv. 886 22.8 x 29.9 cm. 49/50 A.D.

This papyrus, which comes from Philadelphia, has on the recto a draft of a petition, together with what is probably the last column of a tax register. The latter is written in a hand different from that of the petition, but contemporary with it and similar in style, although characteristically small. The register contains a list of 17 taxpayers. The name of each is followed by his father's name and a sum of money, usually 56 drachmas, with one occurrence of 28 drachmas. Two payments of 20 drachmas and one of 104 are also listed. Money taxes of this magnitude recall the numerous trade taxes (χειρωνάξια).[1] Many of the contributors can be identified with persons in *P. Princet.* 13 and 14, first-century tax registers also from Philadelphia.

The petition is addressed to an unnamed official by a πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν of Philadelphia. He complains that Horion, son of Petosiris, who was appointed as praktor together with himself in the tenth year of Claudius (49/50 A.D.), has been negligent in the fulfilment of his duties. Horion appears also in P. Gen. Inv. 211 (= *SB* 9224).14-22, where he is said to have been πράκτωρ λαογραφίας in the same year. It has been supposed heretofore that the πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν, who collected direct taxes, pre-eminently the poll tax and trade taxes, were not introduced until the reign of Trajan,[2] and that all the πράκτορες of the first century were described by the specific tax which it was their duty to collect.[3] *P. Mich.* 582, however, shows us that the πράκτορες

1. See *P. Mich.* 598, introd.
2. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 291.
3. E.g., the πρακτορες λαογραφίας and the πράκτορες γερδιακοῦ; *ibid.*, p. 290.

ἀργυρικῶν were already active in the first century. Further, we also see that the same person could be given the general title πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν or the limited title πράκτωρ λαογραφίας. The latter was more common, doubtless because of the extreme importance of the poll tax in Roman Egypt.

The petitioner, seeking to show that Horion has no right to forego his responsibilities, maintains that the latter has made light of his office, μήτε ὢν ἀπολύσιμος γεωργὸς μήτε ἐν λευκώματ(ι) (lines 11-12), i.e., "although he is neither an exempt cultivator nor in the *leukoma*."[4] For an understanding of this passage it is instructive to refer to P. Gen. Inv. 211 (= *SB* 9224).14-20:

Ὡρίων Πετοσίρε[ως ἀπολύσιμος τῆς]
Μαικηνατιανῆς οὐσίας, γεγον[ὼς]
πράκτωρ λαογραφίας τῶι διελη[λυθότι]
δεκάτῳ (ἔτει), καὶ ἀπολύσιμος π[αντὸ]ς
γεγονὼς τῶι ια (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ αὐ[τοκράτορος]
μὴ ὢν ἐν λευκώματι κτλ.

In line 17, instead of ἀπολύσιμος π[αντό]ς, the Michigan papyrus suggests ἀπολύσιμος γ[εωργό]ς.[5] In year 10, when *P. Mich.* 582 was written, Horion was neither an ἀπολύσιμος γεωργός, nor was he ἐν λευκώματι. In the 11th year, according to the Geneva papyrus as corrected here, he became an ἀπολύσιμος γεωργός, but was still not in the λεύκωμα.[6]

The term ἀπολύσιμος γεωργός is used in connection with the administration of οὐσίαι, or government estates.[7] Its meaning has been disputed since early in the century. In 1901 Wilcken, who thought that the οὐσίαι were exploited through compulsory leasing (*Zwangsverpachtung*), saw the ἀπολύσιμος γεωργός as one who was exempt from this form of compulsion.[8] Several years later Rostovtzeff advanced a somewhat different interpretation. Because he regarded the inhabitants of villages located near or in the οὐσίαι as being legally bound to these estates, the ἀπολύσιμος γεωργός seemed to him to be a person who was released from this bond.[9] Although they disagreed on the particular form of exemption involved, both scholars interpreted ἀπολύσιμος οὐσίας as meaning "exempt from estate obligations." For the syntax of the phrase Wilcken compared ἀπολυσι(μων) τῆς λαογρ(αφίας) in *P. Lond.* II, 345 (p. 113).4. Recently V. Martin and G. Chalon have both followed Wilcken's interpretation.[10] As far back as 1929, however, O. Krüger expressed dissatisfaction with this point of view in his edition of *P. Ross. Georg.* II, 12 (p. 50): "Im Satz γεωργὸς καὶ ἀπολύσιμος οὐσίας kann der Genitiv οὐσίας . . . nicht zwei verschiedene syntaktische Funktionen haben und einmal die Zugehörigkeit, ein andermal das Befreitsein bedeuten. Die Leute sind eben sowohl γεωργοί als auch ἀπολύσιμοι derselben οὐσία." He suggested that ἀπολύσιμος meant "tax-free," comparing the similar expression ἱερὸν λόγιμον ἀπολύσιμον κώμης Τεπτύνεως in *P. Teb.* 293.6. Krüger is fundamentally right in his approach to the syntax

4. On the concessive use of the participle, see note *ad loc.*

5. For editorial confusion of *gamma* and *pi*, see H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri: Prolegomena*, University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 6, 1958, p. 69.

6. Cf. the similar use of ἀπολύσιμος and λεύκωμα in lines 13, 23, and 30 of the Geneva papyrus.

7. Cf. the reference to Horion in lines 14-15 of the Geneva passage cited above; also *P. Lond.* II, 445 p. 166; *BL* I, p. 257), a petition παρὰ . . . γεωργοῦ τινων ἐδαφῶν Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντος δὲ καὶ ἀπολυσίμου τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας (lines 4-8); *P. Ross. Georg.* II, 12, a census list which records a house belonging to a γεωργ(ὸς) καὶ ἀπολύσιμος Γερμ[ανικια]νῆς οὐσία(ς) (col. i.1-2; cf. also 14-15; col. iii.3-4, 6, 8, 14-15, 20-21). On οὐσίαι see *P. Mich.* 599, introd.

8. "Papyrus-Urkunden," *Archiv* 1, 1901, p. 154.

9. *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 128, n.1; 194. For a convenient summary of Rostovtzeff's position, see *P. Ross. Georg.* II, p. 50.

10. Martin, "Une γραφὴ ἀνδρῶν du premier siècle," *JJP* 4, 1950, p. 146 (the text published is P. Gen. inv. 211); Chalon, *Edit*, p. 106.

of ἀπολύσιμος οὐσίας,[11] but he is mistaken in translating ἀπολύσιμος here as "tax-free," although it does have that meaning when applied to priests and temples.[12] P. Gen. Inv. 211 and *P. Mich.* 582 both suggest that certain γεωργοί of an estate, under conditions unknown to us, were granted an exemption, not from taxes, but from certain liturgies.[13] Such an exemption would have enabled managers of οὐσίαι to attract the large number of cultivators that they required and would have assured uninterrupted cultivation of the government estates.[14]

As for the λεύκωμα, referred to in both the Michigan and Geneva texts, we know that it was a wooden board, painted white, which, like the Latin *album*, was used for the publication of a wide variety of public documents.[15] In the papyri of Roman Egypt, the term is elsewhere used for lists of magistrates. Cf. *SB* 7261.3 and 9, where the βουλευτικὸν λεύκωμα, i.e. *album decurionum*,[16] is mentioned; *P. Oxy.* 2407.7: τ[ὸ] λεύκωμα τῶν ἀρχόντ[ων. The λεύκωμα in *P. Mich.* 582 and P. Gen. Inv. 211 may also be a list of magistrates, in this case those who enjoyed exemption from liturgies. That office holders, especially if they were engaged in work vital to the state, could receive such exemption is shown by *Digest* 50, 6, 6, a passage dealing with those who had *immunitas a muneribus publicis*. Section 3 reads: "remuneranda pericula eorum, quin etiam exhortanda praemiis merito placuit, ut qui peregre muneribus et quidem publicis cum periculo et labore fungantur, a domesticis vexationibus et sumptibus liberentur." Cf. also *P. Mich.* 174.5-7: δημόσιοι ὄντες . . . ἀφίονται . . . πάσης λειτουργίας.[17] Especially illuminating is *SB* 7261 (see above, note 16); here men of senatorial rating, who have not yet been enrolled in the βουλευτικὸν λεύκωμα, are forbidden to avoid liturgical responsibilities.

In drafting this text, the petitioner omitted the name of the official to whom he intended to submit the final copy. But the fact that he refers to the official in question in lines 13-14 as τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα makes it almost certain that it was to be addressed either to the prefect[18] or to the epistrategos.[19] The latter is perhaps more likely, since most petitions concerning liturgies were addressed to him, although some (e.g., *BGU* 256) were submitted to the prefect.[20]

Column i

(Minute remnants of 3 lines in a different hand from the list below. They may be part of a heading for the list, or a continuation of a preceding column.)

11. A precise parallel is furnished by *P. Oslo* 115.7: ἱερεῖς ἀπολύσιμοι τοῦ ἐν κώμῃ Τεπτῦνι λογίμου ἱεροῦ.

12. See E.H. Gilliam, "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias," *Yale Class. Stud.* 10, 1947, pp. 204f.; *P. Teb.* 292.6n.; *P. Phil.* 1, introd., pp. 12-14.

13. A.E.R. Boak, *P. Mich.* V, p. 101 (*ad P. Mich.* 244), has already advanced the hypothesis that ἀπολύσιμος "refers to exemption from personal services, such as canal and dyke work, transportation, liturgies, and the like." He is followed by A. Tomsin, "Le recrutement de la main d'oeuvre dans les domaines privés de l'Egypte romaine," *Festschrift Oertel*, Bonn, 1964, p. 86.

14. Cf. Krüger's similar idea in *P. Ross. Georg.* II, p. 51; see also introd. to *P. Mich.* 244 (*P. Mich.* V, p. 101).

15. A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Sonderschriften des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Vol. VII, Vienna, 1909, pp. 239-249; especially 246-249; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. XXXII.

16. H.B. van Hoesen and A.C. Johnson, "A Papyrus Dealing with Liturgies," *JEA* 12, 1926, p. 116. (The text is reprinted as *SB* 7261.)

17. Cf. N. Lewis, "Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt," *Actes du Xe Congrès International de Papyrologues*, Warsaw, 1964, pp. 70f.; *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milan, 1966, pp. 523 and 531.

18. For σωτήρ applied to the prefect, see the examples cited in *WB* II, s.v., and M. Humbert, "La juridiction du préfect d'Egypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien," *Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques de Paris, Série sciences historiques* I, 1964, p. 132.

19. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* 2563.47, for the epistrategos called σωτήρ.

20. O.W. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Klio Beiheft XXXIV, 1935, p. 15; see also *P. Phil.* 1, introd., p. 3.

(1st hd.)

				P. Princet.
	Πασπῆς	Πομσάις	∫[[μη]] νς	14, iv.17
5	Ἀτρῆς	ἀδελφό(ς)	∫νς	
	Ἀπολλω( )	Μενδρο( )	∫νς	
	Φαῆσις	Ἀπολλω( )	ρδ	14, iv.4
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Ἀραῦς	∫νς	13, xiii.28
	Νεκφερῶ(ς)	ἀδελ(φός)	∫νς	
10	Πεῆρις	Ἡρακλ( )	νς	
	Νεενῆφις	Ἡρακλ( )	νς	14, ii.16
	Παποντῶ(ς)	Ἡλιοδώ(ρου)	∫νς	13, xix.25; 14, iii.31
	Φαῆς	Ἀρυώτου	∫νς ′	13, xii.28
	Διονυσ( )	Κεφάλω(νος)	∫νς	
15	Ἀγχορίμφις	Πετεσούχ(ου)	∫νς	14, ii.24
	Σεντῶ(ις)	Ὡριώνο(ς)	∫νς	14, iv.5
	Μ.ρωνα	Ἡρακλ( )	∫νς ′	
	Πτολίων	Παναῦτο(ς)	∫ κ	
	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Πεήριος	∫κη	
20	Δικράνη(ς)	Δικράνο(υ)	∫ κ	

∫T

Column ii

(2nd hd.)

παρὰ ..[..]...ωνος τ[ο]ῦ Β[
[[τῶν]] πράκτορος [ἀρ]γυρικῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας τ(ῆς) Ἡρακ[λείδου]
μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσεινοείτου ν[ο]μοῦ.
[[πράκτορος ἀργυρικῶν]] Ὡριὼν Πετοσίρεως ἀκθὶς σὺν ἐμοὶ
τῶι δεκάτωι ἔτι Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
εἰς τὴν εἴσπραξιν τῶν δημοσίων,
καὶ πρακτωρεύσας ἀριθμή-
σις τέσσαρες κατεφρόνη-
σεν, οὐκέτι τῆς [[τάξεως]] ἰσπράξεως ἀντεχ(όμενος),
μήτε ὢν ἀπολύσιμος
γεωργὸς μήτε ἐν λευκώματ(ι).
διὸ ἀξιῶι σε τὸν πάντων
σωτῆρα ὅπως γράψῃς
Κλοτίωι τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν τό-
πων ἑκατοντάρχῃ
ἐπανανκάσαι τὸν
Ὡριώνα ἀντέχεσθε
τῆς πρακτορίας τῶν
δημωσίων πρὸς τὸ μη-
δὲν ἔλατ⟨τ⟩ον τοῖς δημοσίοις
ἐπακλουθῆσαι,
ἵν' ὦμεν εὐεργετημένοι.

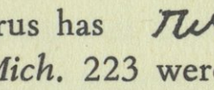
Col. i: 4. ʃ = δραχμαί. νς added above the line. 8. Ἀραῦτος.
Col. ii: 2. τῶν cancelled with heavy horizontal strokes. πράκτορος [ἀρ]γυρικῶν inserted above the line. π corrected, perhaps from γ. 3. Ἀρσινοίτου. 4. Ὡρίων . . . ἐμοί inserted above the line. ἀχθείς. 5. Above the beginning of the line υ.. was added, then cancelled. ἔτει. 8. πρακτορεύσας. 8-9. ἀριθμήσεις. 9. τέσσαρας. 10. εἰσπράξεως; added above the line. 12. γεωργός added above the line. 13. ἀξιῶ. 17. ἐπαναγκάσαι. τον corrected from των. 18. ἀντέχεσθαι. 20. δημοσίων. 22. ἐπακολουθῆσαι.

(Column ii) From . . . , son of B . . . , collector of money taxes, from Philadelphia in the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite Nome. Horion, son of Petosiris, who was assigned together with me, in the tenth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, to the collection of public taxes, and served as collector for four *arithmeseis*, scorned his obligations, no longer undertaking the collection, although he is neither an exempt cultivator nor in the *leukoma*. Therefore I ask you, the savior of all, to write to Clotios, the local centurion, to compel Horion to undertake his office of collector of public taxes, in order that no deficit may accrue to the public taxes, and we may be benefited.

Column i.

4. Πομσάις: for the genitive -ις, see *P. Mich.* 578, 2n.

6. Ἀπολλω( ) Μενδρο( ): e.g., Ἀπόλλω(ν), Ἀπολλώ(νιος), or Ἀπολλω(νίδης). Perhaps Μεν⟨άν⟩δρο(υ) was intended. *P. Princet.* 14, iii.26: Ἀπολλω( ) Μενδι[may be identical with this entry.

8. Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Ἀραῦς: the corresponding entry in *P. Princet.* 13, xiii.28 is Πτεῦχ(ος) Ἀραῦς. The Michigan papyrus has  , and doubtless the Princeton text is similar. Many similar pieces of writing in *P. Mich.* 223 were proved to represent Πετεσοῦχος. For similar *Verschleifungen*, see *P. Mich.* 584, 33n.; cf. *P. Ryl.* 595, 37n. Similarly, the Princeton entry corresponding to line 15 reads Ἀγχορίμφις Πτεύχ(ου).

Ἀραῦς: for the form see *P. Mich.* 578, 3n.

10. Ἡρακλ( ): e.g., Ἡρακλ(είδου) or Ἡρακλ(ήου); on the inflection of the latter, see *P. Mich.* 578, 6n.

14. Διονυσ( ): e.g., Διονύσ(ιος) or Διονυσ(όδωρος).

17. Μ.ρωνα: perhaps Μαρωνᾶ(ς); see *NB*, s.v.

21. T : for other examples of the writing of this symbol for 900, see U. Wilcken, *Observationes ad Historiam Aegypti Provinciae Romanae*, Diss. Berlin, 1885, p. 51. The number is the total of the entries of lines 4-20.

Column ii.

2-4. The original text ran τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσεινοείτου νομοῦ πράκτορος ἀργυρικῶν. It was corrected to πράκτορος ἀργυρικῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσεινοείτου νομοῦ.

4. ἀκθείς (= ἀχθείς): ἄγω is often used to refer to impressment into a liturgy; see *WB* I, s.v., 12.

7. δημοσίων: see *WO* I, p. 178: "Τὰ δημόσια (scil. τελέσματα) ist eine sehr gebräuchliche allgemeine Bezeichnung für die öffentlichen Abgaben und Lasten."

8. πρακτωρεύσας : πρακτορεύω, a rare word, occurs elsewhere, according to *WB*, in *P. Lond.* II, 255 (p. 117).11 and 14; 306 (p. 118).9, in both papyri with the sense of "to serve as tax collector." Cf. λογεύω in *P. Mich.* 601.6-7.

8-9. ἀριθμήσις: see *P. Mich.* 577, 9n.

9. τέσσαρες: the κοινή characteristically uses τέσσαρες as an accusative; see J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. 1, 3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1908, p. 36.

10. [[τάξεως]]: τάξις, in the sense of "official position" (see *WB* III, Abschn. 8, s.v.), would probably be permissible here, but εἰσπράξεως is specific.

11-12. μήτε . . . μήτε: μή with a concessive participle, unknown in the classical language, is good κοινή. The extension of μή is one of the features of Hellenistic and later Greek; see Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, ii, pp. 559-

562, especially p. 561, 26.

15. Κλοτίωι: perhaps a vulgar spelling of Κλώδιος; for the interchange of *tau* and *delta*, see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, pp. 175-177.

15-16. *τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἑκατοντάρχῃ*: for *ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων* meaning little more than "local", see *WB* II, s.v. *τόπος*, 1a. On the police powers of a centurion, see the references in *P. Cair. Isidor.* 129, 1n., and introd. to *P. Mich.* 589-591, p. 47, n. 2.

21. *ἔλατ⟨τ⟩ον*: though the Attic *-ττ-* tended to be replaced by the Dorian-Ionic *-σσ-* in the *κουή* (see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, p. 222), there are numerous examples of the Attic forms (*ibid.*, pp. 223f.).

22. *ἐπακλουθῆσαι*: for *-ακλουθέω* instead of *-ακολουθέω* see *P. Mich.* 587, 15n.

583-585. Texts Relating to the Property of Hermas

These documents, together with *P. Mich.* 188, deal with Hermas, son of Ptolemaios and grandson of Ammonios. They are all concerned with his ownership of house property in the village of Bacchias. The earliest text is *P. Mich.* 583, of 78 A.D.; the latest *P. Mich.* 188, dated in 120 A.D. The same property is also the subject of 189, but here Hermas is not mentioned.

Hermas was probably a *δημόσιος γεωργός* at Bacchias, as were most of the inhabitants of that village.[1] We know that he was literate, since he writes his own subscription in the surviving contracts to which he was a party, viz., *P. Mich.* 188.20-24; 583.34-36; 584.34-39.[2] We also know that he was careful to give his exact age, even though he uses *ὡς ἐτῶν*, an expression which properly indicates an approximate age, and such is its usual implication in the papyri.[3] But it is mainly with illiterate people that such approximations are common.[4] Hermas, being literate, could be expected to be more careful in these matters. Let us first consider the ages which he gives in 583, 584 and 585.

583 – 26 Aug., 78 A.D.: *ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων* (line 4)
584 – 12 Aug., 84 A.D.: *ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα* (lines 2-3)
585 – 21 Jan., 87 A.D.: *ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα δύο* (line 5)

If this information is accurate, then Hermas was born sometime after 12 Aug. and before or on 26 Aug., 34 A.D. *P. Mich.* 188 was drawn up on 18 Aug., 120 A.D.; in this text he was 85 – an extreme age, especially in a country where the average life expectancy was about 32 years.[5] Assuming that the information provided by 188 is reliable, Hermas was born between 18 and 26 Aug.

1. Cf. *P. Lund* IV, p. 111. The *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* were lessees of government land; see, e.g., *FW*, s.v. *γεωργός*.

2. *P. Mich.* 585 breaks off before Hermas' subscription.

3. V.B. Schuman, "The Origin of the Expression *ὡς ἐτῶν* Used in the Papyri," *CW* 28, 1934-35, pp. 95f. The family of Horos at Bacchias was also careful in designating ages. We have census returns from this family for 90/91, 104/105, and 118/119 A.D. (*P. Mich.* 176-178). Correlating the ages there recorded, we get an indication of the accuracy involved. Cf. the following list (the Roman numerals refer to the genealogical table of the Horos family in *P. Mich.* III, p. 180):

Peteuris II	30 in 90/91	(*P. Mich.* 176.12)
	44 in 104/105	(*P. Mich.* 177.19)
Horos III	20 in 90/91	(*P. Mich.* 176.15)
	34 in 104/105	(*P. Mich.* 177.20)
	48 in 118/119	(*P. Mich.* 178.17)
Horion I	7 in 90/91	(*P. Mich.* 176.16)
	20 in 104/105	(*P. Mich.* 177.21)
	35 in 118/119	(*P. Mich.* 178.21)

4. Cf. A.R. Burn, *Past and Present* 4, 1953, pp. 18f.

5. M. Hombert and C. Préaux, "Note sur la durée de la vie dans l'Egypte gréco-romaine," *Chron. d'Egypte* 20, 1945, p. 143. The editor of *P. Mich.* 188 had read lines 3-4 as follows: *ὡς ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα ο̣[ὐλὴ..]....[.....]* The editor's doubtful *ο̣[ὐλὴ* consists of a horizontal stroke, with the faint traces of a vertical descender. The information provided by *P. Mich.* 583-585 forces us to regard these traces as *π[έντε*. We also know from *P. Mich.* 583-585 that Hermas had a scar *μετώπῳ μέσῳ*. Incorporating this information we may restore *P. Mich.* 188.3-4 thus: *ὀγδοήκοντα π[έντε ο[ὐλὴ μ̣ε̣[τώπῳ μέσῳ]*.

Hermas' concern with house property at Bacchias can be traced from 78 to 120 A.D. *P. Mich.* 188, 583, and 584, three of the texts which document the history of his affairs, as well as 189, of 123 A.D., in which he is no longer involved, indicate the boundaries of the property in question as follows:[6]

P. Mich. 583.9-12:
South: Κατοίτου τοῦ Μεγχείους καὶ τῶν μετόχων τόποι καὶ ἐπί τι μέρος κοινὴ εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος εἰς ἣν ἀνέῳγεν θύρα.
North: ῥύμη βασιλική.
West: τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κατοίτου τοῦ Μεγχείους καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία παλαιά.
East: Ὥρου τοῦ Κατοίτου Βελλείους καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐλὴ μεθ' ἣν οἰκία παλαιά.

P. Mich. 584.7-9:
South: εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος κοινή.
North: ἑτέρα εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος κοινή.
West: Μεγχείους τοῦ Κατοίτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰκία.
East: Ὥρου τοῦ Κατοίτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰκία.

P. Mich. 188.10-12:
South: Κατοίτου τοῦ Μεγχείους καὶ μετόχων οἰκόπεδα καὶ ἐπί τι μέρος κοινῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου.[7]
North: ῥύμη βασιλική.
West: τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κατοίτου καὶ μετόχων οἰκόπεδα.
East: Ὥρου τοῦ Κατοίτου Βελλείους καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐλή.

P. Mich. 189.15-17:
South: Κατοίτου τοῦ Μεγχείους καὶ μετόχων οἰκόπεδα καὶ ἐπί τι μέρος κοινῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου.[8]
North: ῥύμη βασιλική.
West: Κατοίτου τοῦ Μεγχείους καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκόπεδα.
East: Ὥρου τοῦ Κατοίτου τοῦ Βελλείους καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐλή.

This tabulation of boundaries shows that the same property is referred to in all four papyri. It is only in *P. Mich.* 584 that one may have any reservations, but the fact that Hermas' holdings in 583 and 584 are described as four ninths of a house and courtyard removes all reasonable doubt.[9] The seeming discrepancy in 584 is simply a result of describing the same topography in a different way.[10] The boundaries are not mentioned in 585, but since there is mention in both 585 and 189 of an εἰκοσιέβδομον μέρος,[11] the same estate is likely to be involved.

In *P. Mich.* 583, of 78 A.D., Hermas buys four ninths of a house and courtyard, the latter being old and partially delapidated (lines 7-8: παλεᾶς συνπεπτωκυίας ἀ[πὸ] μέ[ρο]υς). The seller is Maron, son of Hermas and grandson of Maron.[12] In 84 A.D., Hermas and the other three owners of this property, Petesouchos, Horos and Hatres, draw up a ὁμολογία διαιρέσεως (584), in which they give precise definition to their respective shares. Hermas' portion is still four

6. In citing the descriptions I have normalized the spellings and corrected obvious blunders. I have also omitted editorial signs.

7. The more normal construction is κοινὴ εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος; see note to *P. Mich.* 583.9-10.

8. See n.7.

9. See *P. Mich.* 583.6-7, 27-28, 35; 584.10, 13, 15, 36, 38.

10. Since an accurate account of the boundaries was kept in the cadaster, or topographical land survey, the parties were probably content with any description which would roughly correspond to the description in the cadaster; cf. F von Woess, *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Aegypten*, Münch. Beitr. VI, 1924, pp. 302-304.

11. See *P. Mich.* 585.11, 31; 189.13,27.

12. This Maron cannot be further identified, but a Maron family is attested at Bacchias in *P. Mich.* 195.18.

ninths. By this time the courtyard has completely collapsed (line 7: *αὐλὴν συνπεπτοκυεῖαν*). When we come to 585, of 87 A.D., the division of the property has changed. In this papyrus an unknown debtor, possibly a son of one of the owners mentioned in 584,[13] instead of paying interest allows Hermas, the creditor, to live *ἐν τῶι ἐπιβάλλοντι αὐτῷι τῶ[ι] ὁμολογοῦντι πατρικῶι εἰκοσιεβδόμωι μέρει κοινῶ[ι] καὶ ἀδιαιρέτωι πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ ἑτέρους τόπων οἰκοπέδων* (lines 10-12).[14] There is no *μέρος*, or division, referred to in 584 which could be described as held jointly by all the owners.[15] 585 perhaps represents some increase in Hermas' holdings; he could easily have bought an interest in one of the other *μέρη* described in 584. In 120 A.D. he drew up a *ὁμολογία ἐνοικήσεως* (*P. Mich.* 188) with Tapekusis, daughter of Horos and member of a family well documented at Bacchias.[16] In this contract he allows Tapekusis to live *ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντι αὐτῶι τῷ ὁμολογοῦντι ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ τόπων οἰκο[πέδῳ* (lines 9-10), the boundaries of which correspond to those of the entire property, as described in 583 and 584. It is evident, then, that by 120 A.D. Hermas owned the whole estate.[17] The fact that Hermas had recourse to such a loan suggests that he was involved in financial difficulties. *P. Mich.* 189 gives evidence of similar difficulties. In this document, drawn up in 123 A.D., Tauris, daughter of Ninis, participates in a *ὁμολογία ἐνοικήσεως* with the same Tapekusis and allows the latter to reside *ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντι αὐτῇ τῇ ὁμολ(ογούσῃ)[ἐν τῇ] κώμῃ πατρικῶι ἐνάτῳ καὶ εἰκοσιεβδόμωι μέρει κοινῷ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ τόπων οἰκοπέδων* (12-14). Apparently Hermas, who was 85 years old in 120 A.D., had since died, and, as A.E.R. Boak, the editor of *P. Mich.* 189, says, "by virtue of some claim against his estate held by Ninis, Tauris had come into possession of her share of the premises. For all we know to the contrary Tapekusis may be in possession or in occupancy of the rest."[18]

583. Sale of a House

Inv. 101 34.5 x 26.8 cm. Aug. 26, 78 A.D.

The sheet was folded fifteen times from left to right. To the right of the fifteenth fold the papyrus has been completely lost, taking with it an average of three letters per line. Beginning at line 16 it is broken off to the right of the fourteenth fold, and approximately eight letters have disappeared from the ends of the remaining lines.

The text is an agreement of sale through which Maron, son of Hermas and grandson of Maron, conveys four ninths of a house and courtyard to Hermas, son of Ptolemaios and grandson of Ammonios. One third of the property had been inherited by Maron from his mother; he had purchased one ninth himself (lines 6-7). The price paid is one hundred drachmas, and the transaction is completely guaranteed by Maron.

13. The debtor is 50 years old (585.4). Of the joint owners mentioned in *P. Mich.* 584, only Horos, son of Katoites, is old enough to have a son who could be 50 in 585. The scanty remnants in 585.3 could accomodate *Κατοίτης Ὥρου*, but the traces are too faint to allow any degree of certainty.

14. For *τόπων οἰκοπέδων*, see 585.12n.

15. See, for convenience, the diagram of the *διαίρεσις* with the *μέρη* specified, on p. 30.

16. See above, n.3.

17. See also introd. to *P. Mich.* 189.

18. *P. Mich.* III, p. 218. For other property histories see *MChr.* 200, which records in chronological sequence the history of an estate from 151 to 224 A.D.; also *SB* 9317 (= P. Yale Inv. 222 and 225, originally published by A.M. Harmon, "Egyptian Property Returns," *Yale Class. Stud.* 4, 1934, pp. 135-234), which outlines the history of a piece of property from 113 to 148 A.D.

P. Mich. 583 is a standard notarial contract, drawn up and registered in the γραφεῖον at Bacchias. It has the following structure:[1]

1) Date and place (1-3)
2) The body of the contract in the form of a homologia (3-25)
3) Subscriptions of both parties
   A. Subscription of Maron (26-34)
   B. Subscription of Hermas (34-36)
4) Notice of registration (36-37)

The body of the contract follows the usual arrangement observed in the Roman period: ὁμολογεῖ Α τῷ Β πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν (here the description of the property), καὶ ἀπέχειν τὴν συμπεφωνημένην τιμήν . . . καὶ βεβαιώσειν . . . .[2]

The property of which Hermas buys a share is referred to as κοινωνική (line 7). This term is an equivalent of κοινὴ καὶ ἀδιαίρετος,[3] the standard phrase used to designate *communio pro indiviso*, i.e., common ownership of a piece of property which is physically undivided, to be distinguished from *communio pro diviso*, or common ownership of physically divided property.[4] The fact that Hermas' purchase is not delimited in terms of boundaries also indicates that a *communio pro indiviso* is involved.

The introduction to *BGU* 1643 provides a good commentary to such contracts. For a list of sales of houses see A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Vol. II of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. by T. Frank, Baltimore, 1936, pp. 257-260. To his list may be added *P. Mich.* 249; 257; 269; 276; 277; 288-290; 293; 294; 296; 298-300; 304; 428; *P. Oxy.* 2236; *PSI* 1319; 1320; *P. Strassb.* 151; 208; *BGU* 2095.

ἐπαγο(μένων) γ¯
ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Καισαρείου
ἐπαγομένων τρίτῃ ἐν Β[ακ-]
χιάδει τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Μάρων Ἑρμᾶτος τοῦ
Μάρωνος ὡς ἐτῶν τ[εσσα-]
ράκοντα ἑπτὰ οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέσῳ Ἑρμᾶτει Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ὡς ἐτῶν
τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων οὐλ[ὴ με-]
τώπῳ μέσῳ πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολογείαν ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης
ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρό[νον]
τὸ [ὑ]πάρχον αὐτῷ τῷ ὁμολογοῦντει Μάρωνι ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ Βακχιάδει
μητρικὸν τρίτον μέρος καὶ ἀγορ[ασ-]
τὸν ἕνατον μέρος, ὥστε εἶναι τρίτον ἕνατον μέρος κοινωνικῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς παλεᾶς
συνπεπτωκυίας ἀ[πὸ]
μέ[ρο]υς, ὅσων ἐστὶν τῶν ὅλων μέτρων καὶ πηχισμῶν, ἐπὶ τοῖς οὖσι ἀρχαίοις θεμελείοις
καὶ περιμέτροις ἐν [τῇ]
οὔ[σ]ῃ αὐτῶν διαθέσι, ὧν γειτωνος πάντων νότου Κατοίτου τοῦ Μενχείους καὶ τῶν
μετόχων τόποι καὶ ἐ[πί τι]
μέ[ρ]ος κοινὴ εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος εἰς ἣν ἠνύωγεν θύρα, βορρᾶ ῥύμη βασιλικήι, λιβὸς τοῦ

1. See the typical form of such an agreement outlined in P. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 88f.

2. F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimar, 1950, p. 109.

3. Cf. E. Weiss, "Communio pro diviso und pro indiviso in den Papyri," *Archiv* 4, 1908, p. 355; cf. also p. 353, n.2.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-365; Taubenschlag, *Law*[2], pp. 239, 242.

προγεγραμμένου Κατοίτ[ου]
τοῦ Μενχείους καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία παλεά, ἀπηλιώτου Ὥρου τοῦ Κατοίτου Βελλείους
καὶ τῶν ἀδ[ε]λφ[ῶν]
αὐ[λ]ὴ μεθ' ἣν οἰκία παλεά, καὶ ἀπέχιν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Μάρωνα παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμᾶτος τὰς
συνπεφωνημένας τ[ῆς] τιμῆς ἀ[ργυ-]
ρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρους παραχρῆμα διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, καὶ βεβαιώσιν
αὐτόν τε τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Μάρων[α καὶ]
τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἑρμᾶτει καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν πρᾶσιν ταύτην
πεπραμένα πάσῃ βεβαιώσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντ[α]
χρ[ό]νον καὶ παρέξασθαι αὐτὰ ἀνέπαφα καὶ ἀνανεχύραστα καὶ ἀνεπιδάνιστα καὶ
ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτα καὶ καθαρὰ ἀ[πὸ]
δημοσίου τε καὶ ἰδιωτικοῦ ὀφιλήματος καὶ μήτε προυποκείμενα μηδὲ προπεπραμένα
ἑτέροις μηδὲ μέρος τ[ρόπῳ μη-]
[δε]νεὶ μηδὲ κωλύοντας τὸν πριάμενον Ἑρμᾶν μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταλημψομένους
κυριεύο[ντας καὶ δεσ-]
[πό]ζοντας ὧν ἐώνηται καθὼς π[ρ]όκειται καὶ εἰσοδεύοντας καὶ ἐξοδεύοντας καὶ
κατασπῶντας καὶ ἀ[νοικοδο-]
[μο]ῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐὰν αἱρῶνται ἔτει πωλοῦντας ὑποτιθέντας ἑτέροις μεταδιοικοῦντας
χρω[μένους]
α[ὐ]τῶν καθ' ὃν ἐὰν βούλωνται τ[ρ]όπον ἀπαραποδίστως, καὶ πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα μηδένα
ἐνκαλέσιν [μηδὲ διαμ-]
φισβητήσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν πριάμενον Ἑρμᾶν μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ
μηδεν[ὶ παρευρέσει]
μηδεμιᾷ. ὅ τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων πάρασυνγραφῆι ⟨ὁ⟩ ὁμολογῶν Μάρων ἢ οἱ παρ'
αὐτοῦ ἢ μὴ [βεβαιοῖ ἢ μὴ]
παρέχηται καθὰ γέγραπται, χορὶς τοῦ τὸ ὑπεναντίως ἐπιτελεσθησόμενον ἄκυρα καὶ
ἀπρόσδεκτον εἶνα[ι κατὰ πάντα]
τρόπον, ἔτει καὶ ἀποτισάτωι τῷ Ἑρμᾶτει παραχρῆμα τὰ βλάβηι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν διπλῆν καὶ
ἐπίτιμον ἄλλας ἀρ[γυρίου δραχμὰς]
τριακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, καὶ μηδὲν ἧσ⟨σ⟩ον ἡ πρᾶσις κυρία ἔστω. ἀμφότεροι
οἱ ἐνφερόμενοι οι.[ca. 9]
(2nd hd.) Μάρων Ἑρμᾶτος τοῦ Μάρωνος ὁμολογῶι πεπρακέναι Ἑρμᾶτει Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
Ἀμμωνίου κατὰ τή[νδε τὴν ὁμο-]
λογειαν ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι μητρικὸν
τρίτ[ον μέρος καὶ]
ἀγοραστὸν ἔνατον μέρος ὥστε εἶναι τρίτον ἔνατον μέρος κοινωνικῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς
παλαιᾶς συνπε[πτωκυίας]
ἀπὸ μέρους, ὅσων ἐστὶ τῶν ὅλων μέτρων καὶ πηχισμῶν, ἐπὶ τοῖς οὖσι ἀρχαίοις θεμελείοις
καὶ περιμέτροις [ἐν τῇ οὔσῃ]
αὐτῶν διαθέσι, ὧν γείτονες πάντων νότου Κατοίτου τοῦ Μενχείους καὶ τῶν μετόχων
τόποι καὶ ἐπί τι μ[έρος κοινὴ]
εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος εἰς ἣν ἠνύωγεν θύρα{ν}, βορ⟨ρ⟩ᾶι ῥύμη βασιλεικήι, λειβὸς τοῦ
προγεγραμμένου Κατοίτο[υ τοῦ Μενχείους]
καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία παλαιά, ἀπηλειώτου Ὥρου τοῦ Κατοίτου Βελλείους καὶ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν αὐλὴ μεθ' [ἣν οἰκία πα-]
λαιά, καὶ ἀπέχωι τὰς συνπεφωνημένας τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πᾶσαν ἐκ

πλήρους π̣[αραχρῆμα]
διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου καὶ̣ βεβαιώσω τὴν πρᾶσειν πάσῃ βεβαιώσει ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
καθὼς πρόκειται. (3rd hd.) Ἑρμᾶ̣[ς Πτολεμαίου]
τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου· γέγω⟨νε⟩ εἷς με ἡ πρᾶσις τοῦ τρίτου καὶ̣ ἐνάτου μέρου⟨ς⟩ τῆς οἰκίας παλαιᾶς
καὶ̣ αὐλῆς συνπεπτωκυί̣ας̣ ἀ̣[πὸ μέρους ὡς]
πρ[ό]κ̣ε̣ι̣ται. (1st hd.) ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
μ(ηνὸς) Καισαρείου ἐπαγο(μένων) γ¯. ἀναγέγραπται δ[ιὰ τοῦ]
πρ[ὸ]ς τῷ γραφίῳ Βακχιάδος καὶ̣ Ἡφαιστιάδος.

2-3. Βακχιάδι. 4. Ἑρμᾶτι. 5. ὁμολογίαν. 6. ὁμολογοῦντι, Βακχιάδι. 7. παλαιᾶς, συμπεπτωκυίας. 8. θεμελίοις. 9. διαθέσει, γειτονες, Μεγχείους. 10. ἀνέῳγεν, βασιλική. 11. Μεγχείους, παλαιά. 12. παλαιά, ἀπέχειν, συμπεφωνημένας. 13. πάσας, χειρός, βεβαιώσειν. 14. Ἑρμᾶτι, βεβαιώσει. 15. παρέξεσθαι, ἀνενεχύραστα, ἀνεπιδάνειστα. 16. ἰδιωτικοῦ ὀφειλήματος. 16-17. μηδενί. 19. ἔτι. 20. αὐτοῖς, ἐγκαλέσειν. 20-21. διαμφισβητήσειν. 22. παρασυγγραφῆι. 23. χωρίς, ἄκυρον. 24. ἔτι, ἀποτισάτω, Ἑρμᾶτι, βλάβη. 25. ἐμφερόμενοι. 26. ὁμολογῶ, Ἑρμᾶτι. 26-27. ὁμολογίαν. 28. συμπεπτωκυίας. 29. θεμελίοις. 30. διαθέσει, Μεγχείους. 31. εἰς: ε corrected from η; ἀνέῳγεν, βορρᾶ, βασιλική, λιβός, Μεγχείους. 32. ἀπηλιώτου. 33. ἀπέχω, συμπεφωνημένας, πάσας. 34. χειρός, πρᾶσιν. 35. γέγονε, συμπεπτωκυίας. 37. γραφείωι.

3rd intercalary day

The tenth year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, in the month Kaisereios, on the third intercalary day, at Bacchias in the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite Nome.

Maron, son of Hermas and grandson of Maron, about forty-seven years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, acknowledges to Hermas, son of Ptolemaios and grandson of Ammonios, about forty-four years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, that he [Maron] has sold to him in accordance with this agreement from the present day for all time the following property which belongs to him, Maron, the party of the first part, in the aforesaid village of Bacchias: a third share inherited from his mother, and a purchased ninth share, making four ninths of a commonly owned house and old courtyard which has partly fallen in ruins, the measurements of the entire area being whatever they may be, with their ancient foundations and their boundaries, and in such condition as they are; of all of which the adjoining areas are: on the south lots belonging to Katoites, the son of Menches, and his associates, and for a certain distance a common entrance and exit, on which a door opens; on the north a royal road; on the west an old house belonging to the aforesaid Katoites, the son of Menches, and his associates; on the east, a courtyard of Horos, the son of Katoites and grandson of Belles, and his brothers, beyond which there is an old house. And he, the party of the first part, Maron, has received from Hermas the entire price agreed upon, in full, one hundred silver drachmas, forthwith from hand to hand out of the house; and both he, the party of the first part, Maron, and his representatives will guarantee to Hermas and his representatives the property sold in accordance with this sale with full guarantees for all time; and he will deliver the property unencumbered, unpledged, not offered as collateral, not alienated, and free from all debts, both public and private, and will see that it has been neither previously mortgaged nor previously sold to other persons, nor any part of it either, in any way whatsoever, and will see that no one hinders the purchaser, Hermas, or his heirs from exercising ownership and control over the purchases, as stated above, entering and departing, demolishing and constructing on the property however they choose, and furthermore, selling the property, mortgaging it to others, transferring it and using it in whatever way they choose, free from interference; and as regards the terms which have been set forth, let no one accuse or dispute with or proceed against the purchaser, Hermas, or his representatives in any way upon any pretext. And if the party of the first part, Maron, or his representatives violates any of

the aforesaid terms or does not guarantee or deliver the property in accordance with the terms as they have been written, then, apart from the fact that any contrary action will be invalid and inadmissible in every way, let him further pay to Hermas forthwith the damages and double the price and a fine of an additional three hundred silver drachmas, and the same amount to the treasury, and none the less let the sale be valid. Both the parties concerned . . . .

(2nd hd.) I, Maron, son of Hermas and grandson of Maron, acknowledge that I have sold to Hermas, son of Ptolemaios and grandson of Ammonios, in accordance with this agreement from the present day for all time the following property which belongs to me: a third share inherited from my mother, and a purchased ninth share, making four ninths of a commonly owned house and old courtyard which has partly fallen in ruins, the measurements of the entire area being whatever they may be, with their ancient foundations and their boundaries, and in such condition as they are; of all of which the adjoining areas are: on the south lots belonging to Katoites, the son of Menches, and his associates, and for a certain distance a common entrance and exit, on which a door opens; on the north a royal road; on the west an old house belonging to the aforesaid Katoites, the son of Menches, and his associates; on the east a courtyard of Horos, the son of Katoites and grandson of Belles, and his brothers, beyond which there is an old house, and I have received the entire price agreed upon, in full, one hundred silver drachmas, forthwith from hand to hand out of the house; and I will guarantee the sale with full guarantees for all time as stated above.

(3rd hd.) I, Hermas, son of Ptolemaios and grandson of Ammonios, have received the sale of the four ninths of the old house and courtyard which has partly fallen in ruins, as stated above.

(1st hd.) The tenth year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, in the month Kaisareios, on the 3rd intercalary day, registered through the chief of the record office of Bacchias and Hephaistias.

1. *ἐπαγο(μένων)* γ^{-}: added for convenience in filing the contract in the *γραφεῖον*; cf. the similar notation prefixed to *P. Mich.* 186.

1-2. The date is Aug. 26, 78 A.D.

4. *οὐλή*: on the regular use of the nominative in signalments, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, iii, p. 197, 45.

5. *τήνδε . . . ταύτην*: note the addition of *ταύτην*, also found in 14 and 27; it was added because *τήνδε*, imbedded in a stereotyped phrase, had lost most of its force.

8. *ὅσων ἐστὶν* κτλ.: for the vagueness often found in expressing measurements in property documents, cf. above, p. 20, n. 10.

8-9. *ἐν* [*τῇ*] *οὔ*[*σ*]*ῃ αὐτῶν διαθέσι*: for the phrase, see *P. Bas.* 7.12 *τῇ οὔσῃ διαθέσι. P. Strassb.* 30.20, [*τῇ αὐτ*]*ῇ διαθέσι*, may now be corrected to [*τῇ οὔσ*]*ῃ διαθέσι.*

9. *τόποι*: i.e., "property lots"; see R. Rossi, "Ψιλοὶ τόποι," *Aegyptus*, 30, 1950, p. 51.

9-10. *καὶ ἐ*[*πί τι*] *μέ*[*ρ*]*ος κοινὴ εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος*: in *P. Mich.* 188.11 and (same hand as 188) 189.15-16, the scribe, in describing the same property, wrote *καὶ ἐπί τι μέρος κοινῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου*, as if *μέρος* were to be construed with *κοινῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου*. A similar construction occurs in *P. Mich.* 428.5. But *ἐπί τι μέρος* is usually treated as an independent unit; e.g. *BGU* 915.22 *καὶ ἐπί τι μέ*(*ρος*) *ὀρινὴ διῶρ*[*υ*]*ξ*; *P. Mich.* 306.10.

On the grant of *εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος*, see R. Taubenschlag, "Das Recht auf *εἴσοδος* und *ἔξοδος* in den Papyri," *Opera Minora* II, pp. 405-417, and *Law*^{2}, pp. 243 and 256-259. In the case of *communio pro indiviso* as well as *communio pro diviso*, each co-owner receives this right.

10. *ἠνύωγεν* (= *ἀνέῳγεν*): for similar vulgar methods of augmenting *ἀνοίγω*, see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, ii, p. 104, 1 and p. 108, 44; Radermacher, *Grammatik*, p. 87; cf. *P. Mich.* 581.11n.

13. *πᾶσαν* (for *πάσας*): the scribe may have had in mind the usual phrase *τὴν συμπεφωνημένην τιμήν* (e.g., *P. Oslo* 45.3; *MChr.* 260.14-15), with which *πᾶσαν* would agree.

διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου: the payment comes from the cash box at home as opposed to payment through a bank. See F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Aegypten*, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 216.

15-17. *παρέξασθαι . . . τ[ρόπῳ μηδε]νεί*: the clauses in these lines all have the same purpose: they show that there is no bar to alienation on the part of the seller. In any transfer of property it was necessary for the alienator to prove that no claims, such as a mortgage, burdened the property. See E. Kiessling, "Ein Beitrag zum Grundbuchrecht im hellenistischen Aegypten," *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 82 and 85.

15. *ἀνέπαφα*: "unencumbered." Cf. *P. Hamb.* 15.11n.

16. *προυποκείμενα*: cf. *P. Masp.* 67097, Recto 34-35: *μὴ προυποκειμένην οἵῳ δήποτε ὀφλήματι δημοσίῳ τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῷ.*

μηδὲ μέρος: as *ἢ μέρος* is used after a positive statement to express partitive apposition, so *μηδὲ (οὐδὲ) μέρος* follows a negative statement. Cf. *P. Flor.* 1.9 *ἐὰν δέ τις κίνδυνος [γ]ένηται περὶ τήνδε τὴν ὑποθήκην πᾶσαν ἢ μέρος τρόπῳ ᾧτινιοῦν*; *P. Oxy.* 496.13 *οὐδενὶ ἐξόντ[ο]ς ἐκβά[λλε]ιν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς οὐδὲ μέρ[ου]ς*; 504.19-21 *μηθὲν παρασυνγραφήσα[σαν] . . . τὴν ὁμολογοῦσαν Ἀφρωδιτοῦν . . . [κατὰ τὴν ὁμολο]γίαν ταύτην μηδὲ μέρος τρώπῳ μηδενεί.*

17. *μεταλημψομένους*: *μεταλαμβάνω* is often so used to refer to heirs; see *FW* s.v. 3.

18-19. *ἀ[νοικοδομο]ῦντας*: cf. *P. Lond.* II, 154 (p. 178).15 *κατασπῶντες* (i.e. *-ντας*) *καὶ ἀνοικοδ(ομοῦντας).*

22-23. *ἢ μὴ [βεβαιοῖ ἢ μὴ] παρέχηται*: the restoration is suggested by *CPR* 223.23 *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιῶσι ἢ μὴ παρέχωνται καθὰ γέγραπται*; *P. Hamb.* 15.14 *ἐὰ]ν δέ τι τῶν προγεγραμμένων παραβῶσι οἱ ὁμολ(ογοῦντες εἶ (= ἢ) μὴ παρέχωνται καθὰ γέγρα(πται).* (Cf. further *P. Ryl.* 161.18-19.)

25. *ἀμφότεροι οἱ ἐνφερόμενοι οι.*[: the faint traces after *οι* are compatible with δ. One might venture the following suggestion: *ἀμφότεροι οἱ ἐνφερόμενοι οἰδ[ε ἰδίᾳ γράφοντες*, with the last word probably abbreviated. Cf. *P. Mich.* 584.33. For *ἐμφερόμενοι* = "the persons involved," see *P. Meyer* 3, introd., p. 14, n. 23.

36-37. *δ[ιὰ τοῦ] πρ[ὸ]ς τῷ γραφίωι*: for the restoration see *P. Mich.* 186.43; 187.46. For a brief treatment of the various types of notation used by public notary offices, see Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 60f.

τῷ γραφίωι Βακχιάδος καὶ Ἡφαιστιάδος: Bacchias and the neighboring village Hephaistias were treated as a single unit for administrative purposes; see *P. Mert.* 29.1n.

584. Division of Property

Inv. 102 — 21.5 x 27 cm. — Aug. 12, 84 A.D.

The papyrus is generally in good condition, but some of the lines are faded, especially on the right side, while the surface of the papyrus has been removed in several places in the lower portion of the text. There are also several tears, which increase in size in the lower part of the sheet.

The text is a contract for a division of property (*ὁμολογία διαιρέσεως*). The parties to the contract are:

1) Hermas, son of Ptolemaios
2) Petesouchos, son of Petosiris
3) Horos, son of Katoites
4) Hatres, son of Katoites

They divide among themselves the house and courtyard which they own in the village of Bacchias. The division results in a *communio pro diviso*, i.e., common ownership of physically divided

property.[1] But there are several modifications to the basic *communio pro diviso*:

1) The property of Petesouchos and Horos is held κοινῶς (*communio pro indiviso*[2]).

2) Hatres' property (two ninths) and part of Hermas' property (one ninth), which together form one third of the entire property, constitute a *communio pro indiviso*.

The diagram on p. 30 may be useful for clarifying the topography of the property in *P. Mich.* 584.

For a bibliography relevant to διαίρεσις, with a list of pertinent documents, see A. Calderini, "Un papiro greco inedito con allusione ad una divisione di proprietà," *Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz* III, Naples, 1953, pp. 276-279. To the list given by Calderini may be added *P. Oxy.* 2583; *P. Mil. Vogl.* 99-101; *P. Mert.* 122; *BGU* 2096 (?).

ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Μεσορὴ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ ἐν Βακχιάδι
τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἑρμᾶς Πτολεμαίου ὡς ἐτῶν
τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέσωι καὶ Πετεσοῦχος Πετο[σι]ριος ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα δύο οὐλὴ
γόνατι δεξιῶι καὶ Ὧρος Κατοίθου ὡς ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτὼ οὐλὴ ἀντίχειρι δεξιῷ καὶ
5 Ἀτρῆς Κατοίθου ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα πέντε οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέσωι, οἱ τέσσαρες, διειρῆσθαι
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὴν ὑπάρχ[ο]υσαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμέ
κώμῃ οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλὴν συνπεπτοκυεῖαν καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα πάντα, ὧν γείτονες νότου
εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος κοινή, βορρᾶ ὁμοίως ἑτέρα εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος κοινή, λιβὸς Μεγχείους τοῦ Κατοίθ(ου)
καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰκία, ἀπηλιώτου Ὧρου τοῦ Κατοίθου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰκία, ἀφ' ὧν ἐστιν
10 τοῦ μὲν Ἑρμᾶ ἀγοραστὸν τρίτον ἔνατον μέρος τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς, καὶ τοῦ Πετεσούχου καὶ Ὧρου
κοινῶς πατρικὸν τρίτον μέρος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀτρείους κατὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔκτον ὀκτωκαιδέκατον μέρ(ος),
καὶ ἐξ ἧς πεποίηνται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξ εὐδοκούντων ἐκ κλήρου διαιρέσεως κεκληρῶσθαι τὸν
μὲν Ἑρμᾶν εἰς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι τρίτον ἔνατον μέρος, τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος κατὰ μέσον
νότον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πήχεις δεκαεπτά, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέρους πήχεις
15 πέντε τρίτον, ἐγ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους πήχεις ἕξ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ ἔνατον μέρος κοινὸν καὶ
ἀδιαίρετον πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀτρείους καθὼς ὑποτέτακται ἔκτον ὀκτωκαιδέκατον μέρος, τὸν δὲ
Πετεσοῦχον καὶ Ὧρον [ὁ]μοίως τοὺς δύο κοινῶς κεκληρῶσθαι εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλον τρίτον
μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρους διατείνοντα νότον ἐπὶ
βορρᾶ δι' ὅλων τῶν τόπων, νότον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πήχεις δεκαεπτά, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην ἐγ μὲν τοῦ
20 πρὸς νότον μέρους πήχεις πέντε τρίτον, ἐγ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους πήχεις ἕξ, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρῆν
καὶ αὐτὸν κεκληρῶσθαι εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλλον ἔκτον ὀκτωκαιδέκατον μέρος κοινὸν καὶ ἀδι-
αίρετον πρὸς τὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Ἑρμᾶ ὡς πρόκειται ἔνατον μέρος, ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς λίβα
μέρους ν[ό]τον ἐπὶ β[ο]ρρᾶ πήχεις δεκαεπτά, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην ἐγ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς νότον

1. See introd. to *P. Mich.* 583, p. 22.

2. *Ibid.*

μέρους
πήχεις πέντε τρίτον, ἐγ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους πήχεις ἕξ. ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν προγεγραμμένων
κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν ὧν κεκλήρωται τόπων σὺν τοῖς [ἐ]ν ἑκάστοις φορτίοις πᾶσι καὶ
καθαιροῦντας
καὶ ἀνοικοδομοῦντες καὶ ἐπισκευάζοντες καὶ συντελοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς ἃ ἐὰν βούλωνται καὶ
ἐνοικ(οῦντας)
καὶ ἐνοικίζοντες καὶ τὰ ἐνοίκια ἀποφερομένους καὶ πωλοῦντας καὶ ὑποτιθέντας καὶ
οἰκονομοῦντας
περὶ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἱρῶνται τρόπον ἀπαραποδίστως. ἐνμενέτωσαν οὖν οἱ ὁμολογοῦντες
καὶ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ μεταλημψόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν
διαίρεσ(ιν)
ταύτην σημαινο[μ]έν[ο]ις, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τ.. δι' αὐτῆς .....ῆσθαι, ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν μὴ
ἐνμίνῃ, ἀποτισάτω [ὁ] παραβὰς αὐτῶν τῷ ἐνμέ[νοντι] τά τε βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα δ[ιπλᾶ]
καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χειλείας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσι[ον] τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ τὰ
διομολ(ογημένα) μένειν
κύρια. ὑπογρα(φεῖς) τῶν περὶ τὸν Πετεσοῦχο(ν) Ἥρων Διονυ[σ(οδώρου)](ἐτῶν) λς ἄση(μος)
το(ῦ) δὲ Ἀτρεί(ους) Ἀπολ( ) Μέλ(ανος) (ἐτῶν) νη ο(ὐλὴ)
ἀντικ(νημίῳ), ὁ δὲ Ἑρμᾶς ἰδίᾳ γράφω(ν).
(2nd hd.) Ἑρμᾶς Πτολεμαίου ὁμολωγῶ ἀνενηνοχέναι πρὸς Πετεσοῦχον Πετσῖρις καὶ Ὧρον
Κατοίτου
καὶ Ἀτρῆν Κατοίτου τὴν διέρεσιν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ ⟨κε⟩κληρῶσθ{σθ}αίμαι εἰς τὸ
ἐπιβάλλ(ον)
μοι τρίτον μέρος κατὰ μέσον διετ[εῖνον] νότου ἐπὶ [β]ορρᾶ πήχις δεκαεπτά, λίβα ἐπ' ἀ-
πηλιώτην ἐκ μὲν ⟨τοῦ⟩ πρὸς νότου μέρου⟨ς⟩ π[ήχ]εις πέ[ντε τρίτο]ν, ἐ[κ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς] βορρᾶ
μέρους πήχεις ἕξ, ⟨καὶ ἕνατον μέρος⟩ κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιέρετον [πρὸς τὸ Ἀτρείους μέ]ρος σὺν
τοῖς ἐν τούτοις φορτίοις πᾶ[σι]
καὶ ἕκαστα ποήσω καθὼς πρόκιται. (3rd hd.) Πε[τεσοῦχος] Πετσίρεως καὶ Ὧρος
Κατοίτου ὁμο-
λογοῦμεν ἀνενηνοχέναι πρὸς Ἑρμᾶν Π[τολεμαίου] καὶ Ἀτρῆν Κατοίτου τὴν διαίρεσιν
τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ κεκληρῶσθαι ἡμ[ᾶς κοινῶς] εἰς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἡμεῖν τρίτο[ν]
μέρος ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρους δ[ιατεῖνον νό]τον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ δι' ὅλων τῶν τόπω[ν],
νότον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πήχεις δεκαεπτά, λιβ[ὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώ]την ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέ[ρους]
πήχεις πέν[τε τρίτον, ἐκ δ]ὲ τοῦ πρὸς βο[ρρᾶ μέ]ρου[ς πήχ]εις ἕξ, σὺν τοῖς ἐν τ[ούτοις
φορτίοις]
πᾶσι καθ[ὼς πρόκειται. ἔ]γραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἡρῶ[ν Διονυσο]δώρου διὰ τὸ μὴ
εἰδένα[ι γράμματα.]
(4th hd.) Ἀτρῆς Κατοίτου ὁμολογῶι ἀνενηνοχέναι πρὸς Ἐρ[μᾶν Πτ]ολεμαίου καὶ Πετεσοῦχον
Πετοσι[ρεως]
καὶ Ὧρον Κατοίτου τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ κεκληρῶσθαί με εἰς τὸ
ἐπιβάλλον μοι
ἕκτον ὀκτωκαιδέκατον μέρος κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετ[ον πρὸς] τὸ ἕνατον μέρος αἱροῦν πρ(ὸς)
τ(ὸν)
προγεγραμμένον Ἑρμᾶν, ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς λει[βα] μέρους ν[ό]τον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πήχεις δεκαεπτά,
λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτ(ην) ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέρους πήχεις πέντε τρίτον, ἐγ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς
βορρᾶ μέρους
πήχεις ἕξ, καθὰ πρόκ[ειται]. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτ(οῦ) Ἀπο[λλω( ) Μέλ(ανος)] διὰ τὸ μὴ

εἰδέναι γράμματα.
(1st hd.) (ἔτους) τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομι[τιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] μηνὸς Μεσο(ρὴ) ιθ¯.
ἀναγέγρ(απται) διὰ τοῦ ἐν
Βακχι(άδι) γρ(αφείου).

Verso [ὁμ]ο[λογία] Ἑρμᾶτος καὶ ἄλλων
55 διαιρέ(σεως)

4. Κατοίτου: and so throughout in 1st hd. 7. συμπεπτωκυῖαν, συγκύροντα. 15. ἐκ: and so usually throughout. 18. διατεῖνον (see note *ad loc.*). 26. ἀνοικοδομοῦντας, ἐπισκευάζοντας, συντελοῦντας. 27. ἐνοικίζοντας. 28. ἐμμενέτωσαν. 31. ἐμμείνῃ, ἐμμένοντι. 32. χιλίας, διωμολ(ογημένα). 34. ὁμολογῶ. 35. Κατοίτου: ι written over ο; διαίρεσιν, με. 36. διατεῖνον, πήχεις. 38. ἀδιαίρετον; 1st 3 letters written over 3 letters mostly effaced; τοῖς, τούτοις, φορτίοις. 41. ἡμῖν. 46. ὁμολογῶ. 48. αἱροῦν: read by Dr. J. Rea. 49. λίβα.

The third year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, on the nineteenth of the month Mesore, at Bacchias in the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite Nome.

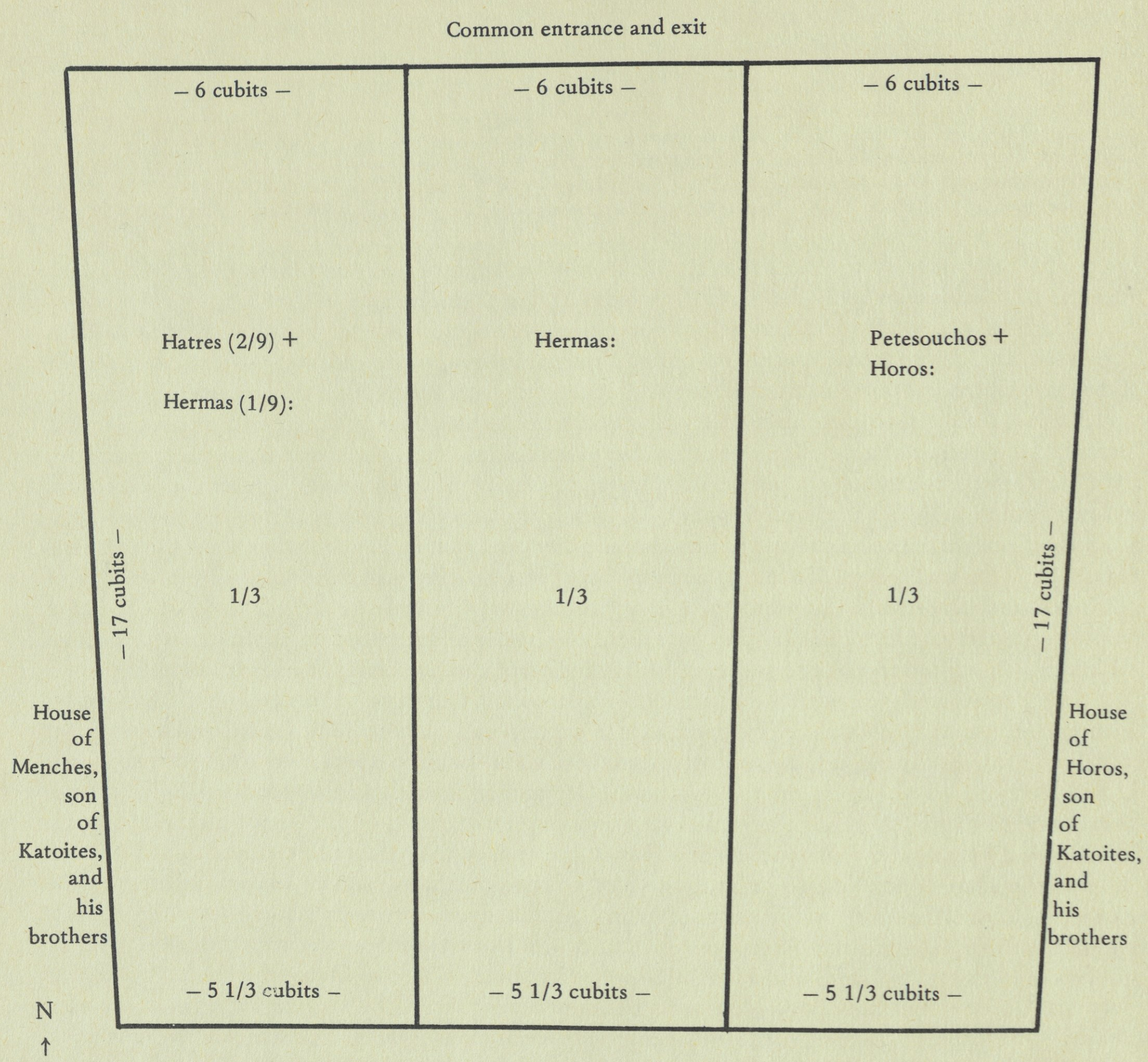
Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, about forty-nine years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, and Petesouchos, son of Petosiris, about sixty-two years old, with a scar on the right knee, and Horos, son of Katoites, about seventy-eight years old, with a scar on the right thumb, and Hatres, son of Katoites, about fifty-five years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, the four of them, acknowledge that they have divided among themselves from the present for all time their property in the aforesaid village, consisting of a house and courtyard, which has fallen in ruins, and all the appurtenances, of which the adjoining areas are: on the south a common entrance and exit; on the north likewise another common entrance and exit; on the west the house of Menches, son of Katoites, and his brothers; on the east the house of Horos, son of Katoites, and his brothers; of which property Hermas owns a third and a ninth share of the entire house and courtyard, acquired by purchase; Petesouchos and Horos own in common a third share, which they inherited from their fathers; and Hatres owns the remaining share, viz., two ninths.

And in accordance with this division by lot which they have made among themselves by common consent, Hermas has obtained as the share which falls to him a third and a ninth, of which the third is in the middle and is seventeen cubits south to north, and from west to east it is five and one third cubits on the southern side, and six cubits on the northern side, and the remaining ninth part is held in common and undivided ownership with the two ninths of Hatres, as indicated below; and Petesouchos and Horos, the two of them, have likewise obtained in common as the share which falls to them too a third of the same house and courtyard, located on the eastern side, and running south to north through the whole property, being seventeen cubits south to north, and from west to east five and one third cubits on the southern side, and six cubits on the northern side; and Hatres himself has obtained as the share which falls to him too two ninths, common and undivided with the ninth portion of the aforesaid Hermas, as stated above, located on the western side and being seventeen cubits south to north, and from west to east five and one third cubits on the southern side, and six cubits on the northern side.

And each of the aforesaid parties shall hold and control the properties which he has obtained by lot with all the fixtures on each, and shall tear them down, build them up, repair them, and accomplish on them whatever they wish, and shall occupy the premises and lodge others therein, collect the rents, sell the property, mortgage it, and manage it in whatever way they choose without hindrance.

Accordingly let the contracting parties, each of them and their representatives and their

Royal Road[3]



Lots of Katoites, son of Menches, and his associates and a common entrance and exit on to which a door opens.[4]

3. Ῥύμη βασιλική comes from *P.Mich.* 583.10; 188.11; 189.16.

4. *P. Mich.* 584 has only εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος κοινή (line 8); the other information is based on *P. Mich.* 583.9-10. Cf. 188.10-11; 189.15-16.

heirs, abide by the terms which are set forth in accordance with this division, and let it not be permissible to . . . , and if anyone of them does not abide by the division, let the one who has transgressed it pay to the party who abides by it double the amount of the damages and expenses and a fine of one thousand silver drachmas, and the same amount to the treasury, and nevertheless the terms of the contract shall remain valid. Signatories: for Petesouchos and his associate Heron, son of Dionysodoros, age 36, without any identifying mark; for Hatres Apol(lo), son of Melas, age 55, with a scar on the . . . shin; Hermas wrote with his own hand.

(2nd hd.) I, Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, acknowledge that I have made with Petesouchos, son of Petsiris, and Horos, son of Katoites, and Hatres, son of Katoites, the division of the house and courtyard, and that I have obtained as the share which falls to me one third in the middle, extending seventeen cubits south to north, and from west to east five and one third cubits on the southern side, and six cubits on the northern side, ⟨and a ninth⟩ which is common and undivided with the share of Hatres, together with all the fixtures on them, and I shall do everything as stated above.

(3rd hd.) We, Petesouchos, son of Petosiris, and Horos, son of Katoites, acknowledge that we have made with Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, and Hatres, son of Katoites, the division of the house and courtyard, and that we have obtained in common as the share which falls to us one third, located on the eastern side, and running south to north through the whole property, being seventeen cubits south to north, and from west to east five and one third cubits on the southern side, and six cubits on the northern side, together with all the fixtures on them as stated above. Heron, son of Dionysodoros, wrote for them, as they are illiterate.

(4th hd.) I, Hatres, son of Katoites, acknowledge that I have made with Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, and Petesouchos, son of Petosiris, and Horos, son of Katoites, the division of the house and courtyard, and that I have obtained as the share which falls to me two ninths, common and undivided with the ninth portion which fell to the aforesaid Hermas, located on the western side and being seventeen cubits south to north, and from west to east five and one third cubits on the southern side, and six cubits on the northern side, as stated above. Apollo( ), son of Melas, wrote for him, as he is illiterate.

(1st hd.) The third year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, Mesore 19, registered through the record office at Bacchias.

Verso: Agreement of division made by Hermas and others.

1. The date is August 12, 84 A.D.

5. *διειρῆσθαι*: the perfect of compounds of *αἱρέω* is almost always so augmented in the *κοινή*; see *P. Iand.* 52.8n.

8. *εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος κοινή*: see *P. Mich.* 583.9-10n.

9. *ἀφ' ὧν ἐστιν*: for the construction, cf. *P. Lond.* II, 293 (p. 187).9-10 *αὐ]λὴν ἀφ' ἧς ὑπάρχι* (= *ὑπάρχει*) *τῇ μὲν Θαισᾶ κτλ.*; *P. Mich.* 186.16-17 *οἰκοπέδων καὶ αὐλῶν . . . ὧν ἐστιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὥρου κτλ.*

11. *πατρικόν*: the property is so designated because it was owned by Petosiris and Katoites, who bequeathed it to their sons, Petesouchos and Horos respectively.

κατὰ τὸ λοιπόν: for an expanded, but similar phrase, see *BGU* 919.17-18 *ἥμισυ μέρο*[ς] *κοινὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ κατὰ τὸ λ*[οι]*π*(*όν*) *ἥ*[*μ*]*ισυ οἰκίας, ἐν ᾗ αὐλὴ κτλ.*

14. *ἐπὶ βορρᾶ*: in this document the accusative is always *βορρᾶ*, not *βορρᾶν* as we would expect (see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, ii, p. 5, 22). *βορρᾶ* is, strictly speaking, a genitive form, but the fact that throughout this text *ἐπὶ βορρᾶ* alternates with *ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην*, and *πρὸς βορρᾶ* with *πρὸς νότον* and *πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην* shows that *βορρᾶ* was regarded as accusative. *βορρᾶ* is found elsewhere as an accusative; cf. *SB* 7600.21 *ἐκ τοῦ* (i.e., *τῶν*) *πρὸς βορρᾶ καὶ λίβα μερῶν*, and *P. Mich.* 294.3 and 305.3-8, where *βορρᾶ* alternates with *ἀπηλιώτην* and *λίβα*. The *raison d'être* of such an accusative as *βορρᾶ* is to be sought in the confusion between genitive and accusative

frequently observed in topographical designations. Mayser (*Grammatik* II, ii, p. 493, 22) had only one instance of *πρὸς βορρᾶ* (*P. Teb.* 86.32), which he regarded as a genitive perhaps to be corrected to *βορρᾶν*; he felt that *πρός* c. gen. in the *κοινή* "hat sich in verschwindend seltenen, teilweise unsicheren Beispielen erhalten" (II, ii, p. 493, 20). Since Mayser's time several examples of *πρός* c. gen. have appeared, always used to indicate direction. Cf. *P. Mich.* 305.5 *ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτου μέρους*; 306.4-5 *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς νότου μέρους*; 584.37 *ἐκ μὲν ⟨τοῦ⟩ πρὸς νότου μέρου⟨ς⟩*. These are not to be regarded as reflections of Classical Attic; they come from the lower levels of the *κοινή* and simply give evidence of grammatical confusion. Cf. the very similar alternation between *ἐπί* c. gen. and *ἐπὶ* c. acc., when used to indicate direction, e.g. *P. Mich.* 297.3 *νότου ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πήχις ἑπτὰ δμύρου λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτου πήχις δεκατέσσαρος δμύρου*; 300.4; 308.2; 309.3.

18. *διατεί̣νοντα*: *διατεῖνον* in agreement with *μέρος* would give the proper construction; cf., e.g., *P. Mil. Vogl.* 99.8 *τὸ ἐκ [το]ῦ πρ[ὸς] λείβα μέρ[ο]υς . . . ἥμισυ μέρος διατῖνον νότον ἐπὶ β[ορ]ρᾶ*; *P. Mich.* 326.30 *ἀρο(ύρας) ζ∟ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς λίβα μέρους διατεινούσας νότον ἐπὶ βορρᾶν*.

19. *τόπων*: see *P. Mich.* 583.9n.

25. *φορτίοις*: for *φορτία*, "fixtures," see *P. Oxy.* 243.27n.

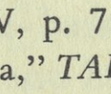
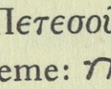
29. *μεταλημψόμενοι*: see *P. Mich.* 583.17n.

30. *καὶ μὴ ἐξέ̣στ̣ω τ̣.. δι' αὐτῆς .....ῆσθαι*: I have been unable to find a parallel for this phrase. Perhaps the scribe intended to write *καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τὰ δι' αὐτῆς παραβῆναι* or *παρασυγγραφῆσαι*. For *παραβῆναι* see *P. Mil. Vogl.* 99.16; for *παρασυγγραφῆσαι*, cf. *P. Mich.* 583.22. The traces, however, are compatible with neither verb.

31. *τῷ ἐνμέ[νοντι]*: for the singular, even when the parties are more than two, cf. *P. Mich.* 323.22.

32. *χ̣ωρὶς τοῦ καὶ τὰ διομολ(ογημένα)* (= *διω-*): the perfect is suggested by *P. Mil. Vogl.* 99.17-18 *χωρὶς τοῦ τὰ διωμολ̣ογημ̣[ένα κύρια εἶναι*.

33. *τῶν περὶ τὸν Πετεσοῦχο(ν)*: i.e. Petesouchos and his associate, Horos. A similar case is found in P. Mich. inv. 140 (unpublished), in which a group of *γραμματεῖς* make an agreement with two *γραμματεῖς μητροπόλεως* named Marion and Herodes. In lines 20-21 we read *τι]μὴν χαρτῶν . . . [εἶ]ναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μαρίωνα*, where the reference is to Marion and his one partner. Other examples of this usage are *P. Ryl.* 653, i.14 (*BL* IV, p. 75) and *P. Cair. Isidor.* 103.12. For both of these passages see H.C. Youtie, "Notes on Papyri and Ostraca," *TAPA* 89, 1958, p. 396.

Πετεσοῦχο(ν): elsewhere the first hand employs a *Verschleifung* in writing this name. But here its reduction is extreme:  . In line 3 the name appears but the writing is considerably faded. Line 10 has , and 17 has  . For another example of the name Petesouchos so treated, see *P. Mich.* 582 col. i.8n.

Διονυ̣[σ(οδώρου)]: this common name, rather than the shorter *Διονύσιος*, is suggested by line 45 where the signatory is again named. There most of the patronymic is lost, but *Διονυσοδώρου* is compatible with the space.

Ἀ̣πολ( ): e.g., *Ἀπολ(λωνί̣δης)* or *Ἀπολ(λώνιος)*.

ἀ̣ντικ(νημίῳ): *δεξιῷ* or *ἀριστερῷ* was omitted.

ὁ δὲ Ἑρμᾶς ἰδί̣ᾳ γράφω(ν): cf. *BGU* 709.22 (*BL* I, p. 61) *Οὐάλης ἰδί̣ᾳ γρ(άφων)*.

34. There is a check mark in the margin, used, as often, to show where the subscription began; see *P. Mich.* V, p. 4.

35. *⟨κε⟩κληρῶσθ σθ{αί}μαι (= με)*: for the subject accusative, cf. Radermacher, *Grammatik*, p. 181: "Doch wird der Unterschied zwischen Infinitiv und Akkusativ mit Infinitiv in der späteren Sprache nicht mehr so strenge gewahrt, wie in der alten Zeit, vielmehr wird das Subjekt beim Infinitiv öfter noch einmal widerholt, obwohl es bereits im Hauptsatz enthalten war."

37. *πρὸς νότου*: cf. 14n.

39. *π̃οήσω*: for the relationship between *ποιῶ* and *ποῶ* see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, pp. 108f.

48. *μέρος αἰρ̣οῦν πρ(ὸς)*: i.e., "share falling to"; for parallels see *WB* I, s.v. *αἱρέω*, 3.

51. *Ἀπο[λλω( ) Μέλ(ανος)*: see 33n. *Ἀπολλω( )* fits the space.

54. *ὁμ]ο̣[λογία] κτλ.*: cf. *P. Mich.* 121 Verso viii.13 *ὁμολ(ογία) Ταφολήμιος καὶ ἄλλων πρὸς ἑαυτο(ὺς) διαιρέ(σεως) οἰκ(ίας)*.

585. Loan with Right of Habitation

Inv. 103 15.4 x 21.7 cm. Jan. 21, 87 A.D.

The papyrus is not well preserved. The lower left portion has vanished, taking with it the end of the contract, as well as over half of the first subscription. The second subscription and the docket are lost. Furthermore, the writing is considerably faded in several places, most noticeably in the upper right portion. Although the first hand is the same as the first hand of *P. Mich.* 584, 585 is written in larger and usually more careful letters. The first subscription is written in a slow, fairly practiced hand.

The text is an agreement to furnish lodging instead of paying interest on a debt. The creditor is Hermas, son of Ptolemaios. Neither the debtor's name nor that of his father can be recovered from the document in its present state.[1] The loan is of the kind known as antichretic, i.e., a loan in which usufruct of the debtor's land, occupancy of his house property, or use of his services is accepted by the creditor in lieu of interest (*ἀντὶ τῶν τόκων*).[2] Antichretic service is discussed below in the introduction to *P. Mich.* 587. Usufruct in antichretic loans is exemplified by such documents as *MChr.* 249, a loan in which the debtor says (2-11): *ὁμολογῶι ἔχιν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα . . . καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων συνκεχωρηκέναι σοι σπείρειν καὶ καρπίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποφέρειν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν αἱρῆ μέρους τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι . . . ἀρουρῶν δύο.*[3] The antichretic right of habitation, which is involved in *P. Mich.* 585, occurs quite frequently in contracts of loan.[4] Such loans were called *ὁμολογίαι ἐνοικήσεως*[5] or, more accurately, *ὁμολογίαι ἐνοικήσεως καὶ δανείου.*[6] They served primarily as a means of providing a convenient substitute for the interest. The right of habitation which they granted was not far reaching in its legal effects. It did not in itself give the creditor the right of execution in case of failure to repay the loan, nor did it constitute a mortgage. If these additional rights were to be established, they needed separate provisions. On the basis of the rights which they confer, we may distinguish those *ὁμολογίαι ἐνοικήσεως* which provide only for the right of habitation from others which are more comprehensive. To the former category belong *P. Mich.* 188 and 189. To the latter may be assigned such documents as *P. Fouad* 44, *P. Oxy.* 1641, and *P. Mich.* 585; these include the right of execution (*πρᾶξις*). *P. Ryl.* 120 and *P. Oxy.* 1105 assert the right of the creditor to mortgage the debtor's property.

P. Mich. 585 is of special interest because it has a legal feature which is without a precise parallel. It stipulates in lines 10-12 that the creditor, Hermas, is to be allowed to dwell in property over which he already exercised joint ownership. Presumably Hermas expected to derive profit from the fact that he was now free to rent out the entire *μέρος* in question (lines 18-19), and this may have been the reason which induced him to engage in this type of loan.

On the verso is a red stamp, of the type frequently found in Roman Egypt.[7] These stamps,

1. See above, p. 21, n. 13.

2. See, e.g., A.E. Samuel, "The Role of Paramone Clauses," *JJP* 15, 1965, p. 301. For the pertinent bibliography on antichretic loans, see Taubenschlag, *Law*^{2}, p. 286, n.68.

3. For other examples see Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 153f.; Taubenschlag, *Law*^{2}, p. 287, n.71.

4. For a list of such texts, see Taubenschlag, *Law*^{2}, p. 288, n.81. The following treatment is based largely on A.E. Samuel, "Six Papyri from Hamilton College," *JJP* 13, 1961, pp. 34-36.

5. For examples see Index VII of *P. Mich.* II, s.v. *ἐνοίκησις* (p. 246).

6. See *P. Mich.* 123 Recto vi.29; vii.41; xviii.18; xix. 19-20; xxii.9. Cf. *P. Mich.* 189 Verso, 1: *ὁμολ(ογία) δ̣α̣ν̣(είου) καὶ ἐνο[ικήσεως.*

7. For the pertinent bibliography see *P. Ryl.* 601.33n. To the list there given may be added P. Mich. inv. 118 (from Bacchias), the seal of which was published by L. Amundsen, "The Use of Official Stamps in Papyrus Documents," *TAPA* 57, 1926, pp. xviii-xix. It reads ⌊E ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ-ΣΑΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ.

technically known as χαράγματα,[8] were employed in notarial offices and served to validate documents.[9] They generally contain the date in the form of the regnal year and the name of the emperor, arranged in one or two concentric circles. The center of the seal often has the bust of the emperor, e.g. *CPR* 11 (with plate, p. 38), or sometimes simply ΓΡ, i.e. γρ(αφείου), as e.g. *BGU* 183. What remains of the seal in *P. Mich.* 585 is badly rubbed and damaged. It consisted of two concentric circles, and in the outer circle ΔΟΜΙΤ]ΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣ[ΤΟΥ can still be read. The legend surrounds a central device which is too faint to be legible, although the scanty remnants suggest γρ(αφείου).

ἔτους ἕκτου Αὐτοκράτορος [Κ]αίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
μηνὸς Δύστρου ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Τῦβι ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι ἐν Βακχιάδει τῆς
Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ faint traces of ca. 12
Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐ[τῶν] πεντήκοντα οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέσωι
Ἑρμᾶτι Πτολεμαίου ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα δύο οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέσωι
ἔχειν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα δ[ιὰ] χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου
δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ [ἀ]ντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων
συνκεχωρηκέναι τὸν ὁμολογο[ῦ]ντα ἐνοικεῖν τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ τοὺς
παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὓς ἐὰν βούληται ἐπ᾽ ἐν[ι]αυτὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου
χρόνου ἐν τῶι ἐπιβάλλοντι αὐτῶι τῶ[ι] ὁμολογοῦντι πατρικῶι
εἰκοσιεβδόμωι μέρει κοινῶ[ι] καὶ ἀδιαιρέτωι πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ
ἑτέρους τόπων οἰκοπέδων καὶ τῶν συνκοιρώντων πάντω(ν)
ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ, καὶ βεβαιώσιν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα
καὶ τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶι Ἑρμᾷ καὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
ἐνοίκησιν ταύτην πάσῃ βεβαιώσει ἐπί τε τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτῆς [[χρόνον]]
καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐὰν δέον ἦν ἐνοικεῖν χρόνον, καὶ παρεχέσθω ὁ ὁμολογῶ(ν)
μηδένα κωλύ[οντα] τ[ὸ]ν Ἑρμᾶ[ν] μηδὲ τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐνοικ(οῦντας)
ἐν τῶι σημαιν[ομένῳ καὶ] ἑτέρους ἐνοικιζοντας καὶ τὰ ἐνοίκ(ια)
ἀποφερομένους κ[αὶ χρωμένο]υς τοῖς τούτων χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι
ἀδιακωλύτω[ς. καὶ μετὰ] τὸν χρόνον ἀποδότω ὁ ὁμολογῶ(ν)
τῶι Ἑρμᾷ τὰ[ς] τ[ο]ῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα, τῆς πράξεως
οὔσης τῶι Ἑρμᾷ ἔκ τε τοῦ [ὁ]μολογοῦντος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχώ(ντων)
αὐτῶι πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. ὑπογρα(φεὺς) τοῦ ὁμολογο(ῦντος)
.[...]...[.....].[.....].[..] τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου εἰδό(τος) γρά(μματα).
(2nd hd.) [ca. 11]ου Πέρση[ς] τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὁλωλογῶ ἔχειν
[παρὰ Ἑρμᾶτο]ς Πτολεμα[ί]ου παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου
[ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμο]υ δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων
[τόκων συγχωρήσω ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἐν]οικεῖν τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ
[τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὓς ἐὰν] βούληται ἐφ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα
[ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου χρό]νου ἐν τῷ ἐπιβάλλοντί μοι
[πατρικῷ εἰκοσιεβδόμῳ] μέρει κοινῷ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ
[πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ ἑτέρους] τόπων οἰκοπέδων καὶ τῶν
[συγκυρόντων πάντων ἐν τῇ προγ]εγραμ[μέν]ῃ κώμῃ

8. G. Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (2nd ed.) Edinburgh, 1901, p. 242. Cf. H. Erman, "Die Siegelung der Papyrusurkunden," *Archiv* 1, 1901, p. 76, n.1.

9. Amundsen, "Official Stamps," pp. xviii-xix; Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 245.

[καὶ βεβαιώσω τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνοίκ]ησιν πάσῃ βεβαιώσε[ι]
[ἐπί τε τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐ]φ᾽ ὃν ἐὰν δέον ἦν
[ἐνοικεῖν χρόνον, καὶ ἀπο]δώσω τὰς τοῦ ἀργ[υρίου]
[δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα ὡς πρόκει]ται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτ[οῦ]

2. Βακχιάδι. 8. συγκεχωρηκέναι. 12. συγκυρόντων. 13. βεβαιώσειν. 15. βεβαιώσει, αὐτήν. 22. ὑπαρχόντων. 23. ἐκ. 25. ὁμολογῶ.

The sixth year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, on the twenty-sixth of the month Dystros, the twenty-sixth of Tubi, at Bacchias in the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite Nome.

. . . , son of . . . , Persian of the epigone, about fifty years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, acknowledges to Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, about fifty-two years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead, that he has received from him sixty drachmas of coined silver forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, and instead of the interest on this sum, he, the party of the first part, has agreed that Hermas and his representatives and whomever he wishes shall reside for one year from the above-mentioned date in the twenty-seventh share of roomed properties and all the appurtenances, which belongs to him, the party of the first part, by inheritance from his father, held in common and undivided ownership with Hermas and others in the aforesaid village; and he, the party of the first part, and his representatives shall guarantee the terms of this contract of habitation to Hermas and his representatives with full guarantees both for the time stipulated by the contract and for whatever time lodging is necessary. And let the party of the first part see to it that no one prevents Hermas and his representatives from occupying the designated property, lodging others therein, collecting the rents, and using all its appurtenances without hindrance. And at the expiration of the period let the party of the first part repay the sixty drachmas of silver to Hermas, the right of execution resting with Hermas on the party of the first part and on all his property as if in accordance with a legal judgment. Signatory: for the party of the first part . . . ; the other knows how to write.

(2nd hd.) I, . . . , son of . . . , Persian of the epigone, agree that I have received from Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, sixty drachmas of coined silver forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, and that instead of the interest on this sum I, the party of the first part, will agree that Hermas and his representatives and whomever he wishes shall reside for one year from the above-mentioned date in the twenty-seventh share of roomed properties and all appurtenances, which belongs to me by inheritance from my father, held in common and undivided ownership with Hermas and others, in the aforesaid village, and I will guarantee the terms of the contract of habitation with full guarantees both for the time stipulated by the contract and for whatever time lodging is necessary, and I will repay the sixty drachmas of silver as stated above. Wrote for him: . . . .

1-2. The date is January 21, 87 A.D.

4. Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: for the meaning of the phrase see J.G. Tait, "Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς," *Archiv* 7, 1924, pp. 175-182; for full bibliography, W. van Rengen, "Le bail de terre *P. Oxy.* VI 975," *Chron. d'Egypte* 40, 1965, p. 355. In the Ptolemaic period the expression originally referred to the descendant of a Persian military colonist (but cf. J.F. Oates, "The Status Designation: Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς," *YCS* 18, 1963, pp. 1-129). But in the Roman period the original meaning was lost, and Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, together with Περσίνη, became a legal fiction, used to designate debtors or lessees who agreed that, in case of failure to fulfil their obligations, they

should be *ἀγώγμοι*, i.e., "liable to seizure". Cf. F. Zucker, "*Πέρσαι*," *RE* XIX, i, 917f. The designation provided additional security for the creditor or lessor.

6. *δ[ιὰ] χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου*: see *P. Mich.* 583.13n.

12. *τόπων οἰκοπέδων*: for the phrase *τόπων οἰκόπεδα*, which emphasizes the fact that the property contained several rooms (*τόποι*), see *P. Mich.* 188.9-10n.

15-16. *ἐπί τε τὸν κτλ.*: *P. Hamb.* 30.18-19 *ἐπί τε τὸν κ[....].την καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν .ε..ην ..ε...[...χρ]όνον* may now be restored to read *ἐπί τε τὸν κ[ατὰ α]ὐτὴν καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν δέον ἦν ἐπενοι[κεῖν χρ]όνον*. For *ἐπενοι[κεῖν*, see P. Mich. inv. 100 (unpublished).15 *καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν δέον ἢ ἐπενοικῶν χρόνον*.

[[χρόνον]]: most of the word has been rubbed away. It is omitted in the Hamburg papyrus (see above).

16. *καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν δέον ἦν ἐνοικεῖν χρόνον*: the phrase serves as a guarantee to the creditor in case the loan is not paid back. It allows, e.g., for the possibility of contract renewal, *ἀνανέωσις*; see *P. Dura*, p. 114.

ἦν: regularly in the Roman *κοινή* the 3rd person sing. subj. of *εἰμί* is *ἦν* instead of *ᾖ*; see R.C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in the Non-Literary Papyri*, Diss. Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 27-30; Mayser, *Grammatik* I, ii, p. 86, 23.

18. *ἐν τῶι σημαιν[ομένῳ*: *sc. μέρει*.

19. *κ[αὶ χρωμένο]υς*: for the restoration cf. *P. Mich.* 188.15 *καὶ χρωμένους τοῖς αὐτῶν χρηστηρίοις*.

τούτων: *sc. τῶν τόπων οἰκοπέδων*. See line 12.

20. *καὶ μετὰ] τόν*: cf. *P. Hamb.* 30.24 *καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπο[δότω*.

23. *καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης*: see Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 120: "Mit . . . [*καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης*] ist gesagt, die Zwangsvollstreckung solle schon kraft der Urkunde so stattfinden, als ob gegen den Schuldner ein gerichtliches Urteil vorläge. Der Gläubiger will sich dadurch den Zeitverlust der Prozessführung ersparen und seine Rechtsverwirklichung sofort mit der Exekution beginnen dürfen." See also H.J. Wolff, "Some Observations on *Praxis*," to be published in *Acts of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*.

24. *τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου εἰδό(τος) γρά(μματα)*: *δέ* is superfluous, as is shown by *P. Ryl.* 154.35-36 *ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ Σ[ι]σόιτος [....]ν Ἑρμᾶτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μα οὐλ(ὴ) μετώπωι ἐγ δεξιῶν, τοῦ Χαιρήμονος εἰδότος γ[ρά]μματα*.

29. *ἐφ' ἑνιαυτόν*: for the aspiration see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, pp. 199f.

586. Lease of a Bakery

Inv. 673 — 13.3 x 16 cm. — ca. 30 A.D.

This papyrus is part of the Michigan collection of documents from the grapheion, or public record office, of Tebtunis. For a general discussion of this office, see *P. Mich.* II, pp. 1-6; V, pp. 1-11.

P. Mich. 586 is a notarial contract for the lease of a bakery. The top portion of the papyrus is gone, and with it the date, place, names and descriptions of the parties to the agreement. The papyrus breaks off after the first subscription. As in other leases from the Tebtunis grapheion, e.g., *P. Mich.* 310-313 and 315, the body of the contract undoubtedly began with *ἐμίσθωσεν*. We may place the date at about 30 A.D.; the signatory, Diodoros, son of Ptolemaios, appears again as signatory in *P. Mich.* 257.11-12, dated in that year. In neither text, however, is Diodoros' age given, and consequently the exact date of *P. Mich.* 586 cannot be determined.

The lessor is Herakleides; his father's name is lost. The information which the surviving portion of the document provides is not sufficient for identifying him with any Herakleides heretofore mentioned in Tebtunis papyri. The lessees, Petesouchos and Sochotes, both sons of Petesouchos, also cannot be identified.

For a discussion of leases of houses and miscellaneous property, see A. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 29, 1913, pp. 321-415. On p. 408 Berger gives a list of leases of mills and bakeries.

More recent lists are to be found in Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 364-366, and in Taubenschlag, *Law*[2], p. 365, n.5 and 6.[1] The ancient bakery has been carefully studied by H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, I, 2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1912, pp. 89-92. See also R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, Leiden, 1965, pp. 138-163; and D.M. Robinson and J.W. Graham, *The Hellenic House*, Excavations at Olynthus, Part VIII, Baltimore, 1938, Ch. 5 and 6.

ἓξ οὐλὴ .....[ca. 25]
χ.ωτου .....[... Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλή-]
λων ἐγγύ(οις) εἰς ἔκτησιν, ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχούσηι τῶι Ἡρακ[λειδῃ]
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ ἐπαύλει ..... καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μύλ[ον]
Θηβαικὸν σὺν τραπέζαις καὶ κόπῃ καὶ ὅλμον ἕνα καὶ κλίβαν[ον]
ἕνα. ἡ μίσθωσεις εἰς ἔτηι δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ προκιμένου χρόνου
εἰς ἀρτοκοπίαν {ε}ἐὰν βούλωνται οἱ μεμισθωμένοι, ἐφ' ᾧ τε-
λέσωσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ εἰς λόγον φόρου τοῦ
παντὸς καθ' ἔτος τῶν προκιμένων ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
ὀγδοήκοντα ἀνυπόλογα παντὸς ὑπολόγου. μὴ ἐξέστω
τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις προλιπῖν τὴν μίσθωσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
σημενόμενον φόρον ἀποδότωσαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τῶι
Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐν ἀναφοραῖς ἰσομερέσι τέσσαρσι Τῦβι καὶ Φαρμ[οῦ-]
θι Παῦνει Ἐπεὶφ ἀεὶ τῇ εἰκάδει κατὰ ἀναφορὰν ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, τῆς πράξεως τῶι Ἡρακλείδῃ οὔσης ἔκ τε
τῶν μεμισθωμένων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάν-
των καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, βεβεουμένης τῆς μισθώσεως
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου. ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν μεμισθωμένων Διό-
δωρος Πτολεμ[αίο]υ οὐλῆι ποδὶ δεξιῶι. (2nd hd.) Πετεσοῦχος
καὶ Σοχώτης οἱ δύοι Πετεσούχω Πέρσαι τῆς
ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλήλων ἔγγυ(οι) εἰς ἔκτησιν με-
μισθώμεθα ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκιμένοις. ἔγρα-
ψεν ὑπὲρ α[ὐτ]ῶν Διόδωρος Πτολεμαίου
[διὰ τὸ μ]ὴ [εἰδέν]αι αὐτοὺς γράμματα.

3. ἔκτισιν. 5. κώπῃ. 6. μίσθωσις, ἔτη, προκειμένου. 9. προκειμένων. 11. προλιπεῖν, μίσθωσιν. 12. σημαινόμενον. 14. Παῦνι, εἰκάδι. 17. βεβαιουμένης. 19. οὐλή. 20. δύο, Πετεσούχου. 21. ἔκτισιν. 22. προκειμένοις.

. . . Persians of the epigone, and mutual sureties for recovery, in the yard belonging to Herakleides in the same village, . . . and therein a Theban millstone with nether millstones and a grinding handle, and one mortar and one oven. The lease is for two years from the above-mentioned date, for the purpose of baking, if the lessees wish, on condition that the lessees pay to Herakleides on account of rent in entirety for the above-mentioned premises annually eighty silver drachmas free from every deduction. It shall not be permissible for the lessees to abandon the lease, but the lessees shall deliver the rental indicated to Herakleides in four equal installments, in Tubi, Pharmouthi, Pauni, and Epeiph, in every case on the twentieth, viz. twenty silver

1. *P. Lund* IV 10, there listed as the lease of a bakery, is actually the lease of a πλινθουργεῖον.

drachmas per installment, the right of execution resting with Herakleides against the lessees and against all their property as if in accordance with a legal judgment, the lease being guaranteed by Herakleides. Signatory for the lessees: Diodoros, son of Ptolemaios, with a scar on the right foot. (2nd hd.) We, Petesouchos and Sochotes, both sons of Petesouchos, Persians of the epigone, and mutual sureties for recovery, have leased in accordance with all the aforesaid terms. Diodorus, son of Ptolemaios, wrote for them, as they are illiterate.

1-2. An average of 38-40 letters per line (excluding *iota*) can be calculated from the rest of the document. The end of line 2 is obviously Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλή- (cf., e.g., *P. Mich.* 312.11), preceded possibly by τοῖς δυσὶ Πετεσούχου (cf. the subscription, line 20). This arrangement is recommended by the fact that the father of siblings, instead of being mentioned after the name of each sibling, is often named only once, with his name preceded by some such expression as ἀμφότεροι, οἱ δύο, οἱ τρεῖς, *aut sim.* (cf., e.g., *P. Mich.* 264.7 and 20; 282.1 and 9). But although the very faint traces after του might be compatible with τοῖς δυσὶ Πετεσούχου and the line would then have 42 letters, a number close to the average, still χ.ωτου, which would immediately precede τοῖς, yields no meaning. The traces between *chi* and *omega* consist of a vertical stroke attached by a short horizontal to the *omega*. The effect is that of a *tau*. A signalment is expected, but I have not been able to find any to suit the traces.

2. Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: see *P. Mich.* 585.4n.

2-3. ἀλλήλων ἐγγύ(οις) εἰς ἔκτησιν: ἔγγυος εἰς ἔκτισιν means literally "surety for the purpose of payment." The surety is so designated because the payment in question can be demanded from him. Cf. Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht*, pp. 213f. For a special treatment of ἀλλήλων ἔγγυοι see H.W. van Soest, *De civielrechtelijke ἐγγύη (Garantieovereenkomst) in de griekse Papyri uit het ptolemaeische Tijdvak*, Diss. Leiden, 1963, pp. 67ff. This reciprocal status gave greater protection to the lessor, who can thus sue either lessee or both if there should be an infraction of the lease.

4. After ἐπαύλει there are traces of 8 letters. They are not compatible with any of the known words for bakery, e.g., ἀρτοκοπεῖον, and ἐργαστήριον (or οἰκίδιον) κλιβάνιον (for examples of these words see Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten*, Diss. Leipzig, 1913, p. 152). Nor can I read any general word for a building or a room.

4-5. μύλ[ον] Θηβαικόν: these mills, made from granite found in the Thebaid, were similar to those encountered all over the ancient world. According to Reil (*Beiträge*, p. 28), they consisted of "zwei Steine, der obere an einem Balken (κώπη . . .) beweglich über den feststehenden Bodenstein (τράπεζα . . .)." See also Robinson-Graham, *Hellenic House*, pp. 328-330.

8. φόρου: φόρος is the usual term for rent in money, as contrasted with ἐκφόριον, rent in kind. See Hohlwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, p. 421.

9. καθ' ἔτος: for the aspiration, cf. *P. Mich.* 585.29n.

10. ἀνυπόλογα παντὸς ὑπολόγου: leases usually contain a clause to safeguard the lessor against a reduction in the rent. In their fullest form such clauses run: ἀκίνδυνος παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογος παντὸς ὑπολόγου (U. Wollentin, Ὁ Κίνδυνος *in den Papyri*, Diss. Cologne, 1961, p. 61), but shortened forms are very frequent (J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri*, Münch. Beitr. XLI, 1958, p. 143). Such phrases frequently are in the genitive, in apposition to φόρου or ἐκφορίου (e.g., *P. Oxy.* 730.12-16 φόρο[υ] ἀποτάκτου ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι . . . ἀκινδύνου παντὸς κινδύνου; see S. Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1905, p. 128). But the acc. pl. (as in *P. Mich.* 586) or acc. sing. are frequently found; for numerous examples see *WB* IV, s.v. ἀκίνδυνος, 2.

13. τέσσαρσι: written with *Verschleifung*, but strongly supported by parallels. Cf. *P. Mil. Vogl.* 145.18-19 ἐν ἀναφο[ραῖς] εἰσομερέσι δύο [Θὼθ καὶ] Φαμ[εν]ώθ; *P. Iand.* 26.19-20; *P. Würzb.* 11.16, and see *WB* I, s.v. ἰσομερής.

Τῦβι: Dec. 27-Jan. 25.

13-14. Φαρμ[οῦ]θι: March 27-April 25.

14. Παῦνει: May 26-June 24.

Ἐπείφ: June 25-July 24.

17. *καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης*: see *P. Mich.* 585.23n.

20. *δύοι*: apparently only a blunder, perhaps due to attraction with *οἱ*. I have not been able to find *δύοι* elsewhere, and the whole tendency of Greek toward one fixed, indeclinable form, *δύο*, is against the assumption that *δύοι* was ever a functional part of the language; see E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik,* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, II, i, Munich, 1939, p. 589.

587. Παραμονή Contract

Inv. 727 11.1 x 25.8 cm. 24/25 A.D.

Like *P. Mich.* 586, this text was prepared in the grapheion of Tebtunis. The papyrus is rather fragile and badly frayed at top and bottom, so that the date, place, and the introductory verb *ὁμολογεῖ* have been lost. At the end of the contract only three lines of a subscription remain. The first hand is the same as the first hand of *P. Mich.* 586. The subscription is written in an awkward, angular style.

The text is a contract of *παραμονή*, in which Pabelleous, son of Onnophris, places his daughter, Kolleuthis, in the service of Harmiusis, son of Onnophris. Her services, which are to last one year, are accepted by Harmiusis in lieu of interest on a loan of 48 drachmas which he has made to Pabelleous. Harmiusis is to provide Kolleuthis with necessities and clothing, an obligation frequently incumbent upon the lender in such contracts. Kolleuthis is at the complete disposal of Harmiusis; she is not allowed to leave his house and must do whatever is enjoined upon her. Heavy penalties, which cannot in every case be precisely determined because the drafting of the document was most inexpert, are provided in case of violation of the contract. At the end of the period of service the 48 drachmas are to be repaid.

The lender may be identical with the Harmiusis, son of Onnophris, who is mentioned in lines 6 and 17-18 of *P. Mich.* 247. This is a list of members of an unspecified guild which was active at Tebtunis in the early first century, a date compatible with that of *P. Mich.* 587.

Although *P. Mich.* 587 has no date, it may be assigned with certainty to 24/25 A.D. The signatory, Kollouthos, son of Mieus, whose age is given as 20 (line 38), is also mentioned in *P. Mich.* 259 (introd. and line 35), which was written in the 19th year of Tiberius (32/33 A.D.). Kollouthos is there said to be 28 years of age.

The most recent treatments of the *παραμονή* contract are B. Adams, *Paramone und verwandte Texte,* Neue Kölner Rechtswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, Heft XXXV, Berlin, 1964, and A.E. Samuel, "The Role of Paramone Clauses in Ancient Documents," *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 221-311. The latter is concerned with *παραμονή* in the comprehensive sense, and concentrates largely on the evidence of inscriptional material, especially the Delphic manumissions. It is concerned only secondarily with papyri. Adams' book, however, concentrates on the papyri and deals with *παραμονή* as it appears in service contracts, apprentice contracts, nursing contracts and artist contracts. Although Samuel does not go into as much detail concerning the papyrological evidence as Adams does, he defines correctly the nature of *παραμονή*, maintaining that it means

simply "obligation to remain" and is not an independent contractual arrangement.[1] In papyri this obligation appears most often in service contracts. These were called by the ancients ὁμολογίαι παραμονῆς or simply παραμοναί. According to Adams such contracts provide for an *Arbeitsverhältnis*, in which the worker is obliged "to remain" (παραμένειν) with his employer. This obligation is usually reinforced by the provision that he is not to absent himself night or day from his employer's house.[2] The service is temporally defined, and often, though not always, includes a wage.[3] In general Adams follows Westermann,[4] but takes the view that the παραμονή contract is not exclusively concerned with general services. Adams cites examples which obviously involve specific tasks, though the majority do provide for general, undefined work.[5]

Documents of this type stipulate that the service is in lieu of interest on a loan. This service may be conveniently classified as antichretic.[6] In one text, *BGU* 1126, the service extinguishes both principal and interest. Adams, however, questions the meaning of δάνειον, which is often found in such contracts, and doubts whether it really signifies a loan.[7] But when a contract stipulates that a sum of money is to be paid back by the borrower to the lender, it seems inevitable that a loan is involved. There is no reason why one cannot view such contracts as containing on the one hand service provisions, and on the other provisions of loan. Which party stood to benefit from such an arrangement cannot be determined *a priori*. Both Westermann and Adams choose to regard the service element as being the chief consideration which led to drawing up the contract.[8] But it seems likely that the exigencies of specific circumstances determined whether the service or the loan was to be the decisive factor. Since we can seldom ascertain these circumstances, it is preferable to avoid a dogmatic conclusion.

Adams gives an extensive list of such documents.[9] From this list it is useful to extract all the texts in which the antichretic service contract is actually called ὁμολογία παραμονῆς or παραμονή. For the sake of unity I have limited myself to the Roman period.

P. Mich. 121, Recto IV, viii.2
P. Lugd. Bat. III, 10.37, 47
P. Ross. Georg. II, 18.152, 272, 274, 348[10]
P. Med. 7.18, 28
BGU 1153.19
BGU 1154.23, 35
P. Ryl. 128.20

Here we should also mention the numerous entries of ὁμολογίαι παραμονῆς recorded in *P. Mich.* II (see Index V, p. 237) and *P. Mich.* V (Index VIII, p. 433).[11] These entries are simply the

1. "Paramone," *passim*, especially pp. 228, 311.
2. *Paramone*, p. 49.
3. *Ibid.*
4. "The Paramone as General Service Contract," *JJP* 2, 1948, pp. 9-50.
5. *Paramone*, pp. 54-64.
6. See *P. Mich.* 585, introd., p. 33.
7. *Paramone*, p. 74. The δάνειον is troublesome to legal scholars (see D. Simon, *BZ* 58, 1965, p. 164). Its main difference from the classic Roman *mutuum* seems to be that in the *mutuum* "die gleiche Menge vertretbarer Sachen gleicher Gattung und Güte zurückzuerstatten ist" (Kaser, *Römisches Privatrecht* I, p. 443, quoted by Adams, *Paramone*, p. 74), while in the δάνειον "der Darlehensgeber einen der Darlehenssumme entsprechenden *Wert* zurückbekommt" (*ibid.*). Most of the παραμονή contracts in which a loan is involved specify that it is to be paid back in money, but in one (*BGU* 1126) the service extinguishes both principal and interest. It seems best to regard the concept of δάνειον as more elastic than the *mutuum*, although it is generally similar economically.

8. Adams, *Paramone*, pp. 78-91; Westermann, "Paramone," *passim*.

9. *Paramone*, pp. 10-23. To this list may be added *P. Alex.* 8 and *SB* 9094 (see below, note to line 16), as well as the present Michigan papyrus.

10. The noun παραμονή may also appear in line 19, but the text is too damaged to permit certainty.

11. Two of these entries may be different from the typical antichretic service contract. See below, p. 41.

titles of the contracts. *P. Mich.* 121, Verso II.17 is typical: ὁμο(λογία) Φάσιτο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Ἀρυώ·(την) παραμο(νῆς) (δραχμῶν) ρ. For a good discussion of these entries see Samuel, "Paramone," pp. 304-306.

In all these documents a loan is clearly involved. It is possible that the ancients also used παραμονή to refer to similar types of labor contracts, but the evidence is not conclusive. The texts in question are invariably either damaged or badly drafted. I present a list of these self-styled παραμοναί, with references to attempts at explaining them. The documents may be arranged under two headings:

I. Labor contracts with advance payment of wages[12] instead of loan:
P. Mich. 241.37. Adams, p. 67, but cf. Samuel, p. 305.
PSI 1120.6, 14. Adams, pp. 67f. Samuel's interpretation of *P. Mich.* 241 also applies here.

II. Labor contracts without mention of loan or advance payment of wages:
BGU 1139.5, 9. Samuel, p. 299.
PSI 710.8-9 (*BL* III, p. 224). Samuel, pp. 299f., but cf. Adams, p. 68, n.169.
P. Oxy. 731.13-14. Samuel, p. 299; Adams, p. 178.

In this second category we may also record two grapheion entries in which no loan is recorded:
P. Mich. 121, Verso VI.3 ὁμο(λογία) Ἀρητῆτο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Ὡριγένη(ν) παραμο(νῆς)
P. Mich. 123, Recto VI.7 ὁμο(λογία) Ταρυῶτο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Φενκῆβ(κιν) παραμονῆ(ς) παρεμβλ(ητικῆς?) See ed.'s note *ad loc.*

But the lack of a sum may not be significant. Elsewhere there are entries of παραμοναί which appear twice, once with, and once without, mention of loan. Compare *P. Mich.* 238.208 ὁμο(λογία) Ὀρσεῦτο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Γαλάτη(ν) παραμονῆ(ς) with 124, Recto II.20 ὁμο(λογία) Ὀρσεῦτο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Γαλάτη(ν) παραμο(νῆς) [ἀρ]γ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) κδ. A similar comparison may be made between *P. Mich.* 238.167-168 and 124, Recto I.14-15; and between 125.15 and 123, Recto II.5.

(Faint traces of several letters)
Πα[βελλ]ηοῦς Ὀ[νν]ώφ[ρ]ι[ος] Π[έρσης τῆ]ς ἐπ[ιγο]ν[ῆς]
ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα οὐλὴι μετόπωι ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Ἀρμώσι Ὀννώφριος ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι ἓξ
οὐλὴι γαστροκνημίᾳ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχιν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ
παραχρῆμα διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου
δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων καὶ δεόντων καὶ ἱματισμοῦ παρέξεσθαι τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέραν
Κολλεῦθιν παραμένουσα⟨ν⟩ τῶι Ἀρμώσει καὶ τοῖς
παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ προκιμένου
χρόνου διατριβ[ου]σαν καὶ ποιοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιστελ⟨λ⟩όμενα
αὐτῆι πάντα, [οὐ] γεινομένηι ἀπόκοιτος οὐδ᾽ ἀφήμ[ερ]ος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀρμώσιος οἰκίας ἄνευ τῆς
αὐτοῦ γνόμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνακ[λ]ουθοῦσα⟨ν⟩ αὐτῶι
πανταχῆι κατ᾽ [Α]ἴγυπτον, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστωι αὐτῶι
Παβελληοῦ ἐν[τ]ὸς τοῦ χρόνου ἀποσπάσαι τὴν θυ-

12. For this advance, frequently called πρόδομα, which is to be paid back only in case of contract violation, see V. Geginat, *Prodoma in den Papyri aus dem ptolemäischen und römischen Aegypten* (Diss. Cologne, 1964), *passim*, especially p. 62. Cf. Adams, *Paramone*, pp. 67f.

γατέραν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποσπάσηι ἢ καὶ αὐτὴι ἐκοῦσα
ἀπαλλαγῆι ἢ ἄλλ[ως] παραβῶσί τι τῶν προγεγραμμέν(ων)
ἢ α.η....ου[σ]α ἢ καταβλάπτουσι ἢ νοσφιζ⟨όμ⟩ενος
ἀλίσκηται τῶν [Ἁ]ρμιώσιος ἢ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἢ λα-
βοῦσά τι φυλάσσ[ει]ν μὴ παράσχηται σῶον, ἐὰν
μή τι μετὰ βίας ἀφαιρεθῆι, ἀποτισάτωι ⟨ὁ⟩ ὁμολογῶ(ν)
Ἁρμιώσι παραχ[ρ]ῆμα ἃς τ᾽ εἴληφεν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καθότι
πρόκιται ἀργ(υρίου) [(δραχμὰς) τεσ]σαράκοντα ὀκτὼι μεθ᾽ ἡμιολίας
καὶ τόκων καὶ ἐπ[ί]τιμον ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) ⟨τὰς ἴσας⟩
καὶ τὸ βλάβος, κ[αὶ ἑ]κάστης ἡμέρας ἧς ἐὰν ἀτακτή(σῃ)
τῆς .....ς χαλκοῦ ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὸ κεφ(άλαιον)
καὶ τὸ ἀπόκλεμμα πενταπλοῦν, τὸ δὲ νοσφισμὸν
ἡμιόλιον ἡμιόλιον τοὺς δὲ τόκους ἁπλοῦς. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
παραδῷ ἢ μὴ παράσχηται σῶον, τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν (κατὰ)
τὴν ἐπι[γ]νόμην Ἁρμιώσιος, οὔσης τῶι Ἁρμιώσει
τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε τοῦ ὑποχ(ρέου) καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχ(όντων) καθά-
περ ἐγ δίκης. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου πληροθέντος ἀποδώ(τω)
⟨ὁ⟩ ὁμολογῶν τὰς προκιμ(ένας) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώι,
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῷ, ἀποτισάτω μεθ᾽ ἡμιολίας καὶ τόκω(ν)
καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἄλλας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) ⟨τὰς ἴσας⟩.
ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) τοῦ μὲν ὁμο(λογοῦντος) Κολλοῦθο(ς) Μιεῦτο(ς) (ὡς ἐτῶν) κ οὐ(λὴ) καρ(πῷ)
δεξ(ιῷ).
(2nd hd.) Παβελληοῦς Ὀννώφριος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
ὁμολογῶι ἔχειν [π]αρ᾽ Ἁρμιώσιος ἀργυρίου δρα-
[χ]μὰς τεσ[σαράκο]ν[τα ὀκτ]ώ[

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3. *οὐλή, μετώπῳ.* 5. *οὐλή, ἔχειν.* 6. *χειρός.* 7. *ὀκτώ.* 11. *προκειμένου.* 13-14. *γινομένην ἀπόκοιτον οὐδ᾽ ἀφήμερον* (see note *ad loc.*). 15. *γνώμης, συνακολουθοῦσαν.* 16. *ἐξέστω.* 18. *αὐτή.* 19. *τι*: has the shape of *nu*; the top stroke of *tau* slants downward to join the bottom of *iota*. The letter is similarly formed in *παντ*αχῆι (16). 20. *καταβλάπτουσα, νοσφιζομένη.* 23. *ἀποτισάτω.* 25. *πρόκειται, ὀκτώ.* 28. *τό*: *τ* corrected. 30-31. *μὴ παραδῷ*: read by Professor O.M. Pearl. 31-32. *τὴν (κατὰ) τὴν ἐπι[γ]νόμην* (=*ἐπιγνώμην*): read by Professor H.C. Youtie. 34. *ἐκ, πληρωθέντος, ἀποδότω.* 35. *προκειμένας, ὀκτώ.* 40. *ὁμολογῶ.*

. . . Pabelleous, son of Onnophris, Persian of the Epigone, about forty years old, with a scar on the left side of his forehead, [acknowledges] to Harmiusis, son of Onnophris, about twenty-six years old, with a scar on his left calf, that he has received from him forty-eight drachmas of coined silver forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, and that in place of interest upon this sum and in return for necessities and clothing, he, the party of the first part, will present his daughter, Kolleuthis, who will remain with Harmiusis and his representatives for one year from the aforesaid date, staying and accomplishing whatever is enjoined upon her, not absenting herself night or day from the house of Harmiusis without his knowledge, but following him everywhere throughout Egypt, and it shall not be permissible for Pabelleous to remove his daughter within the period, but if he does remove her, or if she herself departs of her own free will, or they in any other way violate any of the aforesaid terms, or she is convicted of . . . or damaging or stealing anything belonging to Harmiusis or his representatives, or does not restore in sound condition whatever she has received to guard, unless it is taken from her by force, the

party of the first part shall pay forthwith to Harmiusis both the forty-eight drachmas of silver which he has received from him, as aforesaid, increased by one half and with the interest, and a fine of one hundred drachmas, and the same amount to the treasury, and the damages; and for each day on which she is disorderly . . . and if she does not return or restore it in sound condition [he shall pay] the price corresponding to the value as assessed by Harmiusis, the right of execution resting with Harmiusis against both the debtor and his property, as if in accordance with a legal judgment. And at the expiration of the period the party of the first part shall return the above-mentioned forty-eight drachmas of silver, and if he does not return them, let him pay them increased by half, and with interest, and a fine of an additional one hundred drachmas and the same amount to the treasury. Signatory of the party of the first part: Kollouthos, son of Mieus, about 20 years old, with a scar on the right wrist.

(2nd hd.) I, Pabelleous, son of Onnophris, Persian of the Epigone, acknowledge that I have received from Harmiusis forty-eight drachmas of silver . . . .

2. Π[*έρσης τῆ*]*ς ἐπ*[*ιγο*]*ν*[*ῆς*]: see *P. Mich.* 585.4n.

8. *δεόντων*: i.e., "necessities" or "maintenance"; cf. *UPZ* 42.44-45 *τὴν γραφὴν τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἡμῖν δεόντων*, which is translated by Kiessling in *WB* IV, s.v. *δέω*, as "die Liste über den uns geschuldeten Lebensunterhalt." The employer regularly provides maintenance, in the form of food and clothing, for the employee in such contracts; see Adams, *Paramone*, p. 67.

9. *θυγατέραν*: see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, ii, p. 46, 8: "Eine namentlich im späteren Griechisch häufige Erscheinung besteht darin, dass an den Akkusativ eines konsonantischen Stammes noch überdies das Akkusativsuffix der vokalischen Reihe (*-ν*) angehängt wird (Analogie der a-Deklination wie *νεανίαν*). In römischer Zeit sind diese Formen häufig und haben im Ngr. vielfach zu Neubildungen auf *-α*, *-ας* geführt."

12. *διατρίβ*[*ου*]*σαν καὶ ποιοῦσαν κτλ.*: for the phrase see *P. Mich.* 355.2-3 *διατρίβοντα καὶ ποιοῦντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα.*

13. [*οὐ*] *γεινομένηι*: for the supplement, cf., e.g., *P. Mich.* 241.34.

13-14. Correct grammar would require: *οὐ γινομένην ἀπόκοιτον οὐδ' ἀφήμερον*; cf. *P. Mich.* 241.34. The dative *γεινομένηι* is probably due to attraction with *αὐτῆι*; for *ἀπόκοιτος* and *ἀφήμερος* cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II, iii, p. 193, 21: "ein prädikatives Attribut kann wie ein indeklinables Nomen zu einem Casus obliquus gesetzt werden: Zen pap. 59327, 1 und verso *γραφὴ* (Verzeichnis) *ποτηρίων τῶν κειμένων ἐνέχυρα.*" For a similar situation see *BGU* 1126.11-12 *μὴ γεινομένη*⟨*ν*⟩ *μήτε ἀπόκοιτος μηδ' ἀφήμερος*.

15. *συνακ*[*λ*]*ουθοῦσα*⟨*ν*⟩: the space between *kappa* and *omicron* is too small for *-ολ-*; *ἀκλουθ-* for *ἀκολουθ-* is very common in the papyri. See *PSI* 901.14n.

16. *πανταχῆι κατ'* [*Α*]*ἴγυπτον*: this phrase allows us to correct *SB* 9094 (= *Class. Phil.* 43, 1948, p. 111), a fragment of a *παραμονή* contract. In line 8 the editor reads *παντ*]*αχῆ κατ' ἐγ*⟨*γ*⟩*ύ*[*ην* and in his note says: "this restoration is questionable, but compare *P. Mich.* 355, 11: *κατὰ τὸν νόμον πανταχῆι.*" The information provided by *P. Mich.* 587.16, now enables us to read *παντ*]*αχῆ κατ' Ἔγυ*[*πτον*, i.e., *Αἴγυπτον*. *P. Mich.* 355.11 should be read *κατὰ τὸν νομόν* (*BL* III, p. 115). The latter phrase occurs again in *P. Oslo.* 141.10-11 (*BL* III, p. 127) and should also be read in *P. Oxy.* 706.11. I have found *πανταχῆ κατ' Αἴγυπτον* only in *SB* 9094 and *P. Mich.* 587. The provision was intended to provide the creditor with additional security. Trips outside of one's own nome were frequent enough to justify the inclusion of such a phrase; see Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, pp. 142-146. In this respect we may compare *P. Oxy.* 1122, a service contract, in which the relevant phrase is the following stipulation made by the employee to the employer: *συναποδημεῖν σοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς* (lines 9-10).

17. *Παβελληοῦ*: for the dative, see R. Kühner and F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I, 3rd. ed.; Hannover, 1890, p. 492, section 1.

20-23. All of this seems to be put here by mistake, for none of the offenses mentioned in these lines justifies termination of contract with penalties, as indicated in 23-27, although such extreme action would follow properly on the serious offenses detailed in lines 18-19. In lines 27-32, the scribe tried to rectify his mistake by repeating at least some of the provisions in 20-23 and indicating the appropriate penalty for them. Compare *ἢ*

νοσφιζ⟨όμ⟩ενος ἀλίσκηται (20-21) with *τὸ δὲ νοσφισμὸν ἡμιόλιον* (29-30), and also *ἢ λαβοῦσά τι φυλάσσ[ει]ν μὴ παράσχηται σῶον* (21-22) with *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραδῷ ἢ μὴ παράσχηται σῶον, τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν (κατὰ) τὴν ἐπι[γ]νόμην Ἁρμύσιος* (30-32). But even when the scribe repeats the provisions, he often fails to draft them properly, as will be seen in the notes to 27-32.

20. The writing at the beginning of the line is more or less intact, but very cramped; there is a suggestion of overwriting. I suggest, *exempli gratia, ἢ α⟨ὐ⟩τὴ ἐάν τι ἐλοῦ[σ]α*, with the following paleographical observations: 1) the top stroke of the *tau* in *α⟨ὐ⟩τή* slants downward even more than in *παντα̣χῆι* (16) and *τι* (19) (see *app. crit.*); 2) the last stroke of the *eta* in *α⟨ὐ⟩τή* is written over another letter, possibly *upsilon*; 3) *ἐάν* is not unattractive paleographically, but the writing is very cramped: ϵν, and the scribe may have intended simply *εν*; 4) in *τι ἐλοῦ[σ]α* the writing is too faint to support a reading. For *ἀτή* as a spelling of *αὐτή* see *P. Mich.* 596.15-16n.

20-21. *νοσφιζ⟨όμ⟩ενος ἀλίσκηται τῶν* κτλ.: for the phrase, cf. *P. Yale* 26.3-4 *ἐὰν δέ τι κλέπτων ἢ [νοσφιζό]μενος ἀλίσκηται Π[ό]ρος ἀποτεισά[τω*, κτλ. (= *P. Hib.* 148.3; and cf. *BL* III, p. 85). In our text the indefinite pronoun is replaced by a partitive genitive. Elsewhere in the papyri *νοσφίζομαι* is used either absolutely (*SB*/Bh. 1, xxvii.10-11; *P. Petr.* III, 56b.10, 12; or with *ἀπὸ* cf. *PSI* 442.4-5 *ἐφάνη ἐπ' ἀληθείας ὅτι νενόσφισται τῶν ἀμφιτάπων*).Cf. *P. Ryl.* 116.10 *περὶ ὧν ἐνοσφίσατο.*

22. *φυλάσσ[ει]ν*: for the infinitive of purpose, see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, i, p. 297, 1, and Radermacher, *Grammatik*, pp. 186-188.

25. *μεθ' ἡμιολίας*: *ἡμιολία* designates half of the sum to which it is added. See A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden,* Leipzig, 1911, p. 18, n.4; for a general discussion of *ἡμιολία* in penalty clauses, pp. 14-26.

27. *βλάβος*: *βλάβος* usually refers to damages or loss, as distinct from expense. See *ibid.* pp. 26f., 81f.

27-32. The reading of these lines is in some measure conjectural. The general bearing of the text can be seen in *PSI* 1120.2-9: *ἀποτει[σάτω ὁ] Ἡρ[ά]κλειος Λου[κίῳ κ]αὶ Γαίῳ ἑκάσ[της] μὲν ἀποκοιτίας [ἢ ἀφ]ημερείας ἧς ἐὰν ποιήσηται ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὴν) μίαν· τὸ δ' ἐπιδειχθὲν κλέμμα ἢ νόσφισμα διπλοῦν. τοῦ δὲ ἀποσπασθῆναι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ἢ εἰς τέλος ἐνκαταλιπεῖ(ν) τὴν παραμονὴν τό τε ἀργύριον παραχρῆμα μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ τόκον ἀφ' οὗ ἐὰν παρασυγγραφήσῃ χρόνου δραχμὰς δύ[ο] τῇ μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) διακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας.* The Michigan papyrus combines an extremely cursive hand with a tendency toward faulty drafting, especially blatant in 30 and strongly suspected elsewhere. The following notes are chiefly intended to point out the difficulties involved.

27-28. *ἀτα̣κτή(σῃ) τῆς .....ς*: The verb is fairly certain. The same verb is often found in apprentice contracts, e.g. *P. Oxy.* 275.24-25 *ὅσας δ' ἐὰν ἐν τούτῳ ἀτακτήσῃ ἡμέρας.* I have not, however, been able to find another example of *ἀτακτέω* with the genitive in the papyri.

The payment involved is three obols a day, smaller than the usual penalty of one to two drachmas (see H.C. Youtie, "The Heidelberg Festival Papyrus: A Reinterpretation," *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson,* Princeton, 1951, p. 203, and n.86). A three-obol fine is also attested in *P. Yale* 26, a document which the editors take as probably an antichretic loan. See *P. Oslo.* III, p. 214, n.1. For bronze coinage in the early empire, see L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantinė Egypt,* Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 5, Princeton, 1944, Ch. 2, and V.B. Schuman, "The Seven-Obol Drachma of Roman Egypt," *Class. Phil.* 47, 1952, pp. 216f.

28. *κεφ(άλαιον)*: why the principal should be mentioned here is not clear. An error in drafting is suspected, especially since no interest is recorded in connection with *κεφάλαιον.*

29. *ἀπόκλεμμα*: *addendum lexicis*; cf. *κλέμμα* in *PSI* 1120.4 (cited above, n. to 27-32). Why *ἀπόκλεμμα* and *νοσφισμόν* should be separated is not clear. Perhaps *νοσφισμόν* here means "absence" (cf. *LSJ* s.v. *νοσφισμός*, I) although *νοσφιζ⟨όμ⟩ενος* above (line 20) clearly refers to robbing.

πενταπλοῦν: this is the first appearance of this rare word in documents of the Roman period. It appears several times in Ptolemaic texts and is always used in connection with a fine; see *SB* 9454 (3).6; *SB*/Bh. 1, xlix.9; li.11; *UPZ* 112, viii.15.

τὸ δὲ νοσφισμόν: a confusion between *τὸ δὲ νόσφισμα* (*PSI* 1120.4) and *τὸν δὲ νοσφισμόν* (for literary examples see *LSJ* s.v.; it is not found in the papyri). Probably *νόσφισμα* would be better in this connection as it

denotes the thing stolen, while *νοσφισμός* indicates the action of stealing. cf. P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en Grec ancien*, Paris, 1933, pp. 144ff., especially p. 144: "*δραγμός* signifie l'action de saisir . . . . Mais *δράγμα* designe ce qui est saisi . . . ." But it is better not to be too dogmatic in this respect; see *ibid.*, p. 146, and F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 10th ed.; Göttingen, 1959, p. 72.

30. *ἡμιόλιον*: according to Berger, *Strafklauseln*, pp. 16-20, *ἡμιόλιος* is always an adjective and refers to an amount increased by one half.

ἡμιόλιον ἡμιολιὸν τοὺς δὲ τόκους ἁπλοῦς: just as *κεφ(άλαιον)* was pointless in line 28, so the mention of interest is meaningless here. Perhaps the scribe intended to write after the first *ἡμιόλιον*: *τὸ δὲ δάνειον ἡμιόλιον κτλ*. But so serious a penalty is not appropriate when such a relatively minor offense is involved. *PSI* 1120, referred to above, offers no parallel, and once again bad drafting is suspected.

31-32. *τὴν (κατὰ) τὴν ἐπι[γ]νόμην Ἁρμώσιος*: for this expression the papyri furnish no precise parallels, but a statement in Hesychius to the effect that *ἐπιγνώμη = συγγνώμη* or *διάγνωσις* leads us to the following striking passage in Plato, *Leges* 865c: *τῆς δὲ ἀξίας οἱ δικασταὶ διάγνωσιν ποιείσθωσαν. ἐπιγνώμη* has not heretofore appeared in the papyri, but *ἐπίγνωσις* in the sense of "determination" occurs in *P. Teb.* 28.11: *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἕκαστα ὑπ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἀχθ[ῆναι]*; *BGU* 1873, 20-21: *ἐὰν [οὖ]ν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν λάβω ὅτι ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλ(ει) [εἰ]*; *UPZ* 118.16-17: *τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐνκλήσεως εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἦκτο τῶι Ψινταεῖ* (editor's translation: "Der Inhalt der Klage war dem Psintaes . . . zur Kenntnis gebracht worden").

33-34. *καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης*: see *P. Mich.* 585.23n.

38. *μέν*: for a similarly superfluous use of the particle, see *P. Mich.* 348.27-28: *ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) τοῦ μὲν Παπνεβτύνις Εὔτυχος Μάρω(νος) ὡς (ἐτῶν) ξ ο(ὐλὴ) γενείῳ ⟨ἐξ⟩ ἀρ(ιστερῶν)*, after which the subscription begins immediately. Cf. *P. Mich.* 585.24n.

588. Order for Payment

Inv. 294 9.6 x 11.8 cm. Mid-Third Century A.D.

The papyrus is substantially complete, but the writing suffers from abrasion in several places. The hand is of a plain, semi-uncial type, similar to *P. Leit.* 9 (fig. 3, p. 23), and *P. Graec. Berol.* 37a, both of which are dated in the middle of the third century of our era.

The text records the receipt of 169 keramia by one Herakleides. Though the contents of the keramia are not specified, the reference in the text to *ληνοί*, or wine vats (lines 2-4), from which they have been drawn, leaves no doubt as to what they held. The keramion, though never a standardized unit of measure, probably contained, as a measure of wine, from five to eight chous.[1] The statement of receipt is followed by an order that the price of the wine be given to a *γεοῦχος*.

This document can be plausibly explained by fitting it into the context of a large vineyard, owned by the *γεοῦχος*. A quantity of wine has been purchased from the vineyard, and Herakleides is either himself the purchaser or the latter's agent. The person to whom the order is issued, undoubtedly an employee of the vineyard, is instructed to deliver the money received from this transaction to his superior, the *γεοῦχος*.

I have not been able to find a precise parallel to this document, but there are several somewhat similar texts which are also concerned with the business of selling wine.[2] These documents

1. O.M. Pearl, "Varia Papyrologica," *TAPA* 71, 1940, p. 374. One chous = ca. 3 U.S. liquid quarts; cf. A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi* (Bologna, 1928), p. 33.

2. *P. Oxy.* 1054 (*BL* I, p. 331); 1055; 1141; *P. Alex.* 13; *P. Sorb.* 19.

are orders to hand over to a third person a definite quantity of wine. *P. Oxy.* 1054 may be cited as illustrative of this type: Πέκυλλος Πολυδεύκι χαίρειν. παράδο[ς] Θέωνι φρ(οντιστῇ) Σατύρου ὃν ἔχεις ἀπὸ τῶν κεραμίων ρα λοιπὸν οἶνον ἐν κεραμ(ίοις) ἑξήκοντα πέντε. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ι// Παῦνι κδ.

Φαῶφι ιη̄ παρέλαβεν Ἡρακλεί-
δης ἀπὸ Εὐ.[.]..ατος ληνοῦ
πράτης κε̣ρ̣ά̣μια ὀκταήκον-
τα τέσσαρες καὶ ληνοῦ δευτέρας
κερά(μια) ὀκταήκοντα πέντε, ἃ
γίνεται κερά(μια) ἑκατὸν ἑξή-
κοντα ἐννέα, (γίνεται) ρξθ.
δὲ̣ς τῷ γεούχῳ τὴν τιμὴν
ἀκολούθος ἐπιστάλματι ὑπ(ὲρ)
συναλλαγῆς.

3. πρώτης. 3-4. ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρα. 5. ὀγδοήκοντα. 8. δὸς τῷ. 9. ἀκολούθως.

Phaophi 18. Herakleides has received from Eu . . . eighty-four keramia from the first vat and eighty-five keramia from the second vat, which equal one hundred sixty-nine keramia, equal 169. Give the price to the landowner, in accordance with the instructions concerning the contract.

1. Φαῶφι ιη̄: i.e., October 15.

2. ἀπὸ Εὐ.[.]..ατος: I interpret Εὐ.[.]..ατος as a personal name, though perhaps a place name is possible. The two letters before *alpha* seem to be ρι or ιρ. Of the letter after Ευ only a faint stroke, slanting to the right, remains; it could be part of a *chi* or *kappa*. These variables suggest Εὐκ[α]ι̣ρ̣ᾶτος (gen. of Εὐκαιρᾶς, found in *BGU* 1900.85) or perhaps Εὐχ̣[α]ρ̣ι̣ᾶτος (gen. of Εὐχαριᾶς, unattested, but cf. Εὐχαρία in *Stud. Pal.* XX, 238, Verso.2).

The preposition ἀπό instead of παρά, to designate the personal source with verbs of receiving, taking, learning, etc., is found in the classical period (see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache,* 2nd ed.; Hannover and Leipzig, 1898, I, p. 458) but becomes more frequent in the κοινή (see Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik*, 210, 3), where it is especially frequent in addresses in private letters. See *P. Mert.* 80, 17n.

2-4. The ληνός was a large vat in which grape juice was allowed to ferment into wine. The capacity of these ληνοί was very large; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1055.2-3, where 203 keramia are drawn from a ληνός; *P. Flor.* 139.12 (*BL* I, p. 149), where a ληνός holds 100 δίχωρα and 849 μονόχωρα, i.e. (with a μονόχωρον = ca. 8.7 U.S. liquid quarts), ca. 9, 120 liquid quarts. See Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* pp. 285-288. Ληνοί were often numbered, the wine seller or estate manager thereby keeping a vat-by-vat record as a sort of inventory; see Pearl, "Varia Papyrologica," p. 373, n.4; and Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 288.

9. ὑπ(ὲρ): here in the sense of περί, as frequently in the κοινή; see Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, ii, pp. 450-454.

10. συναλλαγῆς: to be taken here in the general sense of "contract"; so also in *P. Oxy.* 70.4-5 πᾶσα κυ̣[ρί]α ἔνγραφος συναλλαγὴ πίστιν καὶ ἀλήθ[ειαν ἔ]χει; and *PSI* 1249.35-37 κυρία ἡ κατὰ χειρόγραφον συναλλαγὴ δισσὴ γραφεῖσα πανταχῇ ἐπιφερομένη. See Taubenschlag, *Law*[2], p. 295, and n.19.

589-591. Orders for Arrest

The following three texts are of the type traditionally called orders for arrest. This term is not strictly accurate, as S. Daris rightly observes, for these documents are rather "mandati di comparizione di fronte all'autorità che ha ricevuto un'istanza ed è così sollecitata ad agire."[1] The petition is often addressed to the strategos, who had the police force of the nome under his direct command, or to his agent, the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν, or to the centurion.[2] The petitioner complains of some act of injustice and asks the official to instruct the archephodos, or head of the local police, to present the malefactors for trial. Occasionally the official simply forwarded the petition to the archephodos with a note ordering the appearance in court of the accused, e.g. *P. Ryl.* 132, addressed to the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν, who adds ἀρχεφό(δῳ) ἔκπεμψο(ν). Usually, however, he issued an order for arrest, addressed either to the archephodos or to other local officials.

The following table corrects and completes the list of such orders presented in *P. Lund* VI, 2, introd.*

	Edition	Date	Sender	Recipient
1.	*P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI, 23[3]	I		ephodoi of Psobthis (prob. Oxy.; see ed.'s n. *ad loc.*)
2.	*P. Gen.* 102 (*Archiv* III, 226-231)	I	strategos	presbyteroi, archeph( ),[4] δημόσιοι κώμης
3.	*P. Teb.* 290	I/II	strategos	epistates (?) of Tebtunis
4.	*P. Aberd.* 60	I/II		. . .[5] of Soknopaiou Nesos
5.	*P. Oxy.* 969	II		archephodos
6.	*P. Ryl.* 681 (*BL* IV, p. 76)	II		presbyteroi of Takolkeiles (Oxy.)
7.	*P. Lund* VI, 2	II		archephodos of Tebtunis
8.	*PSI* 1536	II		archephodos of Ibion Ammoniou (Oxy.)
9.	*PSI* 1537	II		archephodos of Sko (Oxy.)
0.	*PSI* 1538	II		archephodos of Tampemou (Oxy.)
1.	P. Oslo inv. 1063 (*SB* 9630)	II		ἡγούμενος and archephodos
2.	*BGU* 2015	II		archephodos of Soknopaiou Nesos

*While this volume was in press, five additional orders for arrest were published in *BGU* 2080-2084. They conform to the observations made below.

1. "Dai papiri inediti della raccolta milanese," *Aegyptus* 38, 1958, p. 59.

2. For petitions of this type see *P. Ryl.* 132, 136, 143, 148, 150-152; *P. Lund* VI 2, p. 123. The police powers of the strategos are discussed by J.G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (3rd ed.; London, 1924), p. 139; F. Bilabel, "strategos," *RE* Zweite Reihe IV, 223. The most recent treatment of the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν is P. Kool, *De Phylakieten in grieks-romeins Egypte* (Diss. Amsterdam, 1954), pp. 67-71; English summary, pp. 101-103. A general account of the centurion is provided by P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Egypte romaine*, Paris, 1911, pp. 226f. He may have been the successor of the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν, whose office, though important in Ptolemaic times, soon disappeared in the Principate. See Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 413; but cf. Kool, p. 104.

3. For a revision of this text, see D. Hagedorn, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Wisconsin Papyri," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 1, 1967, pp. 152f.

4. ἀρχεφ(όδοις) ed.; but the sing. would be more normal.

5. [κωμάρχῃ] ed. This restoration is suspect. The latest attestation of the Ptolemaic komarch is 5 A.D. (*O. Fay.* 8). The komarch does not appear again until the 3rd century (Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 153).

13.	*P. Oxy.* 1212 recto	II		archephodos of Pela (Oxy.)
14.	P. Mich. Michael 5	II[6]		archephodos of Taampemou (Oxy.)
15.	*P. Oxy.* 2572	II		archephodos of Tanais (Oxy.)
16.	*P. Oxy.* 2573	II		archephodos of Talao (Oxy.)
17.	*P. Oxy.* 2574	II		archephodos of Sinary (Oxy.)
18.	*BGU* 2016	II		ἡγούμενος and archephodos of Philadelphia
19.	*P. Oxy.* 2575	II/III		archephodos of Tarouthinou Epoikion (Oxy.)
20.	*P. Mich.* 589	II/III		archephodos of Karanis
21.	*P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI, 24	II/III	(see ed.'s n. to l. 1)	archephodoi and δημόσιοι of Philadelphia
22.	*P. Cair. Preis.* 5 (= *P. Fay.* 161)	II/III		archephodos of Bacchias
23.	*BGU* 148	II/III		archephodoi and presbyteroi of Soknopaiou Nesos
24.	*BGU* 375	II/III		archephodos of Apias
25.	*BGU* 376	II/III		archephodoi and εὐσχήμονες of Karanis
26.	*Stud. Pal.* XXII, 1	II/III		archephodos and toparches of Soknopaiou Nesos
27.	*P. Teb.* 560	II/III		archephodos of Kynon polis (Fay.)
28.	*BGU* 1569	III		archephodoi of Philadelphia
29.	*P. Yale* 62	III		ἡγούμενοι and archephodos of Tebtunis
30.	P. Mich. Michael 4	III[7]		archephodos of Dinnis (Fay.)
31.	*P. Strassb.* 188	III		archephodos of Soknopaiou Nesos
32.	*P. Fay.* 37	III		archephodos of Psenyris (Fay.)
33.	*P. Oxy.* 2576	III		archephodos of Mermertha (Oxy.)
34.	*P. Grenf.* II, 66	III		archephodos of Philadelphia
35.	*P. Teb.* 594	III		εὐσχήμονες and archephodos of Tebtunis
36.	*BGU* 374	III		archephodoi of Karanis
37.	*P. Oslo* 20 (see III, p. 275)	III	(see *P. Oslo* III, p. 275)	λῃστοπιαστής of Karanis
38.	*P. Oxy.* 169	III		archephodos of Isionpanga (Oxy.)
39.	*P. Giss. Univ. Bibl.* 15	III	centurio	komarchai of Syron kome (Fay.)
40.	*BGU* 634	III[8]		komarchai of Thraso (Fay.)

6. The editor dated this text to the 3rd or 4th century. But the hand is similar to *P. Graec. Berol.* 27 (2nd cent. A.D.).

7. Dated by ed. to 3rd or 4th cent. But the hand bears a marked resemblance to *P. Graec. Berol.* 35 (209 A.D.).

8. Ed.: "Ende des 2ten Jahrh. n. Chr." But 3rd cent. is more likely; see n.5.

41.	*P. Oxy.* 1507	III	eirenarchai	komarchai and epistates eirenes of Terythis (Oxy.)
42.	*P. Oxy.* 64	III/IV	decurio	komarchai and epistates eirenes of Teis (Oxy.)
43.	*P. Oxy.* 65	III/IV	beneficiarius	komarchai of Terythis (Oxy.)
44.	*P. Mich.* 590	III/IV	strategos	nomophylax and archephodos
45.	*P. Mert.* 29	III/IV		*ἀραβοτοξόται* of Bacchias
46.	*P. Cair. Isidor.* 129	IV	centurio	komarchai and *δημόσιοι* of Karanis
47.	*P. Cair. Isidor.* 130	IV	*ὁ ἐπί τῆς εἰρήνης*	komarchai and *δημόσιοι* of Karanis
48.	*P. Cair. Isidor.* 131	IV	praepositus pagi	tesserarius and quadrarius of Karanis
49.	*P. Oxy.* 1506	IV	praepositus	eirenarches of Senokomis (Oxy.)
50.	*P. Oxy.* 1505	IV	(see introd. to text)	eirenarches of Taampemou (Oxy.)
51.	P. Mich. Michael 6	IV[9]	(illegible)	epistatai eirenes of Mnachis (Herm.)
52.	*P. Amh.* 146	V	riparius	eirenarchai of Telbonthis (Herm.)
53.	*P. Med.* 42	VI		symmachos
54.	*P. Mich.* 591	VI		protokometai and eirenarchai of Thmoinepsi (Herakleopolite)
55.	*P. Lond.* III, 1309 (p. 251)	VI/VII	comes	eirenarchai of Ares (Fay. or Herm.; see ed.'s n. *ad loc.*)

Some of these texts begin with the title of the sender.[10] When this is omitted, as it usually is, the text starts with the title of the village official who is the recipient. The order proper begins with an imperative, regularly *ἀνάπεμψον* (*-ατε*), *ἔκπεμψον* (*-ατε*), *πέμψον*, or *παράδοτε*,[11] followed by the name of the accused. The accuser is introduced by a participial phrase, usually *ἐγκαλούμενον ὑπό*, or *ἐντυχόντος*.[12] A typical example of the basic form is No. 34 in the above list.

> *Ἀρχεφόδῳ κώμης Φιλαδελ(φίας)· ἀνάπεμψον Σάτυρον Ἥρωνος ἐπικαλ(ούμενον) Ἄρπαλον καὶ Ἀφροδείσιον Ἀμμωνίου ἐπικαλ(ούμενον)Σισόῃ, τοὺς β πράκτορας σιτικῶν ἐνκάλουμένους ὑπὸ [Ἀπ]ολλωνίου κατασπορέως.*

There are often slight additions, such as the date of the document, a signature, or the word *ἐξαυτῆς*, added usually at the end of the order.[13] Occasionally, after the mention of the accused, *ἢ τὸν ἀρχέφοδον* is found, in direct dependence upon the imperative.[14] Similar is the phrase *ἢ*

9. Dated by ed. to 3rd or 4th cent. But a 4th-cent. date seems more likely; the hand resembles *P. Graec. Berol.* 38b (348 A.D.).

10. Nos. 2, 39, 41-44, 46-52, 55. In No. 3 the sender is mentioned, but only in a seal on the verso. (The numbers refer to the above list.)

11. Exceptions: *παράστησον* (30), *ἐνέγκατε* (45), *μετάπεμψον* (5), *ἄνελθε σύν* (8).

12. *προσελθόντος* (51), *καθ' ἃ ἐνέτυχεν* (1).

13. Date: Nos. 2, 8, 44, 48, 51; Signature: Nos. 42, 43, 48, 50. In Nos. 6, 36, 42 *ἐξαυτῆς* stands before the imperative.

14. Nos. 4, 6, 31.

ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνέλθατε (ἀνέρχεσθε);[15] cf. also 30, addressed to the archephodos: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραστήσῃς, σὺ ἄνελθε μετὰ τοῦ ὑπηρέτου. The officials thus referred to are liturgists, over whom the state exercised strict discipline.[16] Once (37) the recipient is given a choice: he is instructed to send ἢ αὐτὸν [the accused]ἢ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα.

This class of documents tends toward fairly fixed physical dimensions.[17] Most of the orders are long rectangles. Their usual range of width is 15-25.1 cm., whereas the height varies between 4.5 and 10 cm. Among those documents which are substantially complete, I have found several exceptions to the normal range of height. Of these, Nos. 30 (11.5 x 11 cm.) and 50 (20.7 x 11.8) do not represent a significant departure, and No. 1 (7.1 x 14.6) was written in the early first century, before standardization. Further exceptions are No. 22 (23 x 13) and No. 48 (24 x 17).[18] The departures from the normal range of width, however, are rather numerous: 1 (7.1 x 14.6), 5 (12.4 x 8.8), 8 (10.5 x 8.2), 9 (10.8 x 6.8), 10 (13.5 x 12), 30 (11.5 x 11), 33 (9.6 x 9.9), 38 (10.5 x 8.1), 41 (9.8 x 7.9), 45 (11.9 x 6.5), 52 (29.7 x 9), 53 (29.5 x 5.5), 54 (28.1 x 4.5), and 55 (36 x 5.7). The last four are from the Byzantine period and simply reflect the increase in size common in papyri from that age. As has already been noted, No. 1 is too early to be affected by standardization. No. 5 is an order to summon, not to arrest.[19] No. 30 has an unusual form;[20] it is unique in its use of παράστησον instead of the compounds of πέμπω usually found. It also differs from other orders for arrest in its phrase τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἐπιζητούμενα, instead of having the names of the persons accused followed by ἐγκαλουμένους. A departure from the usual style is also observed in No. 45,[21] as well as in No. 8, which uses ἄνελθε σύν in place of the commonly found imperatives. It is perhaps significant that this document, like Nos. 9, 10, 33, 38 and 41 mentioned above (all five of which are perfectly ordinary in their language), comes from the Oxyrhynchite Nome. The peculiarity in size may thus be a purely local feature. Further, as we can see from the dimensions of Nos. 8-10, 33, 38 and 41, some of the orders for arrest from the Oxyrhynchite Nome are definite approximations of a square, in contradistinction to the usual long rectangle.[22]

Besides being relatively standardized in size, the orders for arrest are also characterized by writing which runs across the fibers. This observation was first made by Grenfell[23] and has been generally accepted.[24] More recently Knudtzon (*P. Lund* VI, 2, introd., p. 121) has asserted: "Die frühere Beobachtung, die Schrift liefe in diesen Haftbefehlen gewöhnlich quer über die Fasern . . . kann wohl nicht zur Regel erhoben werden, da es mehrere Ausnahmen gibt." Of the 55 documents listed, only 35 have information about the fibers recorded in the editions. Of these, 27 have the writing across the fibers; in the remaining eight (Nos. 1, 2, 7, 17, 29, 30, 39, 45) it runs parallel to the fibers. Five of these (Nos. 7, 29, 30, 39, 45) come from the Fayum, two (Nos. 1, 17) from Oxyrhynchus, and for one (No. 2) the provenance is unknown. Writing the order for arrest across the fibers seems to have been general administrative practice. The fact that most of the exceptions come from the Arsinoite Nome is perhaps related to a general tendency in that

15. Nos. 21, 41, 42, 46, 51.

16. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 265f.

17. H.C. Youtie, "Notes on Papyri," *TAPA* 91, 1960, p. 254.

18. *Ibid.*, n.52.

19. *Ibid.*, n.51.

20. For convenience I here reproduce this generally inaccessible text: ἀρχεφόδῳ κώμης Δίννεως. |παράστησον τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἐ- |πι[ζ]ητούμενα ἀπὸ τῶν πρακτό- |ρων τῆς Βακχιάδος. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ||παραστήσῃς, σὺ ἄνελθε μετὰ |τοῦ ὑπηρέτου.

21. Youtie, "Notes on Papyri" (see n.17), p. 254.

22. The only example of the square shape outside of Oxyrhynchus is No. 30, from the Fayum.

23. See J. Nicole, "Le Cachet du stratège et les archéphodes," *Archiv* 3, 1906, p. 229, n.2.

24. Cf., e.g., *P. Aberd.* 60, introd.: "Written across the fibers, as usual in this class of document." *PSI* 1536-1538, introd.: "Da tutti i nostri esemplari . . . risulta confermata la consuetudine di scrivere questi biglietti sul *recto* ma contro l'andamento delle fibre."

large nome to be somewhat more careless in administrative procedures, because of the press of business, than in the less populous nomes like the Oxyrhynchite.[25]

Although the sender's title is usually not indicated in the orders, it is generally assumed that they come from the strategos, who had his office in the metropolis and was the head of the police force of the nome.[26] This assumption was first made by J. Nicole in his article on orders for arrest (see above, n.23). The order with which he was concerned, *P. Gen.* 102 (= No. 2), had attached to it a seal with the inscription ὁ στρατηγός σε καλεῖ. And, although in the other orders which were then available to him the sender was not designated, he reasoned as follows:

> L'analogie qu'ils présentent pour tout le reste avec notre pièce fait penser au stratège. Et, si c'était régulièrement le stratège qui expédiait les ordres de ce genre, on s'expliquerait le sous-entendu de sa personne et de son titre dans l'adresse. Sans compter que, selon toute probabilité, les pièces émanées de son office étaient souvent, sinon toujours, revêtues de son sceau, comme le papyrus de Genève. (p. 230)

P. Teb. 290 (= No. 3) is provided with a similar seal, and *P. Mich.* 590 (= No. 44) explicitly designates the strategos as the sender. We may therefore assume that the orders for arrest were issued by the strategos, unless there are contrary indications. Such indications begin to appear in the third century, when other civil and military officials whose authority is similar to that of the strategos are designated as the senders of such orders.[27] Here we may mention the centurion (Nos. 39, 46), decurion (42), beneficiarius (43), irenarchs (41),[28] and riparius (52).

The orders are addressed to various village officials; most frequently, at least in the first three centuries, to one or more archephodoi. Since the archephodos appears in two of the orders for arrest in this edition (viz. Nos. 20, 44), a few remarks concerning this official may be in point here. He was one of the δημόσιοι κώμης, liturgical officials who were responsible for the preservation of order in the village.[29] Among other duties, he had the obligation of publishing edicts.[30] Several groups of guards (φύλακες) were under his control, and with their aid he patrolled the territory of the village.[31] A village might have more than one archephodos;[32] *P. Mich.* 581.11-12 shows that in some places the ἀρχέφοδος κώμης probably had as his colleague an ἀρχέφοδος πεδίου.[33] The police power of the archephodos was restricted to his own village. In this connection we may refer to *P. Mich.* 421, in which the archephodos of Karanis attempted to apprehend certain persons who had stolen two donkeys. His search led him to Bacchias, where the local constabulary not only refused help, but also imprisoned, robbed, and beat him as well. "The archephodos of Karanis may have been exceeding his authority in attempting to make an arrest in Bacchias, even though this act would be the natural culmination of his pursuit of the fugitives."[34] For additional information concerning the position and functions of the archephodos, see the basic study by Oertel, in his *Liturgie*, pp. 275-277.

25. Cf. A.M. Harmon, "Egyptian Property Returns," *Yale Class. Stud.*, 4, 1934, p. 158.

26. See above, n.2.

27. Cf. Nicole, "Cachet du stratège," p. 231.

28. Cf. No. 47, where the ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης is the equivalent of the irenarch. See *P. Cair. Isidor.* 130.1n.

29. For the δημόσιοι κώμης see *P. Achmin* 7, introd., pp. 62-65; Wilcken, "Papyrus-Urkunden," *Archiv* 5, 1913, p. 441; Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 146, 150f.

30. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 260f.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

32. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 276.

33. The πεδίον is the arable land surrounding a κώμη. See, e.g., W. Peremans and J. Vergote, *Papyrologisch Handboek*, Leiden, 1942, p. 132.

34. *P. Mich.* 421, introd. (p. 115).

589. Order for Arrest

Inv. 6842 21.7 x 6.1 cm. Late Second or Early Third Century A.D.

This order for arrest is addressed to the archephodos of Karanis. The text is written across the fibers. The hand is similar to *P. Graec. Berol.*, 32b (ca. 200 A.D.).

ἀρχεφόδῳ κώμης Καρανίδος. ἀνάπεμψον
Ἀφροδίσιον Ερ.α[..]..α.[..] ἐνκαλουμένου
ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἐξαυτῆς X X X X X X

2. ἐγκαλούμενον.

To the chief of police of the village of Karanis. Send up Aphrodisios, son of Er . . . , who is accused by Demetrios, immediately.

1. *ἀνάπεμψον*: *ἀνα-* in compounds often indicates movement from a village to the metropolis of the nome. See H.C. Youtie, "The *Kline* of Sarapis," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 41, 1948, p. 15, n.36.

3. A series of crosses is often used in orders for arrest, to mark the end of the text (see *P. Lund* VI, 2 introd., p. 5).

590. Order for Arrest

Inv. 1036 10.7 x 10 cm. Third/Fourth Century A.D.

This papyrus is written in a hand which resembles *P. Mert.* 29 (3rd to 4th cent. A.D.). The text is written across the fibers. The order issues from the office of the strategos and is addressed to the archephodos and to the nomophylax. The latter appears here for the first time as the recipient of such an order. He may have been a subordinate of the archephodos; cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 276. The element *νομο-* is to be referred to *νομή*; similar topographical elements are found in *πεδιοφύλαξ*, *αἰγιαλοφύλαξ*, *μαγδωλοφύλαξ* and *ἀγροφύλαξ*. The nomophylax is mentioned, for example, in *P. Berl. Leihg.* 6.24, a list of village officials including the *ἀρχέφοδοι*, *πρεσβύτεροι*, and several categories of *φύλακες*. The archephodos and nomophylax are jointly referred to in *BGU* 759, a petition which asks the strategos *κελεῦσαι ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν τῆς Μαγδώλων Μίρη νομοφύλακα καὶ ⟨τὸν⟩ ἀρχέφοδον ὅπως παραστήσω[σ]ι τοὺς αἰτ[ίους* (lines 19-22).[1]

ὁ στρατηγὸς νομοφύλ(ακι) καὶ ἀρχεφ[όδῳ]
ἐκπέμψατε Ἀρχῦιν Ἀρφμο[ύιος καὶ]
Νεφερῶτος καὶ Ἀρφμοῦιν ἀδελ[φὸν καὶ]
αλλον καὶ Γορσενοῦφιν ἐνκαλουμέ[νους ὑπὸ]
σεβειος Ὥρου. Χοιὰκ κβ.

1. For the insertion of *τόν*, see Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, p. 264, n.1.

The strategos to the nomophylax and the archephodos . . . . Send Harchuis son of Harphmouis and . . . son of Nepheros and Harphmouis his brother and . . . another(?) and Gorsenouphis, accused by . . . sebeios son of Horos. Choiak 22.

1. *νομοφύλ(ακι) καὶ ἀρχεφ[όδῳ*: from *BGU* 759 (see above) the singular for both words is suggested.

2. *Ἁρχῦιν*: unattested elsewhere; but cf. *Ἁρχεῖς*, *P. Cornell* 22.117; *Ἁρχῦψις*, *P. Teb.* 967.2; 848.134; 1051.20; and *P. Mert.* 6.12. *Ἁρχῦις* is probably a theophoric name containing the element *Ἁρ*, a form in which the name Horos appears. Cf. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, pp. 60, 62.

4. *αλλον*: perhaps we are to read *ἄλλον* (*sc. ἀδελφόν*). It is also possible that *αλλον* is the end of a personal name. For such names see F. Dornseiff and B. Hanson, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1957, p. 257.

Γορσενοῦφιν: a spelling variant of the very common name Orsenouphis; cf. *Archiv* 5, 1913, p. 176, 24 and 25.

4-5. *]σεβειος*: e.g. *Εὐσέβειος* or *Θεοσέβειος*. The former is much more common and therefore more probable, but caution must be used with either of these suggestions, since both necessitate the assumption of a grammatical error (nom. for gen. after *ὑπό*).

Χοιὰκ κβ: i.e., December 18.

591. Order for Arrest

Inv. 3659 28.1 x 4.5 cm. Sixth Century A.D.

This papyrus, which comes from the Herakleopolite Nome, belongs to the Byzantine period. Other orders for arrest from that age are *P. Med.* 42; *P. Amh.* 146; and *P. Lond.* III, 1309 (p. 251). The hand of the Michigan papyrus is quite similar to the first hand of *P. Lond.* I, 113 (4) (p. 208), a late 6th century text conveniently reproduced in A. Bataille, *Les Papyrus*, Vol. II of *Traité d'études byzantines*, ed. by P. Lemerle, Paris, 1955, pl. XI. *P. Mich.* 591, written across the fibers, is complete except on the left side, where about five letters (excluding *iota*) have been lost in lines 2-4.

As already noted above (p. 50), the orders for arrest from the late period have considerably more breadth than the Roman orders. But more important is the change of form. Although the address has a structure similar to that of the orders of the earlier period, the body of the document has a different and less standardized arrangement. The Roman schema of imperative + accused + accuser (see above, p. 49) is observed in *P. Amh.* 146 (5th cent.), but the order to produce the accused is there preceded by an order to compel them to return stolen cattle (lines 2-4): *ποιήσατε . . . τοὺς ἀποσπάσαντας τὰ δύο βοικὰ . . . ἀποκαταστῆσαι . . . ἢ ἀντιλέγοντας ἐκπέμψατε ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν*. The statement of accusation follows, as in the Roman period, but omits the identity of the accuser (line 4): *ἠτιάθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος*. *P. Med.* 42 and *P. Mich.* 591, both of the 6th century, begin with the accusation (accuser + *αἰτιᾶται* + accused) and close with a directive to send the culprits off to the metropolis. *P. Lond.* III, 1309 (p. 251), dated in the 6th/7th century, differs from the other texts of this type, which are really orders to produce a person for trial (see above, p. 47); the London papyrus is a true order for arrest. After the address it reads (lines 2-4): *τοὺς φονεύσαντας τὸν ἀγροφύλακα πάραυτα ποιήσατε ἐπ' ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπαντήσατε ἵνα μὴ κινδυνεύσητε εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχήν*.

1 + πρωτοκ(ωμήταις) καὶ εἰρηνάρχ(αις) Θμοινέψι. ἄπα Ψὸν
2 [αἰτιᾶται Ἰ]ερημίας τὸν υἱὸν Γεροντίου καὶ Φοιβάμμωνα τὸν υἱὸν Ἀανίου καὶ Ἀπολλῶ
τὸν υἱὸν Πκακουρῶ.
3 [μὴ ἀμ]ελήσατε ἐκπέμψαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ ἑνὸς πεδιοφύλακος τῆς ὑμῶν κώμης ἅμα τῷ
4 [ca. 5].ῳ ₽

1. πρωτοκ ' κ ' Pap. 2. Ἰερημίαν, υἱόν: υἱὸν Pap. (3 times).

To the protokometai and eirenarchai of Thmoinepsi. Father Pson accuses Ieremias, the son of Gerontios, and Phoibammon, the son of Aanios, and Apollo, the son of Pkakouro. Do not neglect to send them to the city with a field guard from your village together with . . . .

1. πρωτοκ(ωμήταις): The πρωτοκωμῆται are village officials who first appear in the 5th century. They were active in tax-collecting operations and also had police functions; see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 84.

εἰρηνάρχ(αις): these village officials were the Byzantine equivalent of the ἀρχέφοδοι; see Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 278-281. The resolution of the abbreviation into the plural is based on Oertel's observation (p. 280), "dass . . . in der Tat mehrere Dorf-εἰρηνάρχαι gleichzeitig fungierten."

Θμοινέψι: a village in the Herakleopolite Nome, attested in *Stud. Pal.* X, 233, col. ii, 14.

ἄπα: this word, the equivalent of ἀββᾶς, is very common as a title of respect given to priests and bishops in Christian Egypt; see, e.g., G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, London, 1961-1965, I, s.v.

2. [αἰτιᾶται Ἰ]ερημίας: the restoration is based on *P. Med.* 42.2 Ἀμάειον τὸν γεωργὸν (= Ἀμάειος ὁ γεωργός) αἰτιᾶται τοὺς περισυνοὺς (= περυσινούς) ἀγροφύλακας. The nominative Ἱερημίας for accusative Ἱερημίαν poses no problem, especially at this period. See S.G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, Münch. Beitr. XXVIII, 1938, pp. 120 and especially 130: "Das Subjekt eines verbum finitum kann . . . jetzt anakoluthisch im Akkusativ auftreten . . . , während das Objekt desselben seinerseits im Nominativ steht." The similarly vulgar syntax of the Milan papyrus should also be observed.

592 and 593. Military Lists

The following two papyri, one in Latin, the other in Greek, are lists of soldiers in the Roman army. They both fall within the period between the collapse of the Tetrarchy (305 A.D.) and the beginning of the sole rule of Constantine (324 A.D.) and are the only military lists of this period which have thus far appeared. The ancient writers on the subject recognized two types of military list, the *matricula* and the *brevis*. The *matricula* was, as Professor R.O. Fink points out, "a complete roster of an entire unit . . . in which the new soldier's name was entered when he took his oath; that is, in order of seniority. It contained the titles of all the officers and principales, from the tribune down."[1] The *brevis*, on the other hand, was a more detailed check list, in which such information as length of service, assignments of duty, furloughs and deaths were noted.[2] These technical terms came into use rather late, perhaps in the course of the third century, and consequently it is advisable not to try to make the distinction in most of the military lists, which are generally of an earlier period.[3] However, *P. Mich.* 592 and 593 illustrate the

1. *P. Dura*, p. 46; see the passages from ancient writers there cited.

2. *Ibid.* That the *breves* served as duty rosters, records of leave, and casualty lists is clearly shown by Vegetius II, 19; Rufinus, *Adv. Hieron.* 2, 36; and Isidore, *Origines* I, 24, 1, all cited in *P. Dura*, p. 46. That they also contained length of service seems clear from *Script. Hist. Aug.: Alex.* 21 (cited *ibid.*), where the *breves* are said to contain *tempora militantum.*

3. *P. Dura*, p. 46.

distinction rather well, perhaps because of their date. The former has the salient features of the *matricula*; it first lists the officers of a unit, and then the ordinary soldiers in order of seniority. 593 may be characterized as a *brevis*, as it records the years of service for each soldier and also, through marginal notations, provides such information as duty assignments and furloughs.

The pre-Constantine military establishment, into which *P. Mich.* 592 and 593 are to be fitted, followed basically the lines laid down by Septimius Severus.[4] As van Berchem points out, it is characterized in Egypt and elsewhere "by a distinction between two categories of troops, troops of the first class (*equites* and *legiones*) and auxiliary troops (*alae* and *cohortes*), inscribed respectively in two registers, the former in the *maius laterculum*, the latter in the *minus laterculum*. *Equites* and *legiones* are combat troops; their disposition is based on strategic considerations. *Alae* and *cohortes* are troops engaged in surveillance, police-duties, and administration."[5] In this connection it is well to bear in mind that the *legiones*, *alae*, and *cohortes* follow the *Rangordnung* of the early Principate, while the *equites*, organized in *vexillationes*,[6] have a ranking system not found elsewhere.[7]

It is not possible to be certain what troops are involved in *P. Mich.* 592 and 593, although the possibilities are limited in both cases. 592 mentions a *centurio* amongst the ranks listed and accordingly enables us to eliminate *equites* and *alae*. I can, however, find no way to decide between a *legio* and a *cohors*. In 593 no ranks are mentioned, but the text records, through numerous marginal notations, the assignments of soldiers to various *turmae*, or cavalry units, of which both the *alae* and *vexillationes equitum* were composed.[8] But the papyrus provides no means of determining which of these units were involved.[9]

The two Michigan texts employ a feature of nomenclature which deserves special attention. In both these lists *Valerius*, the *gentilicium* borne by all the emperors from Diocletian up to Constantine,[10] is prefixed to the name of every soldier. These texts are the only examples of such a large-scale adoption of the name *Valerius*, although it occurs sporadically on an individual basis.[11] From Constantine onward, *Flavius*, the new imperial *gentilicium*, was similarly given to the soldiery. For this there is abundant evidence.[12] The military roster *P. Dura* 100, dated in 219 A.D., gives evidence of a similar phenomenon in the third century. Here *Aurel(ius)* is added to each soldier's name, whether or not he already had a *gentilicium* indicating Roman citizenship; for example, *Aurel(ius) Iulius Maxi*[*mu*]*s* (col. xxviii, 6).[13] Professor Gilliam has recently

4. D. van Berchem, *L'Armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Vol. LVI, Paris, 1952, pp. 113f.

5. *P. Abinn.*, p. 13.

6. See, e.g., A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, II, Oxford, 1964, p. 607.

7. The ranks were, in ascending order: *circitor*, *biarchus*, *centenarius*, *ducenarius*, *senator*, *primicerius*; *ibid.*, p. 634; *P. Abinn.*, p. 15.

8. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, Sonderabdruck aus Bonner Jahrbücher CXVII Bonn, 1908, p. 135.

9. See further below, p. 58.

10. This may be conveniently shown by giving the imperial names of the dynasty of Diocletian, followed in each case by a reference to the article in *RE* where a selection of the relevant source material is given. I have omitted the *praenomina*, which are often disputed.

Diocletian: Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus (*RE* Zweite Reihe VII, ii, 2419)
Maximian: Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (*RE* XIV, 2486)
Galerius: Galerius Valerius Maximianus (*RE* XIV, 2516)
Constantius: Flavius Valerius Constantius (*RE* IV, 1040)
Severus: Flavius Valerius Severus (*RE* Zweite Reihe II, 2002)
Maxentius: Aurelius Valerius Maxentius (*RE* XIV, 2419)
Maximinus Daia: Galerius Valerius Maximinus (*RE* IV, 1986)
Licinius: Valerius Licinianus Licinius (*RE* XIII, 222)

11. E.g., *PSI* 449; for other examples see E. Bickermann, *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40* (Diss. Berlin, 1926), pp. 35f.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-38; A. Segrè, "La Costituzione Antoniniana e il diritto dei 'novi cives,' " *Iura* 17, 1966, pp. 7-9.

13. See J.F. Gilliam, "Dura Rosters and the *Constitutio Antoniniana*," *Historia* 14, 1965, p. 84.

suggested that *Aurelius* in the Dura papyrus does not in itself indicate the bestowal of citizenship consequent upon the *Constitutio Antoniniana*; it is rather to be taken simply as a means of showing loyalty to the emperor.[14] Gilliam refers to similar manifestations of loyalty in the assumption of *Flavius* and compares *Iulius Aurelius*, a combination of Caracalla's name with that of his mother, Julia Domna; this double *gentilicium* was universally adopted at Palmyra and Edessa after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, even by those who were already citizens. We may also mention *Septimius*, the *gentilicium* of Odenathus and Zenobia, which toward the middle of the third century was adopted by many Palmyrenes in honor of that house.[15] In the light of this evidence there is little doubt that the use of the name *Valerius* in *P. Mich.* 592 and 593 was also intended as a mark of devotion and loyalty to the current dynasty.

592. Fragment of a Latin Military List

Inv. 5271e 9 x 16.1 cm. 311-324 A.D.

This papyrus is incomplete on all sides. It contains a column comprising a list of soldiers, to the left of which are scanty remnants of what may have been a similar list. These remnants are written in a larger and more sprawling hand than that of the intact column, though the style is similar. Both hands of *P. Mich.* 592 bear a distinct resemblance to the semi-uncial hand of P. Barc. inv. 149b-153 (published by R. Roca-Puig, *Himne a la Verge Maria: "Psalmus responsorius," Papiri llatí del segle iv*, 2nd ed.; Barcelona, 1965), although the Barcelona text is more elegant and less cursive; see Roca-Puig's palaeographic analysis (pp. 19-42) and his examination (pp. 48-52) of similar Latin hands from the same period in *P. Ryl.* 653 and *P. Abinn.* 1 and 2.

The text has the features of a standard unit-roster, or *matricula*.[1] Officers with high rank, *tribunus*, *(centurio) ordin( )*,[2] and *cornicul(arius)*, are listed first (lines 1-6); then, beginning with an *ex(plorator)*, ordinary soldiers are recorded (7-22). The consular dates of enlistment are given in lines 4-5, 7-8, 11-12, 15-16, and 19. Since the papyrus is broken off at the top, the question arises whether these dates should be taken with the names which precede or with those which follow. Since it was generally the practice in military lists to have the names of the soldiers following their enlistment date,[3] presumably this practice was followed here. Except in the case of the officers, the dates given are arranged in order of seniority. For the military unit involved, see the discussion above, p. 55.

The use of *Valerius*[4] allows us to establish the *terminus ante quem* of the document. It must have been written before the death of Licinius in 324 A.D., since he was the last emperor

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-90.

15. D. Schlumberger, "Les Gentilices romaines des Palmyréniens," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 9, 1942-1945, pp. 59f.

1. See above, pp. 54f.

2. See note to col. ii, 3.

3. Cf. *CPL* 106 iii; 115; 118, ii; 129; 139; *CIL* VI, 209; 220; 2379; 2381; *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 4, 1881, No. 887 (pp. 306f.); *P. Dura* 98, 100, and 101.

4. See above, pp. 55f.

called Valerius.[5] If we were certain that the standard period of service at the time was 24 years,[6] we could set the *terminus ante quem* back to 321 A.D., since the earliest date of enlistment is 297. The *terminus post quem* is 311, the date of latest enlistment.

	Column i		Column ii	A.D.
			(2nd hd.)]. tribu-	
			]nus	
			]s (centurio) ordin( )	
	(1st hd.)	D]ecembri-	ḋḋn̄ [n̄ Diocle]tiano Aug VI[II]	303
5	bus	]	et Maximiano Aug VII co[ss]	
		A]ugg	Val Potammon cornicol(arius)	
		]s	ḋḋn̄n̄ Maximiano Aug V	297
		].mi	et Maximiano Caesar(e) II	
		A]ug	Val Paulinus ex(plorator)	
10			Val Oreion	
		]his	ḋḋn̄n̄ Diocletiano Aug VIII[I]	304
			et Maximiano Aug VIII coss	
			Val Hierax	
			Val Eracleides	
15			ḋḋn̄n̄ Diocletiano pater Augg X	308
			et Gal Val Maximiano Aug VII cos[s]	
		]in..desi	Val Arion	
			Val Athres	
			ḋn̄ Gal Val Maximino Aug II cos	311
			Val Plusianus	
20			Val Psentaes	
			[Val] Planciu[s]	

Col. ii: 3. (centurio): read by Professor J.F. Gilliam. 4. ḋ´d´n´n´: dominis nostris. 6. Val: Valerius; cornicularius. 10. Horion. 14. Heracleides. 15. patre; Augg: Augustorum. 18. Hathres.

Col. ii.

1-2. The *tribunus* at this time was the commander of many different units; there are, e.g., the *tribunus vexillationis, t. legionis*, and *t. cohortis*; but there is no sure example of a *tribunus* of an *ala*, which may have been under a *praefectus*. See R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 145-147; J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IV, iii, 2, Munich, 1928, p. 584.

5. See above, p. 55; n. 10.

6. *Codex Theodosianus* VII, 20, 4 (325 A.D.), which reflects the reorganization of the army under Constantine (see van Berchem, *Armée*, pp. 83-88), gives 24 years as the legal length of service in the *comitatenses* and *ripenses*, the new first class troops. It is possible that the same length of service existed for the pre-Constantine first class, viz., the *legiones* and *vexillationes equitum* (*ibid.*, pp. 78 and 82). The length of service for the auxiliary troops, whether in the period of Constantine or in the decades before, is not known (cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* II, p. 635). *P. Mich.* 593 of 312 A.D. shows that men served at least 23 years (see col. i.18).

3. *(centurio) ordin( )*: the pap. has ⸗ , the symbol for *centuria* or *centurio*; see R. Bilabel, "Siglae," *RE* Zweite Reihe II, 2311; cf. R.O. Fink, "A Fragment of a Roman Military Papyrus at Princeton," *TAPA* 76, 1945, pp. 273f. The adjective *ordin( )* may be resolved as *ordin(atus)* or *ordin(arius)*. The terms are equivalent and can be supported by contemporary texts; e.g., *P. Beatty Panop.* 2 (300 A.D.).60 and 190, where a (ἑκατόνταρχος) ὀρδινᾶτος is referred to; and *CIL* V, 8275 (probably latter part of 3rd cent.), which mentions a *(centurio) ordinarius*; see J.F. Gilliam, "The *Ordinarii* and *Ordinati* of the Roman Army," *TAPA* 71, 1940, p. 129 and n.10. *Ordinatus* or *ordinarius*, used alone or in combination with *centurio*, referred to centurions who were actually in command of an *ordo*, in contrast to those who were detailed to special duties; *ibid.*, pp. 127-148.

6. *cornicol(arius)*: the chief of the clerical staff of a unit; see Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, pp. 401 and 517.

9. *ex(plorator)*: the resolution of the abbreviation is not inevitable, but it is quite likely, especially since we are dealing, from line 7 onward, with privates (see introd., p. 56), to which category the *explorator* belongs (see Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, p. 426). *Explorator* appears many times as a marginal notation in the Dura rosters; see *P. Dura*, Index I, p. 454.

15-16. Diocletian was nominated to his 10th consulship as a result of the conference at Carnuntum in 308. Though no longer Augustus, he was given the title *pater Augustorum*, which emphasized the dignity and prestige of the man at a time when his supervision of affairs was urgently needed. Though Diocletian refused to assume the throne again, it was probably felt that this new title would at least nominally restore some degree of solidarity to the empire. See Th. Mommsen, "Consularia," *Hermes* 32, 1897, pp. 544f., and cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 97, 15-16n.

593. Fragment of a Greek Military List

Inv. 1937 — 53.8 x 22.4 cm. — 312 A.D.

The papyrus, which is complete only at the top, is riddled with holes and somewhat abraded, with the mutilation becoming progressively worse toward the bottom. It contains two columns of a check list (or *brevis*)[1] of cavalry soldiers, with slight traces of a third column to the left. For a discussion of the military unit involved, see above, p. 55. All of the soldiers have the *gentilicium* Οὐαλέριος prefixed to their names.[2] If a name appears more than once, its first occurrence is usually designated with α, and its subsequent occurrences with the next consecutive letter.[3] The letters run up to ε and thus suggest that the unit was rather large. The consular dates of enlistment, which are not in chronological order,[4] are placed opposite the names in a column to the right. Next to these dates there is a record of the number of *stipendia*, or years of service, which each soldier had completed when the list was drawn up.[5] By adding the *stipendia* to the year of enlistment in each case, we see that *P. Mich.* 593 was written in 312 A.D. Both enlistment dates and *stipendia* break off after col. iii.9.

To the left of the name list, which occupies cols. ii and iii, is a series of marginal notes which are often considerably faded and difficult to read. In general they resemble the notes in the Dura rosters,[6] and, like them, may be divided into two categories: symbols and word notes.

1. See above, pp. 54 f.
2. See above, pp. 55 f.
3. Exceptions occur: Ἄρεως (ii.8) and Ἄρεως β (iii. 20); Ἀθανάσως (ii.4) and Ἀθανάσις (iii.17).
4. Such check lists often do not adhere to the order of seniority; cf. R.O. Fink, "Two Fragments of Roman Military Rosters in Vienna," *La Parola del Passato* 12, 1957, pp. 308f.
5. See Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. II, B, 2; and cf., e.g., lines 12-15 of the Brigetio Table (= *L'Année épigraphique*, 1937, No. 232), of 311 A.D.: "credidimus ut idem milites nostri . . . eadem . . . immunia habeant atque cum completis stipendiis legitimis honestam missionem . . . fuerint consecuti."
6. See *P. Dura*, pp. 39-45.

The Michigan papyrus employs two kinds of symbols. The first may be a sign of cancellation. It consists of a large ⊂ which envelops the first letter of the *gentilicium*; it is found in ii.5, 7; iii.2, 14. The second symbol is the *punctum* which occurs immediately to the left of the name in iii.4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16. So far *puncta* have appeared in *P. Dura* 100, 102, 104; *P. Fay.* 105 (= *Doc. Eserc. Rom. Eg.* 34); and P. Vienna inv. L 99 recto (= *Doc. Eserc. Rom. Eg.* 15). They served as general check marks for a wide variety of purposes.[7] The category of word notes may be broken down into the following groups:[8]

1) Indications of assignments to a particular unit: these take the form *εἰς τ(ούρμην)*, followed by the commanding officer's name, and are found in ii.2, 4, 9, 11, 12, 15; iii.1, 6, 8, 20, 21. These notations are very similar to those found in *BGU* 696 (= *Doc. Eserc. Rom. Eg.* 9), in which the *turma* or *centuria* is specified for each soldier who is assigned to a cohort. See, for example, col. ii.10-12: "*in turma Salviani, eode*[*m cos.,*] *dro(medarius) Cronius Barbasatis.*"

2) Place names: *Ταν(ίτης)* (*sc. νομός*) in iii.13, and *κάτω χώρα*[9] in iii.18, are probably to be taken as indicating the present location of the soldiers in question. *P. Dura* 100 similarly employs the marginal note *Parthia* (xix.3; xxii.3; xxx.9, 17; xl.1; see p. 40).

3) Special duties: *μετὰ τοῦ καθολικοῦ* in ii.13, and iii.12, denotes service in the retinue of the *καθολικός*, the chief financial official in Egypt at that time.[10] Similarly *μετὰ Γενναδίου* in iii.10 means that the soldier in question was assigned to escort a person named Gennadius.

4) Indications of furlough: *κομμ(εᾶτος)* occurs in ii.10; iii.9. The resolution of the abbreviation follows the similar resolutions *com(meatus)* and *c(ommeatus)* in *P. Gen. Lat.* 1 verso (= *Doc. Eserc. Rom. Eg.* 10), Sec. V, i.9 and 10.[11]

On the verso there is a list of eight soldiers, written in a different hand. Most of these names occur also on the recto.

It is somewhat surprising that *P. Mich.* 593 is written in Greek instead of Latin, the official language of the army throughout the Roman Empire.[12] Though there are documents in Greek connected with the military,[13] Latin was, as Stein once emphasized, "die amtliche Verkehrssprache innerhalb eines Truppenkörpers,"[14] and, as such, would be expected to be used for drafting official lists of army personnel. It is the language of all the other military lists which have hitherto been published. *P. Mich.* 593 may have been meant for purely local use, and accordingly its compiler felt no need to employ the official language. Similarly *P. Flor.* 278 (= *Doc. Eserc. Rom. Eg.* 64) contains Greek abstracts, intended for personal use, of the official letters of a military commander, which were probably in Latin.[15]

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 39f.

8. It will be observed that these notes are in general characteristic of a *brevis*; see above, p. 54.

9. I.e., the Delta. See Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 36, and *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI, 3.18n.

10. See, e.g., *P. Mert.* 90.6f. n.

11. See A. von Premerstein, "Die Buchführung einer ägyptischen Legionsabteilung," *Klio* 3, 1903, p. 36.

12. For the use of Latin in the army of the Principate, see A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter römischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, 1915, pp. 173-186; for its even more extensive use in the early Dominate, see H. Zilliacus, *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich*, Helsingfors, 1935, pp. 126-129.

13. For example, *P. Oxy.* 43 Recto, containing a Greek list of military supplies; it was written in Greek because it was intended for non-military officials. See Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 175. Other Greek documents involving the army are *P. Oxy.* 735; *PSI* 1063; *P. Hamb.* 39.

14. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 174.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 165f., 173f.

Column i

			A.D.
(The first surviving lines correspond with Column ii.6-9.)			
6	Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιαν]οῦ	ιη	294
7	Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ δ ′ καὶ Μαξιμι]ανοῦ τὸ γ ′	κβ	290
8	].	κ.[	?
9		].[	?
(Column i is broken off for 7 lines; the following 2 lines correspond with 17 and 18 of Column ii.)			
17	Τιβεριανοῦ καὶ Δίωνος	]κα	291
18	Κυιντιανοῦ καὶ Βάσσου	]κγ	289

Column ii

							A.D.
	.[.].μπο.	Οὐαλερ′	Θεόδωρος β′	Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ε′ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ β′	στιπ′	ιε	297
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) Αἴσωντος	Οὐαλερ[′]	Προτέριος α′	Ἀννιβαλιανῶ	στιπ′	κ	292
	[...]νει.	Οὐαλερ′	Λεόντιος	Τούσκω καὶ Ἀνουλλίνω	στιπ′	ιζ	295
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) ...γυψ...	Οὐαλερ[′]	Ἀθανάσιος	Τιβεριανοῦ καὶ Δίωνος	στιπ′	κα	291
5		⊂ Οὐαλερ′	Κύριλλος		στιπ′	..	?
	ς	Οὐαλερ′	Ἀπολλώνιος	Κωνσταντίω καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ τὸ γ′	στιπ′	ιβ	300
	. .	⊂ Οὐαλερ′	Ἀμμώνιος α′	Τούσκω καὶ Ἀνουλλίνω	στιπ′	ιζ	295
	. .	Οὐαλερ′	Ἄρειος	Φαύστω καὶ Γάλλω	στιπ′	ιδ	298
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) τοῦ Βάλε(ντος)	Οὐαλερ′	Ἄγαθος	Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ [[.]] ε′ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ β′	στιπ′	ιε	297
10	κομμ(εᾶτος)	Ο[ὐα]λε[ρ′	Π]τολεμαῖος	Τούσκω καὶ Ἀνουλλίνω στιπ′		ιζ	295
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) Αε.α( )	Οὐ[αλε]ρ′	[Ἀ]δριανός	Φαύστω καὶ Γάλλω στ[ι]π′[		ιδ	298
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) ..τίου	Οὐαλ[ε]ρ′	Π[ρο]τέρ[ι]ος β′	τῆς [α]ὐτῆς ὑπατίας σ[τιπ′		ιδ	298
	μετὰ τοῦ καθολικ(οῦ)	Οὐαλερ′	Δι[...]μ[...]. β′	τῆς [α]ὐτῆς ὑπατίας [			298
	...[..]	Οὐαλ[ερ′	....].ρων	Ἀννιβαλιανῶ [			292
15	εἰς τ(ούρμην) Α.[.].[	Οὐαλερ′	Λου]κιλλᾶς	τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπατίας [			292
	..[..]..[	Οὐαλερ′	]Βερνικιανός	Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ζ′ καὶ Μαξ[ιμιανοῦ τὸ ς′			299
	[	Οὐαλερ′]	Ἀντωνεῖνος.	Κω[ν]σταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τ[ὸ			?
	[	Οὐαλε]ρ′	Θεοδόσιος	Τ[ι]βεριανοῦ καὶ Δίω[νος			291
	[	Οὐαλερ′	..].ολος	Μαξιμιαντίου τὸ ε′ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ β′			297
20	[	Οὐαλερ′	....]τιος	Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μα[ξιμιανοῦ τὸ			?
				]Σευήρου καὶ Μ[αξιμίνου			307

Column iii

							A.D.
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) Ἀεκρημ( )		Οὐαλ′	Γερόντιος β′	Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ς′ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ β′	στι[π′ ις	296
		⊂	Οὐαλ′	Ἰουλιανός	Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ζ′	[στ]ι[π′ ιγ	299
	τ̣γυλ′		Οὐαλ′	Ἀμμώνιος β′	Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ′	[	304
		●	Οὐαλ′	Φλαουιανὸς β′	Τούσκω καὶ Ἀνουλλίνω	[	295
5	...λ′		Οὐαλ′	Ἑρμείας	Διοκλητιανοῦ πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέ(ων) τ[ὸ ι′		308
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) .κωτίας		Οὐαλ′	Ἀλύπιος	τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπατίας	[	308
	μετα..	●	Οὐαλ′	Ἀμμώνιος γ′	Φαύστω καὶ Γάλλω	στιπ′ [ιδ	298
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) .κλ( )	●	Οὐαλ′	Σερῆνος β′	τῆς αὐτῆς	στιπ′ [ιδ	298
	κομμ(εᾶτος)		Οὐαλ′	Σεουῆρος β′	Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ι′	στιπ′ [δ	308
10	] μετὰ Γενναδίου		Οὐαλ′	Ἐλπίδιος		[	
	]	●	Οὐαλ′	Διόσκορος β′		[	
	] μετὰ τοῦ καθολ(ικοῦ)	●	Οὐαλ′	Ἰούλιος		[	
	] Ταν̣ίτ(ης)		Οὐαλ[′	].ευ.τιος		[	
	]	⊂	Ο[ὐαλ′	.....]ιος β′		[	
15	]	●	Ο[ὐαλ′	Ἀ]μμώνιος δ′		[	
	]	●	Οὐ[αλ′	Ἀλ]έξανδρος		[	
	]		Οὐ[αλ′	]Ἀθανάσις		[	
	] κάτω χώρα		Οὐαλ′[	Πα]ῦχις α		[	
	]		Οὐαλ′	Παῦχις β		[	
20	] εἰς τ(ούρμην) Εἰσιόν(ος)		Οὐαλ′	Ἄρειος β		[	
	εἰς τ(ούρμην) Ἰαν[...		Οὐαλ′	...]..ρος		[	
	] [		Οὐαλ′	.....]..ν ε′[			

Verso

(2nd hd.) Γέντιος
Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἀντωνῖνος
Θεόδωρος
Ἡρακλείδης
Ἀμμώνιος γ'
Ἀμμώνιος δ'
Ἀλέξανδρος

Col. ii: 1. Οὐαλερ': Οὐαλέριος; στιπ': στιπενδίων. 12. ὕπατιας Pap. 13. ὕπατιας Pap. 17. Ἀντωνῖνος. 18. Θεοδόσιος: σι corrected, perhaps from τι.

Col. iii: 2. ἰουλιανος Pap. 4. φλαουϊανος Pap. 6. ὕπατιας Pap. 12. ἰουλιος Pap. 20. Ἰσίωνος.

Verso: 3. Ἀντωνῖνος.

Col. ii.

1. στιπ': to be resolved στιπενδίων; cf. *SB* 4276.1-3: Οὐαλ(έριον) Φλαούιον στρατιώτην λεγ(εῶνος) ς' Σιδηρ(ᾶς), στιπενδίων ις, ἐτῶν δὲ λε κτλ.

2. Ἀννιβαλιανῶ: this ending, which is rather common in *P. Mich.* 593, is doubtless simply a transliteration of the Latin; for other examples of the preservation of Latin inflection in Greek, see C. Döttling, *Die Flexionsformen lateinischer Nomina in den griechischen Papyri und Inschriften,* Diss. Lausanne, 1920, pp. 94-102. Throughout *P. Mich.* 593 the name of Iulius Asclepiodotus, who was consul with Afranius Hannibalianus (Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 76), is omitted.

Col. iii.

1. Here we should have Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ς' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τὸ β'; see Degrassi, *Fasti consolari*, p. 76.
2. καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ς' is omitted; see *ibid.*, p. 77.
3. καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η' is omitted; *ibid.*
5. The full form of the date would require the addition of καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ'; *ibid.*, p. 78. For the title πατὴρ τῶν βασιλέων cf. *P. Mich.* 592.15-16n.
17. Ἀθανάσις: for ις instead of ως, cf. ii.4; see also *P. Mich.* 578.2n.

594. Account of Arrears

Inv. 618 22 x 28.7 cm. Sept. –Oct., 51 A.D.

This papyrus adds to our knowledge of the severe economic depression which beset Egypt in the first century A.D.[1] This crisis, attested both by literary sources[2] and by documentary material,[3] began early in the century and gained in momentum under Claudius and Nero. The country was still suffering under it in 68 A.D., when the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander issued his well-known edict (*OGIS* 669) in an attempt to remedy the situation.[4] The cause of the depression is usually said to have been the Roman practice of exploiting the new province to the maximum.[5] Scholars are fond of citing, in this connection, the remark of Tiberius reported in Dio Cassius LVII, 10, 5: *Αἰμιλίῳ γοῦν Ῥήκτῳ χρήματά ποτε αὐτῶ* (i.e., Tiberius) *πλείω παρὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἧς ἦρχε πέμψαντι ἀντεπέστειλεν ὅτι κείρεσθαί μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι.*[6] Such zealous activity could, it is true, easily have led to a state of depression in Egypt, but there are some grounds for believing that natural causes were also to blame.[7] Whatever the reason may have been, there was a time, early in the Roman rule of Egypt, when it became increasingly difficult for the population to meet its financial obligations. At that time, as Chalon aptly phrases it: "responsables du recouvrement des impôts,[8] les percepteurs usent de contrainte pour en obtenir le paiement; afin de se dérober à des charges qu'ils ne sont pas en mesure de payer, et de se soustraire aux violences des fonctionnaires fiscaux, les contribuables insolvables prennent la fuite."[9] The practice of resorting to flight, which was called *ἀναχώρησις* (a term properly signifying illegal absence, especially when it resulted from fiscal oppression[10]) became increasingly common and led to extensive depopulation. This phenomenon was especially pronounced in the Fayum, and one can there trace its development, particularly in the village of Philadelphia. The more important documents which testify to the depression at that village are the following:[11]

1) *SB* 7461 (45 A.D.), an official letter concerning a complaint made by the *πράκτωρ λαογραφίας* of Philadelphia to the effect that certain taxpayers who were unable to discharge their fiscal obligations had left Philadelphia and were living in the Herakleopolite Nome. The *πράκτωρ* requests that he be allowed to bring them back under armed guard.[12]

2) *SB* 7462 (55-59 A.D.), a petition in which the *πράκτορες λαογραφίας* of six villages in the Fayum, one of which is Philadelphia, assert that these once populous villages *νυνεὶ κατήντησαν εἰς ὀλίγους, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἀνακεχωρηκέναι ἀπόρους, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκέναι μὴ ἔχοντας ἀγχιστεῖς* (lines 8-11), and they request a postponement of their payment until the prefect's decision at the next *διαλογισμός*.[13]

1. The most recent treatment, with good bibliography, is in Chalon, *Edit*, pp. 53-68.

2. Especially Philo, *De specialibus legibus* III, 159-163; see Chalon, *Edit*, pp. 56f., and below, p. 67.

3. Relevant texts will be discussed below.

4. Chalon, *Edit*, pp. 53-68 *passim*.

5. *Ibid*., p. 56, and n.13.

6. *Ibid*.; N. Lewis, "Μερισμὸς Ἀνακεχωρηκότων," *JEA* 23, 1937, p. 64, n.6 (*sub fin.*); H. Braunert, "Ἰδιά," *JJP* 9-10, 1955-56, p. 268, n.139.

7. See below, p. 66.

8. Cf. H.I. Bell, "The Economic Crisis in Egypt under Nero," *JRS* 28, 1938, p. 3: "Under the system of administration adopted by the Roman government in Egypt a tax-collector . . . was responsible with person and property for the due collection of all revenues which fell within his sphere of competence." Cf. Chalon, *Edit*, p. 57, n.20.

9. Chalon, *Edit*, p. 57.

10. *Ibid*., p. 59, n.29.

11. Cited and discussed, along with other documents, *ibid*., pp. 59-62. Cf. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 153.

12. See Bell, "Economic Crisis," p. 6; Chalon, *Edit*, p. 58; Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 153.

13. The phrase used is *ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τῆς σῆς διαγνώσεως ἐπὶ διαλογισμοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ* (19-20). Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 153, following Lewis, "Μερισμός," p. 65, n.1, correctly interprets *ἐπισχεῖν* as meaning "to postpone." For the *διαλογισμός*, see Chalon, *Edit*, p. 62, n.48.

3) *P. Cornell* 24 (56 A.D.), a list from Philadelphia of 44 *ἄποροι ἀνεύρετοι*, i.e., defaulters who withdrew *εἰς ἀγνοουμένους τόπους*.[14]

4) *P. Ryl.* 595 (57 A.D.), an account of arrears which includes a list of 105 defaulting taxpayers. The first section of the text substantially repeats the list given in *P. Cornell* 24.[15] The verso contains what "purports to be an account of the state of arrears and number of missing persons carried over at the death of Claudius."[16] Oates has recently questioned whether this document provides any real proof of a crisis; he suggests that the people there listed, many of whom are designated as *ἀνακεχωρηκότες ἄποροι*, may have simply moved, without any motive of avoiding tax obligations.[17] The phrase *ἀνακεχωρηκότες ἄποροι* he translates as "those who have moved leaving no property in the village." *P. Mich.* 594, however, clearly shows that there was economic trouble at Philadelphia between 45 and 51 A.D.; the Rylands papyrus records a continuation of this same crisis.

P. Mich. 594 was drawn up at Philadelphia in the 12th year of Claudius (51/52 A.D.) and shows the arrears still owed in poll tax, pig tax and dike tax for the 11th, 9th, 8th, 7th and 6th years.[18]

It will be instructive to see how numerous the defaulters were for the various arrears listed in 594. Using the standard payments of 44 drachmas 1 obol *per capita* for the *λαογραφία*, 1 drachma 1 obol for the *ὑϊκή*, and 6 drachmas 4 obols for the *χωματικόν*,[19] we can obtain a fair degree of precision. The accuracy of the method may be shown by applying it to *P. Ryl.* 595, where the total of arrears and the number of defaulters are both given.[20] The Rylands papyrus is thus very useful as a control of our method of calculation. The arrears in *λαογραφία* are there recorded as 4728 dr. 3 ob. (see lines 8, 123,[21] 187, and 194). This amount, when divided by 44 dr. 1 ob., yields 107.06. But the actual number was 109, since not everyone owed the same amount: 103 were in arrears for 44 dr. 1 ob., 2 for 44 dr., 3 for 22 dr. 4 ch., and 1 for 26 dr. 4 ch. For pig tax the Rylands text lists 121 dr. 2 ob. (lines 9, 124, 131, 188, 195).[22] This sum, divided by 1 dr. 1 ob., gives us 104 defaulters, but 106 are actually listed, with 4 owing 3 ob. 4 ch., while the rest owe the full amount. It is only with the *χωματικόν* that our calculations become really accurate, since the rate of 6 dr. 4 ob. is invariable. The arrears are recorded as 1100 dr. (lines 10, 186, 196), which, divided by 6 dr. 4 ob., results in 165. When the list was drawn up 13 people were left out, as only 152 are listed. The reason for the omission is not known.[23]

Following this method we can now calculate the probable number of defaulters in the Michigan papyrus for the years in question:

14. Cf. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 153.

15. See J.F. Oates, "Fugitives from Philadelphia," *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, American Studies in Papyrology I, New Haven, 1966, p. 90.

16. *P. Ryl.* 595, introd., p. 70.

17. "Fugitives," p. 93.

18. For the omission of all the taxes of the 10th year, as well as of certain taxes of the 11th and 9th year, see note to lines 5-6. For the poll tax (*λαογραφία*), see introd. to *P. Mich.* 577, p. 1, n.2; for the dike tax (*χωματικόν*), introd. to *P. Mich.* 597, p. 72. The pig tax (*ὑϊκή*), a capitation tax which developed from a Ptolemaic property tax, is discussed by Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 143-145.

19. For the rate of *ὑϊκή* see Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 144; for that of *χωματικόν* see introd. to *P. Mich.* 597. The *λαογραφία* is, strictly speaking, assessed at the rate of 40 dr. for all non-privileged inhabitants of the Arsinoite Nome (see Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 121, and Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 189). But extra charges are usually included. Oates has shown that the *λαογραφία* referred to in *P. Ryl.* 595 includes these surtaxes and totals 44 dr. 1 ob. *per capita* (see "Fugitives," p. 89).

20. The following calculations are based largely on the observations of Oates, "Fugitives," pp. 88-90.

21. Here recorded as 4728 dr. *2* ob.

22. The actual listing of the totals varies slightly in the amount of obols. I have followed Oates in using 121 dr. 2 ob.

23. See Oates, "Fugitives," p. 90.

Year	*Tax*	*Amount in Arrears*	*No. of Defaulters*
11 (50/51)	Poll tax	3068 dr.	ca. 70
9 (48/49)	Pig tax	244 dr.	ca. 209
	Dike tax	2586 dr. 4 ob.[24]	366
8 (47/48)	Poll tax	15190 dr. 2 ob. 4 ch.	ca. 344
	Pig tax	593 dr. 5 ob.	ca. 509
	Dike tax	3800 dr.	570
7 (46/47)	Poll tax	28046 dr.	ca. 635
	Pig tax	676 dr. 5 ob. 4 ch.	ca. 581
	Dike tax	3080 dr.	462
6 (45/46)	Poll tax	2533 dr. 3 ob.	ca. 57
	Pig tax	389 dr. 3 ob.	ca. 334
	Dike tax	3140 dr.	471

The crisis was most severe in the 7th and 8th years, especially in the former when, at a conservative estimate, more than half of the male population of Philadelphia had defaulted for the poll tax.[25] So stringent a crisis, though largely a continuation of the depression evidenced since the early first century, may have been intensified by the conditions of excessive flood which are reported for the reign of Claudius;[26] cf. Pliny, *N.H.* V, 58: "maximum incrementum ad hoc aevi fuit cubitorum XVIII Claudio principe." If the Nile rose above 16 cubits, the flood lasted far beyond the usual season for planting and thus caused a late harvest considerably below normal size.[27] Under these conditions famine was inevitable. Consequently we can assume that with the flood of 18 cubits mentioned by Pliny Egypt must have suffered severely. On the basis of the material available to him,[28] K. Gapp tried to determine the date of the period of distress occasioned by this flood. He found that the price of grain in Egypt in the fall of 45 "was more than twice as high as any other recorded price in the Roman period before the reign of Vespasian," and consequently he believed he had "definite evidence of famine at least from the fall of 45 to the next harvest in the spring of 46."[29] His conclusions have been confirmed by *SB* 7461 of 45 A.D. (discussed above, p. 64), and by *P. Mich.* 594, which begins its list of arrears in the same year. The distress occasioned by this famine continued through Claudius' reign and into Nero's, doubtless as a result of the vicious circle of oppression by tax collectors and flight

24. 2584 dr. 4 ob. is the reading of the papyrus, but this sum, divided by 6 dr. 4 ob., does not give an even answer. This suggests the possibility of a scribal error, and the simple correction of δ to ς suffices to eliminate the discrepancy. Similarly, the Rylands text records 4728 dr. 3 ob. for the total arrears in poll tax, but, according to Oates' calculation, the individual entries add up to 4729 dr. 3 ob. ("Fugitives," p. 89).

25. The total taxable population of Philadelphia was ca. 1000; see Chalon, *Edit*, p. 61 and n.44.

26. K. Gapp, "The Universal Famine under Claudius," *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 28, 1935, pp. 258f.

27. *Ibid.*; O.M. Pearl, *TAPA* 87, 1956, p. 56, n.7.

28. Especially *P. Mich.* 123 Verso XI.26-27; 127 I.8, 12-14, 16, 17, 38.

29. See note 26.

by taxpayers, referred to above, p. 64.

Since *ἀναχώρησις* was the most common form of tax evasion in ancient Egypt,[30] it is reasonable to assume that the majority of the defaulters in the Michigan papyrus actually fled. This view finds support in the depopulation recorded in *SB* 7462 (see above, p. 64) as well as in Philo's *De specialibus legibus*, written under Caligula or Claudius.[31] In describing the growing economic depression (III, 159-163), Philo says that the extortion of the tax collectors became so oppressive that villages and cities *ταχέως ἔρημοι καὶ κεναὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐγένοντο μετανισταμένων καὶ σκεδαννυμένων ἔνθα λήσεσθαι προσεδόκων* (162).[32]

P. Mich. 594 shows that the number of defaulters generally tended to decrease from year 7 to year 11; this reduction is most consistently observed in the case of poll tax, where the defaulters drop from ca. 635 to ca. 70. It is likely that, as the situation gradually improved, many *ἀνακεχωρηκότες* returned to Philadelphia. At that time it would have been foolish for the government to insist on an immediate payment of arrears, and, since our papyrus records the taxes as still owed, it is reasonable to think of an *ἐποχή*, or moratorium, as being established. A similar *ἐποχή* was applied in the second century A.D. in an attempt to end the crisis in the Mendesian Nome, where there was extensive *ἀναχώρησις*, resulting in the depopulation of entire villages.[33] There is evidence that the government at that time postponed tax payments from year 5 of Marcus Aurelius (164/5) to year 10 (169/70);[34] cf. especially *PSI* 104.14-17: *τὰ τελέσματ[α τ]ῷ ε (ἔτει) ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασ(ιλικοῦ) γρα(μματέως) [διε]στάλη. ἔνθεν ἔκτοτε ἄχρι τοῦ ι (ἔτους) ἐπεσχέθη.*

ὀφειλεται εἰς Φαῶφ(ι) τοῦ ιβ (ἔτους)
Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
Φ⟨ι⟩λαδελφείας·
ιβ (ἔτους) λαογραφία(ς) πρὸς σύνοψ(ιν) ια (ἔτους) (δρ.) *ἀξη*
θ (ἔτους) ὑικῆς *σμδ*
χωματικ(οῦ) *βφπδ𐅵*
η (ἔτους) λαογρ(αφίας) (τάλ.) *β𐅵γρ𐅶=𐅷*
ὑικῆς *φ𐅶γ𐅵*
χωματικ(οῦ) *ἀγ᾽*
ζ (ἔτους) λαογρ(αφίας) (τάλ.) *δδμς*
ὑικῆς *χος𐅵𐅷*
χω(ματικοῦ) *ἀγπ*
ς (ἔτους) λαογρ(αφίας) *βφλγ𐅶* *ὑικ(ῆς) τπθ𐅶*
χω(ματικοῦ) *ἀγρμ*

30. R. Remondon, "'Απορικόν et *μερισμὸς ἀπόρων*," *Annales du Service* 51, 1951, pp. 228-230; cf. Bell, "Economic Crisis," p. 6.

31. Chalon, *Edit*, p. 59; cf. L. Cohn, "Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos," *Philologus*, Suppl. VII, 1899, pp. 433f.

32. Philo may be exaggerating here to some extent, but his words are generally taken to reflect the true situation; see Chalon, *Edit*, p. 57, and n.20.

33. Braunert, "'Ιδιά," pp. 285f.

34. A.C. Johnson, "'Επιβολή of Land in Roman Egypt," *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, p. 66.

5. ξ corrected, perhaps from ν. 8. γ̣ corrected from β̣. 10. χωματικ(οῦ): after χ an ω was added above the line, but was cancelled.

1. Φαῶφι: i.e., September 28 - October 27, 51 A.D.

5. πρὸς σύνοψ(ιν) ια (ἔτους): "in the light of the overall estimate of the 11th year." The reading and interpretation were proposed by Professor Youtie (letter of 16 Oct. 1969).

5-6. The scribe's eye seems to have passed directly from the poll tax of the 11th year to the pig tax and dike tax of the 9th year, omitting the pig tax and dike tax of the 11th year, all of the taxes for the 10th year, and the poll tax for the 9th year.

595. Penthemeros Certificate

Inv. 165 7.2 x 7.4 cm. July 31 – Aug. 4, 161 A.D.

This text is a receipt issued to an inhabitant of Theadelphia for the performance of the πενθήμερος, i.e., the five days' compulsory labor devoted to the repairing of dikes and cleaning of canals. This corvée was imposed annually on each male inhabitant of the Fayum, with the exception of a few privileged classes, such as the μητροπολῖται. The πενθήμερος was a Roman institution, though it is quite probable that similar obligations were in existence earlier. Receipts for such work were regularly issued by the κατασπορεύς, a liturgic official who was, as his name indicates, especially concerned with the sowing of the land; but since agriculture and irrigation were so closely connected, the κατασπορεύς frequently dealt directly with irrigation matters. For these and further details on the πενθήμερος see P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates in Greco-Roman Egypt, P. Lugd. Bat.* XII, Leiden, 1964, and the comprehensive bibliography provided by C. Préaux, "Certificat de prestation de corvée (P. Brooklyn gr. 7)," *Chron. d'Egypte* 39, 1964, pp. 120-125.

In the Michigan papyrus the name of the worker is added in a second hand, a practice which is generally observed in the composition of these receipts. The formal part was drawn up beforehand in the office of the κατασπορεύς, while such items as the name of the worker, which depend upon individual circumstances, were added later by the supervisor of the work when he actually presented the receipt. The signature of the κατασπορεύς is lacking in our document; this omission is not uncommon,[1] though somewhat surprising, as it is difficult to see what legal force

1. Cf., e.g., P. Brooklyn gr. 7 (see above, p. 000); *O. Mich.* 188; 287; 820; 825-827. See also Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 17.

unsigned documents would have. H.C. Youtie, in "Notes on O. Mich. I," *TAPA* 71, 1940, p. 626, n.21, commenting on unsigned receipts in general, has suggested that they "were not proof, but merely evidence of payment," and that accordingly "almost any amount of indifference in their composition can be understood. If final proof of payment could be had only in the records of the collectors, specifically in their daybooks and ledgers, a receipt would be nothing more than an indication that the payment had been entered in the daybook and would be a private record issued to the taxpayer for his convenience and, in case of damage or loss of the official records, for his protection." C. Préaux, in her article referred to above, arrives at a different explanation of the lack of signatures; she observes: "beaucoup de certificats de corvée furent trouvés, non chez le corvéable, mais au bureau du fonctionnaire qui tenait le journal des prestations accomplies" (p. 124). This official, who was engaged in drawing up ledgers of people responsible for the corvée (such as *P. Mich.* 380 and 381), "n'avait pas besoin de signature pour reconnaître, par l'écriture des surveillants de digues qu'il connaissait bien, l'authenticité des certificats" (*ibid.*). Neither of these explanations cancels the other, for as Miss Préaux clearly sees, "ce procédé n'exclut pas qu'on ait donné au corvéable un double du certificat, signé ou non . . ." (*ibid.*).

Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates,* pp. 24-38, gives a list of 275 certificates, all that were known when he composed his monograph. To this list we may now add *P. Sorb.* 59; *P. Brooklyn gr.* 7, *P. Omaggio XI Congr.*, 6-7; *P. Alex.* 17; P. Yale (Beinecke) inv. 1789 (*BASP* 2, 1965, pp. 105-108); *SB* 9097; 9481; 9560; 9567; 9655; V. Bartoletti *et al.*, "Nuovi papiri fiorentini," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Lettere, storia e philosophia,* Ser. II, Vol. XXXV, 1966, pp. 13f.; *Symb. Osl.* 40. 1965, pp. 39ff.; *P. Mert.* 103.

ἔτους α¯ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [Σε]βαστοῦ
καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρο[ς] Λουκίου
Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ. εἰ̈ργ(ασται) ὑπ(ὲρ)
5 χω(ματικῶν) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) α̇ (ἔτους?) Μεσο(ρὴ) ζια ἐν τῇ Ψι-
ναλ(είτιδι) Θεαδελ(φίας) (2nd hd.) Πάρεις Πε-
κύσιος τοῦ Μαρ-
ρείους Πολίτ(της).

5. τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) α̇ (ἔτους?): After τουα, which is clearly seen, there is a letter which can also be taken as an α, followed by a stroke which slants downward to the left and descends below the line. 6. Πάρις.

The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus. Has worked in fulfilment of his obligation of the same first year in respect to the embankments, Mesore 7 to 11, in the Psinaleitis canal, on behalf of Theadelphia: (2nd hd.) Paris, son of Pekysis and Politta, and grandson of Marres.

5. Μεσο(ρὴ) ζια: i.e., July 31 – August 4. Most of the penthemeros certificates are dated in Pauni through Mesore. During this period the Nile rises and the greatest amount of work must be performed to keep the embankments in repair. See Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 12.

5-6. ἐν τῇ Ψιναλ(είτιδι): *sc.* διώρυγι. The Ψιναλεῖτις διῶρυξ is a branch of the Bahr Nezla. It connects Polydeucia and Theadelphia and continues up to Euhemeria. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 81; N. Hohlwein, "Evhéméria du Fayoum," *JJP* 3, 1949, p. 79.

6. Θεαδελ(φίας): for other documents of this type issued for Theadelphia, see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates,* pp. 26f. O.M. Pearl, "Ἐξάθυρος: Irrigation Works and Canals in the Arsinoite Nome," *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, pp. 225-227, has shown that the insertion of the village name at this point does not necessarily imply that the canal is located near the village, but merely shows that the individual's work is to be credited to the quota

required of his village. In the present instance, however, canal and village have a close topographical relation; see note to lines 5-6.

8. Πολίτ(της): not πολίτ(ης), since πολῖται, viz. μητροπολῖται, Roman citizens or citizens of the Greek cities, were not subject to the corvée (cf. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 9). Πόλιττα occurs elsewhere, according to *NB*, in *SB* 5031; *P. Teb.* 392.8. For the omission of μητρός, cf. *P. Strassb.* 249 (f), col. ii; P. Oslo. inv. 134 (Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates,* p. 28, No. 96, and p. 6, n.2); *BGU* 879.

596. Two Naubia Certificates

Inv. 1374 9.6 x 17.8 cm. April 10, 328 or 343 A.D.

The papyrus contains two similarly structured receipts for dike work. Each consists of two parts, in the first of which Aurelius Ptoleminos acknowledges that he has received naubia, while in the second part, Timotheos adds a subscription for Ptoleminos, who is himself illiterate. Aurelius Ptoleminos appears again in *P. New York* 2 (Karanis; 332/3 or 347/8 A.D.), where he also receipts naubia work.

The naubion was a cubic measure of earth used in digging operations. These were directed chiefly toward deepening and widening the canals and reconstructing the dikes.[1] In the Roman and Byzantine periods it measured one xylon, i.e. three royal cubits, in each of its dimensions.[2] Its volume was ca. 125 cubic feet. The corvée was often expressed in naubia, and the amount of earth which each individual was required to dig was assessed in proportion to his landed property.[3] J.G. Milne attempted to relate the naubion requirement to the penthemeros by equating one naubion with one day's work.[4] The notion is attractive but is not supported by positive evidence.[5]

Receipts of this kind regularly use the formula ἀπεργάζεσθαι or ἀναβάλλειν ναύβια x.[6] In the Michigan papyrus, however, the official who issued the receipt acknowledges that he has received (ἔχιν, lines 3 and 15) the naubia in question. This use of ἔχειν perhaps indicates that the work here referred to involved the transfer of earth from one locale to another where it was needed; cf. the similar use of παρέδωκε in *O. Oslo.* 14.3.[7]

The papyrus presents a problem of interpretation in the words ναῦτος χωμάτων (lines 2 and 14). If ναῦτος is taken to be the patronymic of Ptoleminos, the result is that χωμάτων, which now stands alone, becomes redundant in the light of εἰς λόγον χωμάτων[8] in 16-17. It is more likely that ναῦτος χωμάτων is the title borne by Ptoleminos as the official who issued the receipt. On this view ναῦτος is to be regarded as a mistake for ναύτης,[9] and the designation ναύτης χωμάτων may be compared with βοηθὸς χώματος in *P. Flor.* 346 (probably 5th cent.). In both cases the genitive is used to express a loose relationship.[10] Less clear is the relation of the ναύτης

1. See, e.g., A.E.R. Boak, "Notes on Canal and Dike Work in Roman Egypt," *Aegyptus* 7, 1926, pp. 218f.
2. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 1053 introd.; H.C. Youtie, "New Readings in Michigan Ostraca," *TAPA* 72, 1941, p. 443, n.15.
3. Cf. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 18.
4. *O. Theb.*, pp. 146f.
5. See Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 19.
6. *WO* I, p. 261.
7. See editor's comment, p. 33.
8. See Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, p. 363, 17.
9. For a similar mistake, see *ibid.*, I, ii, p. 10, 41.
10. *Ibid.*, II, ii, p. 131, 31.

χωμάτων to the ναυτοκολυμβηταί in *P. Mich.* 174.4. The "sailor-divers" were involved in the inspection of canals and dikes, and they were under the control of the κατασπορεῖς and αἰγιαλοφύλακες.[11] The ναύτης χωμάτων may possibly have had analogous functions.

The two receipts on the Michigan papyrus do not follow the usual pattern for naubia certificates,[12] but somewhat similar to our text is *P. Flor.* 346. In the Florentine papyrus the βοηθὸς χώματος of Temseu acknowledges to the κωμάρχης and the γνωστήρ of the same village that he has received from them their quota of work on the embankments and has issued a receipt to them.

Αὐρῆλις Πτολαμῖνος
ναῦτος χωμάτων
ἔχιν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὼν ὁ-
μολογοῦντα Ἀμάεις
διάκων ναύιαν ἓν ὕμυσου
πλήρης Φαρμοῦθ[ι] ιε
ις ἰνδικτίονος.
(2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Πτολεμῖνος
ἐξεδόμην τὴν ἀπο-
χὴν ὡς πρόκιται.
Τιμόθεος ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά(του).

(1st hd.) Αὐρῆλις Πτολαμῖνος
ναῦτος χομάτον
ἔχω παρ᾽ α⟨ὐ⟩τοῦ τὼν ὁμολο-
γοῦντα Παντῆλ Εὐδαίμωνος εἰς λόγον
χωμάτον ναύια δύω
πλήρης Φαρμοῦθι ῑε̄
ις ἰνδικτίονος.
(2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Πτολεμῖνος
ἐξεδόμην σοι τὴν
ἀποχὴν ὡς πρόκ(ειται).
Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
ἀγρ[αμ]μά[του] ὄντος.

1. Πτολεμῖνος. 2. ναύτης. 3-5. See note. 3. ἔχειν, τόν. 5. ναύβιον, ἥμισυ. 10. πρόκειται. 13. Πτολεμῖνος. 14. ναύτης χωμάτων. 15. ἔχειν, τόν. 15-16. See note. 16. Εὐδαίμονος; inserted above the line. 17. χωμάτων ναύβια δύο.

Aurelius Ptoleminos, sailor attached to the dike works, (agrees) that he, the party of the first part, has received from him, viz. Amaeis *diaconus*, one and one half naubia in full, on the 15th of Pharmouthi of the 16th indiction. (2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Ptoleminos, issued the receipt, as aforesaid. I, Timotheos, wrote for him, as he is illiterate.

11. See *P. Mich.* 174.4n. For the connection of the καταπορεύς with irrigation matters, see *P. Mich.* 595, introd., p. 68.

12. See Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 20, for the usual form.

(1st hd.) Aurelius Ptoleminos, sailor attached to the dike works, (agrees) that he, the party of the first part, has received from him, viz. Pantel, son of Eudaimon, for the account of dike work, two naubia in full, on the 15th of Pharmouthi of the 16th indiction. (2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Ptoleminos, issued the receipt to you, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Timotheos, wrote for him, as he is illiterate.

1. Αὐρῆλις: see *P. Mich.* 578.2n.

3-5. The grammar of the first part of this sentence is badly muddled. We should read: Πτολεμῖνος . . . ⟨ὁμολογεῖ⟩ ἔχειν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀμάειτος διάκονος, where τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα refers to Ptoleminos; cf. *P. Mich.* 584.35n. The nominative Ἀμάεις διάκων is perhaps to be explained by the fact that proper names are often used indeclinably in the language of the papyri; see *P. Mich.* 578.3n.

5. διάκων: a late form of διάκονος; cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed.; Tübingen, 1923, p. 73.

6. πλήρης: see G. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 179, n.2 for many other examples of the indeclinable use of πλήρης, both from the papyri and from literature.

Φαρμοῦθ[ι] ιε: i.e., April 10.

7. ις ἰνδικτίονος: Up to the middle of the fourth century, the numbering of the years of an indiction cycle was sometimes continued beyond the customary 15-year period; see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, Vol. I of *Traité d'études byzantines*, ed. by P. Lemerle, Paris, 1958, p. 192.

15-16. Cf. note to line 3-5.

α⟨ὐ⟩τοῦ: the omission of the second element of the diphthong in αὐτός is common; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* I, p. 114.

597. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 787 8.2 x 17 cm. Jan. – Feb., 51 A.D.

This papyrus contains a receipt for χωματικόν, or dike tax, at the standard rate of 6 drachmas 4 obols.[1] The receipt proper (lines 4-6) has been cancelled in the usual way with criss crossing lines,[2] and it does not contain the name of a taxpayer. The papyrus breaks off after the amount of the payment. We know that surcharges of 3 obols 2 chalkoi for προσδιαγραφόμενα and 3 obols for συμβολικά were always added in practice,[3] but since they are not always indicated in the receipt,[4] it is impossible to decide whether they were recorded in the lost portion of this text. The end of line 6 has room for καὶ προ(σδιαγραφόμενα), which would tacitly include συμβολικά.[5]

The χωματικόν was intended to defray the expenses involved in the maintenance of the irrigation system.[6] It is now generally accepted that it was not a monetary substitute of the corvée, whether measured by quantum (ναύβια) or time (πενθήμερος), but was an additional imposition. A list of dike-tax receipts is provided by Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 421, n.35. Material subsequently published includes *SB* 9426; 9428; 9744; *P. Aberd.* 77; *P. Bon.* 30; *P. Heid.* III, 33; *P. Rein.* 129; 131; *P. Sorb.* 65; *O. Tait* (see vol. III, p. 221); *O. Sijpesteijn* 16; 17; 39.

1. See Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 140f.; *O. Wilbour*, p. 44.

2. For an example of such a cancellation, called χιασμός by the ancients, see *P. Mert.* 72 (pl. 20).

3. For the rate, see H.C. Youtie, "Notes on B. G. U. IX," *TAPA* 69, 1938, p. 82. For the meaning of προσδιαγράφόμενα and συμβολικά see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 323-330.

4. They are omitted, e.g., in *P. Bon.* 30; *BGU* 1614.

5. O.M. Pearl, "Short Texts from Karanis," *Aegyptus* 33, 1953, p. 5. Cf. *P. Gen.* 40; *P. Lond.* II, 296 (p. 107); *P. Rein.* 45.

6. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 140.

ἔτους ἐνδεκάτου Τιβ[ερίου]
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβ[αστοῦ]
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτ[ορος]
Μεχίρ. δι(έγραψε) Σαραπίωνει καὶ μ[ετό-]
χ(οις) χωμάτω(ν) δεκάτου [ἔτους]
(δραχμὰς) ἓξ τετρώβολ(ον), (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ς (τετρώβολον)[

4. Μεχείρ, Σαραπίωνι.

The eleventh year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Mecheir. Has paid to Sarapion and his associates as dike tax of the tenth year six drachmas four obols, equal 6 dr. 4 ob.

4. Μεχίρ): i.e., Jan. 26 – Feb. 24, 51 A.D.

δι(έγραψε): for the resolution of the abbreviation, see C. Préaux, "L'Emploi de temps de διαγράφω . . . ," *Chron. d'Egypte* 30, 1955, pp. 375-382, especially 381, where she notes that the aorist is regularly used in receipts issued by πράκτορες, while bank receipts employ the perfect.

5. χωμάτων: for the bare genitive, frequently found in designating taxes, see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, p. 193, 26.

598. Receipt for Weavers' Tax

Inv. 74 17.4 x 20.5 cm. July 20 – Oct. 27, 49 A.D.

This papyrus, together with *P. Mich.* 170-172 and *P. Lugd. Bat.* XVI, 4, belongs to the papers of the master weaver Pausiris, son of Ammonios, who resided in the λαύρα Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς[1] at Oxyrhynchus. *P. Mich.* 170-172 are registrations of apprentices. In 170, dated in 49 A.D., Pausiris gives notice that he has indentured his son Ammonios to Apollonios, a master weaver;[2] in 171, drawn up in 58 A.D., it is Pausiris to whom the nephew of Helen and Epinikos is apprenticed; and in 172, of 62 A.D., he makes known the apprenticeship of another son, Pausiris, to the Epinikos involved in 171. *P. Lugd. Bat.* XVI, 4, of 53 A.D., is a διδασκαλική,[3] in which Pausiris agrees to give over a third son, Dioskous, to Apollonios, the weaver mentioned in 170. *P. Mich.* 598 presents us with another type of document; it is a receipt for the γερδιακόν, or weavers' tax, paid by Pausiris in 49 A.D.

1. The word λαύρα, like ἄμφοδον, originally meant "street," but in Egypt it acquired the meaning of "quarter," "block;" see Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 7-9, 13-17. In Oxyrhynchus, Rink finds "dass auch schon im I. Jahrhundert n. Chr. ἄμφοδον und λαύρα gleichbedeutend waren, dass aber in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts die Bezeichnung λαύρα durch ἄμφοδον verdrängt wurde" (p. 11). For the λαύρα Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς, see *ibid.*, pp. 39-41.

2. The fact that a master weaver should give his son over to another weaver may seem surprising. *P. Mich.* 171; 172; *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI, 4; and *P. Oxy.* 275 may be cited as parallels. We may be dealing with a legal requirement or simply with a desire on the part of fathers to see their sons trained in a different branch of weaving; see *P. Mich.* 170, introd., p. 164, and *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI, 4, introd., p. 14.

3. The most recent treatment of the διδασκαλικαί, which include both apprentice contracts and pure teaching contracts, is Adams, *Paramone*, pp. 114-145.

The γερδιακόν is one of the χειρωνάξια, capitation taxes levied on all persons, both men and women, who were engaged in a trade. Receipts for the γερδιακόν are abundant,[4] but the tax still raises serious questions, especially concerning the rate at which it was assessed. For the Oxyrhynchite Nome the known rate is 36 drachmas a year, while in the Arsinoite Nome rates of 38 and 76 dr. seem to have been in effect, but the reason for the different amounts is not known. It has been suggested that the payments of 76 dr. were meant to cover two years;[5] it is also possible, however, that different rates were imposed on different classes of weavers.[6] Elsewhere the principles of assessment are not at all clear. For the χειρωνάξια in general, including the problem of rates, see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 191-213.

The Michigan papyrus records payments of varying amounts made by Pausiris for the 9th year of Claudius (48/49 A.D.). Two payments were made in the 9th year, while two were paid as arrears in the 10th. The total, 32 drachmas, is not complete, since the annual rate at Oxyrhynchus was 36 drachmas. But such documents, recording only partial payment, are not uncommon; see, for example, *P. Oxy.* 308; 309; and *P. Mert.* 64.

For a recent discussion of the weaving trade in Egypt, see H. Thierfelder, "Zur sozialen Lage der Weber im ptolemäisch-römischen Aegypten," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 5, 1957, pp. 118-123. A general treatment of the weaving industry is provided by E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine,* Archiwum Filologiczne, Vol. IX, Warsaw and Cracow, 1965. See also M.V. Biscottini, "L'archivio di Tryphon tessitore di Oxyrhynchus," *Aegyptus* 46, 1966, pp. 60-90, 186-292.

ἔτους ἐνάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπειφ κ̣ς̄. δι(έγραψε) Μ[έ]λ(ανι) καὶ Θέω(νι) π̣(ράκτορσι)
γερδ(ιακοῦ) ἐνάτου (ἔτους) . . Παυσῖ̣(ρις) Ἀμμω(νίου) (δραχμὰς) δ[ε]κ[αδ]ύ[ο], (γίνοντ
ιβ. [Μεσ(ορὴ)]
λ̄ γερδ(ιακοῦ) θ̣ (ἔτους) ὸ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρα(ς), (γίνονται) δ. ι (ἔτους) μη(νὸς)
Θὼθ κ̄ε̄
γερδ(ιακοῦ) θ (ἔτους) ὸ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) η. Φαῶ(φι) λ̄ γερδ(ιακοῦ)
θ (ἔτους) ὸ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) η.

The ninth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 26. Pausiris, son of Ammonios, has paid to Melas and Theon, tax collectors, for the weavers' tax of the ninth year . . . twelve drachmas, equal 12. Mesore 30; the same has paid for the weavers' tax of the 9th year four drachmas, equal 4. The 10th year, the 25th of the month Thoth; the same has paid for the weavers' tax of the 9th year eight drachmas, equal 8. Phaophi 30; the same has paid for the weavers' tax of the 9th year eight drachmas, equal 8.

2. Ἐπειφ κ̣ς̄: i.e., July 20.

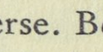
π̣(ράκτορσι): πράκτορες appear as the collectors of γερδιακόν in *P. Oxy.* 285.6-7. ἐ̣(κλήμπτορσι) is also possible, though less likely palaeographically; for the ἐκλήμπτορες γερδίων see *P. Mich.* 171.1-2; 172.1.

3. Between (ἔτους) and Παυσῖ̣(ρις) the papyrus has γ̣· f ; Π̣(αρεμβολῆς) Ἰ̣(ππέων)is a possibility, for we know from *P. Mich.* 170-172 that Pausiris lived in the λαύρα Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς in 49 A.D. and was still living there in 58 A.D. (see *P. Mich.* 171, 15-16n.). Further, the γερδιακόν is often associated with an amphodon or

4. See the list of receipts given by Wallace, *Taxation,* pp. 435f., and S. Calderini, "Ricerche sull'industria e il commercio dei tessuti in Egitto," *Aegyptus* 26, 1946, pp. 48-52. To these lists may be added *P. Mert.* 64; *P. Phil.* 23-31; *SB* 9237; *O. Bod.* 1012-1014; 1016-1035; 1166 (see note); *O. Cam.* 55; 58.

5. See *BGU* 1616, p. 121.

6. Cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 195.

laura, which functioned, according to Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen*, p. 14, as the "Verwaltungsbezirk, in dem die Einwohner zwecks Besteuerung eingetragen waren." Cf. *P. Oxy.* 288.2: γερδιακοῦ Ἱπποδρόμο(υ); 308 (descript.), which mentions a γερδιακὸν Τεμεν(ούθεως). A precise structural parallel is provided by *P. Fay.* 50.5 (*BL* I, p. 130): λαογρ(αφίας) κβ (ἔτους) Ἰσίου Δρόμ(ου). I have not, however, been able to find the order Παρεμβολῆς Ἱππέων, but only the reverse. Before  there is a small hole which could accommodate one letter. On this basis [λ]αύ(ρας) Ἱ(ππέων) might be read, but the omission of Παρεμβολῆς is unattested.

3-4. [Μεσ(ορὴ)]λ̄: i.e., August 23. It seems likely that [Μεσ(ορὴ)] stood in the text, since the resultant series (Epeiph 26, Mesore 30, Thoth 25, Phaophi 30) gives a consistent scheme of payments at the end of successive months.

4. Θὼθ κε̄: i.e., Sept. 22.

5. Φαῶ(φι) λ̄: i.e., Oct. 27.

599. Receipt for Rent of Usiac Land

Inv. 171 11.9 x 10.1 cm. Nov. 18, 177 A.D.

The text is a receipt for forty drachmas issued by the collector of usiac dues (πράκτωρ οὐσιακῶν) of Epipolis, a village in the Arsinoite Nome, division of Herakleides. The payer is the superintendent of usiac lands in charge of the leasing of the οὐσία of Antonius Theon (ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσιακῶν μισθώσεως Ἀντωνίου Θέωνος[1]).

The οὐσίαι were large estates granted by the early Roman emperors chiefly to members of their families, to favorites, to members of the senatorial and equestrian classes, and to notable Alexandrians.[2] Most of them were later confiscated by the crown and, under the Flavians, became part of the emperor's *patrimonium.* To administer this new category of land, a special department, the οὐσιακὸς λόγος, was established under the supervision of an ἐπίτροπος οὐσιακός (= *procurator usiacus*).[3] Although now the property of the emperor, the estates usually continued to bear the name of the last owner.[4]

The more productive land of the οὐσίαι was leased on a temporally unlimited basis to δημόσιοι γεωργοί, who are then sometimes referred to specifically as οὐσιακοὶ γεωργοί. The less valuable land was managed by μισθωταὶ οὐσιακοί through leases of a limited duration.[5] An ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσιακῶν supervised the leasing of an οὐσία and was also responsible for the collection of rents.[6] These were delivered to the government by intermediate πράκτορες οὐσιακῶν, who issued receipts to the ἐπιτηρηταί certifying that they had been given the rent money.[7] Such

1. On the omission of οὐσίας after μισθώσεως, cf. the texts cited below, p. 76. For other examples of such an omission, see *P. Mil. Vogl.* 75 (with corrections by H.C. Youtie, "Notes on Papyri," *University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin No. 11*, 1964, pp. 19-21), lines 5, 9, 10, 20, 21.

2. For the classic treatment of the οὐσίαι, see M. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 119-133, 180-192; see also *idem, The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd ed. revised by P.M. Fraser) Oxford, 1957, I, pp. 292-295, and II, p. 669, n.45; A. Tomsin, "Notes sur les *ousiai* de l'époque romaine," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, Milan, 1956, II, pp. 211-224. For additional bibliography see D. Foraboschi, "L'Ousia Severiana," *Chron. d'Egypte* 42, 1967, p. 172, n.1.

3. Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 132; *P. Giss.* 40, introd., p. 27.

4. Cf. *BGU* 810.5 Ἀνθιανῆς οὐ(σίας); *P. Lips.* 113.2 (Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 122, No. 17) οὐσίας Ἰουλ(ίας) Πῶλλη(ς); *P. Mich.* 599.4. Often πρότερον is added, as in *BGU* 8 ii.18 (*BL* I, p. 7) οὐσίας (πρότερον) Ἀπίωνος.

5. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 299f.; Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, pp. 189-192.

6. A. Tomsin, "Le Recrutement de la main d'oeuvre dans les domaines privés d'Egypte romaine," *Festschrift Oertel*, Bonn, 1964, p. 96.

7. *Ibid.*

a receipt is illustrated in the present Michigan text; closely analogous is *P. Gen.* 38 (= *WChr.* 366), also issued by the *πράκτορες οὐσιακῶν* of Epipolis.

The same estate appears also in *P. Meyer* 3 (Fayum; 148 A.D.), in which a strategos informs a certain Herakleides of his appointment to the *ἐπιτήρησις* of the estate which had previously belonged to Antonius Theon.[8] His status as former owner of the property is illuminated by the following texts:

1) P. Köln inv. 329 (Fayum; 184 A.D.),[9] which records the release from a liturgy. The person released is Horos, an *ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσιακῶν κτημάτων μισθώσεως Πτολεμαίου Κρονίου* (lines 7-10).

2) *P. Leit.* 11 (Fayum; ca. 136/137 A.D.), also a release from a liturgy. Here again an *ἐπιτηρητὴς Πτολεμαίου Κρονίου* is referred to (line 4).

3) *BGU* 619 (Fayum; 155 A.D.?), which mentions a certain Deios who was impressed *εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν οὐσιακ(ῶν) μισθώσεως Πτολ(εμαίου) Κρονίου* (line 22).

These three texts extend from 136 to 184 A.D. and thus make it clear that Ptolemaios Kronios was the former owner of confiscated property. Additional material concerning Ptolemaios has been gathered in *P. Petaus*, introd. to 75-78, where it is pointed out that he was in all likelihood a large landowner, probably an Alexandrian, whose property was confiscated early in the principate and incorporated into the imperial *οὐσιακὴ γῆ*.[10] Antonius Theon is also to be regarded as an estate owner, whose land was similarly confiscated. He was also doubtless an Alexandrian. Other Theons, who are perhaps related to our man, are listed as former owners of *οὐσίαι* by Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, II, p. 672 (29) and (30).

Συρίων πράκ(τωρ) οὐσιακῶν Ἐπιπόλ(εως) Ἡρακλείδου
μερίδος. διέγραψεν Φλαυούειος
Διογένης ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσιακῶν
μισθώσε[ω]ς Ἀντωνίου Θέωνος
ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐπὶ λόγου δραχμὰς
τεσσαράκοντα, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μ.
(ἔτους) ιη Αὐληρίων Ἀντωνείνου
καὶ Κομμώδου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν
Ἀθὺρ κβ.

2. Φλαούως. 7. Αὐρηλίων, Ἀντωνίνου. 8. Κομμόδου.

Syrion, collector of usiac dues of Epipolis in the division of Herakleides. Flavius Diogenes, supervisor of usiac lands in charge of the leasing of the estate of Antonius Theon, has paid as an installment on rent forty drachmas, equal 40 dr. The 18th year of Aurelius Antoninus and Aurelius Commodus the lords Augusti. Hathyr 22.

1. *οὐσιακῶν*: for the *οὐσιακά*, revenues from imperial estates, see Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 309.
Ἐπιπόλ(εως): Epipolis is mentioned elsewhere in *P. Gen.* 38 (= *WChr.* 366).2, and *P. Leit.* 6.13.

8. This papyrus presents great difficulties of interpretation. Beyond the fact that Antonius Theon was the former owner, I can get little meaning from the text as it now stands. Lines 12-15 read: *ἐδήλωσεν (sc. ὁ τοῦ νομοῦ ἐκλογιστής) γεγονέναι σε ἐπιτ(ηρητὴν) μισθ(ώσεως) γινο(μένης) διὰ Ἀντωνίου Θέωνο(ς) χρόνων τινῶν ἕνεκα ἐνδεήματος τῆς μισθώ[σεω]ς.*

9. Published in *TAPA* 95, 1964, p. 329; the text has now been republished as *P. Petaus* 76.

10. I wish to thank Professor Youtie for giving me access to the relevant parts of *P. Petaus*, which had not yet been published when this was written.

3. *οὐσιακῶν*: *sc. κτημάτων*; cf. P. Köln inv. 329 (see above, p. 76.8.

5. *ὑπὲρ φόρου*: on *φόρος* see *P. Mich.* 586.8n.

ἐπὶ λόγου: i.e., "on account"; i.e. as an installment. Cf. *WO* I, p. 323; also II, 657.6-8, where three *ἐπιτηρηταί* issue a receipt *ἰς* (= *εἰς*) *λόγ(ον) φόρου γῆς ἧς ἔχ(εις) ἐν μισθώσι ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) δραχ(μὰς) ἐνενήκοντα μίαν.*

9. *Ἀθὺρ κβ̄*: i.e., Nov. 18.

600. Receipt for Τιμὴ Πυροῦ

Inv. 399 22.2 x 10.7 cm. June 30, 304 A.D.

This papyrus, which comes from Philadelphia, records the receipt of twenty talents as payment for *τιμὴ πυροῦ*. When a *τιμή* is involved, the question arises whether we are dealing with the military annona or with arrears of land tax. The military annona was that part of a soldier's pay which consisted of maintenance in kind.[1] Starting in the second century, its requisition took the form of a surtax which was levied on grain land and usually collected in wheat or barley.[2] An *adaeratio* was also permitted, in which case the payment was said to be *ὑπὲρ τιμῆς*.[3] But this phrase is also used to designate arrears in the ordinary land tax; these could be discharged through a money payment, though the tax itself was levied in kind.[4] In *P. Mich.* 600, however, since there is a lapse of two years between the due date of the payment and the actual discharge of the obligation, it is clear that arrears of land tax are involved. For an almost identical situation see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 33; 41,iii.40; *WO* 1558; 1587.

The receipt was issued to Aphon, Papeeis, and their associates (*κοινωνοί*). We may suppose them to have been partners in the sitologia, since the sitologoi, who were in charge of the numerous state granaries (*θησαυροί*), regularly handled the land tax, whether paid in kind or commuted to money.[5] *P. Thead.* 29, col. ii (315/316 A.D.) contains similar receipts which were issued to the sitologoi of Theadelphia for payments categorized as *τιμὴ πυροῦ* and *τιμὴ κριθῆς*. Neither *P. Thead.* 29, ii nor *P. Mich.* 600 identify the officials who issued the receipts, but, as Jouguet points out (*P. Thead.*, p. 152), they were probably the epimeletai or apodektai, Byzantine liturgists responsible for the delivery of taxes to the state.[6]

ἔτους κ/ καὶ ιβS/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτω(ν)
Καισάρω(ν) Ἐπεὶφ ς̄. διέ(γραψαν) Ἄφον καὶ Παπέεις καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοί)
5 *τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη (ἔτους) καὶ ιζ (ἔτους) καὶ ι (ἔτους) Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) (τάλ.) κ.*

1. R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin, 1920, p. 243.

2. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 23.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 24; Hohlwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, p. 99.

4. *WO* I, pp. 290f.

5. A.C. Johnson and L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 6, Princeton, 1949, pp. 326f., 329.

6. See further Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 214-225. The titles epimeletes and apodektes are practically synonymous; see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 9.281n.

Year 20 and 12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and of Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, Epeiph 6. Aphon, Papeeis, and their associates have paid as the price of wheat of the 18th, 17th, and 10th year, for Philadelphia, twenty talents, equal 20 tal.

1. S/: this sign for *ἔτους*, together with its equivalent S//, is not found before the second half of the second century A.D.; cf. *O. Oslo.*, p. 30.

1-4. The year is 303/304 A.D.; the regnal year of Maximian (19) is omitted, as it is also in, e.g., *P. Cair. Isidor.* 41, vii.65. See *P. Princet. Roll*, p. 27, for similar omissions.

4. *Ἐπειφ̄ ς̄*: i.e., June 30.

Ἄφον: not in *NB;* the name is probably indeclinable.

κοι(νωνοί): *sc. σιτολόγοι*; see introd., and for a similar omission of *σιτολόγοι* see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 11.74.

5. The year is 301/302 A.D.

601. Letter of Diogenes to Demetrios

Inv. 3206 — 12.1 x 15.8 cm. — ca. 250 B.C.

This papyrus was purchased in 1925 together with a large group of Zenon papyri from Philadelphia, most of which were published in *P. Mich. Zen.*[1] It is described in the inventory as "probably of the Zenon group," and this view is supported by palaeographic considerations. The hand, which is generally clear, though not calligraphic, bears a close resemblance to a Zenon papyrus in the Columbia collection, *P. Col. Zen.* 66 (see plate opposite p. 18), dated ca. 256/255 B.C. In addition, *P. Mich.* 601 has several references to viticulture, an activity especially common at Philadelphia both in Ptolemaic and in Roman times.[2] Though all the persons referred to have ordinary names, it is possible that the recipient of the letter, Demetrios, is to be identified with an *ἀμπελουργός* of the same name mentioned in *P. Mich. Zen.* 86.11-13; cf. W. Peremans and E. van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica,* Part 4, Studia Hellenistica, Vol. XII, Louvain and Leiden, 1959, No. 10180.

In this letter Diogenes complains to Demetrios that his work is being hindered by two *λογευταί*, or tax collectors, who allege that Demetrios has 150 drachmas entered against him in their accounts. Of this sum 140 drachmas are for 70 keramia, presumably of wine, while the remaining 10 are for an unspecified number of empty keramia. Diogenes then asks Demetrios to see that he is not disturbed in his work and instructs him to buy vine cuttings (*κλήματα*; line 15) and deliver them each month. On the verso is a short postscript which seems to continue the viticultural references.

1. For a recent bibliography of this archive, see T. Reekmans, *La Sitométrie dans les archives de Zénon,* Brussels, 1966, p. 8. Cf. also H.I. Bell, *Egypt*, Oxford, 1948, p. 138, n.18.

2. M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 6, Madison, 1922, p. 93.

Διογένης Δημητρίωι χαί-
ρειν. γίνωσκε ἡμᾶς κε-
κωλῦσθαι ἐργάζεσθαι
ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Με-
νεσθέως καὶ Πτολεμαίου
τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τῶν λογευ-
όντων τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν
τὰς δύο δραχμὰς τῶι με-
τρητῆ, καὶ φάσκειν αὐτοὺς
παραγράφεσθαί σε κεραμίων
ἑβδομήκοντα (δραχμὰς) ρμ καὶ κε-
νοῦ (δραχμὰς) ι, ὥστ᾽ εἶναι (δραχμαὶ) ρν.
σὺ οὖν καλῶς ποείσεις φροντί-
σας ὡς οὐ περισπασθησόμε-
θα. καὶ ὑπὲρ κλημάτ {ατ} ων
οὐχ ὑπομενεῖς [[ανα]] κατάγειν
καταμήνιος, ἐὰν τὸν χαλ-
κὸν λάβῃς. ἔρρωσο.

Verso
σ..ν φρόντιζε ὅπως θή-
σεται τὰ ξύλα κα...ου
ανενεχθη διασάφη-
σόν μοι.

Δημητρίω[ι]

13. ποήσεις (see *P. Mich.* 584.39n.) 16. κατα inserted above the line. 17-18. χαλκόν: ον corrected from ους.

Diogenes to Demetrios, greeting. Know that we have been prevented from working by Ptolemaios, the son of Menestheus, and Ptolemaios, the son of Herakleides, who are collecting the *epigraphe* of two drachmas per metretes, and that they are saying that you have entered against you 140 drachmas for seventy keramia, and 10 drachmas for empty jars, equal 150 drachmas. You will then do well to see to it that we will not be vexed. And, as regards the vine cuttings, you will not wait to bring them down each month, if you get the money. Farewell.

Verso: . . . . To Demetrios.

6-7. λογευόντων: for the Ptolemaic λογευταί, see G.M. Harper, Jr., "Tax Contractors and Their Relation to Tax Collection in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Aegyptus* 14, 1934, pp. 52f. Along with the ὑπηρέται, they were state-employed tax collectors, as opposed to the contractors of the tax, viz. the ἀρχώνης and his μέτοχοι. See *idem*, "The Relation of Ἀρχώνης, Μέτοχοι, and Ἔγγυοι to Each Other, to the Government, and to the Tax Contract in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Aegyptus* 14, 1934, p. 269.

7-8. τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τὰς δύο δραχμάς: for the apposition cf. *UPZ* 190.12 ἀποτεισάτωι τὸ δάνειον τὰς τοῦ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) κβ (ἥμιου), and see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, p. 111, 9.

In the Roman period ἐπιγραφή designates the assessment of various land taxes (*P. Oxy.* 1445, 8n.). Under the Ptolemies it means "impost", either in general, or as a particular tax on land (*ibid.*); it has also been generally regarded as another term for the τρίτη (Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, pp. 99f.; cf. *P. Cair. Zen.* 59236, introd., and C. Préaux, *L'Economie royale des Lagides*, Brussels, 1939, p. 184), and such is its use in *P. Mich.* 601. The

τρίτη, also called the *τρίτη ἀμπελώνων*, was a heavy tax levied on vineyards, which was assessed at one third of the produce (see Préaux, *Economie*, pp. 182f.); it could be paid either in kind or in money (see Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 101). If it was paid in money, then "an agreement about the amount in kind and the money value of the tax to be paid . . . was concluded between the farmer of the tax and the owner of the vineyard. . ." (*ibid.*). The varying amounts of the *ἐπιγραφή* thus assessed are illustrated by *PSI* 976, where it is fixed at three drachmas two obols per metretes, and *P. Mich.* 601, where it is two drachmas per metretes.

8-9. *τῶι μετρητῆ*: the article is used in a distributive sense. See Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, p. 43, 10; for the dative, *ibid.*, p. 283, '14; a similar construction occurs in *P. Hib.* 99.6-15 *ὁμ[ολο]γεῖ Παραμένης . . . ἔχειν . . . τιμὴν πυρῶν (ἀρταβῶν) ὃ ἐκ β ⟨δραχμῶν⟩ (ὀβολοῦ) τῆι (ἀρτάβηι)*; i.e., "Paramenes . . . acknowledges that he has received . . . the value of 70 artabas of wheat at 2 drachmas 1 obol per artaba."

For the metretes as a unit of measure, see below, note to 10.

10. *παραγράφεσθαι*: for the meaning of this verb, see introd. to *P. Mich.* 577, p. 2.

κεραμίων: the keramion of wine, used interchangeably with metretes (Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 24, and n.1), probably contained from 5 to 8 chous (see introd. to *P. Mich.* 588, p. 45).

11-12. *κενοῦ*: probably we are to understand *κεράμου*. Cf. the similar omissions of *κεράμιον* cited by Mayser, *Grammatik* II, i, p. 26. For *κέραμος* "earthenware" as a collective singular see *ibid.*, p. 44. Empty wine jars are often mentioned in the papyri; e.g., *P. Cair. Zen.* 59741, and *PSI* 859 refer to empty jars which were brought from neighboring villages to Philadelphia, where they would be coated with pitch and distributed to vintners. See Pearl, "Varia Papyrologica," p. 382.

15. *κλημάτ {ατ} ων*: Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 248: "Der Unterschied zwischen Absenkern [*ἀπώρυγες*] und Stecklingen [*κλήματα*] ist der, dass bei der Fortpflanzung des Weinstockes letztere von der Mutterrebe getrennt in die Erde kommen, die Absenker dagegen bis auf weiteres mit der Mutterrebe verbunden bleiben und erst nach einiger Zeit von ihr getrennt werden."

16. *[[ανα]] κατάγειν*: cf. *P. Mert.* 22.12-13 for a similar confusion: *[[κατα]] ἀναπλεῖν* (with *ἀνα-* added above the line).

17. *καταμήνιος*: for the predicate adjective used as an adverb, especially common in expressions of time, see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, p. 174, 30.

17-18. *τὸν χαλκόν*: as is often the case, *χαλκός* has here the general sense of "money"; cf. *P. Hib.* 66.4 (*BL* I, p. 194) *πα[ρ]α[λήμψεως] τοῦ χαλκοῦ*; *SB* 4369, b, ii.26; *P. Sorb.* 20, 4n.

19. *σ..ν*: the writing is extremely blurred, but one might venture *σὺ ο⟨ὖ⟩ν*.

19-20. *θήσεται τὰ ξύλα*: this phrase could refer to the setting of vine cuttings; it would then be consistent with the references to viticulture on the recto. For *ξύλον* = "vine cutting", cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 263f. For *τιθέναι* meaning "to set" a plant, cf. Xenophon, *Oecon.* 19, 7: *οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὰν ὀρωρυγμένοι ὦσιν οἱ βόθροι, ὀπηνίκα δεῖ τιθέναι ἑκάτερα τὰ φυτὰ ἤδη εἴδες*; and 9: *πότερα δὲ ὅλον τὸ κλῆμα ὀρθὸν τιθεὶς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἠγῇ μᾶλλον ἂν ῥιζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ καὶ πλάγιόν τι ὑπὸ τῇ ὑποβεβλημένῃ γῇ θείης ἄν, ὥστε κεῖσθαι ὥσπερ γάμμα ὕπτιον*;

θήσεται is probably to be taken as a true middle; the subject is not expressed, but such an omission, especially in a postscript, is not surprising. It is tempting to regard *θήσεται* as a passive, but the future middle with passive meaning is an Attic subtlety; its existence in the *κοινή* is very doubtful. See Mayser, *Grammatik* II, i, p. 122, *Anmerk.* 4.

20. *κα...ου*: the ink is badly smeared at this point, and I have not been able to arrive at a convincing reading. Unless a misspelling is involved, *ανενεχθη* is the aor. pass. subj. *ἀνενεχθῇ*, and a new sentence begins after *θήσεται τὰ ξύλα*. *κἂν* (= *καὶ ἐὰν*) *ὑπὸ σοῦ* is satisfactory for meaning, but unless the writing is very cramped, there is hardly room for it.

602. Letter of Athenodoros to Serenus

Inv. 199 8.5 x 14.2 cm. Early Third Century A.D.

This letter may be dated in the early third century of our era. The hand resembles the second hand of *P. Lond.* III, 1164 (d) (= *Facsimiles* III, pl. 46) of 212 A.D., and the writer is fond of long strokes descending far below the line, especially in ι, ψ, and ρ, a characteristic which does not become common until the third century (cf. W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, I, iv, 1, Munich, 1925, p. 70). Though the address on the verso is in larger letters, it was probably written by the same hand.

Aurelius Athenodoros writes to Serenus to give him instructions for the lading of barley in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. The text does not make it clear whether a private or public transaction is involved. But the lack of official titles for Athenodoros and Serenus, as well as the fact that the latter is referred to on the verso as a *ῥήτωρ*, suggests that we are dealing with a purely private affair.

Α[ὐ]ρ[ήλ]ιος Ἀθη[νόδω]ρ[ο]ς
Σερήνωι τῶι φιλτάτῳ
χαίρειν.
ἔγραψα Μαξίμῳ ἐμ-
βαλέσθαι τὴν κριθὴν
τὴν ἐν Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ,
καὶ τὸν ὄνον καὶ ὅλα
γ̄ πλοῖα διεπεμψά-
μην. ἐὰν οὖν ἐν Π[..]
σον.ου. ἦν ἢ ἐν ἄλ-
λῳ τινὶ τόπῳ, με-
τάπεμψαι αὐτὸν
τὴν ταχίστην ὅπως
πάντα καταλιπὼν ἔλ-
θηι καὶ τὴν ἐμβολὴ[ν]
ποιήσηται, καὶ σὺ [οὖν]
συλλαβοῦ [μοι] εἰς το[ῦτο].

Verso Σερή]νωι ῥήτορι παΧρὰ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀθηνοδώρ[ου]

Aurelius Athenodoros to his dearest Serenus, greeting. I wrote to Maximus to load the barley in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, and I sent the donkey and all 3 boats. If then he is in P . . . or in some other place, get hold of him at once so that, leaving everything, he may come and effect the lading. And do you then help me in this matter.

Verso: To Serenus the rhetor from Aurelius Athenodoros.

4-5. *ἐμβαλέσθαι*: see below, n. to 15-16.
7. *ὄνον*: the donkey had a normal carrying capacity of three artabas; see, e.g., *O. Oslo.*, p. 50.
9-10. Π[..]*σον.ου*: a place name is required. The doubtful traces have resisted every effort to decipher them.
10. *ἦν*: for *ἦν* as the equivalent of *ἢ*, see *P. Mich.* 585.16n.

15-16. *τὴν ἐμβολὴ[ν] ποιήσηται*: *ἐμβολή* is the technical term for the government-supervised lading of grain to be sent to Rome and, in the later period, to Constantinople; see J. Schwartz, "Le Nil et le ravitaillement de Rome," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 47, 1948, pp. 179-200. But it may also be used in purely private enterprises; see, e.g., *P. Lond.* III, 948 (p. 219) and the editor's introduction; cf. further Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 370. For the phrase *ἐμβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι*, cf. *P. Amh.* 137.5.

18. The cross, of very common occurrence on the verso of letters, marks the place for the string; see *WChr.*, 480.27-28n.

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f. = father
gdd. = granddaughter
gdf. = grandfather
gds. = grandson
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ὑϊκή see Index VIII
υἱός 577.15-16; 580.4; 591.2
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ὑπατεία (ὑπατία) 593 ii.12,13,15; iii.6. Cf. Index II, B
ὑπεναντίως 583.23
ὑπέρ c. gen. 588.9; 595.4; 599.5; 601.15
  ἔγραψα ὑ. c. gen. see αὐτός (pron.)

ὑπό c. gen. 586.18; 589.3; 590.4; 601.4
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ἀνυπόλογος παντὸς ὑπολόγου 586.10
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χαίρω
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χράομαι 583.19; 585.19
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χωρίς 583.23; 584.32

ὠνέομαι 583.17,18,21
ὡς
ὡς ἐτῶν 583.3,4; 584.2-5; 585.4,5; 587.3,4,38
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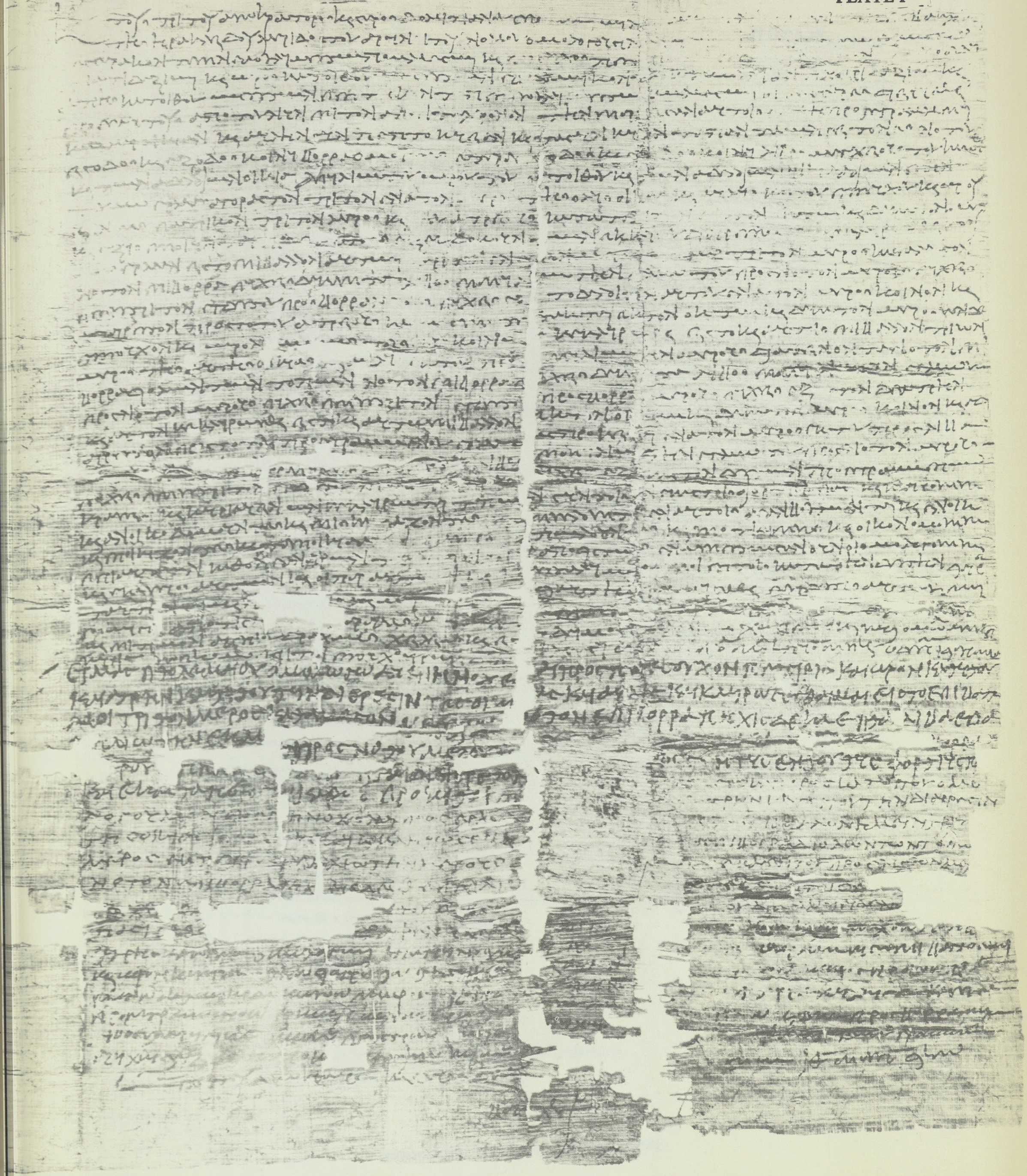
B. Latin

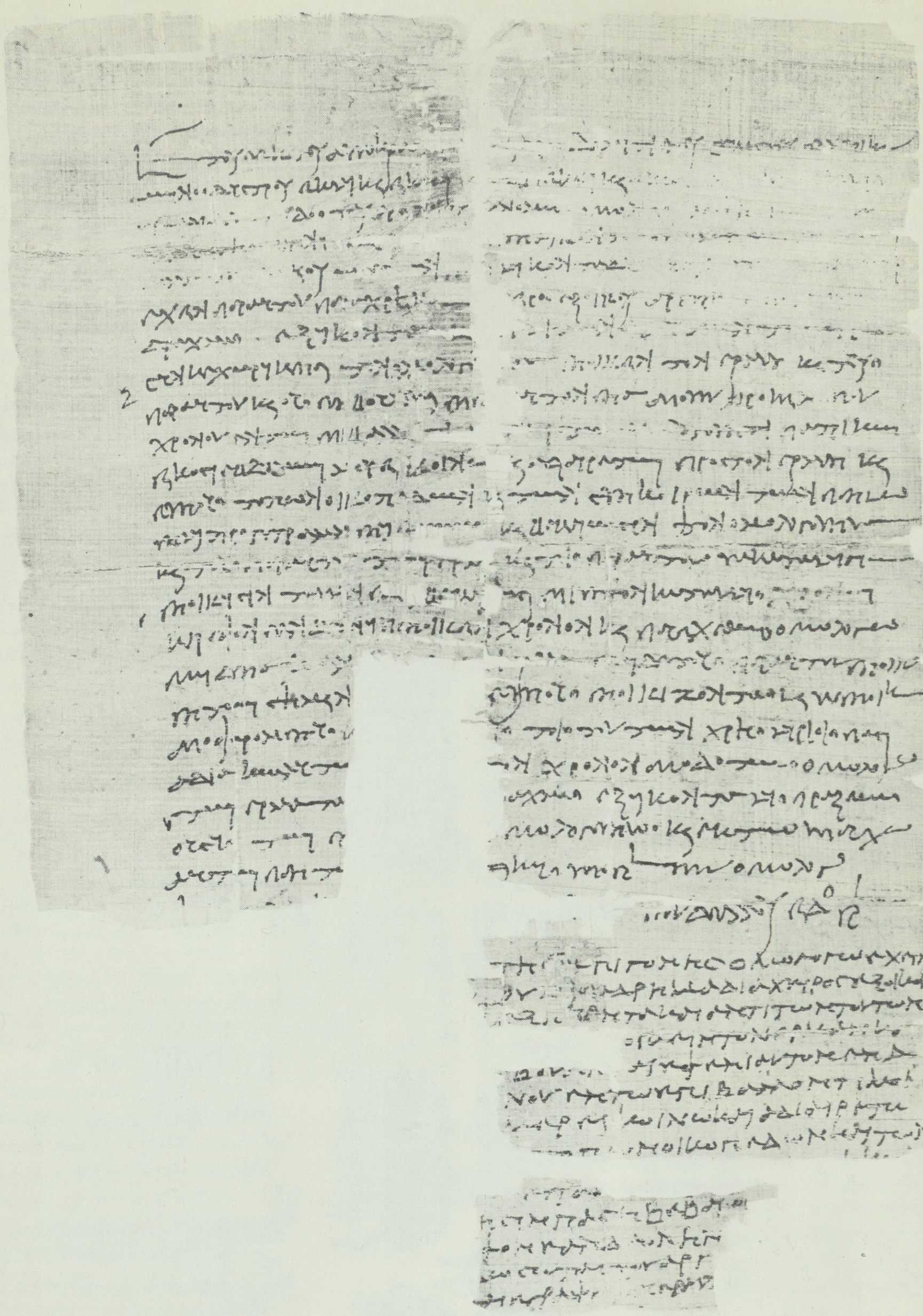
centurio 592 ii.3
consul 592 ii.5,12,16,19
cornicularius 592 ii.6
dominus 592 ii.4,7,11,15,19
explorator 592 ii.9
hic 592 i.11
in 592 i.17
noster 592 ii.4,7,11,15,19
ordin(.) 592 ii.3
pater 592 ii.15
tribunus 592 ii.1-2

PLATE I



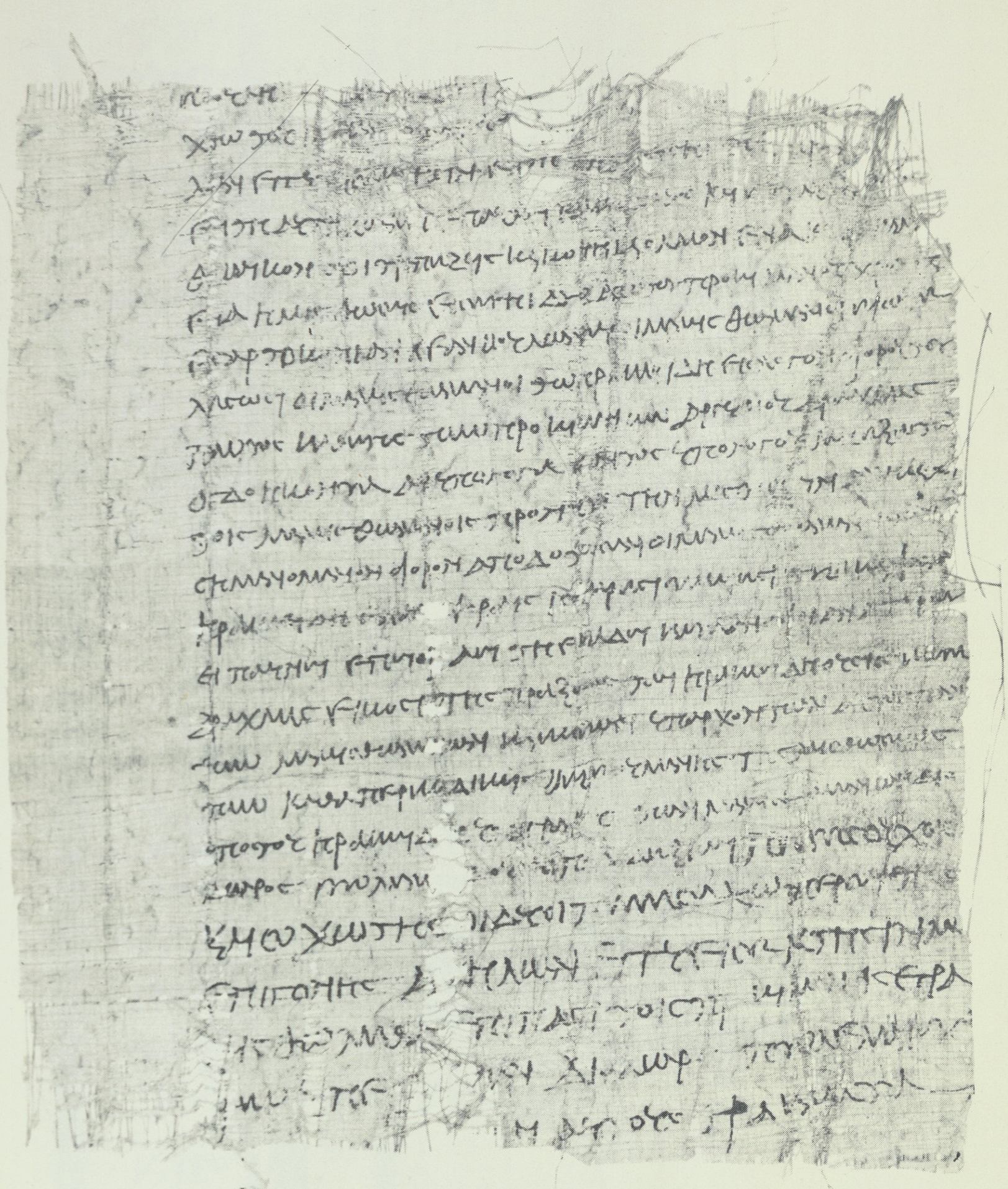
584. Division of Property

PLATE II



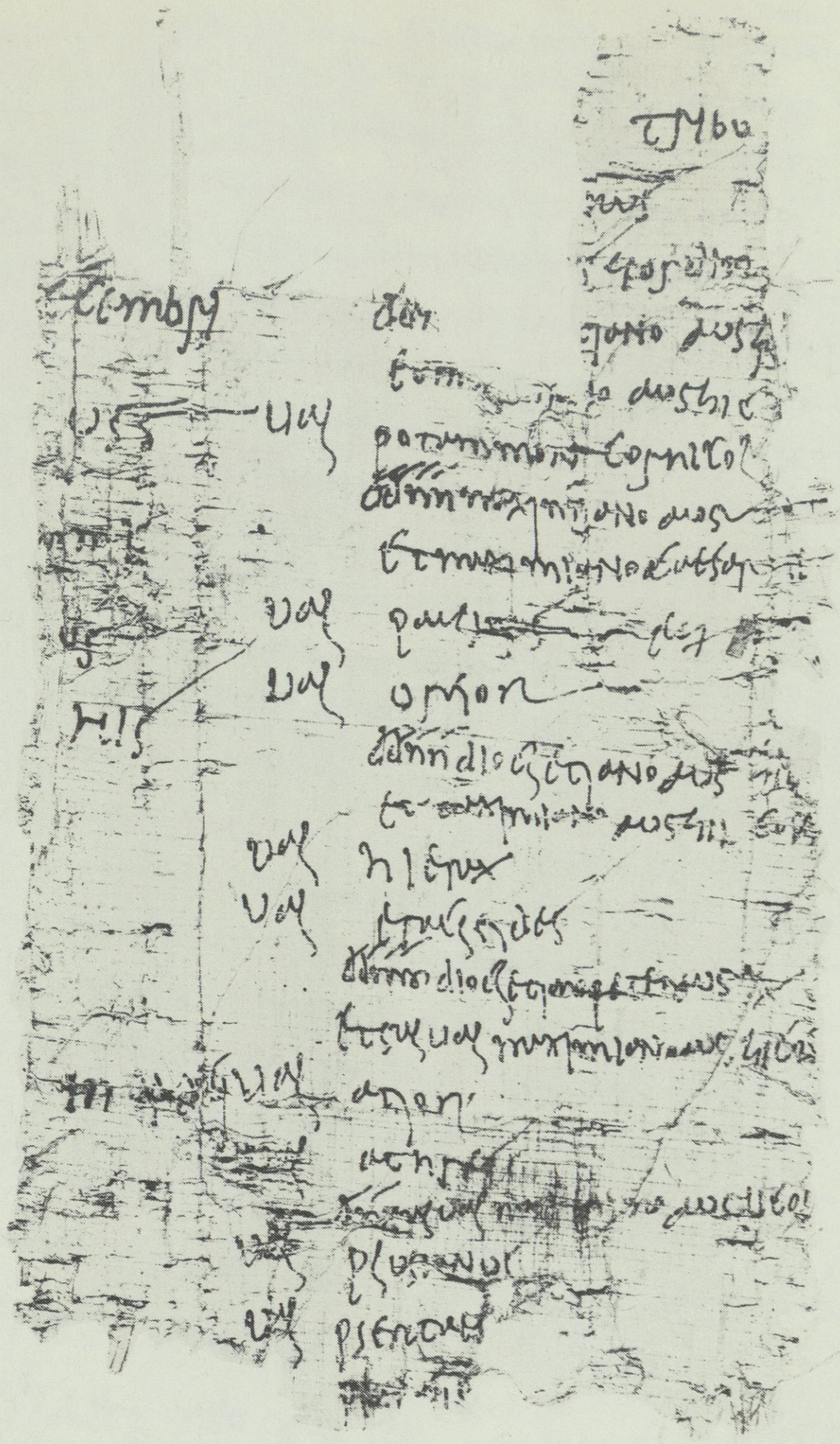
585. Loan with Right of Habitation

PLATE III

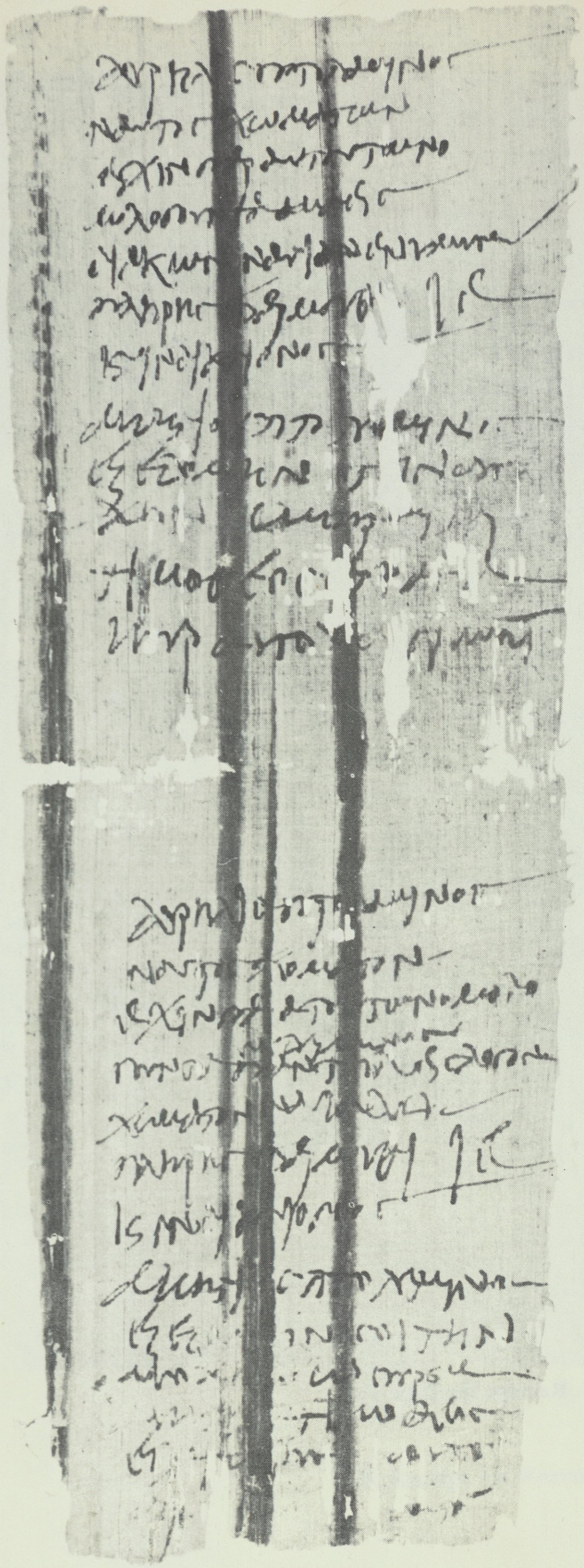


586. Lease of a Bakery

PLATE IV

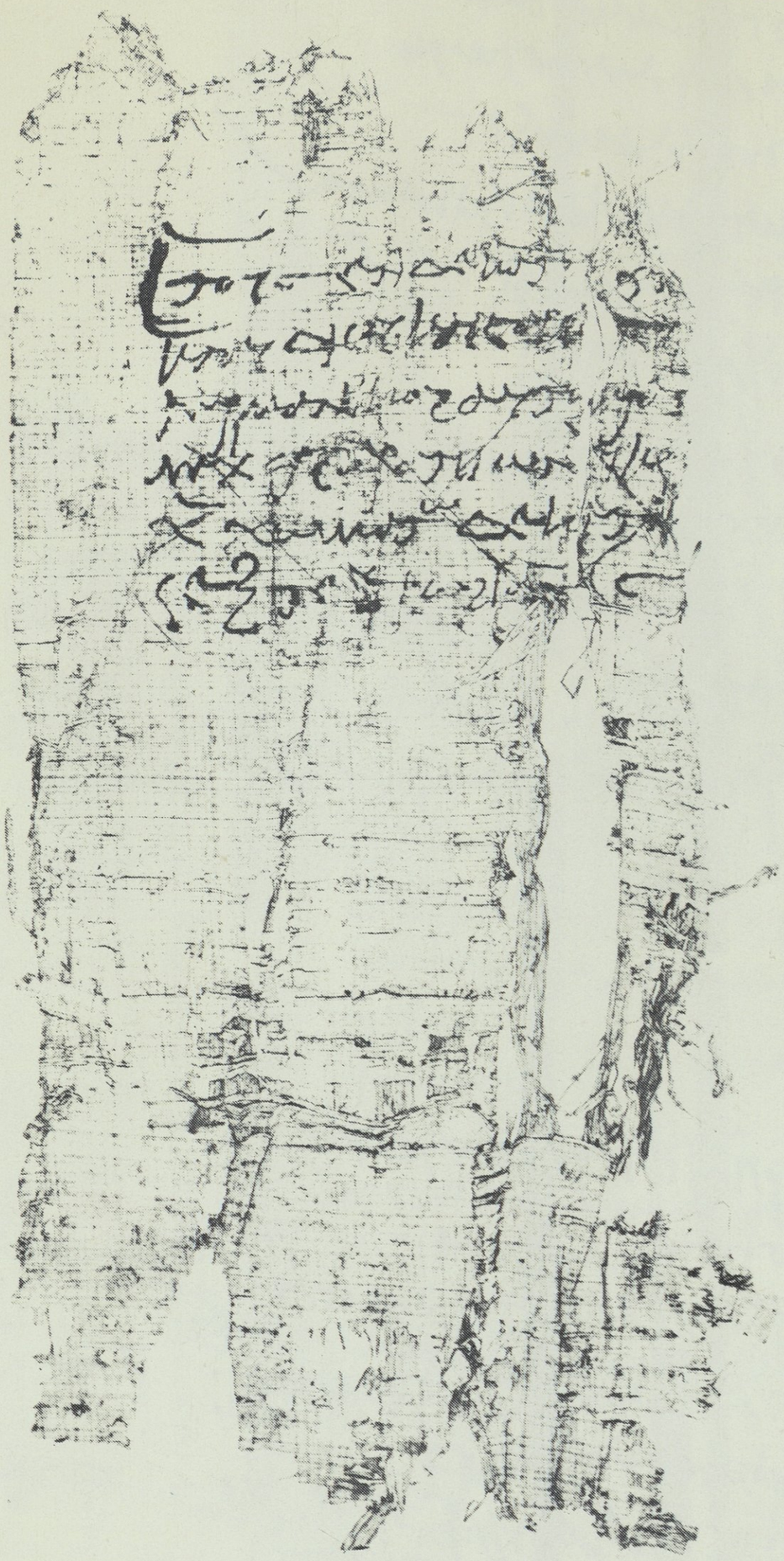


592. Fragment of a Latin Military List



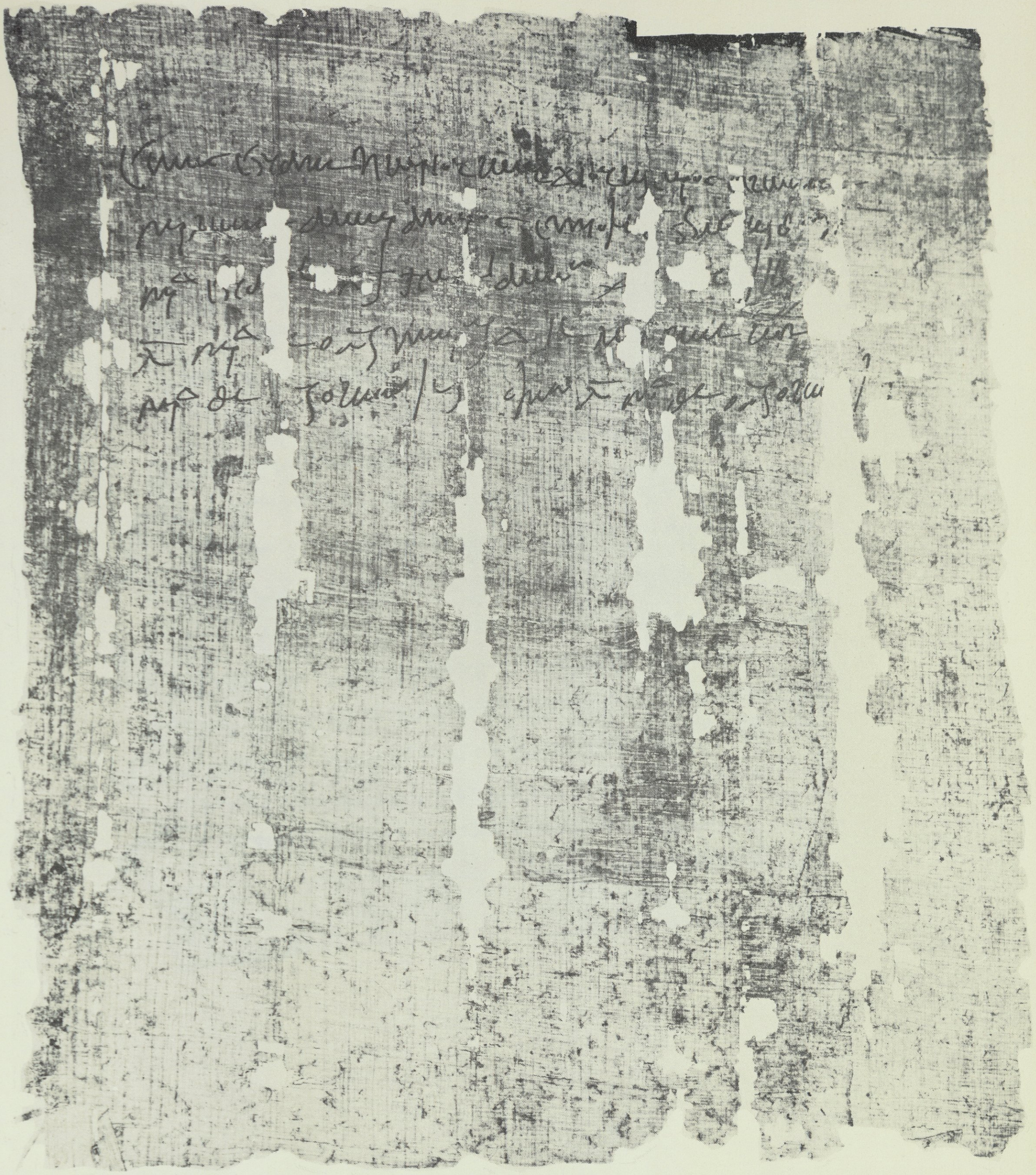
596. Two Naubia Certificates

PLATE VI



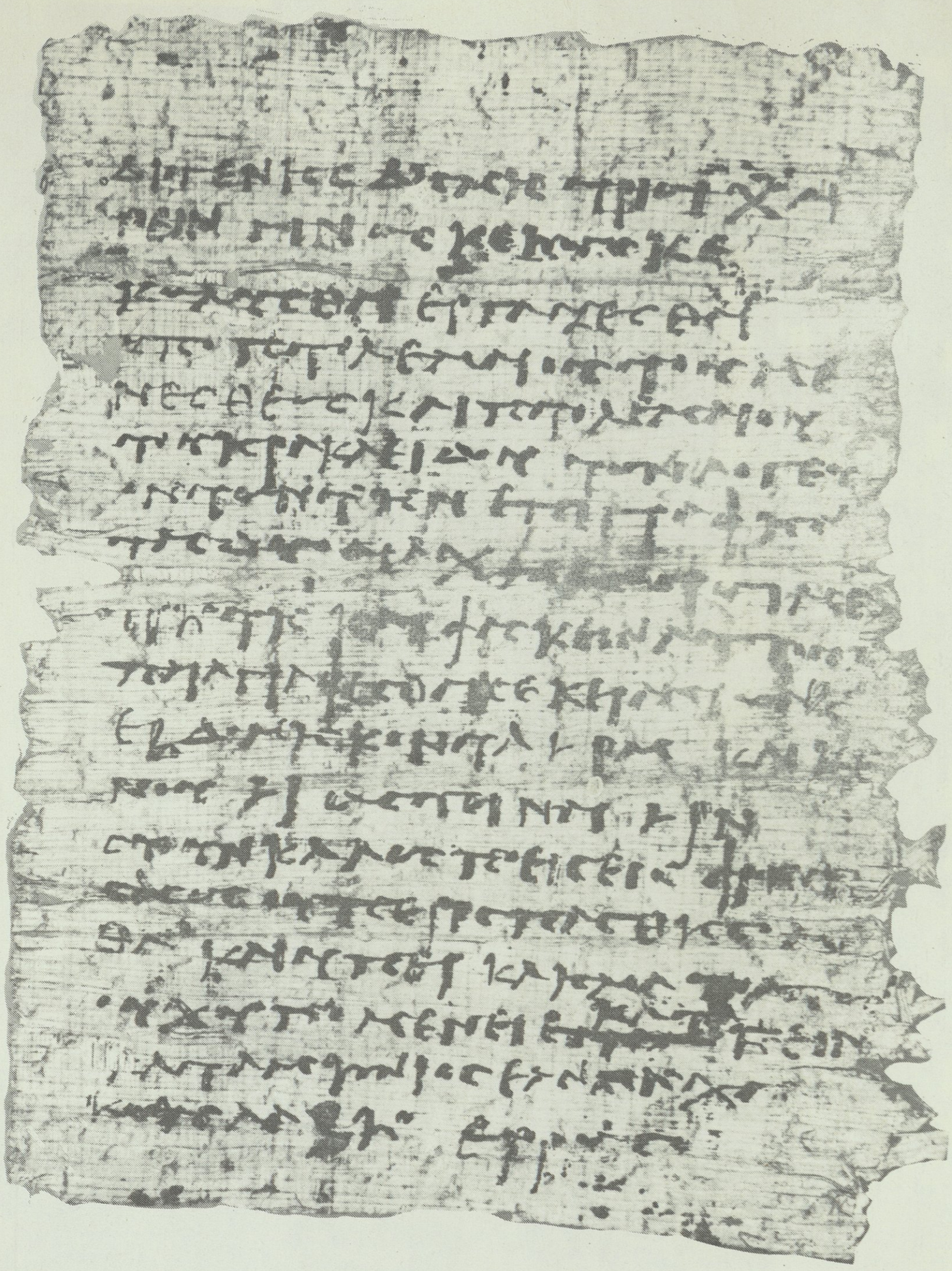
597. Receipt for Dike Tax

PLATE VII



598. Receipt for Weavers' Tax

PLATE VIII



601. Letter of Diogenes to Demetrios

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