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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY
VOLUME NINE

PAPYRI FROM THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

JOHN C. SHELTON

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PREFACE

This volume is an essentially unchanged reproduction of my doctoral thesis, submitted to Stanford University in 1968. The papyrus texts were transcribed for the most part during a visit to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in the spring of 1967. This work and all subsequent research toward interpretation of the texts was carried out under the generous and stimulating supervision of H. C. Youtie, Research Professor of Papyrology at Michigan – supervision which was direct during my stay at Ann Arbor, and by tireless correspondence thereafter. Research was completed and the dissertation written the following year at Stanford under the direction of Professor A. E. Raubitschek, for whose energetic care and wise advice I shall remain always grateful. I owe a debt of gratitude as well to those who have read all or part of the completed dissertation and offered useful criticisms: E. G. Turner, John Rea, J. D. Thomas, Revel Coles, P. J. Parsons, A. E. Samuel, and A. K. Bowman.

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EDITORIAL PRACTICE

The editorial signs employed in this volume are on the whole those in common use in editions of papyri.

[ ] indicate a lacuna in the papyrus.
( ) indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
{ } indicate superfluous letters in the papyrus
\` ´ indicate superlinear additions in the papyrus.
⟦ ⟧ indicate a deletion in the papyrus
⟨ ⟩ indicate an omission in the papyrus.

Dots indicate letters too mutilated or misshapen to be read. Dots under letters indicate uncertain readings. Dots within brackets, or numerals within brackets, indicate the approximate extent of a lacuna. All accents, breathing marks, iota subscripts, and punctuation have been added by the editor. Diaereses, hooks, and iota adscripts are used only where found in the original.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for journals and editions of papyri and inscriptions are those commonly used and should be easily recognizable. The abbreviations used for monographs and special studies are:

Berger, *Strafklauseln*. A. Berger, Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden. Leipzig, 1911.

Blass-Debrunner-Funk. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, R. W. Funk, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago, 1961.

Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*. A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres. Bonn, 1908.

Du Cange. Charles du Fresne du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis. Lyons, 1688 (reproduction Paris, 1943).

Gelzer, *Studien*. M. Gelzer, Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens. Leipzig, 1909.

Henne, *Liste des stratèges*. H. Henne, Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine. Cairo, 1935.

Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*. J. Herrmann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri. Munich, 1958 (Münch. Beitr. 41).

Hohlwein, *L'Egypte romaine*. H. Hohlwein, Recueil des termes techniques relatifs aux institutions politiques et administratives de l'Egypte romaine, suivi d'un choix de textes papyrologiques. Brussels, 1912.

Johnson, *Roman Egypt*. A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian. Baltimore, 1936. (Vol. II of T. Frank's *Economic Survey*).

Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*. A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. Princeton, 1949.

Jouguet, *Vie municipale*. P. Jouguet, La vie municipale dans l'Egypte romaine. Paris, 1911.

Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*. S. G. Kapsomenakis, Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit. Munich, 1938 (Münch. Beitr. 28).

Lallemand, *L'administration civile*. J. Lallemand, L'administration civile de l'Egypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382). Brussels, 1964.

Lewis, *Industrie*. N. Lewis, L'industrie du papyrus dans l'Egypte gréco-romaine. Paris, 1934.

Maspero, *Organisation militaire*. Jean Maspero, Organisation militaire de l'Egypte byzantine. Paris, 1912.

Mayser. E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Aegypten verfassten Inschriften. Berlin, 1906 ff.

Mertens, *Services*. P. Mertens, Les services de l'Etat civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au IIIe siècle de notre ère. Brussels, 1958.

Oertel, *Liturgie*. F. Oertel, Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Aegyptens. Leipzig, 1917.

Otto, *Priester*. W. Otto, Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten. Leipzig, 1905 f.

Preisigke, *Fachwörter*. F. Preisigke, Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Aegyptens in den griechischen Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit. Göttingen, 1915.

Preisigke, *Girowesen*. F. Preisigke, Girowesen im griechischen Aegypten. Strassburg, 1910.

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

Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*. M. Rostovtzeff, Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonats. Leipzig, 1910.

Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*. M. Rostovtzeff, A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C. A Study in Economic History. Madison, 1922.

Rouillard, *Administration*. G. Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine. 2nd edition, Paris, 1928.

Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*. M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten. Munich, 1925 (Münch. Beitr. 7).

Simon, *Studien*. D. Simon. Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel. Munich, 1964 (Münch. Beitr. 48).

Swiderek, *Propriété foncière*. Anna Swiderek, La propriété foncière privée dans l'Egypte de Vespasien et sa technique agricole d'après P. Lond. 131 recto. Warsaw, 1960.

Taubenschlag, *Law*. R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D. 2nd edition, Warsaw, 1955.

Wallace, *Taxation*. S.L. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. Princeton, 1938.

Wenger, *Stellvertretung*. L. Wenger, Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri. Leipzig, 1906.

West and Johnson, *Currency*. L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Princeton, 1944.

PAPYRI FROM THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

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603. Hire of Scribes

P. Mich. Inv. 140 — 11 x 25 cm. — A.D. 134

Nine scribes contract to prepare for the two metropolitan secretaries of Arsinoe copies of *λαογραφίαι ἐν κεφαλαίῳ* for the 18th year of Hadrian, A.D. 133/34. The scribes declare that they have already received the payment for their work. The amount of this payment is not stated. The metropolitan secretaries are to supply whatever records of the previous year may be required, and are to pay for the cost and transport of the necessary papyrus and for the registration of the completed rolls.

The text supplies us with the technical expressions for a number of the records kept in the bureau of the *γραμματεῖς μητροπόλεως*:

1. *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* (6)
2. *λαογραφίαι κατ' ἄνδρα* (7-8)
3. *λόγοι κατοίκων* (8)
4. *ἀπολογισμοὶ ἀφηλίκων καὶ ἐκτὸς συνόψεως* (9-10)
5. *λαογραφίαι ἐν κεφαλαίῳ* (11-12)

The meaning of these terms is discussed in the notes.

It is possible that the immense amount of scribal work indicated in this document was not the norm for each year, but should be connected with the census of the 16th year of Hadrian. In the Fayum, census declarations were not usually submitted until the last few months of the year following the proclamation of the census.[1] The 18th year of Hadrian was therefore the earliest opportunity for a complete revision of records based on the latest census.

Διογένης καὶ Εὔπορος καὶ Μύστης καὶ
Μαρίων καὶ Σαραπίων καὶ Σαβῖνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδ(ης)
καὶ Ἀρποκρατίων καὶ Ἡλιόδωρος οἱ θ̄
γραμματεῖς Μαρίωνι καὶ Ἡρώδῃ γρα(μματεῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)
5 *χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ συνεθέμεθα ὑμῖν*
χωρὶς τῆς κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς συν-
θεῖναι μόνα ἀντίγραφα λαογραφιῶν

1. *P. Lugd.-Bat.* V, pp. 109 ff.; cf. p. 78: "dans ce nome [the Arsinoite], on n'était appelé à faire sa déclaration qu'au cours de la deuxième année. On serait même tenté de préciser et de dire qu'au Fayoum les déclarations étaient déposées dans les trois derniers mois, les exceptions étant peu nombreuses." Cf. *ibid.* p. 79, n. 1; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 395, n. 5.

[κ]α̣τ̣' ἄνδρα καὶ λόγους κατοίκων καὶ
ἀ̣πολογισμοὺς ἀφηλίκων καὶ ἐκτὸς̣
συνόψεως καὶ νῦν δὲ συνεθέμεθα
συνθεῖναι καὶ μόνα ἀντίγραφα λαογρ[α]φ̣(ιῶν)
ἐν κεφαλαίωι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ιη (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, παρεχομένων
ὑμῶν ὅσων ἐὰν χρή ἀ̣ν̣' σ̣χῶμεν λό-
γων τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) πρὸς τὴν σύνθεσιν,
ἐπὶ τῶι λαβόντας ὑμᾶς τῶν πρ̣[οκε]ι̣-
[μ]έ̣νων βιβλίων μόνα τὰ ἀ̣ν̣τίγρ̣α̣φ̣α̣
[πρ]ὸς μηδὲν ἁπλῶς κατασχεῖ̣ν̣ σ̣ε̣ ἔ̣τ̣ι̣,
[τ]ή̣ν τε τῶν καθαρῶν μεταφορὰν καὶ
[τι]μὴν χαρτῶν καὶ τὸν καταχωρισμὸν
[εἶ]ναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μαρίωνα·
[α]ὐ̣τόθεν δὲ ἀπέσχομεν καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ
τ̣ῷ̣[ν] ἐν κεφαλαίωι συνφωνηθὲν
σ̣αλάριον ὡς πρόκειται, μενόντων
[κυ]ρίων ὧν ἔχομεν ἀλλήλ̣ων χειρο-
[γ]ρ̣άφων. τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτο δισ-
[σὸ]ν ἐξεδόμεθα. Διογένης ἔγραψα
[τὸ] σωμάτ̣[ιον. (2nd hand) Εὔπορο]ς̣ συνεθέμην
[κα]θ̣ὼ̣ς̣ π̣ρ̣ό̣[κειται. (3rd hand) Σα]β̣εῖνος συνεθέμην
[κα]θ̣ὼ̣ς̣ π̣ρ̣ό̣κ̣ε̣ι̣τ̣α̣ι̣. (4th hand) Μ̣α̣ρίων συνε̣θ̣(έμην)
καθ̣ὼς πρόκ(ειται).
(5th) Μ̣ύ̣σ̣θ̣ης συνεθέμην καθὼς πρόκειται.
(6th) [Ἡ]ρ̣α̣κλείδης ⟨σ⟩υνεθέμην καθὼς π̣ρ̣ό̣κ̣(ειται).
(7th) Σ̣αραπίων συνεθέμην κ[αθὼς] π̣ρ̣ό̣κ̣(ειται).
(8th) Ἀ̣ρ̣ποκ(ρατίων) συνεθέμην καθὼς π̣ρ̣ό̣κ̣(ειται).
(9th) [Ἡλιό]δ̣ω̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣ [συν]ε̣θέμην κ[αθὼ]ς πρόκ(ειται).
(10th ?) (scattered traces) Ἀ̣δ̣ρ̣ι̣α̣ν̣ο̣ῦ̣ τοῦ κυρίου Μεχ̣εὶρ̣ ι̅

5. ὑμῖν 14. χρείαν

Diogenes, Euporos, Mystes, Marion, Sarapion, Sabinos, Herakleides, Harpokration, and Heliodoros, the 9 scribes, to Marion and Herodes, secretaries of the metropolis, greetings.

Whereas we agreed with you, apart from the house-by-house registration, to draw up single copies of the population lists arranged person-by-person, lists of catoeci, and lists of minors and of those excluded from the tax estimate; now also we have agreed to draw up single copies of population lists in summary for the same 18th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, with you supplying whatever records of the 17th year we require for the compilation, on condition that when you receive single copies of the above-stated documents you hold us responsible for

nothing more whatever. The transport and cost of the clean papyrus and the official deposition are to be incumbent on you, Marion, and your partner. We have received forthwith the salary agreed upon for the summary lists, as above stated, and the contracts we hold from each other are to remain valid. We have prepared this cheirograph in two copies. I, Diogenes, wrote the document.

(2nd hand) I, Euporos, have agreed as stated.
(3rd hand) I, Sabinos, have agreed as stated.
(4th hand) I, Marion, have agreed as stated.
(5th hand) I, Mysthes, have agreed as stated.
(6th hand) I, Herakleides, have agreed as stated.
(7th hand) I, Sarapion, have agreed as stated.
(8th hand) I, Harpokration, have agreed as stated.
(9th hand) I, Heliodoros, have agreed as stated.
(10th hand?) (Year 18 of Imperator Caesar) Hadrianus the lord, Mecheir 10.

4. *γρα(μματεῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)*: Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 160 ff.; Mertens, *Services*, pp. 2 ff. (Oxyrhynchite secretaries only); Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 291 f.: "Toutes les pièces qui permettent l'assiette ou la levée de l'impôt sont adressées à ces derniers [the metropolitan secretaries] ou rédigées par eux; seuls sans doute ils ont dans leurs bureaux les listes de tous les habitants de la métropole et connaissent la situation fiscale et personelle de tous."

μητροπ(όλεως): Arsinoe, as is shown by the presence of catoeci (line 8; also found in Herakleopolis, *P. Lugd-Bat.* V, p. 107).

5-7. *συνεθέμεθα . . . συνθεῖναι*: cf. lines 10 f., *συνεθέμεθα συνθεῖναι*. For the collocation of forms of one word in different meanings, cf. *P. Mich.* 503.2, *ἐγένετο γενέσθαι*, "it happened that I went."

6. *χωρίς*: "apart from" = "in addition to." *τῆς κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς*: cf. *PSI* 1146.1 ff.: *ἐκ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς ϵ τόμου οὗ παρεπιγραφή: Ἀρσ[νο]είτου Πολέμωνος μερίδος Ἀπολλωνίδου στρα(τηγοῦ) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρα(φὴ) β (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Τεπτύνεως*; cf. also *WChr.* 208.1 ff.; 209.8; *BGU* 124.1; 484.2. In all these texts *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* is the title of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* composed of individual *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*. On these rolls see *P. Lugd.-Bat.* V, pp. 131 ff.; and on *τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι* in general, Lewis, *Industrie*, pp. 70 f.

Cf. also *P. Oslo* 111.3-5, *οἱ ὑπογεγραμμέ[νοι ὀμνύομεν . . . ἐν ᾗ πε]ποιήμεθα κα[τ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρα(φῇ) μὴ διεψεῦσθαι*, where the editors understand *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ* as the title of the document (later called a *δημοσία ἀπογραφή*, 123). Préaux and Hombert observe that if the reading is right *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* in this text means "une enquête faite par maison" (*P. Lugd-Bat.* V, p. 142). But as Mertens points out (*Services*, pp. 85 f. and n. 35), the reference could be to ordinary census declarations; and in any case the extraordinary *P. Oslo* 111 is not likely to be an example of the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* of *P. Mich.* 603.

7. *μόνα ἀντίγραφα*: cf. lines 11 and 17. Here cannot mean "copies only," because lines 13-15 show that the scribes are to use records drawn up the preceding year as raw material for the compilation (*σύνθεσω*, line 15) of new lists. *Μόνα ἀντίγραφα* must therefore mean "single copies," one exemplar of each list to be compiled. Such compilation was a task for specialists (cf. *P. Mich.* 224.2333, *καταυδρογράφος*), while the multiplication of copies could be performed by the regular staff. No parallel for this use of *μόνα ἀντίγραφα* is known to me; for the usual meaning of *ἀντίγραφον* see B. Kuebler, "Ἴσον und Ἀντίγραφον," *ZSS* 55, 1932, pp. 64 ff.; L. Th. Lefort, "Τὸ ἴσον = Exemplum, Exemplar," *Muséon* 47, 1934, pp. 57 ff.

7-8. *λαογραφιῶν [κ]ατ' ἄνδρα*: *λαογραφία* here means a list of the *λαοί*. This meaning is

well attested for the Roman as well as the Ptolemaic period: H. Henne, "Deux papyrus grecs du Musée du Caire," *Aegyptus* 6, 1925, p. 333; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 117; *P. Lugd-Bat.* V, pp. 47, 50, 51, 101, 144. A tiny extract ἐκ λαογραφίας κατ' ἄνδρα θ (ἔτους) Φιλαδελφείας has been published by Henne, *op. cit.*, pp. 332 ff; cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 406, n. 7 and *P. Lugd-Bat.* V, p. 144. These would be the ordinary population lists, as represented by *P. Oxy.* 984 (so Mertens, *Services*, p. 83 and *P. Lugd-Bat.* V, p. 143) and *P. Lond.* 257-259 (II, pp. 17 ff.).

8. λόγους κατοίκων: the catoeci of Arsinoe (κάτοικοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινοείτῃ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων ʽςυοε) were a social elite, not unlike the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου of Oxyrhynchus (E. Bickermann, "Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte," *Archiv* 9, 1930, pp. 42 f.; Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 117 ff.; *P. Lugd-Bat.* V, pp. 105 and 107; on the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, Mertens, *Services*, pp. 124 ff.). They are not to be identified simply with the holders of catoecic land: Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 406, n. 13; F. von Woess, *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Aegypten*, Münch. Beitr. 6, 1924, p. 90, note. A list of catoeci lies behind *P. Lond.* 188 (II, pp. 141 ff.). 62 ff.; cf. *BGU* 562 = *WChr.* 220; von Woess, *op. cit.* p. 93, n. 1. Cf. also *Stud. Pal.* IV, pp. 62 ff., where the lists of the minor sons of the λαογραφούμενοι (lines 29 ff.) and the κάτοικοι (lines 589 ff.) are kept carefully distinct.

9. ἀπολογισμοὺς ἀφηλίκων: Greco-Egyptians reached their majority and became liable to the poll-tax at age 14 (R. Taubenschlag, "Ἔννομος ἡλικία nel diritto dei papiri," *Aegyptus* 12, 1932, pp. 141 ff.; *Law*, p. 167; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 105). Two ἀπολογισμοὶ ἀφηλίκων from Arsinoe are preserved in *Stud. Pal.* IV, pp. 62 ff., lines 29 ff., 589 ff.; cf. O. Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologia: denunce di nascita," *Aegyptus* 27, 1947, pp. 10 f. For similar lists in other nomes, cf. *P. Lugd-Bat.* V, pp. 121 and 122; Mertens, *Services*, p. 105 and n. 42.

9-10. ἐκτὸς συνόψεως: persons not reckoned in the σύνοψις, the estimate of taxes to be collected. Cf. *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 117.2 and commentary; *SB* 5230.50; and especially *PSI* 1230.9 f. (Oxyrhynchos, A.D. 203), an epikrisis declaration for a slave whose master declares: δηλῶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δωδεκάδραχμον, κἀμὲ ὁμοίως νυνὶ μὲν εἶναι ἐκτὸς συνόψεως διὰ τὸ ἐπιξηνη (= ἐπὶ ξένης?) εἶναι; cf. Mertens' detailed discussion, *Services*, pp. 106 ff. No list of persons ἐκτὸς συνόψεως is certainly attested elsewhere (cf. however *DJD* 117.2); it no doubt included the ἀτελεῖς, who are not specifically mentioned in this contract.

11-12. λαογρ[α]φ(ιῶν) ἐν κεφαλαίωι: the existence of lists so titled has been inferred by Henne, *Aegyptus* 6, 1925, p. 334. Cf. *P. Lond.* 259 (II, pp. 36 ff.).73 ff.

12. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ιη (ἔτους): A.D. 133/34. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ indicates that the scribe thought he had mentioned the year earlier in the text (in connection with lines 7-10).

14-15. ὅσων . . . (ἔτους): the new year's lists were naturally compiled with the help of those of the preceding year; cf. *Stud. Pal.* IV, pp. 62 ff., 332-334, γραφὴ . . . τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους . . . συνοψισμένη πρὸς τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος. Year 17 = A.D. 132/33.

18. κατασχεῖ̣ν̣ σ̣ε̣ ἔ̣τ̣ι̣: the reading after κατεσχε- is very uncertain; σε, if right, is for ἡμᾶς.

Contractors with the government of Greco-Roman Egypt were sometimes required to continue their services after the time of the original agreement had expired. This was especially the case for tax farmers and lessees of government land: *OGIS* 669.10 ff. forbids forcing persons to continue holding τελωνείας ἢ ἄλλας μισθώσεις οὐσιακάς; see G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, Olten, 1962, pp. 101 ff. and especially Oertel's chapter on "Zwangspacht und Zwangsunternehmen," *Liturgie*, pp. 94 ff. Agreements sometimes specified as here that the contractor would not be obliged beyond the term of his contract; so e.g. in the lease *P. Princ.* 148.20 f. The present text is the only one known to me which suggests that compulsion might be applied to private scribes working in the government's service, but cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 423: "Das Hilfspersonal . . . zeigt zwar eine Reihe von Berührungspunkten mit dem liturgischen Amte. . . . Eine Heranziehung im Konskriptionswege ist zur Zeit nicht erweisbar, wäre aber nach Analogie der ὀνηλάται dgl. ebenso möglich, wie eine Entwicklung zur Zwangszunft wahrscheinlich ist."

19-20. *καθαρῶν . . . χαρτῶν*: rolls of unused papyrus. As papyrus was not supplied by the government to its bureau officials, stipulations concerning the papyrus are a common feature of contracts (e.g., *WChr.* 263.17); see Lewis, *Industrie,* pp. 136 ff.; on the meaning of *χάρτης, ibid.,* pp. 59 ff.

καταχωρισμόν: the official deposition of the rolls in their place of registration; cf. *P. Oxy.* 514.4; *WChr.* 264 and editor's introduction p. 313; *WChr.* 263.15. In *P. Grenf.* II 41 (*MChr.* 183).20 f. the lessee of a grapheion agrees *καὶ δόσο σου* (*δώσω σοι*) *καταχορισμὸν βυβλίων δραχμὰς ὀκτώι*, "and I will give you eight drachmas to pay for the registration of the rolls."

25. *ἀλλήλων*: similarly used in *P. Oxy.* 727.26 ff. Possibly *ἀλλήλων <ἄλλων>* should be read here.

36. *Ἀδριανοῦ*: read from line 12. The date is written very fast with much Verschleifung; the traces before *Ἀδριανοῦ* are too indistinct to be assigned particular letters. Mecheir 10 of year 18 is February 4, A.D. 134.

604. Hire of a Secretary

P. Mich. Inv. 259 16 x 25 cm. A.D. 223

Bibliography: This text is referred to by N. Lewis, "Leitourgia Studies," in *Acts of the Ninth International Congress of Papyrology,* Oslo, 1961, p. 242, and by J. Lidov, "Tribal Cycles in Oxyrhynchus," *TAPA* 99, 1968, pp. 259 ff.

Appointment of a secretary by two men *ἀναδοθέντες . . . εἰς σιτολογίαν* of the Oxyrhynchite village of Phthochis in the Eastern Toparchy. His duties are:

1. To receive the grain paid into the granary (lines 14-15).
2. To issue receipts to the payers (16).
3. To obey the strategos in the matter of monthly reports, including the presentation of summary accounts of the grain received (16-19).
4. To turn the grain for shipment to Alexandria over to the *ναύκληροι* and to receive from them the customary receipts (19-21).

For this work the secretary is to receive a salary of unspecified amount (22-23). Arrangements were also made concerning his expenses (*πάντων ἀναλωμάτων*, 23), but the terms are not given.

A list of other service contracts may be found in D. Simon, *Studien,* p. 85 (post-Constitutio Antoniniana only); cf. especially *P. Lond.* 306 (II, pp. 118 f.) = *WChr.* 263 (A.D. 145), hire of a deputy *πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν*; *BGU* 1062 = *WChr.* 276 (A.D. 236/37), hire by *ἐπιτηρηταί* of persons to collect a tax in their stead; and *P. Oxy.* 2769, an agreement for substitution in a sitology with terms very similar to those of the present text. Cf. also the wage receipts *P. Fay.* 35 = *WChr.* 264 (A.D. 150/51); *P. Oxy.* 514 (A.D. 190/91); *P. Oxy.* 1510 (2nd-3rd cent.); cf. further *P. Lond.* 255 (II, pp. 117 f.) = *WChr.* 272 (A.D. 136), a release issued by the *πρεσβύτεροι* of Karanis to a man who had carried out the collection of taxes for them.

Ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Αὐρήλιοι Σαρ[απάμμων ὁ καὶ]
Διονύσιος Θέωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Δημητρίο[υ ± 10]
καὶ Κορνήλιος Ἀφύγχιος τοῦ [Ἀ]φύγχιο[ς]
ἀμφότεροι ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, ἀναδοθέντες
τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ε′ φυλ(ῆς) γ′ περιόδ(ου) ἀμφοδογρα(μματέως)
εἰς σειτολογίαν ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας κώμης Φθώχεω(ς),
διὰ τοῦ τούτων ἐνγυητοῦ Αὐρηλίου Σατορνίλου τοῦ καὶ
Θέωνος Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως), καὶ Αὐρήλιο[ς] Οὐαλέριος Σαρα
πάμμωνος μητρὸς Μαρκίας Εὐδαιμονίδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Σαραπάμμωνα τὸν καὶ Διονύσιο(ν)
διὰ τοῦ προτεταγμένου αὐτῶν ἐνγυητοῦ Σ[α]τορνίνου τοῦ καὶ
Θέωνος ἀποσυνεστακέναι τὸν Οὐαλέριον εἰς τὴν γραμμα-
τείαν τῆς προκειμένης σειτολογίας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν αὐτὸν
Οὐαλέριον τὴν παράλημψιν ποιήσεσθαι παντὸς τοῦ
μετρουμένου ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σειτολογίας δημοσίο[υ] πυρ[οῦ]
ἐκδιδόντα τ[οῖς] μετροῦσι διαστολὰς καὶ θέματα καὶ ὑπα-
κοῦσαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ καθ' ἕκαστον μηνιαῖ-
ον ἐπιδιδόντα τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραλαμβανομένου πυροῦ
τὰ συναιρέματα, ἔτι δὲ παραδῶναι τοῖς ἐπιστελλομέ-
νοις ναυκλήροις πάντα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σημαινόμενον
πυρὸν λαμβάνοντα τὰς συνήθεις ἀποχάς, ὁ δὲ Οὐ-
αλέριος ἐντεῦθεν εὐπειθὴς γενόμεν[ο]ς περί τε σαλα-
ρίου καὶ πάντων ἀναλωμάτων εὐδοκεῖν ἐπὶ [τού-]
τοις καὶ ἕκαστα ποιήσειν ὡς ἐπάνω δεδήλωται,
οὐκ ἐξόντος οὐδενὶ τῶν ὁμολογούντων παραβαί-
νειν τὰ προκείμενα. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶ[ς]
γείνεσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐπερωτήσαντες ὡμολόγη[σαν].
(ἔτους) β′ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,
Παῦνι ς¯. (2nd hand) Σαραπάμ⟨μ⟩ων ὁ κ(αὶ) Διονύσι[ο]ς
Θέων⟨ος⟩ καὶ Κορνῆλις ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀφύγχιος Ἀεῖτος
δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Σατορνεῖλος ἀποσυν-
εστήσα⟨μεν⟩ τὸν Αὐρήλιον Οὐαλέριον
ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμ⟨έ⟩νοις [ε]ὐδοκ(οῦντος) αὐτοῦ.

6. σιτολογίαν 13. σιτολογίας 15. σιτολογίας 27. γίνεσθαι 31. Κορνήλιος 32. Σατορνείλου

Aurelius Sarapammon also called Dionysios, son of Theon also called Demetrios, and Aurelius Cornelius, son of Aphynchis, grandson of Aphynchis, both from the city of Oxyrhynchus, nominated in the present year by the amphodogrammateus of the 5th tribe, 3rd cycle, to the office of sitologoi for the village of Phthochis in the Eastern Toparchy, acting through their surety Aurelius Satornilos also called Theon, son of Theon, from the same city;

and Aurelius Valerius, son of Sarapammon and Marcia Eudaimonis, from the same city, make the following agreement with one another:

The party of Sarapammon also called Dionysios, acting through their above-stated surety Satorninus also called Theon, agree that they have appointed Valerius to the post of secretary of the afore-mentioned sitology on condition that the same Valerius shall receive all of the government wheat measured in to the same sitology, issuing receipts attesting to grain transfers and to grain deposited in private accounts; and that he shall obey the strategos of the nome in respect to each monthly report, presenting summaries of the wheat received by him; that he shall further deliver to the shipowners who are sent all of the wheat designated by him (the strategos), receiving the customary receipts.

And Valerius, who has been persuaded forthwith in respect to his salary and all expenses, agrees that he does approve upon these terms, and that he will perform each duty as above stated.

It shall not be permitted for either of the parties to this agreement to violate the afore-stated terms; and as for this being done properly and well, they have asked each other the formal question and have so declared.

Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Payni 6.

(2nd hand) We, Sarapammon also called Dionysios, son of Theon, and Cornelius also called Aphynchis, son of Aeis, acting through me, Aurelius Satornilos, have appointed Aurelius Valerius upon all the afore-stated conditions, with his approval.

1. *Σαρ[απάμμων ὁ καί*: restored from line 10.

3. *καὶ Κορνήλιος*: a space to receive the name before *Ἀφύγχιος* was left blank; later *καὶ Κορνήλιος* was written in, possibly in a different hand. Cf. line 31, where this man's name is given as *Κορνῆλις ὁ κ(αί) Ἀφύγχιος Ἀεῖτος*.

4. *ἀναδοθέντες*: terminus technicus for nomination to a liturgical post; for the procedure involved, Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 365, cf. 406 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 346 ff. The nominees here, though apparently not yet active sitologoi, clearly regard their appointment as certain; cf., however, Lewis, *Acts of the Ninth International Congress of Papyrology*, Oslo, 1952, p. 242.

5. *τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει*: A.D. 222/223; cf. line 28.

τῆς ϵ΄ φυλ(ῆς) γ΄ περιόδ(ου): liturgists for a given year at Oxyrhynchus were drawn from only one of the six tribes of the city (*ἡ νυνὶ λιτουργοῦσα φυλή*, *P. Oxy.* 86.11). The tribes served for this purpose in rotation; a complete six-year cycle was called a *περίοδος*. See J. Lidov, *TAPA* 99, 1968, pp. 259 ff.

References to amphodogrammateis of particular tribes and cycles are chronological as well as administrative (cf. Mertens, *Services*, p. 11); they were later replaced by a simple reference to the year (e.g., *PSI* 1121.5-6 [A.D. 236/7] *τοῦ ἀμφοδογραμματέως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ* (*ἔτους*) instead of 1st tribe, 6th cycle). It is perhaps permissible to see in the *περίοδος* an early forerunner of the indiction.

The identity of the *φυλή* and *ἄμφοδον* which has often been supposed (references in Mertens, *Services*, p. 15, n. 88; denied by Mertens, *ibid.*, following Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 173) is now shown to be impossible, as there were over two dozen amphoda (E. P. Wegener, "Notes on the *φυλαί* of the Metropoleis," *Actes du Ve Congrès International de Papyrologie*, Brussels,

1938, p. 515; Mertens, *Services*, p. 14, n. 81; H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, Giessen, 1924) and only six tribes.

P. Oxy. 1119 (A.D. 253), though sometimes cited in this connection (see Mertens, *Services*, pp. 13, 29 ff., 46 n. 234), offers no information concerning the length of the periodos or the number of tribes. In that text two Antinoite petitioners who had been improperly nominated by an amphodogrammateus to serve an Oxyrhynchite liturgy for A.D. 244/45 request that the phylarch of A.D. 253/54 be informed of their rights. Their nomination in A.D. 244/45 they refer to as being in *τῇ πρὸ ταύτης περιόδῳ*; this year would be that of the 3rd tribe, 7th cycle. A.D. 253/54 in fact corresponds to the eighth cycle, but to the fifth tribe. The occasion for the petition was not the recurrence of the turn for the petitioners' tribe to serve, but the replacement of the amphodogrammateia by the phylarcheia.

For earlier discussions of the Oxyrhynchite tribes and cycles consult Mertens, *Services*, pp. 11 ff. and 46, n. 234; E. P. Wegener, *op. cit.*, especially p. 515; *P. Oxy.* 1119.6 note; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 349; Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 173; Lidov, *TAPA* 99, 1968, pp. 259 ff.

ἀμφοδογρα(μματέως): Mertens, *Services*, pp. 7 ff.; Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 172 ff. Another instance of nomination to the sitology by an amphodogrammateus is *PSI* 1121.

6. *σειτολογίαν*: for the granary officials called *σιτολόγοι* and the collection of grain in Egypt, see especially Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 250 ff.; Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 31 ff.; Rostovtzeff, "Kornerhebung und -transport im griechisch-römischen Aegypten," *Archiv* 3, 1906, pp. 201 ff.

ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας κώμης Φθώχεω(ς): on the nome subdivisions called toparchies (six in the Oxyrhynchite Nome; *P. Oxy.* 1659 introd.), cf. *WO* I, pp. 306 and 428; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 9; Hohlwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, pp. 404 f.; but see now R. Boehm, "Contribution à l'étude de l'administration romaine en Egypte," *Hermes* 81, 1953, pp. 465 ff., who shows that *τόποι* and *τοπαρχίαι* are distinct units. Sitologoi for Phthochis are mentioned elsewhere; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1530.

7. *ἐνγυητοῦ*: Oertel does not know of sureties for sitologoi before the fourth century (*Liturgie*, p. 256).

11. *Σ[α]τορνίου*: elsewhere (lines 7 and 32) called Satornilos.

12-13. *τὴν γραμματείαν τῆς . . . σειτολογίας*: cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 410 ff.; Calderini, *Θησαυροί*, Milan, 1924, pp. 82-84; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 36. Here the responsibilities delegated to the secretary are comparable to those of a substitute liturgist (for which *P. Leit.* 13 introd.). Cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 413, speaking of "wie die verschiedenen Hilfsorgane durch Unterschrift im eigenen Namen des öfteren die Verantwortung für ihre Amtshandlungen übernehmen, wie sie assertorische Eide über richtige Amtsgebarung leisten, wie sie bei groben Verstössen schwer (mit Gefängnis) bestraft werden. . . ." Cf. the words of a strategos to the secretary of a *βιβλιοφύλαξ δημοσίων λόγων* in *P. Lugd-Bat.* VI 15.142 ff.: *περισσῶς τοὺς αἰθέντας ἐπιζητεῖς ἔχοντας ἀποδεδιγμένον σαι γραμματέα. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ κατεστάθης, ἵνα κινδύνωι αὐτῶν πάντα διοικῇς.*

14. *τὴν παράλημψιν ποιήσεσθαι*: "Comme receveurs, les sitologues avaient à recevoir et à enregistrer les denrées fournies par les contribuables. C'étaient les . . . *πράκτορες* qui étaient chargés de la perception proprement dite." Holwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, p. 388.

16. *ἐκδιδόντα τ[οῖς] μετροῦσι διαστολάς*: cf. *BGU* 1062 = *WChr.* 276.15 *σύμβ[ολα] ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς διαγρ[άφ]ουσι*. Examples of receipts signed by secretaries of sitologoi are *P. Flor.* 35 15 ff.; *P. Lond.* 351 (II, p. 93).6 f.

θέματα: "Giroguthaben bei der Bank . . . oder beim Staatsspeicher," Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.; Holwein, *L'Egypte romaine*, pp. 267 ff. As opposed to *πολιτικά* and *κωμητικά*, *θέματα* are "private deposits of corn in the state granary" (*P. Oxy.* 1444 introd.). Here *θέματα* means not the deposit itself but the receipt attesting to the deposit; cf. the use of *ὑποθήκη*, *μίσθωσις*, *πρᾶσις*, *δάνειον*, etc. An example is *P. Oxy.* 90.

16-18. *ὑπακοῦσαι . . . μηνιαῖον*: cf. *WChr.* 276.16 ff. Many examples of *μηνιαῖοι* from sitologoi to strategoi have been preserved (listed in Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 371 n. 43).

20. *ναυκλήροις*: Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 121 ff. The shipowners transported grain to the Alexandrian port of Neapolis for later shipment to Rome: Rostovtzeff, *Archiv* 3, 1906, pp. 201 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 378 ff. For a list of recepta nautarum, C. H. Brecht, Münch. Beitr. 45, 1962, pp. 16 ff.

The secretary's duties do not include seeing to the land-transport of the grain from Phthochis to the harbor. Probably the naukleroi were responsible for that. Such responsibility of naukleroi for land as well as water carriage is well attested: Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 378; Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 122 f.; *P. Hamb.* 17 with editor's commentary. A full bibliography on land-transport is given by H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 81, 1950, p. 101.

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: i.e., the strategos. Cf., e.g., *P. Oxy.* 1259.7 ff. *τὰς ἐπισταλείσας μ[ο]ι* [the naukleros] *ὑπό τε σοῦ* [the strategos] *καὶ Ὡρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀπίωνος βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως . . . ἀρτάβας.*

21. *ἀποχάς*: *P. Oxy.* 2125 is a specimen of a receipt from a naukleros to a strategos.

23. *ἀναλωμάτων*: reimbursement for expenses is a frequent condition in contracts for liturgical assistants: Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 414.

26. *περὶ . . . γεώεσθαι*: for juristic discussion of this clause, Simon, *Studien*, pp. 47 f.

28-30. The date is 31 May, A.D. 223.

31. *Κορνῆλις κτλ.*: cf. line 3.

605. Antichretic Loan (*ὁμολογία ἐνοικήσεως*)

P. Mich. Inv. 119 16.5 x 16 cm. A.D. 117

A loan of 60 drachmas by Hermas son of Ptolemaios to Horos's sons Katoites and Petesouchos and their mother. In place of interest Hermas and any assignees he wishes are to have right of habitation (*ἐνοίκησις*) in the 4/27 share owned in common by Hermas and the debtors of a house the remainder of which belongs to Hermas. The *ἐνοίκησις* is to continue till the debt is repaid. No date for this repayment is fixed (so also e.g. in *P. Mich.* 188 and 189).

Ἐνοίκησις is among the commonest forms of *ἀντίχρησις*, the use by a creditor of property belonging to his debtor to serve in the place of interest or to amortize the principal of the debt. For juristic discussion consult especially Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 152 ff.; Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 286 ff.; A. Manigk, *Gläubigerbefriedigung durch Nutzung*, Berlin, 1910; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, p. 127; *P. Hamb.* 30 introd.; *P. Oxy.* 1641 introd.; *P. Lugd-Bat.* I 9.19-20 note; *P. Mich.* 188 introd.; and most recently Alan Samuel, *JJP* 13, 1961, pp. 33 ff. Cf. further *P. Mich.* 625 with introduction and notes. Contracts similar to *P. Mich.* 605 are listed in Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 288 n. 81.

The property involved in this text is known from a number of papyri covering a period of about 50 years. These are:

P. Mich. Inv. 100 (*BASP* 7, 1970, pp. 13-16), A.D. 71. Copy of an antichretic *ἐνοίκησις* loan of 200 dr. for five years, made by Maron to three sisters, Tauris, Didyme, and Soueris. The property involved ("almost certainly" – Browne, *BASP*

7, 1970, p. 13) is that later sold by Maron to Hermas and referred to in *P. Mich.* 605 *et al.*

P. Mich. 583, A.D. 78. Purchase by Hermas of 4/9 of the house and a partly-collapsed courtyard. Price 100 dr.

P. Mich. 584, A.D. 84. Division of the property between Hermas, who retains his purchased 4/9; Petesouchos son of Petosiris and Horos son of Katoites, who hold 1/3 in common; and Hatres son of Katoites, who holds 4/18 in common with one of Hermas's four ninths.

P. Mich. 585, A.D. 87. Antichretic *ἐνοίκησις* loan of 60 dr. for one year, made by Hermas to NN, on 1/27 of the property, this 1/27 share being held in common with Hermas.

P. Mich. 605, A.D. 117.

P. Mich. 188, A.D. 120. Antichretic *ἐνοίκησις* loan of 300 dr. made by Tapekysis daughter of Horos to Hermas. There is no mention of partners in the house.

P. Mich. 625, A.D. 121.

P. Mich. 189, A.D. 123. Antichretic *ἐνοίκησις* loan of 60 dr. by Tapekysis to Tayris daughter of Ninis, on 4/27 of the property.

P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined., early second century. Receipt for the *τέλος ἀνανεώσεως* on an antichretic *ἐνοίκησις* loan of 200 dr. by Tapekysis to Tayris on 4/27 of the property.

(slight traces of one line)
[± 30 *οὐ*]*λ̣ὴ ὑ̣π̣*[± 6] *Ἑρμᾷ Πτολεμαί̣ο̣υ*
[± 10]*.*[± 4]*..*[± 8]*.....τὸν μὲν Κατοίτην καὶ Πετεσοῦχον ἔχω*
παρὰ [*το*]*ῦ Ἑ̣ρμᾶ ἀργυρίου ἐπ*[*ι*]*σ̣ήμου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος κεφαλαίου*
δραχμὰ[*ς*]
ἑξήκοντα παραχρῆμα διὰ χ̣ε̣ι̣ρ̣ὸ̣ς ἐξ οἴκου καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων
συνκεχωρηκέναι τοὺς ὁμολ̣ο̣γ̣ο̣ῦ̣ντας τῶι Ἑρμᾷ ἐνοικῶ̣ν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς
παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὓς ἐὰν βούλ̣ηται ἐν τῶι ὑπάρχοντι αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσι
ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κ̣ώ̣μ̣ῃ πατρικῶι ἐνάτῳ καὶ εἰκοσεβδόμωι μέρ-
ει κοινῶι καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ πρ̣ὸ̣ς αὐτὸν Ἑρμᾶν τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν οἰκοπέ-
δων καὶ τῶν συνκυρόντ̣ω̣ν̣ πάντων καὶ βεβαιώσω τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ
τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἑρμᾷ [*κ*]*αὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν*
ταύτη(*ν*)
πάσῃ βεβαιώσι καὶ παρεχ[*έ*]*σ̣θωισ̣α̣ν καθαρὰ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὀφιλήματος*
δημοσί(*ου*)
τε καὶ ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ μηδένα ἐ̣ν̣ποιούμενον αὐτῶν μηδὲ μέρους μηδὲ
κολύοντ(*α*) ⟨ ⟩
ἐὰν δὲ φανῇ ὁ Ἑρμᾶς ἀνηλ̣ω̣κ̣ὼς δαπάνην ἐπισκευῆς ἢ ἀνοικοδομῆς καὶ
βουλ̣ω̣ν̣ται οἱ ὁμολ̣ο̣γ̣ο̣ῦ̣ντες ἀ̣π̣ο̣δ̣ῶ̣ναι ἀποδότωσαν σὺν καὶ τῷ προκιμένῳ
ἀργυρί(*ῳ*),
τῆς πίστεως περι αὐτὸν Ἑ[*ρ*]*μᾶν οὔσης. ὑπο*(*γραφεὺς*) *τῶ*(*ν*)

ὁμολ(ογούντων) (2nd hand) Ἡλειόδω(ρος) Ἡλειοδ(ώρου)
ὡς (ἐτῶν ?) μϛ οὐ(λὴ) μή(λῳ) δ(εξιῷ).
Κατοίτης καὶ Πε⟨τεσού⟩χου ἀμφότεροι Ὥρου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τούτων [± 4]ιος
Κατοίτου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς Θαυήριος ἀνδρὸς
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλων[ί]ου ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμᾶ
τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑξήκον⟨τα⟩ διὰ χειρὸς καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων
τόκων
συνχωροῦμεν ἐνοικῶν αὐτὸν ἐν τῶι ἐπιβάλλοντι ἡμῶν
ἐνάτωι καὶ εἰκοσιεβδόμου μέρι τόπον οἰκοπέδων
καὶ βεβαιώσομεν [καὶ ἐ]ὰν φανῇ ἀνηλοκὸς δαπάνην ἐπισ-
κ⟨ευ⟩ῆς ⟨ἢ⟩ ἀνοικοδ⟨ομ⟩ῆς ἀπο[δώ]σομεν, τῆς πίστεως περὶ αὐτὸν
οὔσης καθὰ πρόκιται. [ἔγρ]αψεν ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῶν Ἡλιόδορος Ἡλιοδώρου
μὴ εἰδότον γράμ[μα]τα.
(3rd hand) Ἑρμᾶς Πτολεμαί[ο]υ γέγωνε ⟨εἷς με⟩ ἡ ἀποχὴ καθὼς πρόκιται.
(4th hand) ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) το(ῦ) ἐν Βακχ(ιάδι) γρ(αφείου).
verso ὁμολ(ογία) Κατοίτ(ου) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) πρὸ(ς) Ἑρμᾶν
ἐνοικ(ήσεως)

3. τούς; ἔχειν 6. ἐνοικεῖν 8. The first *epsilon* of εἰκοσεβδόμωι is corrected from *iota*. 10. βεβαιώσειν 12. βεβαιώσει; ὀφειλήματος 13. κωλύοντα 15. προκειμένη 17. Πετεσοῦχος 21. ἐνοκεῖν 22. εἰκοσιεβδόμῳ μέρει τόπων 23. ἀνηλωκώς 25. πρόκειται; αὐτῶν; Ἡλιόδωρος 26. εἰδότων 27. γέγονε; πρόκειται

. . . with a scar under . . . Hermas, son of Ptolemaios . . . that Katoites and Petesouchos have received forthwith from Hermas sixty drachmas in coined silver of the Augusti, from hand to hand, out of the house; and instead of the interest thereon the parties of the first part have agreed with Hermas that he and his assignees and whomever he wishes shall live in the property belonging to the parties of the first part by inheritance from their father, owned in common and undivided with him, Hermas; viz., four twenty-sevenths of the house (?) with all its appurtenances; and the parties of the first part and their assignees shall guarantee to Hermas and his assignees the rights of this habitation with full guarantee; and let them present the property free from all debt public and private, and see to it that no one lays claim to the property or to a part thereof, or prevents <Hermas and his assignees from living in the property or letting others live there and collecting the rent and using its appurtenances without hindrance>. And if it be shown that Hermas has undergone expense for repair or construction and the parties of the first part wish to make repayment, let them do so along with the above stated sum of money, the responsibility resting on him, Hermas.

Signatory for the parties of the first part, (second hand) Heliodoros, son of Heliodoros, age about 44, with a scar on his right cheek.

We, Katoites and Petesouchos, the sons of Horos, and their mother . . . daughter of Katoites, acting with her guardian, her daughter Thayeris' husband

Apollonios, son of Apollonios, acknowledge that we have received the sixty silver drachmas from Hermas from hand to hand, and instead of the interest we agree that he shall live in the property that has fallen to our share, four twenty-sevenths of a house (?), and we will guarantee it, and if he be shown to have undergone expense for repair or construction we will make repayment, the responsibility resting on him as stated above. Heliodoros, son of Heliodoros, wrote on their behalf, as they are illiterate.

(third hand) Hermas, son of Ptolemaios: I have received the receipt as stated.

(fourth hand) Registered in the Bacchias grapheion.

Verso: Agreement of Katoites and others with Hermas, about habitation.

2. Πτολεμαίου: the traces after *μαι* are very indistinct. Possibly the line did not end with Πτολεμαίου but continued with ca. 2 letters of his description.

3. Hermas should here be described as *ὡς ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα δύο*, (?) *οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέσῳ*, but the traces are not sufficient to control the reading. Hermas's age and scar are known from *P. Mich.* 583-585 (cf. introduction). He was 82 in A.D. 117, but that date is not certain for this text (line 16 note). (In *P. Mich.* 188.3 *π[έντε* must be read for ed. *ο[ὐλή*, as Dr. Browne has kindly informed me.)

Κατοίτην καὶ Πετεσοῦχον: cf. line 17 n. These men are not known outside this text. In line 17 their mother also appears as a member of the transaction.

4. *ἀργυρίου ἐπ[ι]σήμου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος*: cf. West and Johnson, *Currency*, p. 68 item 11.

4-5. *δραχμὰ[ς] ἐξήκοντα*: no relation can be determined between the amount of the loan and the extent of the property, as is shown by the following chart:

Loan	*Share of Property*	*Reference*
60 dr.	1/27	*P. Mich.* 585
60 dr.	4/27	*P. Mich.* 605
300 dr.	whole	*P. Mich.* 188
60 dr.	4/27	*P. Mich.* 189
200 dr.	4/27	P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined.

5. *διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου*: i.e., in cash, not by a bank draft: Preisigke, *Girowesen*, p. 216; Pringsheim, *Sale*, pp. 74 ff.

8. *τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ*: known from the documents cited in the introduction to be Bacchias; cf. line 28.

8-9. *μέρει*: there is a trace of ink after *μερ-* which may represent an attempt to write the whole word in line 8. When this was abandoned from lack of space the false division of syllables resulted.

9. *κοινῶι καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ*: *ἀδιαιρέτῳ[ι]* is also possible. Cf. Egon Weiss, "Communio pro diviso und pro indiviso in den Papyri," *Archiv* 4, 1908, pp. 330 ff., esp. 353 ff.; Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 239 ff., esp. 242 ff. For an example outside the Hermas papers of a creditor's receiving *ἐνοίκησις* in property of which he was already joint owner, cf. *P. Lond.* 1168 (III, pp. 135 ff.).

λοιπῶν: indicates that part of the property has already been alienated; cf. e.g., *P. Flor.* 1.4.

μερῶν: an error for *τόπων*; cf. line 22, note.

10. *συνκυρόντων*: Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 243 with n. 16.

13. *κολύοντ(α) < >*: cf. *P. Mich.* 188.14 ff., *παρεχέσθωι <ὸ> ὁμολογῶν μηδένα κολύοντα Ταπεκῦσιν* (the creditor) *μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς [ἐνοικοῦντας κα]ὶ ἑτέρους ἐνοικίζοντας*

καὶ τὰ ἐνοίκια ἀποφερομένους καὶ χρωμένους τοῖς αὐτῶν χρηστηρίοις [πασι ἀκωλ]ύτως· ἐὰν δὲ φανῇ κτλ.

14. *ἢ ἀνοικοδομῆς*: reading certain; cf. 22 f. Re-examination has shown that this is also the reading of *P. Mich.* 188.16 and 189.20 and 33.

16. *τῆς πίστεως περὶ αὐτὸν Ἐ[ρ]μᾶν οὔσης*: cf. lines 24 f.; *P. Mich.* 188.18; 189.21, 33. Hermas may improve the property as he likes on his own authority, but apparently the debtors may refuse re-imbursement for unreasonable expenditures (*ἐὰν . . . βούλωνται οἱ ὁμολογοῦντες ἀποδῶναι, ἀποδότωσαν* 14-15). Cf. W. Schmitz, *Ἡ πίστις in den Papyri*, (Dissert. Köln, 1963) esp. pp. 71 ff.

Ἡλειόδω(ρος) Ἡλειοδ(ώρου): appears as a signatory also in *P. Mich.* 196.17 and 27; 198.18 and 26; 199.20 and 27. Although it is usually the scribe of the main document who writes the signatory's name and description (so in the texts just cited), Heliodoros's hand, awkward, careless, and sometimes extremely difficult to decipher, begins here as noted in the text.

ὡς (ἐτῶν?) μδ: The numerals are reasonably clear. The ages recorded for Heliodoros are self-contradictory, as often in Greco-Egyptian documents (cf. *P. Cair. Isid.* 125.14 note). His age is given as 49 on 18 May A.D. 122 (*P. Mich.* 196.17) but only 50 two years later, 6 July A.D. 124 (*P. Mich.* 198.18). Because of this variation the editor's restoration of age 5[2] in 126 is uncertain (*P. Mich.* 199.20).

If we accept age 49 in 122 as probably more precise than 50 in 124, we obtain A.D. 117 as the date of *P. Mich.* 605. This is slightly better than the alternative A.D. 118: at the time of this text, Hermas was still able to make loans to others, whereas by A.D. 120 he required a loan himself (*P. Mich.* 188). Probably as much time as possible should be allowed for this financial deterioration.

οὐ(λπὴ) μή(λῳ) δ(εξιῷ): reading doubtful, but cf. *P. Mich.* 196.18; 198.18.

17. *Ὥρου*: Since Katoites and Petesouchos inherited their property from this man (*πατρικῶι*, 8), he must be the Horos son of Katoites of *P. Mich.* 584. As he was 78 years old when that text was drawn up (84), his death by 117 is hardly surprising. This is possibly the Horos son of Katoites of *P. Mich.* 178.18; 180.4; 188.4 and 25 (not 20, where for the editor's *τοῦ Ὥρου* should be read *τὰς τοῦ*); 189.6, 35. If so Tapekysis (for whom see *P. Mich.* 625.3 note) was the sister of Katoites and Petesouchos.

The mother, her daughter Thayeris, and her son-in-law Apollonios are not identifiable elsewhere.

22. *τόπου (l. τόπων) οἰκοπέδων*: cf. line 9 n. This curious phrase has not yet been found apart from references to this single piece of property; cf. *P. Mich.* 585.12 and 32; *P. Mich.* 188.9 and 22; *P. Mich.* 625.4; *P. Mich.* 189.14 and 27; P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined. 8. In all the instances which have come to light since the publication of *P. Mich.* 188 both members of the phrase have been in the genitive plural. If *τῷ τοποων προκιμένῳ οἰκοπέδῳ* (*P. Mich.* 188.22) is a blunder for *τῷ τόπων προκειμένῳ οἰκοπέδῳ* the meaning must be a "structure with rooms"; i.e., "house" (see editor's note to lines 9-10). An attempt to confirm the reading of the phrase in line 9 (*ἐν τῷ . . . τόπων οἰκοπέδῳ*) has not been successful. The space is insufficient to accommodate the last two letters of *τόπων*. Leaving aside the paleographic problem, we may concede that *τόπων οἰκόπεδον* "house" is more likely than *τόπος οἰκοπέδων*, "site with buildings," inasmuch as the Hermas property included a house.

27. *ἀποχή*: a terminological blunder by Hermas. The text is not a receipt but a contract (*ὁμολογία*, cf. *P. Mich.* 188.25), and was docketed as such in the grapheion (cf. verso). Ἀποχή was presumably inspired by the wording of lines 3 and 19. On the form of notarial contracts cf. *P. Mich.* V p. 4; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 58 ff.; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* pp. 88 ff.

28. *γρ(αφείου)*: cf. *P. Mich.* II, introduction; *P. Mich.* V, introduction; Segrè, *Aegyptus* 7, 1926, pp. 97 ff.; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 58 ff. On registration of *ἐνοίκησις* agreements, Samuel, *JJP* 13, 1961, pp. 36 f.

606. Loan of Money

P. Mich. Inv. 182 — 15 x 21 cm. — A.D. 224

An interest-free loan of 152 drachmas for one year. Such loans were common in Egypt,[1] probably representing an older form of transaction than the loan with interest.[2] It has been asserted from time to time that in the freedom from interest one may detect Jewish influence;[3] there is at any rate no obvious sign of Judaism in the present text. According to Plutarch, Crassus amassed part of his fortune through loans of this type: *τοῖς φίλοις ἐδάνειζεν ἄνευ τόκων, ἀπήτει δ' ἀποτόμως τοῦ χρόνου παρελθόντος εἰς ὃν ἐδάνεισε, καὶ τὸ προῖκα πολλῶν ἐγίνετο τόκων ἐπαχθέστερον* (*Crassus*, III, 1).

For the devious ways by which contracts of loan without interest may occasionally have been drawn up to conceal usury at illegal rates, consult Tscherikower's article cited below, note 3, and M. Schnebel, *Aegyptus* 13, 1933, pp. 35 ff. If any criminal intent is concealed in the document below, it is at least concealed beyond discovery.

Juristic discussion of the ancient loan, with full bibliography, may be found in Taubenschlag, *Law* pp. 341-349.

The Aurelius Poseidonius of line 4 is the eminent Alexandrian known from *P. Strass.* 143 = *SB* 8258 and 8999 = *P. Med.* 63; *O. Mich.* 94;[4] *BGU* 1617; and *P. Flor.* 16. His full name is given in *O. Mich.* 94 as Lucius Septimius Aurelius Poseidonius; the praenomina show that his citizenship dated back to Severus. His farming interests in Pelusium of the Themistou Meris are known from *SB* 8999. His heirs are found in Philadelphia (*BGU* 1617), and his daughter Demetria in Euhemeria (*P. Flor.* 16).

Αὐρήλιος Καῆτις Νείλου μητρὸς Θαϊσᾶτος
ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφίας τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος
ὁμολογεῖ ἔχω παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἱέρωνος ἀπολευθέ-
ρου Αὐρηλίου Ποσιδωνίου γενομένου ὑπομνηματογράφ(ου)
τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ
ὡς χρηματίζει διὰ χειρὸς ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου

1. See the list in Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 343, n. 7.

2. See Wilcken's review of *The Adler Papyri* in *Archiv* 13, 1932, p. 219, and the references there given.

3. Basis of the assertion is Deut. 23: 19, 20; *οὐκ ἐκτοκιεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου τόκον ἀργυρίου καὶ τόκον βρωμάτων καὶ τόκον παντὸς πράγματος οὗ ἂν ἐκδανείσῃς· τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐκτοκιεῖς, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ σου οὐκ ἐκτοκιεῖς*; similarly Exodus 22: 25. Literature cited by Taubenschlag, *Law* p. 343, n. 7; cf. also V. Tscherikower (*contra*) and F. M. Heichelheim (*pro*) in *HThR* 35, 1942, pp. 25 ff. Heichelheim cites a number of supposed parallels from medieval England.

4. This text, dated by the editor "after A.D. 197/early IIId cent. A.D.," can now be placed definitely within the third century. It is later than *SB* 8999 (cf. *ἐξηγητεύσαντι*, *O. Mich.* 94.4 with *ἔναρχος ἐξηγητής*, *SB* 8999.3), where the title *βουλευτής* (line 3) already presupposes the introduction of the *βουλή*. A.D. 202.

δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα δύο χρῆ[σω ἐπὶ]
ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαῶφι καὶ
ἐπάναγκον τὸν Αὐρήλιον Καῆτω ἀποδώ[σειν τῷ]
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἱέρωνι τὸν προκείμενον κεφά[αιον]
ἀτόκους ἐν μηνὶ Θὼθ τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔτους ἀνυπερθέτως
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως γείνεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν
πρᾶξιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Καήτ[ι]ο[ς] καὶ ἐκ τ[ῶν]
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκη[ς]
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησε.
Καῆτις ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ οὐλ(ὴ) παρὰ ἀντικνήμιον δεξιόν.
(ἔτους) δ′ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
Φαῶφι ιε

3. ἔχειν 3-4. ἀπελευθέρου 11. ἄτοκον 12. γίνεσθαι

Aurelius Kaëtis, son of Nilos and Thaisas, from the village of Theadelphia of the Themistou Meris, acknowledges that he has received from hand to hand from Aurelius Hieron, freedman of Aurelius Poseidonius, ex-hypomnematographos of the most glorious city of Alexandria, and however he is styled, the capital sum of one hundred fifty-two silver drachmas in loan for one year from the present month of Phaophi; and Aurelius Kaëtis shall of necessity return to Aurelius Hieron the aforestated capital interest-free in the month of Thoth next year without delay; and he (Hieron) shall on demand have right of execution against Aurelius Kaëtis and all his property as if in consequence of a court decision; and when formally questioned he (Kaëtis) so declared.

Kaëtis, about 30 years old, with a scar on the right shin.

Year 4 of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi 15.

4. ὑπομνηματογράφ(ου): see now H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, Bonn, 1964, pp. 349 ff.

8. Phaophi: September 28/October 27.

11. Thoth: August 29/September 27.

17-19. The date is 12 October, A.D. 224.

607. Loan of Money

P. Mich. Inv. 478 — 14.5 x 29.5 cm. — A.D. 569

A loan of one gold solidus minus six carats at the interest of 250 silver talents per month, to be repaid on the creditor's demand.[1] Loans in gold currency which specify the interest are rare,[2] and texts which aid in establishing the relation of Byzantine gold values to the subsidiary currency are rarer still.[3] To these the present document is a welcome addition. Cf. lines 22-23 note.

A further point of legal interest in *P. Mich.* 607 is the specific pledge of certain articles of clothing in addition to the general pledge of all the debtor's property found commonly in Byzantine loans;[4] see note to line 30.

† Βασιλείας καὶ [ὑπατείας τοῦ θειο]τ̣[ά]τ̣ο̣[υ ἡμῶν]
δεσπότου Φλαυΐου Ἰου̣[σ]τ̣ίνου τοῦ αἰωνίο̣[υ]
Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους τετάρτου
∥Φαμενὼθ∥ πέμπτη δευτέρ(ας)
τῆς παρούσης ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἐν Ἀντινόου πόλει τῇ λαμπ(ροτήτῃ).
† Φλ(αύι)ο(ς) Χριστόδωρος Θεοδώρου πραίκων τῆς
ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως ταύτης τῆς Ἀντινοέων
[π]όλεως ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁρμώμενος Αὐρηλίᾳ
Εὐφημίᾳ θυγατρὶ Θεοδώρου χηρε⟨ύ⟩ουσα
ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀντινοέων πόλε(ως)
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ προγεγραμμένος
Χριστόδωρος πραίκων διὰ τῆς παρούσης
ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας ἐσχηκέναι καὶ δεδανῖσθαι
παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς εἰς χεῖράς μου ⟨εἰς ἰδίας μου⟩ καὶ ἀναγκαίας
χρείας χρυσοῦ κεφαλαίου νομισμάτιον
ἓν παρὰ κερ(άτια) ἓξ ζυγ(ῶ) δημο(σίῳ) Ἀντινόου,
γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) ς τῷ αὐτ(ῷ)
ζυγ(ῷ) δημο(σίῳ)· καὶ τοῦτο
ἑτοίμως ἔχω παρασχεῖν σοι ἐγώ τε καὶ
παντοῖοί μου κληρονόμοι ὁπόταν
βουληθῇς διὰ τῶν κυρίως ὑπὲρ σοῦ
πρατ'τόν'των μετὰ τῆς τούτου κατὰ μῆνα
ἐπικερδείας, τουτέστιν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα

1. The list of loans in G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, Helsingfors, 1932, pp. 207 ff., is extended through 1961 for the Byzantine period by Claire Préaux, *Chronique* 72, 1961, pp. 356-7; add now *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XIII 1; XVI 10 and the texts cited in the editor's introduction. Loans payable on demand are listed by Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 347, n. 41.

2. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 169.

3. These are listed and discussed by West and Johnson, *Currency*, pp. 158 ff.

4. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 167; A. Segrè, *Aegyptus* 9, 1928, pp. 49 ff.

διακόσια πεντήκοντα, δίχα πάσης
ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ ὑπ(ερ)θέσεως, ὑποκειμένων
σοι εἰς τοῦτο πάντων μου τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
ὑπαρξόντων πραγμάτων· καὶ εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλ(ειαν)
τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἐθέμην σοι ὑπογεγραμμένον
κύριον ὂν καὶ βέβαιον πανταχοῦ προφερόμε(νον) καὶ ἐφ'
ἅπαντα ἐρωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα ☩ δηλονότι ὑπ(ὲρ) τούτου
[παρ]εθέμην σοι λόγῳ ἐνεχύρου ὀθώνιν Ταρσικὸν Αἰγύπτιον
καὶ καμίσιν ὑποδειλικόν. ☩ (2nd hand) σταυρία +++ Χριστοδώρου ☩

(3rd hand) Φλ(αύιος) Χριστόδωρος Θεοδώρου
[π]ραίκων τῆς ἡγεμονικ(ῆς) τάξε(ως) ὁ προγεγραμμένος· στοιχεῖ μοι καὶ ἀπο·
[δ]ώσω τὸ προκείμενον νόμισμα μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπικερδείας ὁπόταν βουληθῇς
[ὧ'] ἀναλάβω τὰ ἐνέχυρα ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρήλιος Μαγίστωρ
Ὡρουωγχίου ἀπὸ Ἀντι(νόου) ἀξιωθ(εὶς)
[ἔγ]ραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ γράμμ(ατα) μὴ εἰδότος σταυρία τρία
προβαλόντος τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρί. ☩

7. ἡγεμονικῆς: *omicron* corrected from *omega* 9. χηρευούσῃ 13. δεδανεῖσθαι 30. ὀθόνιον 31. καμίσιον

☩ Year four of the kingship and consulship of our most God-like lord Flavius Justin, the eternal Augustus, Emperor. Phamenoth fifth of the present second indiction, in Antinoopolis the most glorious.

☩ Flavius Christodoros, son of Theodoros, herald of the officium of the praeses in this city of Antinoopolis, which is also the city of my origin, to Aurelia Euphemia, daughter of Theodoros, widow, from the same city of Antinoopolis, greetings.

I, the afore-mentioned Christodoros, herald, acknowledge by this written bond that I have received in loan from you, from (your) hand to my hands, for my private and necessary needs, the capital sum of one gold solidus less six carats on the public standard of Antinoopolis, total 1 gold solidus less 6 carats on the same public standard. And this I am prepared to return to you, both I myself and my heirs of whatever degree, whenever you desire, through any agent with power to act in your behalf, along with the monthly interest thereon, that is, two hundred fifty silver talents, without any unpleasantness or delay. All my property present and future is mortgaged to you for this, and for your security I have drawn up for you and signed this document, valid and guaranteed wherever presented; and when asked the formal question concerning all this I so declared. ☩ And it is understood that on this account I have turned over to you in pledge a garment made in Egypt after the Tarsic fashion and a . . . shirt.

crosses
(2nd hand) + + +
of Christodoros

(3rd hand) Flavius Christodoros, son of Theodoros, the afore-mentioned herald of the officium of the praeses: this agreement is satisfactory to me and I will return the above-mentioned solidus with the interest thereon whenever you desire, so that I may recover my pledges as stated. I, Aurelius Magistor, son of Horouonchios, from Antinoopolis, wrote on his behalf at his request, as he is illiterate; but he first drew the crosses with his own hand.

4-5. *δευτέρ(ας) τῆς παρούσης ἰνδικ(τίονος)*: one expects the number of the indiction to follow *παρούσης* (e.g., *P. Cair. Masp.* 67156.2-3). No parallel for the present word order is known to me, but the reading is clear.

The date is 1 March, A.D. 569. This fits the pattern of the Antinoite texts of the Dioskoros archive, all of which fall between 566 and 570.

6. *πραίκων*: = *κῆρυξ* (Hesychius). For papyrus references, S. Daris, "Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto," *Aegyptus* 40, 1960, p. 267.

7-8. *ἡγεμονικῆς . . .[π]όλεως*: for the officium of the praeses in Antinoopolis cf. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 47 n. 1.

9. *χηρε<ύ>ουσα*: similar omission of *hypsilon* in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67009 col. 1.12; 67309.9; *P. Flor.* 300.5; *P. Mon.* 10.5; and probably *P. Lond.* V 1733.6 and *P. Mon.* 11 verso 1; spelled correctly in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67325 IV r. 12.

14. *<εἰς ἰδίας μου>*: the same omission occurs in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67309.12, where see note. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 348 f.; Pringsheim, *Der Kauf mit fremden Geld*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 164 ff.

15-16. The nomismation is the gold solidus of 24 carats; minus six carats = 18 carats. That *παρά* in this context indicates subtraction is proved by the calculation in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67056 col. 4.5; so Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. lxvii. On the terminology cf. further West and Johnson, *Currency*, p. 129 and pp. 137-139. Gold reckoning became standard in Egypt ca. A.D. 469 (*ibid.*, p. 138). Cf. also Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli Antichi*, Bologna, 1928, pp. 464 ff.

16. *ζυγ(ῷ) δημο(σίῳ) Ἀντωόου*: on the numerous local standards of Egypt, West and Johnson, *Currency*, pp. 140 ff. The belief of those authors is that all public standards were in fact equal.

19-20. *ὁπόταν βουληθῇς*: repayment on creditor's demand; cf. introd. n. 1.

22-23. Interest of 250 talents per month. There is every likelihood that the value of the solidus in terms of talents is the same in this text and in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67309, a document drawn up in the same city, year, and month as *P. Mich.* 607. That text records two transactions: an antichretic *ἐνοίκησις* loan of six solidi less five carats each, to be paid on demand without interest; and a loan of nine solidi less six carats each, to be paid on demand with interest of 300 talents per solidus per month. West and Johnson explain the latter transaction as follows (*Currency*, p. 160): The loan of nine solidi means that nine *full* solidi were to be repaid; the deduction of six carats from each represents an advance deduction of interest; and this interest is restated in silver terms as 300 talents. Thus we obtain the equation 6 carats = 300 talents, or 1 carat = 50 talents, giving a solidus worth 1,200 talents. A confirmation of this value will then be found in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67163, a loan of seven carats several months later in the same year, to be repaid after one month with interest of 50 talents. In this case the seven carats would actually represent a loan of one triens (8 carats) less one carat deducted in advance; so that if the silver interest is a restatement of the deduction we

have again the equation 50 talents = 1 carat in Antinoopolis in A.D. 569.

This theory cannot be right. Other evidence indicates that there is no connection between carats deducted from the principal of a loan and the amount of interest: there are examples of loans on the minus-carat system where the loan is interest-free (e.g., *P. Erl.* 67 and the ἐνοίκησις transaction of *P. Cair. Masp.* 67309); where the interest is not specified (*P. Amh.* 149); where the interest is specified in gold (*P. Flor.* 300); in silver (*SB* 4498; *P. Mich.* 607); in wheat (*SB* 9772). Decisive is *SB* 9771, a loan of one solidus less 7 3/4 carats (read in line 9 π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) ζ for editor's ξ; similarly on verso) for three months, interest 1/4 carat per month = only 3/4 carat. Moreover, the rate of interest in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67309 would by West and Johnson's theory be 400 per cent a year, many times the norm for the period (see below; cf. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt,* pp. 167 f., where the authors suggest that "the legal rate of interest was probably disregarded" [p. 170]).

Preferable is the interpretation of the Cairo text's original editor, who based his calculations on a solidus of 48,000 talents (evidence for which in *P. Cair. Masp.* II, p. 123 with 67309.40 note; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1904.3 note) to reveal an interest rate of 10 per cent. If we apply the value of 48,000 talents to the solidus here, we find interest at 8 1/3 per cent a year. This accords well with the usual rates of that time: 4 to 12 per cent according to Segrè, *Atene e Roma* NS 5, 1924, pp. 132-135; 8 1/3 per cent is also found in *P. Lond.* V 1736 (A.D. 611). If this interpretation is correct, several results follow:

1. If *P. Mich.* 607 and *P. Cair. Masp.* 67309 both use a solidus worth 48,000 talents, the presumption is very strong that *P. Cair. Masp.* 67163 (seven-carat loan the same year) does so as well. Therefore the interest on that loan was 4.28 per cent (as suggested by the editor, Vol. II, p. 123) rather than the 17 per cent that he preferred. Cf. however Segrè, *Atene e Roma* NS 5, 1924, p. 135; *Metrologia,* p. 489 n. 3; *Aegyptus* 27, 1947, p. 230.

2. With this all evidence for a 1200-talent solidus vanishes.

3. The attempt to equate carats deducted with interest is without foundation (cf. the discussion above). It is possible that "one solidus less six carats" is nothing more than a linguistic equivalent for "18 carats."

24-26. *ὑποκειμένων σοι . . . πραγμάτων*: on the obligatio omnium bonorum see A. Segrè, "Note sul documento esecutivo greco-egizio," *Aegyptus* 9, 1928, pp. 49 ff. Cf. next note.

30. *λόγῳ ἐνεχύρου*: cf. preceding note. This document makes a clear distinction between the general pledge of all the debtor's property, which nevertheless remained in his possession and at his disposal, and the specific pledge of personal articles which passed into the creditor's hands. Cf. Ulpian: proprie pignus dicimus quod ad creditorem transit, hypothecam cum non transit neque possessio ad creditorem (*D.* 20, 1, 5, 1).

ὀθώνιν Ταρσικὸν Αἰγύπτιον: a linen garment made in Egypt after Tarsian models. Some Egyptian weavers (called Ταρσικάριοι; see *Aegyptus* 26, 1946, pp. 55 f.) specialized in Tarsian fabrics. *P. Oxy.* 1705.6 mentions a special loom for making such linens, the Ταρσικουφικὸς ἱστός. Cf. Diocletian's Price Edict 26.14, Ταρσικὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῖα; on Egyptian imitations of Tarsian wares, J. Bingen, *Atti XI congr. internazionale di papirologia*, Milan, 1966, p. 374.

31. *ὑποδειλικόν*: the word is not found elsewhere; I cannot suggest a meaning for it.

σταυρία Χριστοδώρου: "Christodoros × his mark." The trinity of little crosses is the standard Byzantine "signature" of the illiterate (e.g., *P. Leipz.* 90.8).

34. *ὧν'] ἀναλάβω*: cf. *P. Flor.* 313 of A.D. 449, where the debtor promises the creditor *παρασχεῖν σοι* the money borrowed *καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν με . . . τὰ ἐνέχυρα.*

608. Sale in Advance of Wine, Grain, and Vegetable Seed

P. Mich. Inv. 487 14 x 17 cm. 6th cent.

A sale of 18 artabs each of wheat and barley, four and a half artabs of vegetable seed, and 200 five-sextarii measures of wine, the dry crops to be delivered in Payni and the wine in Mesore, for a total price of four gold solidi. Contracts in which payment is received for goods to be delivered at a later date have been variously explained as *dationes in solutum,*[1] cessions of property to satisfy a debt contracted earlier; as money loans with repayment in kind;[2] and as true sales with payment in advance of delivery.[3] For a detailed and convincing examination of these documents, see Pringsheim, *Sale,* pp. 268-286. Pringsheim finds them to be (page 276) "a new type of contract," neither sale (because delivery is deferred) nor loan (because the "debtor" does not receive the goods); cf. *op. cit.* page 270. See further Simon, *Studien,* pp. 71 ff.; *P. Cair. Isid.,* introductions to 90 and 97. An extensive bibliography is given in Taubenschlag, *Law,* pp. 336 ff.

The present document belongs to the comparatively small group of texts which state the price paid;[4] cf. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, pp. 134 f. These are sometimes held to represent a different transaction from those texts which do not mention the price: cf. Taubenschlag, *Law,* p. 336 and references in footnote one below.

P. Mich. 608 is written in a hand appropriate to the late fifth or early sixth century. The latter date is assured by the exchange warranty in lines 15-16; see Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 494 n. 2.

ἀ̣ρτ[α]β̣[±30]
ἀρτάβα[ς τέ]σσερα[ς ἤ]μισ̣ο̣υ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ο̣ἴ̣νο̣υ̣ π[ενταξ-]

1. Rabel, *ZSS* 28, 1907, pp. 315 ff.; *P. Strassb.* 1, introd.; *P. Meyer,* introd.; de Francisci, *Aegyptus* 1, 1920, pp. 302 ff. This explanation has been advanced especially for such documents as do not state the amount of the price. These include the majority of the texts under consideration — 2/3 according to Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, p. 134; for a good example, see *P. Mich.* 615. Cf. de Francisci, *op. cit.*, p. 306: "L'assenza di qualsiasi indicazione relativa all' ammontare del prezzo . . . costringe a ritenere che il versamente del prezzo non era, in quei casi, di fatto avvenuto." *Contra,* specifically Montevecchi, *op. cit.* pp. 139 ff.; Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 275: "omission of the amount of the price is to be explained by the fact that payment was over and done with." Cf. *P. Oxy.* 1639, introd.; Taubenschlag, *Law,* p. 337.

2. Viereck, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1908, col. 138; cf. Segrè, *Atene e Roma,* N.S. 5, 1924, pp. 136 ff.; Arrangio-Luiz, *Lineamenti del sistema contrattuale nel diritto dei papiri*, Naples, 1928, pp. 64-72; O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, pp. 138 ff. The last three authors believe that the price was usually much less than the value of the goods to be delivered; hence the raison d'être of the contract would have been to avoid the laws against usury.

3. Wenger, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1907, p. 316; Berger, *Strafklauseln,* pp. 143 f.; *P. Hamb.* 71 introd.; *P. Oxy.* 1639, introd.; Welles, *AJP* 68, 1947, p. 94.

4. Pringsheim's observation (*Sale,* p. 276 n. 2) that the texts which mention the amount of the price are all very late must now be revised in the light of *P. Cair. Isid.* 87-92, all six from the early fourth century.

εστ ϊέων σηκωμάτων διακωσί[ων],
[γ]ί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) δ¯ εἰς κριθ(ῆς) ἀ(ρτάβας) ιη καὶ
σίτ(ου) ἀ(ρτάβας) ι[η] καὶ [λα-]
[χαν](οσπέρμου) ἀ(ρτάβας) δ (ἥμισυ) καὶ οἴ̈(ου) πε[ν]ταξεσ(τιαῖα)
σηκ(ώματα) σ̣·
[ὅν]περ σῖτον καὶ κριθὸν καὶ λαχ(ανόσπερμον) νέον καθ(αρὸν)
[κε]κ̣ωσκω(ευμένον) μέτρῳ Φὶβ Μο̣̈σχ ἐπάναγκες
[ἀ]ποδώσω σοϊ ἐν τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τῆς ᾱ ἰνδ(ικτίονος),
[ὅ]νπερ ἴ̈ον παρὰ λη̈λῶν ἀπὸ κλαύγους ἄδολο[ν]
⟨σοῦ⟩ παρέχοντος τὰ κοῦφ(α) ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσ(ω)
ἐν τῇ τρύ̣[γ]ῃ τοῦ Μεσ[ο]ρὴ μηνὸς ἴ̈ου ὑ̇σεως
τῆς ᾱ ἰ̈νδ(ικτίονος) καρπῶν β̄ ἐπεωεμήσεως ἀνυπερ(θέτως)·
ἀναδέχομαι δὲ τὴν τοῦ οἴ̈ου καλ⟨λ⟩ονὴν καὶ
παραμονὴν μέχρϊ ὅλου τοῦ Τῦβϊ μηνὶ̈ καὶ εἴ̈γε
εὑριθείη ἐν αὐδῷ ὅ⟨ξ⟩η ἤ̈γουν φαῦλα ἐμὲ ταῦτα ἀλλάξ[αι]
καὶ τὰ ⟨ὅσα σοϊ παρασχ(εῖν) ἐν προτίῳ οἴ̈ῳ κωδ(ύ̇ῳ)
τῶν ἐμοὶ ὑπαρ(χόντων) ὑποκ(ειμένων) εἰς τοῦτο. κύριον τὸ
γρ(αμματεῖον)
ἁπλοῦν γραφ(ὲν) καὶ ἐπερω(τηθεὶς) ὡμολόγησα.
Ϥ Αὐρήλιος Ὀνοφρίου Ῥαχὴλ ὁ προκεγραμ⟨μ⟩ένος
ἔσχον τιμὴν πλήρης καὶ συμφονῆ με
π[ά]ντα τὰ ἐνγεγραμ⟨μ⟩ένα ὡς πρόκειτε.

verso]νίδου . . . [±10 κριθ(ῆς)] ἀ(ρτάβαι) ιη καὶ
σίτ(ου) ἀ(ρτάβαι) ιη καὶ λαχ(ανοσπέρμου)
ἀ(ρτάβαι) δ̄ (ἥμισυ) κ̣[αὶ

2. ἀρταβῶν τεσσάρων ἡμίσους 2-3. πενταξεστιαίων 3. διακοσίων 6. κριθόν; cf. textual note 7. κεκοσκωευμένον 9. οἶνον, ληνόν, γλεύκους 11. οἴνου 12. καρπῶν, ἐπωεμήσεως 14. μηνός 15. εὑρεθείη, αὐτῷ 16. πρωτείῳ 17. The papyrus has an abbreviation stroke drawn in error through the final iota of ἐμοί. 19. Ὀνόφριος, προγεγραμμένος 20. συμφωνεῖ μοι 21. πρόκειται

[I acknowledge that I have received from you four gold solidi as the price of eighteen artabs of barley, eighteen artabs of wheat,] four and one half artabs of vegetable seed, and two hundred five-sextarii jars of wine, total 4 gold solidi for 18 art. barley, 18 art. wheat, 4 1/2 art. vegetable seed, and 200 five-sextarii jars of wine. This wheat, barley, and vegetable seed I will necessarily deliver to you in the month of Payni of the first indiction, new, clean, and seived, by the measure of Phib, son of Mosch; this wine, for which you shall supply the vessels, I will necessarily deliver at the vat, free of must, unadulterated, in the vintage of the month of Mesore, from the wine vintage of the first indiction, the crops of the second indiction, without delay; and I guarantee the goodness and durability of the wine up to and including the whole month of Tybi, and if there be found in it any sour or inferior wines I will replace them and supply you with the same

amount in wine of the best quality, at the risk of my property, which is mortgaged (to you) for this. The document, written in one copy, is valid, and when asked the formal question I so declared.

I, the afore-mentioned Aurelius Onophrios, son of Rachel, have received the price in full and all the terms are satisfactory to me as above stated.

Verso: . . .18 artabs of barley, 18 artabs of wheat, 4 1/2 artabs of vegetable seed, and . . .

2. ἀρτάβα[ς: not ἀρταβῶ[ν. The genitive is required, depending on a lost τιμήν; cf. the correct σηκωμάτων in line 3. On the format of the text cf. Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 282 and the references in his note two.

τέ]σσερα[ς ἤ]μισυ: for the number cf. line 5 and verso; it refers to vegetable seed.

2-3. π[ενταξ]εστιέων σηκωμάτων: cf. line 5. There is no trace of *xi* at the beginning of line 3, and the *epsilon* is written at the very margin of the text; the scribe must therefore have made the false division of syllables as restored. Σηκώματα of 5, 6, and 8 sextarii are known: see L. Casson, "Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt," *TAPA* 70, 1939, p. 8. Cf. *PSI* 1122 (6th century), where 200 five-sextarii σηκώματα of wine are sold for something less than two solidi.

4. σίτ(ου): "wheat"; cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* pp. 94 f.; *WB* s.v. σῖτος, 2.

ι[η]: the number is assured by the verso. For equal quantities of barley and wheat, cf. the frequent σιτόκριθον κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ; e.g., *P. Lond.* V 1771.2.

[λαχαν](οσπέρμου): for the restoration cf. line 6 and verso. The resolution λαχαν(οσπέρμου) is more probable than λαχάν(ων). I know of only one sale in advance of λάχανον (*BGU* 1015), but six of λαχανόσπερμον: *P. Bad.* 25, *P. Gen.* 8, *P. Cair. Isid.* 92, *P. Lond.* V 1774, *BGU* 740, *SB* 9129. Vegetable seed was used for making oil; references in Johnson, *Roman Egypt,* p. 3 n. 12.

6. κριθόν: the word is not attested elsewhere; perhaps a mistake for κριθήν or κριθίον.

6-7. νέον καθ(αρὸν) [κε]κωσκω(ευμένον): the last term is not commonly applied to barley. Cf. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, pp. 144 ff.; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 181; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* pp. 105 f.; V. B. Schuman, "Light on Taxes in Kind in Roman Egypt," in *Acts of the IX International Congress of Papyrology,* Oslo, 1961, p. 254 n. 2. Plates II and III of Schuman's article concern grain sifting.

7. μέτρῳ Φὶβ Μόσχ: this measure is not found elsewhere.

8. Παῦνι: 26 May/24 June. This is the usual month for deliveries of grain, following the harvest in the preceding month of Pachon (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 164; Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, pp. 144 f.). The month fixed for deliveries of vegetable seed varies (see Montevecchi's examples, p. 148), but Payni is found also in *BGU* 740 and *P. Cair. Isid.* 92.

9. ληλών: for the spelling cf. *P. Flor.* 65.8; Mayser I, pp. 188 f.

κλαύγους (i.e., γλεύκους): for the confusion of *gamma* and *kappa* cf. line 19, προκεγραμ(μ)ένος; Mayser pp. 169 f.; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen,* p. 34 n. 1. This confusion and that between *delta* and *tau* (cf. αἰδῷ, 15) are characteristic of Greco-Egyptian koine: Mayser, pp. 170 and 175, who refers to Stern's *Koptische Grammatik*; cf. Worrel, *Coptic Sounds,* Ann Arbor, 1934, especially p. 85. For αυ instead of ευ, Mayser, pp. 113 f. Γλεῦκος is must; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 285.

10. <σοῦ> παρέχοντος τὰ κοῦφ(α): there is not room for [σοῦ] at the end of the last line or the beginning of this one. For the phrase, cf. e.g. *P. Lond.* 1001.21 (III, p. 270); Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 283 with n. 9.

11. ἐν τῇ τρύ[γ]ῃ: for the grape vintage, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* pp. 275 ff.

Μεσ[ο]ρή: 25 July/23 August."L'epoca della consegna è sempre Μεσορή" – Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, p. 146; but cf. *P. Oslo* 43.2.

ῥύσεως: Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 292; Casson, *TAPA* 70, 1939, p. 4.

12. α ἰνδ(ικτίονος), καρπῶν β ἐπεωεμήσεως: for this and similar expressions H. Comfort, "The Crops of an Indiction in Late Byzantine Land-Leases," *Aegyptus* 14, 1934, pp. 429 ff. In this contract the grain harvest took place in the first indiction (line 8); this grain would rightly have been designated καρπῶν of indiction 2, because it would have been used to pay rents and taxes for that indiction. The grape vintage, on the other hand, should actually occur in indiction 2; apparently the terminology has been assimilated to that of the grain crops (cf. Comfort, p. 431). For Byzantine dating in general, see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie,* Paris, 1958, especially 192 ff.

13. καλ(λ)ονὴν καὶ παραμονήν: for the simplification of double *lambda* Mayser, pp. 211 f. Translate "goodness and durability" – *P. Lond.* V 1764.4 note; Hombert-Préaux, *Chronique* 14, 1939, p. 168; Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 494 n. 1; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen,* pp. 53 f. Cf., however, *P. Flor.* 65.12 note, "chiarificazione e purificazione"; also *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI 11.24-26 note and translation; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 291. On παραμονή, cf. Athenaeus 30E, τὸν (οἶνον) πρὸς παραμονὴν ἐπιτήδειον (cited *P. Lond.* V 1764.4 n.). So also in two Ptolemaic wine loans the wine is required to be μόνιμος (*P. Amh.* 48.9 and *P. Grenf.* II 24.14).

14. Τῦβι: 27 December/25 January, five months from the vintage in Mesore. This is the usual warranty: Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, p. 146; Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 494; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 290 f.

15. ἐν αὐδῷ ὄ(ξ)η: cf. *P. Lond.* V 1764.5, ἐν αὐτῷ ὄξη ἤγουν φαῦλα, where see note. On the confusion of *delta* and *tau*, Mayser, pp. 175 ff.; cf. line 9 note. For ὄξος, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 279.

ἀλλάξ[αι] κτλ: cf. *P. Lond.* V 1764.5 ff., ταῦτα ἀλλάξαι καὶ τὰ ἴσα παρασχεῖν ἐν πρωτείῳ οἴνῳ Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 495 n. 1. For juristic interpretation of this clause, *ibid.,* pp. 493 ff.; on its value in dating this contract, cf. introd.

19. Ὀνοφρίου Ῥαχήλ: not Ὀνόφριο(ς) υ(ἱὸς) Ῥαχήλ.

προκεγραμ(μ)ένος: simplification of double *mu,* Mayser, pp. 213 f.; *kappa* for *gamma,* cf. line 9 note.

συμφονῆ με: η for ει, Mayser, pp. 77 ff.; με for μοι, Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen,* p. 24 n. 2.

verso:]νίδου: this is probably part of the name of Onophrios's town of origin; cf. *P. Lond.* 1001 (III, p. 270) verso.

609. Lease of Land

P. Mich. Inv. 957 6.5 x 27 cm. A.D. 244

A lease by Aurelius Phamais to Aurelius Chairemon of 2 1/2 arourae near the village of Tebetny for the cultivation of vegetables. Phamais is to supply three yoke of oxen to aid in the sowing and is to pay the taxes on the land; in return he is to receive as his rent one-half the produce. The text is thus an example of "Teilpacht"; see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* pp. 204 ff.

In form the document is a subjectively styled cheirograph issuing from the lessee; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 24.

Αὐρήλ(ιος) Χαιρήμων Ὡριγέ-
νους ⟨μητρὸς⟩ Θαήσιος Ἀφ̣ονου
Αὐρηλ(ίῳ) Φαμάϊτι Νεμεσίω-
νος μη(τρὸς) Ταποντῶ-
τος ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Τεβτύν(εως).
μεμίσθωμαι παρὰ σοῦ
περὶ κ(ώμην) Τεβέτνυ ἐκ τ(οῦ)
Δημοσθ(ένους) κ... κλ(ήρου) (ἀρούρας) β (ἥμισυ)
εἰς σποράν λαχανοσπέρ-
μου εἰς τὸν σπόρον
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους)
ἐφ' ἡμισίᾳ τῶν ἐκβη-
σομένων καρπῶν
ἐφ' ἁλώνων, ἐμοὶ μὲν
τῷ μισθουμένῳ
μέρος ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς
ἀνθ' ὧν κατατίθεμαι
εἰς τὴν γῆν σπερμά-
των καὶ πασῶν δα-
πανῶν ἀπό τε κατασπο-
ρᾶς μέχρι συνκομι-
δῆς καὶ λικμήσεως,
καὶ σοὶ δὲ τῷ Φαμάϊτι
τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος ἥ-
μισυ ἀντὶ δημοσίων
τῆς γῆς καὶ φόρων·
μετὰ δὲ τὴν λίκμη-
σιν τὰ περιγεινό-
μενα ἐξ ἴσου μέρους
ἀπολαβεῖν ἡμᾶς·
παρέξεις δ' ἐμοὶ
ἐν τῇ κατασπορᾷ
προῖκα τρία ζεύγη
βοῶν, τῶν τῆς γῆς
δη(μοσίων) ὄντων πρὸς σὲ
τὸν Φαμάϊν, καὶ ἐπε-
ρωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγη-
σα. ἡ μίσθωσις κυρία.
(ἔτους) β′ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου
Φιλίππου Εὐσεβ(οῦς) Εὐτυχοῦς
καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου
τοῦ γενναιοτάτου Καίσαρος

Σεβαστ[ῶ]ν, Ἀθὺρ η.
45 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Χαιρ[ήμ]ων μεμίσ-
θωμ[αι ὡς] πρόκ(ειται). Αὐρήλ(ιος)
Ἀμοι.[...] ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ)
φάσκ(οντος) μὴ [εἰδ(έναι) γράμ(ματα)].

12. ἡμισείᾳ 28. περιγινόμενα

Aurelius Chairemon, son of Origen and Thaesis . . . , to Aurelius Phamais, son of Nemesion and Tapontos from the village of Tebtynis. I have leased from you, of the parcel of . . . land named after Demosthenes located in the village of Tebetny, 2 1/2 arouras to be sown with vegetable seed, for the sowing of the present 2nd year, for one-half the resulting crop, (to be delivered) on the threshing floors. A half share of the whole shall belong to me the lessee as a return for the seed which I put into the ground and all my expenses from seedtime to harvest and winnowing; and the remaining half shall belong to you Phamais as a return for the public dues on the land and for your rent. After the winnowing we shall take the produce in equal shares, and in the sowing you will supply me with three yoke of oxen without charge. The public dues are to be paid by you, Phamais, and when asked the formal question I so declared. The lease is valid. Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Julius Philippus the most noble Caesar, Augusti, Hathyr 8.

I, Aurelius Chairemon, have leased as stated. I, Aurelius Amoi . . . have written on his behalf, as he states that he is illiterate.

8. Δημοσθ(ένους) κ̣..: apparently not Δημοσθ̣ένους. The following traces should be an abbreviation of κατοικικοῦ or κληρουχικοῦ. For the named κλῆροι of Roman Egypt cf. F. Zucker, "Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnamen," *Festschrift Oertel,* Bonn, 1964, pp. 101 ff.

9-10. εἰς σπορὰν . . . εἰς τὸν σπόρον: cf. *P. Oxy.* 1126.9-10; *CPR* 41.14-15.

λαχανοσπέρμου: the produce desired is λαχανόσπερμον rather than λάχανον. Cf. line 22 note; *P. Mich.* 608, 4 note.

12. ἐφ' ἡμισίᾳ: Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* p. 206, "Meist beträgt der Anteil des Verpächters 1/2 oder 1/3 vom Ertrag."

22. λικμήσεως: not in *LSJ* or *WB*, but cf. line 27; *SB* 9409.1 (7).78; *P. Petaus* 53.12 n., where the present text is referred to. This must signify a method of separating out the vegetable seed (λαχανόσπερμον) in a process similar to the winnowing of wheat. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 210, does not discuss this.

31-34. παρέξεις . . . βοῶν: cf. *SB* 7474.12; *P. Gen.* 34.4-5.

39-44. The date is 4 November, A.D. 244.

45. Αὐρήλ(ιος) κτλ.: no change of hand is apparent.

610. Lease of Land

P. Mich. Inv. 3316 6.5 x 27.7 cm. A.D. 282

A one-year lease of flax-land near the Oxyrhynchite village of Ision Panga for 1,600 drachmae per aroura. The document is drafted in the "private protocol" style that enjoyed great favor at Oxyrhynchus, and exhibits many typically Oxyrhynchite features as described by Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 22 ff.

A convenient list of flax-land leases is given in the introduction to *P. Herm. Rees* 22; flax culture in Hellenistic Egypt is discussed briefly by Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 203 ff. Novel features of the present text are the title of the lessee (9 ff. note) and the date (42 ff. note).

Ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος
Πλούταρχος ὁ καὶ Ἀμμώ-
νιος γυμνασιαρχήσας
βουλευτὴς τῆς λαμπρᾶς
καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγ-
χειτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ
Κοπρεῖ Παποντῶτος μη-
τρὸς Θεωνίδος ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς πόλεως κωμαστῇ
προτομῶν τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ Νείκης αὐτοῦ πρὸς μό-
νον τὸ ἐνεστὸς η (ἔτος) ἀπὸ
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ
περὶ τὸ Ἰσῖον Παγγᾶ τὰς
ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου κτήματος
Νέπωτος ἐν τόπῳ κα-
λουμένῳ Πεκ̣λ̣ί̣βθ¯ ἐν
δυσὶ τόποις ἀρούρας [±3]
ἐκ γεωμετρίας ὥστ[ε ταύ-]
τας καταθεῖναι ἐν λ[ωο-]
καλάμῃ, φόρου κατ' ἄ[ρου-]
ραν ἀνὰ δραχμὰς χ[ιλί-]
ας ἐξακοσίας. βεβαιο[υμέ-]
νης δὲ τῆς μισθώσε̣[ως]
ἀκίνδυνος ὁ φόρο̣[ς]
παντὸς κ̣ιν̣[δ]ύνου, [τῶν]
τῆς γῆς δημοσίων [ὄν-]
των πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχ[ον]
κυριεύοντα τῶν [καρ-]

πῶν ἕως τὸν φόρο[ν]
ἀπολάβῃ. ἐπάναγκες ἀπο-
δότω ὁ μεμισθωμένος
τὸν φόρ[ο]ν τῷ Ἐπεὶφ μη-
νὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος η (ἔτους) ἀνὺ-
περθέτως, τῆς πράξεως
οὔσης παρά τε τοῦ μεμι-
σθωμένου ⟨καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων⟩
ὡς καθήκει.
κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις περὶ
ἧς ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁ μεμι-
σθωμένος ὡμολόγησεν.
(ἔτους) η// [Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ίου] Πρόβου
Γοθεικοῦ Μεγίστου Περσικοῦ
Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ
Φαῶφι. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Πλού-
ταρχος ἔσχον τοῦτου
τὸ ἴσον.

12. Νίκης

Aurelius Plutarchos also called Ammonios, ex-gymnasiarch, senator of the glorious and most glorious city of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Aurelius Kopres, son of Papontos and Theonis, from the same city, bearer of the busts of our lord Probus Augustus and his Victory in the processions, for only the present 8th year, of his property near Ision Panga, the (so many) arouras, fixed by survey, located to the east of the holding of Nepos in the *topos* called Peklbth, in two plots: these to be planted in flax, at a rent of 1,600 drachmae per aroura. The lease is guaranteed, and the rent is free of all risk. The public dues on the land are to be paid by the landlord, who is to own the crops till he has received his rent. The lessee is obliged to pay the rent in the month of Epeiph of the present 8th year without delay, the right of execution resting against the lessee and all his belongings, as is proper. This lease, concerning which the lessee was asked the formal question and so declared, is valid. Year 8 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus Gothicus Maximus Persicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi. . . .

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Plutarchos, have received the duplicate of this contract.

9 ff. *κωμαστῇ προτομῶν τοῦ κυρίου* κτλ.: a title previously known from *P. Oxy.* 1449.2 (A.D. 213-17); *P. Oxy.* 1265.10 (A.D. 336); and *P. Oslo* 94.4 (2nd-3rd cent.). This text is the

first which does not explicitly join the office with the priesthood of Zeus, Hera, and a large number of *σύνναοι θεοί* (*P. Oxy.* 1265), some of whom are named in *P. Oxy.* 1449 as Atargatis, Kore, Dionysus, Apollo, and Neotera. None of the documents reveals more about this office than can be deduced from the name: that this person carried a bust of the emperor and a small statue representing his Victory in the sacred processions. Like *P. Oslo* 94, our text fails to call the Victory "advancing" (*προαγούσης*); cf. the Oxy. publications. This is the first attestation of this cult feature in connection with Probus.

On *κωμασταί* in general see Otto, *Priester* I, p. 95 n. 2; further bibliography in *P. Oslo* 94.4 note. For the Greco-Egyptian Caesar cult, Wilcken, *Grundzüge,* pp. 123 ff.; Blumenthal, *Archiv* 5, 1913, pp. 317 ff.; C. Kunderewicz, "Quelques remarques sur le rôle des kaisareia dans la vie juridique de l'Egypte romaine," *JJP* 13, 1961, pp. 123 ff.

13. The 8th year of Probus, A.D. 282/3.

15. *τὸ Ἰσῖον Παγγᾶ*: a number of Oxyrhynchite hamlets were named after Isis-shrines; see *P. Oxy.* 1488.28 note. Two other leases of flax fields in the same vicinity are *P. Oxy.* 103 and *PSI* 469.

20. *ἐκ γεωμετρίας*: Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* pp. 76, 163 f.; *P. Berl. Leihg.* 20.4 note.

21-22. *λ[ινο]καλάμῃ*: Pliny's description of the culture and use of flax, together with much invective against the plant, is located *NH* 19, 1-6. Egyptian linens were very famous, and brought a high price because of their fineness (Aegyptio lino minimum firmitatis, maximum lucri; Pliny, *NH* 19, 2, 13).

24. *βεβαιο[υμέ]νης*: the landlord binds himself not to interfere with the lessee's use of the property and to prevent such interference from others: Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* pp. 153 ff.; Pringsheim, *Sale,* p. 444 n. 3.

26. *ἀκώνδυνος*: U. Wollentin, *Ὁ Κώνδυνος in den Papyri* (Dissert. Köln, 1961).

34-35. Epeiph of year 8: June 25/July 24, A.D. 283.

38. *<καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων>*: similar omissions occur in *P. Oxy.* 103.29; *SB* 7175.16; cf. *P. Oxy.* 2585, 18-19 n.

39. *κυρία*: M. Haessler, *Die Bedeutung der Kuria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden,* Berlin, 1960.

40. *ἐπερωτηθείς*: for the stipulatio in leases, Simon, *Studien,* pp. 61 ff.

42-47. Phaophi of year 8: September 28/October 27, A.D. 282. This is the latest attestation of the reign of Probus; see R. Rémondon, "Un nouveau document concernant Probus," *Rev. de Philol.* Ser. 3, 28, 1954, p. 199, n. 2 for bibliography. The text published by Rémondon, if rightly dated, ignores Probus's short eighth year.

611. Lease of Land

P. Mich Inv. 441 — 19 x 28 cm. — A.D. 412

A one-year lease of 30 3/4 arouras of land near the village of Plelo in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, the rent to be paid in kind according to the following schedule:

1. 15 arouras to be planted in wheat, rent 120 artabs of wheat;
2. 5 arouras to be planted in barley, rent 40 artabs of barley;
3. 2 arouras of vegetables, rent 6 1/2 artabs 4 choinikes of vegetables;
4. 8 3/4 arouras of grass, rent 4 3/8 (?) arouras grass.

In form the document is a typical early Byzantine cheirograph; for which see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* pp. 43 ff. The date adds interest to the text, as fifth-century papyri are relatively uncommon: Herrmann lists a dozen fifth-century leases (entries 66-77), for the most part badly preserved, out of 198 leases for the Byzantine period as a whole.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τὸ θ′
καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ δ′ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγού(στων), Θὼθ λ.
κληρονόμοις Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης
ἀπὸ δουκῶν γεουχοῦσι ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
5 *παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἡλίου Κολλούθου ἀπ᾽ ἐποικείου Κναφέως τοῦ αὐτοῦ*
νομοῦ.
ἑκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους
πθ νη ⟨ἕως⟩ σπορᾶς τῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων ἡμῖν ἐν πεδίοις κώμης Πλελὼ ἐδάφους Παειανοῦ
καλουμένου ἀλ[± 3]κὴν μηχανὴν ἐξηρτισμένην ἀρουρῶν
10 *τριάκοντα ἡμίσους τετάρτου ὥστε σπῖραι ἐν μὲν πυρῷ ἀρούρας*
δεκαπέντε, φόρου ἀποτάκτου σίτου ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι,
καὶ κριθῇ ἀρούρας πέντε, φόρου τούτων κριθῆς ἀρτάβας
τεσσεράκοντα, καὶ λαχάνου ἀρούρας δύο, φόρου τούτων
λαχάνου ἀρτάβας ἓξ ἥμισυ χ[ο]ίνικας τέσσαρας, καὶ
15 *τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν χόρτῳ ἀ[ρουρῶν] ὀκτὼ ἡμίσους τετάρτου ἔχειν*
ἡμᾶς ἐν χόρτῳ ἀρούρ[ας τέσσαρας τέταρτον ?] ὄγδοον.
ἀκίνδυνος ὁ φόρος πα[ντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν δ]ημοσίων
ὄντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺ[ς γ]εούχους, ἐπάναγκες δ᾽ ἐμὲ παρασχεῖν
τὸν φόρον μέτρῳ πα[ραλ]ημπτικῷ τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ
20 *ἀνϋπερθέτως καὶ τὴ[ν ἀναβολ]ὴ[ν τῶ]ν ναουίων ποιεῖσ-*
θαι. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις κ[αὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὡμολόγησα] (2nd hand)
Αὐρήλιος
Ἡλίας Κολλούθου μεμ[ίσθωμαι] καὶ ἀποδώσω τὸν φόρον
ὡς πρόκιτα[ι]. Αὐρήλιος [± 7]ου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.
25 (1st hand ?) di' em[u ± 7]....u
verso *μί(σθωσις) μηχ(ανῆς) Φαειανοῦ ἐδ(άφους) Ἡλίᾳ Κολλούθου ἀπὸ*
Γναφέων
(traces of ca. 8 letters) αχ ξ κ λλ....

8. *ὑμῖν* 10. *σπεῖραι* 11. *ἀρταβῶν* 12. *ἀρταβῶν* 13. *λαχάνῳ* 14. *ἀρταβῶν, ἡμίσους, χοινίκων, τεσσάρων* 16. *ὑμᾶς* 20. *ναυβίων*

Year after the 9th consulship of our lord Honorius and the 4th of our lord Theodosius, the eternal Augusti. Thoth 30.

To the heirs of Phoibammon of glorious memory, formerly duke, land-

holders in the city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Elias, son of Kollouthos, from Fuller's Farmstead in the same nome.

I willingly undertake to lease from the present 89th = 58th year until the sowing of the twelfth indiction, of the property belonging to you in the arable area of the village Plelo, in the field called after Paeianos, a . . . water wheel outfitted and serving thirty and three-quarters arouras. Fifteen arouras are to be sown in wheat at the fixed rent of one hundred twenty artabs of wheat; five arouras in barley, at a rent for these of forty artabs of barley; two arouras in vegetables, at a rent for these of six and a half artabs four choinikes of vegetables; and of the remaining eight and three-quarters arouras in grass, you are to have four and three-eighths (?) arouras in grass. The rent is free of all risk, and the public dues are to be paid by you, the landlords. And I will necessarily deliver the rent by the paralemptic measure at the fitting time without delay; and I will maintain the dikes. The lease is valid, and when asked the formal question I so declared.

(Second hand) I, Aurelius Elias, son of Kollouthos, have leased the land and will deliver the rent as stated. I, Aurelius . . . wrote for him, as he is illiterate.

(First hand ?) Drawn up by me . . .

(Verso) Lease of a water wheel serving Phaeianos' field to Elias son of Kollouthos from Fullers'

2. Theodosius held his fifth, not his fourth, consulship with Honorius cos. ix as his colleague; see A. Degrassi's list, *Fasti consolari dell'Impero romano,* Rome, 1952, p. 87, entry 1165. Thoth 30 is September 27. See further below, note 7.

4. *ἀπὸ δουκῶν*: as often in Byzantine texts, the lessor's position is a lofty one; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht,* p. 63. Land is becoming the property of a few wealthy men. The best known ducal landlord is the Fl. Apion of, e.g., *P. Oxy.* 130 (6th century). Cf. G. Rouillard, *Administration,* p. 203 and n. 11; *P. Oxy.* XVI, pp. 4-7; E. G. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt,* New York, 1931, esp. Chapter 2. Another ducal landlord is the Fl. Titus of *SB* 9460.3 (A.D. 699/700).

The Phoibammon of *P. Mich.* 611 is not known elsewhere; *ἀπὸ δουκῶν* possibly means simply "of ducal rank" as well as "ex-duke." So Fl. Apion I (*P. Oxy.* XVI, p. 6) was *ἀπὸ ὑπάτων* though he was never consul (*ibid.,* p. 4; Preisigke, *WB* I Col. 167). Cf. V. Martin, "Epistula Exactoriae," *Actes du Ve congrès international de papyrologie,* Brussels, 1938, pp. 260 ff.; cf. *P. Abinn.* 58, introduction.

5. *Κναφέως* = *Γναφέων* (verso); cf. *P. Oxy.* 1913.30 and 52.

7. The 89th year of Constantius and the 58th of Julian is A.D. 412/13; on these local Oxyrhynchite eras see *P. Oxy.* XIV, pp. 27 ff. The dating of the document is confused: *Θὼθ λ* (line 2) of *πθ νη* can only be September 27, A.D. 412. This was an eleventh indiction; if we insert ⟨*ἕως*⟩ before *σπορᾶς* (as we must, or the lease will be without a time stipulation) we have a lease for the single year 412/413, expiration date the planting of the twelfth indiction 413/414. (For *ἕως σπορᾶς* of an indiction to define the term of a lease, cf. *P. Oxy.* 913.8 note; *P. Oslo* 35.10 note [both fifth century]).

September 412 conflicts, however, with the consular date: Honorius cos. ix and Theodosius cos. v (line 2, note) held office in 412; *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν* should therefore be 413. Such inconsistencies between consular and other dates are common; cf. *P. Oxy.* 914.1 note.

8. *ἡμῶν*: for *ὑμῶν*; Mayser, *Grammatik* I, p. 86.

9. ἀλ[± 3]κήν: of the second letter all that remains is two small dots below the line, but these can only be from the legs of a sweeping cursive *lambda*. The only obvious supplement is ἀλ[ετι]κήν, "grinding mill"; but this gives no satisfactory sense. The μηχανή ought to be a water wheel, rented together with the land about it; so, e.g., *PSI* 77.14; *P. Berl. Zil.* 7.12 ff., μηχανὴν . . . ἐξηρτισμένην πάσῃ ξυλικῇ ἐξαρτίᾳ . . . μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐν αὐτῇ λάκκου . . . καὶ τῶν συνγεωργουμ(ένων) καὶ ὑποστελλουσῶν αὐτῇ μηχανῇ ἀρουρῶν. Then before μηχανήν one would expect ἀν[τληπτι]κήν; but this cannot be read. [John Rea has suggested ἀ<ντ> λ[ητι]κήν, no doubt rightly.]

11. φόρου: the regular Byzantine term for rent in kind (earlier ἐκφόριον) as well as for rent in money: Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 99. Eight artabs per aroura is a slightly high rent for grainland (*ibid.* p. 102).

16. ἀρούρ[ας: on aroura as a measure of hay, *P. Lond.* V 1694.16 note; Herrmann, *Chronique* 63, 1957, pp. 123 ff.; Youtie, *TAPA* 87, 1956, p. 61; cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 349; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 106.

19. πα[ραλ]ημπτικῷ: *P. Oxy.* 1474.16 note; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 104; *P. Mich.* 184.12 note. Here the text can hardly mean the measure by which an advance of seed was measured to the lessee, since apparently there was no such advance. This favors the view of the Oxy. editors, *loc. cit.*, that μέτρον παραλημπτικόν is the measure used by a παραλήμπτης. Another fifth-century example is *P. Oslo* 35.17.

τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ: i.e., at the harvest time of each crop. Cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 108; *P. Sarap.* 27.20 note.

20. ἀναβολ]ὴ[ν τῶ]ν ναουίων: cf. *P. Oxy.* 913.20; 1968.8; *P. Berl. Zil.* 7.26; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 34 f. The naubion was a cubic measure of one ξύλον (three cubits) to a side, making ca. 77 cubic feet; cf. the references in Youtie, *TAPA* 72, 1941, p. 443, n. 15; *LSJ*, s.v. ξύλον and ναύβιον. The word is commonly used in connection with the earth to be moved in clearing the canals and keeping the dikes in repair. Here "throwing up the naubia" means maintaining the irrigation works. *P. Teb.* 378.29 includes in a list of improvements to be carried out by a lessee διωρύγων τε καὶ ὑδραγωγῶν ἀναβολαί.

25. di' em[u: the signature of the *tabellio* or his assistant who drew up the document. Though not officials, the tabelliones were under government supervision and were responsible for any irregularities in the transactions which they drew up: A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, New York, 1953, s.v. tabellio; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 45 ff. The "Latin" here is a scarcely-legible scrawl; cf. *P. Grenf.* I 54.25 note.

612. Lease of a House

P. Mich. Inv. 473 — 20 x 16 cm. — A.D. 514

Lease of a house by Athanasios to Aurelius Serenus at a rent of five solidi less an uncertain number of carats per year. Athanasios, a minor, acts through his guardian. The house, which was once the property of the principal church in Oxyrhynchus, came into Athanasios's possession by a trade. The term of the lease is not preserved.

Other Byzantine leases of house property in Oxyrhynchus are listed in Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 202 f. A good bibliography on house leases in general is given by H. Braunert, "Ein neuer Wohnungsmietvertrag aus der Bonner Papyrussammlung" in *Festschrift Oertel*, Bonn, 1964, pp. 35 f.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουΐων Κλημεντίνου καὶ Πρόβου τῶν
ἐ[ν]δοξοτάτων, Ἐπεὶφ γ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) ζ
τῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ Ἀθανασίῳ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ε[ὐ]λαβοῦς μνήμης
Παύλου γενομένου διακόνου διὰ σοῦ Φλαουίου Ἰωάννου
βιάρχη καὶ κουράτορ[ο]ς τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰδεσίμου Ἀθανασίου γεουχοῦσιν
ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει Αὐρήλιος Σερῆνος υἱὸς Ἰωάννου
μητρὸς Σοφίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ἑκουσίως
ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ Θὼθ μηνὸς τοῦ
εἰσιόντος ἔτους ρϙα ρξ̄ τῆς σὺν Θεῷ ὀγδόης ἐπινεμήσεως ἀπὸ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων τῇ ὑμῶν ἀρετῇ καὶ περιελθόντων εἰς αὐτὴν
ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικ[ατα]λ̣λαγῆς ἧς πεποίηται παρὰ τῆς εὐαγεστάτης
καθολικῆς ἐκκλη[σία]ς ὁλόκληρον οἰκείαν νεύουσαν
ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην μετ[ὰ παν]τὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ δικαίου καὶ χρηστη-
ρίων πάντων καὶ τ[ελέσω αὐτῇ] ὑπὲρ ἐνοικείου ταύτης ἐνιαυσίως
χρυσοῦ ν[ομισμάτια πέντ]ε παρὰ κερ[(άτια) ± 5]. ἰδιωτικῷ ζυγῷ

verso μίσθ(ωσις) Σερήνου τοῦ Ἰωάν[νου

3. *kappa* in διακόνου corrected 4. γεουχοῦντι 12. οἰκίαν 14. ἐνοικίου

The year after the consulship of the most glorious Flavius Clementinus and the most glorious Flavius Probus, Epeiph 3, indiction 7.

To the most admirable Athanasios son of Paulos of discreet memory, formerly deacon, acting through you, Flavius Iohannes, *biarches* and guardian of the same reverend Athanasios, land-holder here in the brilliant city of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Serenus son of Iohannes and Sophia, from the same city of Oxyrhynchus, greetings.

I willingly undertake to lease from the first of the month of Thoth of the coming year 191 = 160, the D.V. eighth indiction, of the property which belongs to your excellency by right of an exchange which was made by the most holy catholic church, an entire house facing east, with every right attached thereto and all its appurtenances; and I shall pay annually to your excellency for the rent thereof five gold solidi less . . . carats on the private standard. . . .

Verso: Lease by Serenus son of Iohannes

1-2. The date is 27 June, A.D. 514.

5. βιάρχη: not in *WB* or *LSJ*, but no doubt = the βίαρχος of *P. Würzb.* 17.5-6; *BGU* 316.5 (*MChr.* 271); and *Wiener Studien* 24, 1902, p. 133. On this "commissaire du service des vivres" cf. Maspero, *Organisation militaire*, pp. 104 f.; R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 114 f. For the late genitive in -η, Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*, p. 103 n. 1.

κουράτορ[ο]ς: the guardian of one under age 25; cf. Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 250; Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 178 ff.; *P. Oxy.* 888.3 note.

8. *νεομηνίας τοῦ Θώθ*: a favorite date for commencing a house lease; cf. *PSI* 75.7; 466.8; *P. Oxy.* 1037.8; 1038.17; 1959.8; 1965.10 (all from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus). Cf. Braunert, *Festschrift Oertel*, p. 40, note to lines 8 f.

8-9. Thoth of year 191 = 160 is 29 August, A.D. 514; cf. *P. Mich.* 611.7 note.

10. *ὑμῶν*: the development of the plural of respect has been studied by H. Zilliacus, *Selbstgefühl und Servilität: Studien zum unregelmässigen Numerusgebrauch im Griechischen*, Helsingfors, 1953.

περιελθόντων κτλ.: for the specification in a lease of the owner's title to the property, cf. *P. Lond.* V 1769 introd.; *P. Oxy.* 1965.14.

11. *ἀντικ[ατα]λ̣λαγῆς*: Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 398 and note 2.

11-12. *εὐαγεστάτης καθολικῆς ἐκκλη[σία]ς*: on the churches of Byzantine Egypt, L. Antonini, "Le chiese cristiane nell' Egitto dal IV al IX secolo secundo i documenti dei papiri greci," *Aegyptus* 20, 1940, pp. 129 ff., where the earlier literature is cited. The *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* was the most important of the numerous churches of Oxyrhynchus (*op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.; *P. Oxy.* 1900.3-7 note). For property owned by this church, cf. *P. Oxy.* 1900 and 1967; Antonini, *op. cit.*, p. 173. The church is not elsewhere referred to as *εὐαγεστάτη*.

15. *χρυσοῦ ν[ομισμάτια πέντ]ε*: quite a high rent; cf. the texts cited by Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 200 ff.

ἰδιωτικῷ ξυγῷ: West and Johnson, *Currency*, pp. 140 ff.

613. Contract for Purchase and Delivery of Radish Oil (Paid Requisition)

P. Mich. Inv. 1939 — 28 x 26.5 cm. — A.D. 415

Flavius Kyrillos, *princeps officii praesidis provinciae Arcadiae*, acknowledges receipt from two Alexandrian councillors of 150 solidi from the *ἀλιμονικὸς λόγος* of Alexandria. With this money he is to have 9,000 sextarii of radish oil purchased and delivered to the harbor of Arsinoe, whence the oil will be shipped to Alexandria. Kyrillos is, if a probable restoration in line 3 is correct, acting under orders from the praeses. He confirms his responsibility with an oath.

For the *alimonia* of Alexandria, cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 367; Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 249 ff. A part of the annona civica had been granted to the city by Diocletian in A.D. 302,[1] and further regulations and an increase in grain were made in the early fifth century: *Cod. Theod.* 14, 26, 1 (A.D. 412); 26, 2 (A.D. 436). In addition the city had the right of requisitioning needed goods and labor from Egypt.[2] Thus far the exercise of this privilege is not attested outside of the Fayum,[3] but as the oil of *P. Mich.* 613 was a contribution

1. The Alexandrian *τρόφιμον*; Procop., *His. Arc.* 26, 40 ff.; *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 514 Bonn; further references, Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 367; Rostovtzeff, art. "Frumentum," *RE* VII, i, col. 187; Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, pp. 188 f., with n. 1 on p. 189; Rouillard, *Administration*, p. 121 with n. 2; Gelzer, *Studien*, pp. 38 f.

2. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 100.

3. Texts cited *ibid.*; not all are certain, however.

due specifically from the Arsinoite Nome (*ὑπὲρ Ἀρσωιτῶν*, lines 4 and 9) the requisition was presumably general throughout Arcadia if not the Egyptian diocese. This text is the first definite attestation of reimbursement for Alexandrian requisitions.[4]

No close parallel to *P. Mich.*613 is known to me; nearest perhaps is *PSI* 1123 (A.D. 152). Cf. also the requisitions in *P. Beatty Panop.* 1.378 ff. (A.D. 298); 2.20 ff., 215 ff. (A.D. 300); *P. Oxy.* 2106 (early 4th century); 2113 (A.D. 316); *P. Amh.* 140 (A.D. 349); *P. Leipz.* 64 = *WChr.* 281.10 ff. (A.D. 368/369); *P. Lugd.-Bat.* II 14 (4th century). Cf. the collection of the *annona civica* and the *annona militaris*, for which see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 356 ff.; *RE*, s.v. annona; A. Segrè, "The Annona Civica and the Annona Militaris," *Byzantion* 16, 1942/43, pp. 349 ff.; D. van Berchem, *Les distributions du blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'Empire*, Geneva, 1939; Rouillard, *Administration*, pp. 121 ff.; *P. Ryl.* 652. Cf. further the *panis aedium*, for which see *P. Abinn.* 22 and 63; Martin and van Berchem, *Rev. de Philol.* Ser. 3, 16, 1942, pp. 5 ff.

The document has been cancelled by chiasm, indicating that the agreement was fulfilled.

[Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεί]ạν Κωνσταν[τ]ί[ου] καὶ Κώνσταντος τῶν̣ λαμπροτάτων,
Μεσορὴ κς ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας.
[Φλ(αούιος) Κύριλλος πρίγκεψ τά]ξεως ἡγεμονίας ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας
Φλ(αουίοις) Ἀρείῳ πολ(ιτευομένῳ) τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως
Ἀλεξανδρίας καὶ Θεοπέμπτῳ βουλευτῇ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεω(ς)
[ἐξ ἐγκελεύσεως] τ̣οῦ κυρίου μου λ̣αμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος ἐπαρχίας
Ἀρκαδίας Φλαουί̣ου Ὠριγένους ὑπεδεξάμην παρ' ὑμῶν
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλιμονικοῦ
[λόγου τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως] Ἀ̣λ̣εξανδρίας ε̣ἰς ⟨σ⟩υνωνὴν ἐλαίου ῥαιφανίνου
ὑπὲρ Ἀρσωιτῶν χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια εὖ[στ]α̣θμα τὸν
ἀριθμὸ̣ν̣ ἑκατὸν πεντή-
5 [κοντα καὶ ἑτοίμως ἔχω κατα]βαλεῖν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου νομισματίου
ἐλαί[ο]υ ξέστας ἑξήκοντα̣ ὡς γίγνεσθαι ὁμοῦ ξ(έστας) Θ
καὶ τούτους ὑμῖν ἀποδώσω
[ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ τοῦ] Ἀ̣ρσωείτου τῷ μέτρῳ τῷ δι' ὑμῶν ἐκπεμφθέντι ἀπὸ
τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδ̣[ρ]ίας ὅτε ἂν βουληθείητε
[ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ δίχα τ]ωὸς ἀντιλογίας καὶ ὄμνυμει Θεὸν παντοκράτορα
καὶ τὴν θείαν εὐσέβιαν καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
[Ὀνωρίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου τ]ῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων τὴν ἀπόδοσιν
ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι. ἡ χειρογραφία
κυρία καὶ ἐπερω-
[τηθεὶς ὡμολόγησ]α̣. (2nd hand) Φλ(αούιος) Κύριλλος πρίγκεψ
ὑπεδεξάμην παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀρσωοειτῶν εἰς συνωνὴν

4. Cf. *ibid.*

10 [ἐλαίου ῥαφανί]νου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ὑπὲρ ξεστῶν ἐνακισχιλίων καὶ τούτους
[ἀποδώσω ὅτε] βούλεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ τοῦ Ἀρσωοείτου ὡς πρ(όκειται) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὡμολόγησα καὶ ἀπέλυσα.

blank space of 7 cm.

(1st hand) δι' ἐμοῦ Ἡραΐσκου ἐγ(ράφη).

3. ἀλιμονικοῦ 4. ῥαφανίνου 7. ὄμνυμι, εὐσέβειαν, νίκην 11. βούλεσθε

The year after the consulship of the most illustrious Constantius and the most illustrious Constans, Mesore 26. In Herakleopolis in the province of Arcadia.

Flavius Kyrillos, princeps of the officium of the praeses of Arcadia to Flavius Areios, councillor of the great city of Alexandria, and Flavius Theopemptos, councillor of the same city.

In accordance with the orders of my lord Flavius Origen, the most illustrious praeses of the province of Arcadia, I have received from you out of the account for the provisioning of the great city of Alexandria for the purchase of radish oil, on behalf of the citizens of Arsinoe, gold solidi of full weight, one hundred fifty in number, and I am prepared to deliver to you for each solidus sixty sextarii of oil, grand total 9,000 sextarii. These I shall deliver in the harbor of the Arsinoite Nome by the measure sent out by you from the great city of Alexandria whenever you desire, without delay or argument; and I swear by Almighty God and the holy reverence and victory of our lords Honorius and Theodosius the eternal Augusti that I will make delivery of the oil and have engaged in no deceit. The contract is valid and when asked the formal question I so declared.

(2nd hand) I, Flavius Kyrillos, princeps, have received from you on behalf of the citizens of Arsinoe for the purchase of radish oil one hundred fifty gold solidi for nine thousand sextarii; and these I will deliver when you desire in the harbor of the Arsinoite Nome as stated, and when asked the formal question I so declared and had this document prepared.

(1st hand) Drawn up by me, Heraiskos.

1. The date is 19 August, A.D. 415.

ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει: the capital of Arcadia (earlier Herculia; Gelzer, *Studien,* p. 4) was Arsinoe (Maspero, *Organisation militaire,* p. 76), where the praeses is known to have held court (Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* p. 53, referring to *P. Thead.* 13 and *P. Ryl.* 653, both fourth century). The fact that this contract was drawn up in near-by Herakleopolis Magna does not necessarily mean that Kyrillos was regularly stationed there.

2. πρίγκεψ]: restored from line 9, but usually spelled πρίγκιψ (references in S. Daris, "Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto," *Aegyptus* 40, 1960, p. 271). Cf. Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* p. 73; *P. Oxy.* 1637.10 note; 1880.3 n.; *PSI* 1114.2; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung,* p. 98. For the composition of the officium of a praeses in the early fifth century see *Not. Dign. Or.* XLIV; cf. Rouillard, *Administration,* pp. 49 ff. Fl. Kyrillos is not known elsewhere.

πολ(ιτευομένῳ): curialis, = βουλευτής; Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* pp. 126 f; Rouillard, *Administration,* pp. 63 f.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 79; Preisigke, *Fachwörter,* s.v. πολιτευόμενος. For the occurrence of both βουλευτής and πολιτευόμενος in the same text, cf. Lallemand, p. 127, n. 1; Wilcken, *loc. cit.*

Responsibility for the εἰθηνία of a city fell naturally to its boulé (cf. Rostovtzeff, *RE* VII, i, col. 185). These councillors are perhaps to be compared to the Alexandrian eutheniarchs of the Roman period (Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, col. 187; Wilcken, *Grundzüge,* pp. 365 ff.). The latter however were standing officials, while the men of *P. Mich.* 613 may be *ad hoc* appointees for a special levy; cf. Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* p. 128.

μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρίας: *P. Oxy.* 1130.6 note.

3. ἠγεμόνος: for the praeses and his duties in the collection of both regular taxes and extraordinary levies, Rouillard, *Administration,* pp. 47 ff.; Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* p. 69. Here his princeps is required to deliver the oil only as far as the Arsinoite harbor; and the acceptance of money for purchases ὑπὲρ Ἀρσινοειτῶν directly from the Alexandrian councillors suggests that the distribution of the levy by polis may have been made at Alexandria rather than by the praeses. Contrast the procedure for the *annona civica* and the *annona militaris* (references in introduction). Fl. Origen is not known elsewhere.

3-4. ἐλιμονικοῦ, *l.* ἀλιμονικοῦ: *addendum lexicis.* This fund was not previously attested for fifth-century Alexandria. *Cod. Theod.* 14, 26, 1 and 2 refer only to the τρόφιμον, which as part of the *annona civica* was not subject to reimbursement. For municipal funds used for the dole of cities, cf. outside of Alexandria Oehler, *RE* I, col. 2320; Rostovtzeff, *RE* VII, i, col. 185.

4. ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου: Johnson, *Roman Egypt,* p. 3; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft,* p. 203; Bandi, *Aegyptus* 17, 1937, p. 406; *P. Fay.* 95, introduction; Pliny, *NH* 19, 26: *Aegypto mire celebratur [rhaphanus] olei propter fertilitatem, quod e semine eius faciunt. Hoc maxime cupiunt serere, si liceat; quoniam et quaestus plus quam a frumento, et minus tributi est, nullumque ibi copiosius oleum. Apophtheg. Patr.,* p. 145A (Migne P. G. LXV) quoted in *P. Ross-Georg.* II 41.54 note: παρεβάλομεν ἄλλῳ γέροντι καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡμᾶς φαγεῖν· ἔβαλε δὲ ἡμῖν ῥαφανέλαιον καὶ λέγομεν αὐτῷ, "Πάτερ, μᾶλλον μικρὸν χρήσιμον ἔλαιον βάλε ἡμῖν." ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐσφράγισεν ἑαυτὸν λέγων. "Εἰ ἐστιν ἄλλο ἔλαιον ἐκτὸς τούτου οὐκ οἶδα ἐγώ."

εὖ[στ]αθμα: of full weight; West and Johnson, *Currency,* p. 134.

5. ὑπὲρ . . . ἑξήκοντα: as there is no other evidence for the price of radish oil in the fifth century, one cannot tell whether this is a "remboursement plus ou moins fictif des denrées réquisitionnées" (Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* p. 85) or a fair price. For oil prices in the fourth and sixth centuries, Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt,* pp. 181 f.

6. [ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ τοῦ]: restored from line 11.

μέτρῳ . . . Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]ίας: I have not succeeded in finding a similar clause later than A.D. 15; cf. *P. Hib.* 98.19-20 note; *WChr.* 443.12-13.

7. Θεὸν παντοκράτορα: Montevecchi, "Pantokrator," *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni,* II, Milan, 1957, pp. 401 ff.

12. δι' ἐμοῦ: Gardthausen, *Stud. Pal.* XVII, pp. 1 ff.; *P. Mich.* 611.25 note.

614. Petition to a Strategos

P. Mich. Inv. 264 13.4 x 21 cm. ca. A.D. 256

In A.D. 225 Aurelius Horos contracted by *χειρόγραφον*[1] for a loan of wheat from Aurelius Papontheus. Thirty-one years later the heirs of the then-deceased Papontheus, as a preliminary to collecting that debt, which was still outstanding, had the contract of loan officially registered[2] in Alexandria through the office of the archidikastes.[3] In the present document they forward to the strategos of their nome a directive from the archidikastes, written in compliance with their request in lines 43-44, instructing the strategos to have a copy of the petition for registration served on the debtor (lines 5-8). This when served constituted a *διαστολικόν*, an "order to pay" which the debtor was required to meet within ten days. If he failed to do so, the creditor was entitled to petition the archidikastes to have the debtor's property placed under distraint.[4]

Re-arranged into chronological sequence (which the papyrus reverses), this rather complex text consists of the following sections:

I (lines 15-33) A copy of the instrument of loan. This is part of
II (lines 9-end) the creditors' petition to the archidikastes.

III (line 8) Subscription by the officials of the *dialogé*, signifying that the necessary fees had been paid.

IV (lines 5-8) Directive to the strategos by the archidikastes, dated, and appending the preceding documents.

V (lines 1-end) The creditors' petition to the strategos, enclosing copies of all previous documents.

A useful list of texts related to *P. Mich.* 614 is given in *P. Oxy.* 1472, introd.; our text falls in the Oxy. editors' class three. An attempt to reconstruct the forms after which such texts were modelled has been made by H. Kupiszewski, "Les formulaires dans la procédure d'exécution," in *Eos* 48.3 = *Symb. Taub.* III, 1956, pp. 89-103.

A *terminus post quem* for the text is given by the date of the archidikastes' address to the strategos in lines 7-8, an uncertain month and day of A.D. 255/56.

A remarkable feature of this text is the interest demanded for the original loan, apparently one hundred per cent; see note to lines 18 and 19.

Cf. *P. Mich.* 615.

1. "A cheirograph is an acknowledgement of obligation in epistolary form, written without the intervention of a public notary, often *ἰδιόγραφον*" (*P. Mich.* 480.8 n.). See Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 55-57 and 88; for examples, *MChr.* 138-148.
2. Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 82 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
4. For the legal procedures see *ibid.* pp. 119-129; Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 531 ff.; Joers, "Erzrichter und Chrematisten," *ZSS* 36, 1915, pp. 230 ff.; 39, 1918, pp. 52 ff.; 40, 1919, pp. 1 ff.; Koschaker, "Der Archidikastes," *ZSS* 28, 1907, pp. 254 ff.; 29, 1908, pp. 1 ff.; Schwarz, *Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1920.

[Αὐρ]ηλίωι Σαραπίων[ι] στρατηγῶι [Ὀξυρυ]γχείτου
[π]αρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίων) Πατᾶ καὶ Κια[λ]ῆ ἀμφοτέρων Πα[πον]θεῦτος μη(τρὸς Κοπρία[ς]
[ἀπ' Ὀ]ξυρύγχων πόλεως. οὗ ἐπόρισα ἐκ τοῦ [καταλο]γίου ὑπομνή-
[ματος] δημοσιώσεως χρη[μα]τισμοῦ ἐστιν ἀ[ντίγρα]φον·
[±5]ιος Τίτος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλ[εί]δης ὁ ἱερεὺς [καὶ ἀρχι]δικαστὴς στρα-
[τηγῷ] Ὀξυρυγχ(είτου) χαίρειν. τοῦ δεδομένου ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγρα(φον)
[μεταδ]οθήτω. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) γ¯ Οὐαλεριανῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστῶ(ν),
[±4].γ¯. Οἱ πρὸς τῇ διαλογῇ τῆς πόλεω(ς) δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Χαιρήμ(ονος) σεση(μείωνται).
[±5]ίῳ Τίτῳ τῷ καὶ Ἡ[ρακ]λείδῃ ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῇ καὶ πρὸς
[τῇ ἐπ]ιμελείᾳ τῶν χρη[ματι]στῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων
[παρὰ] Αὐρηλ(ίων) Πατᾶτος καὶ Κιαλῆτος ἀμφοτέρων Παπονθεῦτος μη(τρὸς)
[Κοπρί]ας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) πόλεως. τοῦ προειμένου τῷ κληρονομη-
[θέντι] ὑφ' ἡμῶν πατρὶ ἡμῶν Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Παπονθεῦτι δισσοῦ χειρογρά-
[φου συ]ν τῇ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπογρα(φῇ) ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται·
[Αὐρήλ(ιος)] Ὧρος Παπονθεῦτος μητ(ρὸς) Διδύμης ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Αὐ-
[ρηλίῳ] Παπον θεῦτι Ἀνικήτου μητρὸς Ταύριος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
[χαίρει]ν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι καὶ παραμεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ σοῦ
[πυροῦ] γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) δ (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας ἓξ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ διαφόρου κε-
φαλαίου αἱ ἴσαι, γείνονται ἀρτάβαι δεκατρεῖς ⟨ ⟩ ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερ-
θέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραμμαι,
ἐκτείσω τὸ μὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ
διάφορον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου μέτρῳ παραλημπτικῷ
Νεικία ἀγορανο[μ]ου ᾧ καὶ παρείληφα, γεινομένης σοι τῆς
πράξεως ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων καθά-
περ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον δισσὸν γραφὲν πανταχῇ
ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ
ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς γείνεσθαι ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ε¯
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς
Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Χοιακ η¯. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ὧρος Παπονθεῦτος ἔσχον τὰς τοῦ
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἓξ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ διαφόρῳ αἱ [ἴ]σαι, γείνονται ἀρτάβαι
[δεκατρ]εῖς, καὶ ἀποδώσω μέχρι τῆς προκ[ε]ί[μ]ένης προθεσμίας,
[μετρήσ]ῳ δὲ ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀνδρόνεικο[ς] χρημα(τίζων) μητρὸς Φιλ-
[±5] ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμμα[τ]α. βουλόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ
[τοῦ δι]σσοῦ χειρογράφου μοναχὸν ἐν δη[μο]σίῳ γενέσθαι δίδομεν

35 [τῇ πόλ]ει ἕνεκα τοῦ μοναχὸν δημοσιοῦσθαι τὰς ὁρισθείσας (δραχμὰς) ιβ
[καὶ τ]ὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοσιώ[σ]εως ὡρισμέ[ν]ον, καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ἀ-
[ναλα]βόντας αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ διαπεσταλ[μένου] ὑφ' ἡμῶν Τιβερίου
[±4]ου Διονυσίου ὑποκ[ε]χειρογραφημέ[νον] ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ
[εἶναι] τὴν μετὰ τὸν χρό[νο]ν ὑπογραφὴν ἰδιό[γρ]αφον τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
40 [Αὐρη]λίου Ὥρου ἀγραμμ[άτο]υ ὄντος ὑπογράψαντος Αὐρηλίου Ἀνδρονί-
[κου] συνκαταχωρίσαι αὐτ[ὸ τ]ῷδε τῷ ὑπομνή[ματι], τὸ μὲν αὐθεν-
[τικὸ]ν εἰς τὴν Ἀδριανὴν βιβλιοθήκην, τούτ[ου δὲ] τὸ ἴσον ὑπόμνη-
[μα εἰ]ς τὴν τοῦ Ναναίου, καὶ συντάξαι γράψαι τῷ τ[οῦ] Ὀξυρυγχείτου νο-
[μοῦ σ]τρατηγῷ μεταδοῦναι τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπομνή[ματ]ος ἀντίγραφον
45 [± 4]άψαντι ὅπως παρασχεῖν Αὐρήλιον Ὥρ[ον ε]ὐδοκοῦντα τῇ
[δημ]οσιώσει, ἵνα ἰδῇ καὶ ποιήσηταί μοι τὴν ἀ[πό]δοσιν τῶν τοῦ
[πυρο]ῦ ἀρταβῶν ἓξ ἡμίσους καὶ τῶν τούτου διαφό[ρω]ν καθὼς ἐπαγ-
[γέλλω] ἡ εἰδῇ χρησόμ[ενόν με τοῖς ἐξῆς ἁρμόζουσι πε]ρὶ ἐνεχυ-
[ρασίας

3. *καταλογείου* 12. At the end of the line, a filler stroke 18. *διαφόρῳ* 19. *τῶν ἴσων, γάνονται* 23. *γινομένης* 27. *γάνεσθαι* 30. *τῶν ἴσων, γάνονται* 46. *εἰδῇ*

To Aurelius Sarapion, strategos of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, from Aurelius Patas and Aurelius Kiales, both sons of Papontheus and Kopria, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. Here is a copy I have obtained from the katalogeion of my application for inactment of publication.

. . . ius Titus also called Herakleides, the priest and archidikastes, to the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, greetings. Let a copy of the application that was submitted be served. Farewell. Year 3 of the Valeriani and Gallienus, Augusti, (month, day). Signed by those in charge of the dialogé of the city, acting through me, Aurelius Chairemon.

To . . . ius Titus also called Herakleides, priest, archidikastes, and superintendent of the chrematistai and of the other courts, from Aurelius Patas and Aurelius Kiales, both sons of Papontheus and Kopria, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. Appended is a copy of the cheirograph in duplicate that was issued to our father, Aurelius Papontheus, whose heirs we are, including the subscription after the date.

Aurelius Horos, son of Papontheus and Didyme, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Papontheus, son of Aniketos and Tayris, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received and have had measured out from you, from the wheat crop of the past 4th year, six and a half artabs, with interest on the principal of an equal amount; total, thirteen artabs. ⟨And these I will return by such-and-such a date⟩ without any delay or excuse. And if I do not make the repayment as I have had written, I will pay the stated capital plus one-half, and also an addition for the overtime, with the paralemptic measure of Nicias the agoranome, by which I received the loan. And you shall have the right

of execution against me and all my property as if in consequence of a court decision. This cheirograph, written in duplicate, is valid wherever presented and for whoever presents it on your behalf. As for this being good and proper, I have been asked the formal question and have so declared. Year 5 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Choiak 8. I, Aurelius Horos, son of Papontheus, have received the six and a half artabs of wheat to be repaid at an increase of the same amount, total thirteen artabs, and I will return them by the said deadline and measure them as stated. I, Aurelius Andronikos, styled the son of my mother Phil . . . have written for him, as he is illiterate.

Desiring that of this cheirograph in two copies a single copy be made public, we give the city, because a single copy is being published, the fixed 12 drachmas and the fee for publication, and we ask that you take this document from our representative Tiberius . . . Dionysius, signed by him to the effect that the subscription after the date is in the hand of the illiterate Aurelius Horos's signatory Aurelius Andronikos, and register it together with this application, the original in the Library of Hadrian and a duplicate copy thereof in that of the Nanaion; and to have an order written to the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite Nome to have a copy of this application served . . . to produce Aurelius Horos approving of the publication, so that he may be informed and may return to me the six and a half artabs of wheat plus the increase according to my notification, or may know that I will take the next appropriate steps concerning distraint. . . .

1. Σαραπίων[ι]: not in Henne's *Liste des stratèges* or Mussies' supplement in *P. Lugd-Bat.* XIV, pp. 13 ff.

2. Πατᾶ, Κια[λ]ῆ: the longer genitives Πατᾶτος, Κιαλῆτος are used in line 11.

Πα[πον]θεῦτος: restored from line 11. The name is not found in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, but the feminine, Ταπονθεῦς, is known from *P. Oxy.* 1631.4.

3. ἐπόρισα: a careless failure of the scribe to adapt his formula for two petitioners; similarly the scribe who wrote the petition to the archidikastes copied below used μοι (line 46) after the correct plurals in lines 33 ff. Ἐπόρισα is the usual Oxyrhynchite word; in the Fayum and the Heracleopolite Nome παρεκόμισα was used (*P. Leipz.*, p. 328).

καταλο]γίου: one of the offices under the archidikastes in Alexandria. It worked alone as a registry office for συνχώρησις documents and in conjunction with the διαλογή in the procedure of δημοσίωσις. See Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 82-87 and 50 ff.; Koschaker, *ZSS* 28, 1907, pp. 267 f.

4. δημοσιώσεως χρη[μα]τισμοῦ: on δημοσίωσις see the references given in the introduction, footnote 4, and Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 82 ff.

5. ±5]ιος Τίτος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλ[εί]δης: to be added to the list of archidikastai assembled by A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, pp. 410 ff.

ἀρχι]δικαστής: Strabo C797; Diod. Sic. 1, 75. The most recent study of the archidikastes is Anna Calabi, "L' ἀρχιδικαστής nei primi tre secoli della dominazione romana," *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, pp. 406 ff.; cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 354 ff.; Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 167 ff., 192; Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 533; and the works by Koschaker and Joers cited introd., footnote 4.

7. Year 3 of the Valeriani and Gallienus is A.D. 255/56.

8. τῇ διαλογῇ τῆς πόλεω(ς): cf. *P. Oxy.* 34 col. 2.3 f.: οἱ καλούμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς διαλογῆς

τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρχιδικαστῶν [γρα]μματεῖς. For literature on this subordinate "checking bureau" within the katalogeion see notes to lines 3 and 5; Preisigke, *Girowesen*, pp. 297 ff.; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 125, n. 3; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 46.4 note. The polis is Alexandria.

δι' ἐμοῦ: at corresponding lines, *P. Oxy.* 1475.3 and 1561.20, the editors tentatively read an abbreviation of διέγραψεν, as in *P. Leipz.* 10 col. 2.33; while the editor of *P. Oxy.* 1200 points out that διέγραψεν cannot be read in line 4 of his text (note *ad loc.*). As the reading here is clear and is further supported by *PSI* 940.13, one may suspect that it is also the true reading of the Oxyrhynchus texts, though this cannot be verified from the plate of the highly cursive *P. Oxy.* 1200.4. It would be in order to re-examine the Leipzig papyrus as well.

σεση(μείωνται): *P. Oxy.* 1474.6 indicates that this notation signifies that the proper fees have been paid. This may also be the reading of *P. Oxy.* 1200.4; 1475.3; 1561.20; *P. Leipz.* 10 col. 2.33, instead of the abbreviation of χρηματίζοντος read by the editors; but it is certainly not an obvious interpretation of the scrawl illustrated in the plate to *P. Oxy.* 1200.

10. τῇ ἐπ]ιμελείᾳ τῶν χρη[ματι]στῶν: Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, pp. 418 ff. The activity of two chrematistai in Roman times as οἱ τὰς ἐντεύξεις διαλέξαντες is known from *P. Flor.* 55, *P. Berl. Leihg.* 10, and Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48 (*P. Lugd.-Bat.* VI 29). The same two names appear in all three cases, though these are spread over half a century (Calabi, *op. cit.*, pp. 418 ff.; A. B. Schwarz, *Aegyptus* 17, 1937, p. 281).

18. Year 4 of Severus Alexander (cf. line 28), A.D. 224/225.

διαφόρου: for διάφορον as "interest," see N. Lewis, "The Meaning of Σὺν Ἡμιολίᾳ, *TAPA* 76, 1945, p. 128. The διαφόρου . . . αἱ ἴσαι (*l.* τῶν ἴσων; see following note) here, as is shown by the calculation in line 19, means interest equal to the capital; i.e., 100 per cent.

The usual interest on loans in kind was 50 per cent: Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n. 8, for extensive bibliography. No similar example of 100 per cent interest is known to me. The ἴσοι τόκοι of such texts as *BGU* 888.22 (*MChr.* 239) are not comparable, as they result from default rather than original agreement. Since loans of grain were usually repaid after only a planting season and not a year, the interest *rate* here is probably considerably above 100 per cent; cf. Segrè's comments in *Atene e Roma*, N.S. 5, 1924, p. 125; Berger, *Strafklauseln*, pp. 123 ff.; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 126, n. 4. The term of this loan is lost, however.

19. αἱ ἴσαι, γεώνονται ἀρτάβαι δεκατρεῖς: cf. lines 30 f. The text requires emendation in both passages. Simplest is to take αἱ ἴσαι as defining the amount of the interest, understanding therefore τῶν ἴσων. It is not possible to punctuate after κεφαλαίου and read αἱ ἴσαι γώνονται ἀρτάβαις δεκατρισών, "which (i.e., artabs) are equal to thirteen artabs," because γώνονται followed by the nominative is formulaic and should not be altered. But whatever the syntax, the calculation, original loan of 6 1/2 artabs + interest = 13 artabs (i.e., 100 per cent interest), is clear.

〈 〉: a clause promising repayment by a certain date has fallen out here; cf. line 31.

21. κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιολίας: this probably means the whole 13 artabs, capital plus interest, increased by half. That is the usual penalty in loan contracts (Lewis, *TAPA* 76, 1945, p. 139; Berger, *Strafklauseln*, p. 118).

22. διάφορον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου: usually of 50 per cent. Possibly 〈ὁμοίως ἐξ ἡμιολίας〉 should be read after χρόνου; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1040.26. Assuming the penalty to be 50 per cent, the arithmetic is: 6 1/2 artabs loan + 6 1/2 artabs interest = 13 artabs; + 6 1/2 artabs penalty + 6 1/2 artabs overtime interest = 26 artabs due on the 6 1/2 artab loan.

παραλημπτικῷ: *P. Mich.* 611.19 note.

23. Νεικία ἀγορανο[ό]μου: loans in kind commonly specify the measure to be used for repayment: Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 344. This measure is not known elsewhere.

27-29. The date is 3 December, A.D. 225. The 31-year delay before taking legal action to recover the debt is not remarkable. The record seems to be the 62 years of *P. Leipz.* 10 (a money loan).

35. ἕνεκα τοῦ μοναχὸν δημοσιοῦσθαι: cf. *P. Oxy.* 719.32 and *P. Mich.* 615.18. This

phrase corresponds to *ὑπὲρ μοναχοῦ* in *P. Leipz.* 10 col. 2.20 f. and to *διὰ τὸ μοναχὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι* in *P. Oxy.* 1473.37. The Oxyrhynchus editors in a note to the latter passage suggest that *μοναχόν* refers to the drafting of the original contract; but as that contract here and in *P. Mich.* 615 was *δισσόν*, the reference must rather be to the copy for registration: 12 drachmas was the charge for registering a single copy of a document regardless of whether such document had originally been drawn up in one, two, or more copies. The phrase adds nothing to *βουλόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δισσοῦ χειρογράφου μοναχὸν ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι* (line 34), and hence is often omitted (e.g., *P. Oxy.* 1200 and 1561).

A different arrangement is found in Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 46.17, where the petitioner says *βούλομαι ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι τὸ αἰθεντικὸν δισσὸν χειρόγραφον*. Here neither of the fees in *P. Mich.* 614 was paid, possibly because the petitioner was an Alexandrian citizen.

36. *τ]ὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοσιῶ[σ]εως ὡρισμέ[ν]ον*: *P. Oxy.* 1475.42 note. The difference, if any, between this fee and the *τιμήματος τέλος* that sometimes replaces it (e.g., *P. Oxy.* 1200.45) is obscure. In two cases it is absolved (*P. Oxy.* 1473.37 and 719.31), both times for the same reason, *διὰ τὸ* (or *ἕνεκα τοῦ*) *μὴ περιέχειν* (*με*) *τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως διαστολάς*, "because the regulations concerning the arrangement do not apply (to me)." For a different view of these passages, *P. Oxy.* 1473.37-38 note.

37. *τοῦ διαπεσταλ[μένου*: the application for publication had to be presented personally, either by one's self or, as here, by one's representative. *P. Grenf.* II 71 is an appointment of such a representative; cf. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, pp. 106 ff.

42-43. On the libraries, *P. Oxy.* 34, introd.; *P. Oxy.* II, p. 182; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 84. In Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48.10 (*P. Lugd-Bat.* VI 29) the chrematistai deliberating a proposed *ἐνεχυρασία* are supplied with the Nanaion copy.

45. ± 4 *]άψαντι*: neither *[ὑπογρ]άψαντι* referring to the strategos nor *[τῷ γρ]άψαντι* referring to Andronikos is very attractive in the absence of parallels. *Nu* is difficult; possibly *ἁψας ἔτι* should be read.

παρασχεῖν: the letters after *chi* are very uncertain, but neither *παρασχήσε[ι]* nor *παράσχῃ[αι]* is easily compatible with the traces.

47-48. *ἐπαγ[γέλλω]*: this *vel. sim.* seems inescapable, though I have failed to find a parallel passage. For *ἐπαγγελία* in executional procedure cf. *MChr.* 245 introd.; Berger, *Strafklauseln*, p. 142; Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.

48. *χρησόμ[ενον κτλ.*: restored from *P. Mich.* 615.30.

48-49. *ἐνεχυ[ρασίας*: distraint; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 144; Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 534.

615. Petition Concerning a Wine Sale

P. Mich. Inv. 265 — 8.7 x 20.8 cm. — ca. A.D. 259

The petitioner of this document had purchased a quantity of wine from one Aurelia Isidora, paying for it, as was often done in wine sales, some time in advance of delivery. As delivery never took place, the purchaser had the instrument of sale publically registered in Alexandria and requested that notice be served on the vendor by the strategos; for this procedure, cf. *P. Mich.* 614 with introduction and notes. Undoubtedly the present petition was directed to the

strategos, as was *P. Mich.* 614, informing him of the registration and asking that the notice be served.[1]

This petition contains the only *δημοσίωσις* request known to me concerning a sale with payment in advance of delivery. For a bibliography on such sales see *P. Mich.* 608, introduction and notes. The closest parallels to the sale in *P. Mich.* 615 are *PSI* 1249; 1250; 1252; and *P. Oslo* 43. For the form of the text as a whole, cf. *P. Mich.* 614 and note 1 below.

The papyrus has suffered extensive loss from the top and both sides, but thanks to numerous parallels the sense of the text is rarely in doubt.

]. [
[τιμὴν πλήρη οἴνου γενήματος τοῦ ἐνεστ]ῶτος δ[
[± 17]..[.]ρκ.ρι..εῳ[.]κα... λεγ[ομέ-]
[νων τριακο ± 7 εἰς ἃ] παρέξομαι κοῦφα κενοκέραμα [ἀφ' οὗ]
[ἔχω περὶ ± 5 ἀμπελικ]οῦ κτήματος παρὰ ληνὸν ἀνυπ[ερθέτως]
[τῷ Μεσορὴ μηνὶ μέτρῳ ᾧ τὸ ὅλον γέ]νημα ἐξαντλεῖται· εἰ δὲ μή,
ἐκ[τείσω σοι]
[τὴν τότε ἐσομένη]ν τοῦ οἴνου τειμὴν διπλῆν ὡ[ς ἐστάθη],
[γνομένης σοι τῆς πρ]άξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν [ὑπαρ-]
[χόντων μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ] χειρόγραφον δισσὸν γραφὲν π[ανταχῇ]
[ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τ]ῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ [ἐπερωτηθεῖσα]
[ὡμολόγησα. (ἔτους) . Αὐτοκρατόρων] Καισάρων Πουπλίου Λικ[ιννίου
Οὐα-]
[λεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλε]ριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμα[νικῶν]
[Μεγίστων καὶ Πουπλίο]υ Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου Σ[αλωνίνου]
[τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρ]ος Σεβαστῶ[ν ± 13]
[Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἰσιδώρα χωρὶς κυρίου] χρη(ματίζουσα) ἔσχ[ον [πα]ρ[ὰ] σ[οῦ
[± 4]....[± 10]
[± 12 ὅνπερ οἶνο]ν ἀποδ[ώ]σω ὡς πρόκ(ειται) καὶ ἐπερω[τηθεῖσα]
[ὡμολόγησα. βουλόμενος δὲ ἀ]πὸ τοῦ δισ[σοῦ] χειρογράφου μοναχὸν [ἐν
δημο-]
[σίῳ γενέσθαι δίδωμι τ]ῇ πόλει ἕνεκα τοῦ μοναχὸν δημοσιοῦ[σθαι]
[τὰς ὁρισθείσας (δραχμὰς) ιβ καὶ] τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς δη[μοσιώ]σεως ὡρισμέ[νον]
[καὶ ἀξιῶ ἀναλαβόντας αὐ]τὸ παρὰ τοῦ διαπεσταλμένου ὑπ' [ἐμοῦ]
[± 8 ὑποχειρογραφ]ουμένην ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ εἶναι [τὴν]
[ὑπογραφὴν ἰδιόγρα]φον τῆς Αὐρ(ηλίας) [Ἰσ]ιδώρας συνκατα[χω-]
[ρίσαι αὐτὸ τῷδε τῷ ὑπομ]νήματι, τὸ μὲν αὐθεντικὸν εἰς τὴν [Ἀδρι-]
[ανὴν βιβλιοθήκην], τούτου δὲ τὸ ἴσον ὑπόμνημα καὶ εἰς τὴν [τοῦ]

1. *P. Mich.* 615 represents a stage in the executional proceedings after the archidikastes' approval of the proposed *μετάδοσις* (serving of the notice, lines 33 f.), and before the request for *ἐνεχυρασία*. This can only be that stage represented also by 614. The lines of 615 corresponding to 614.1-4 and 8-14 are lost; 614.5-7 correspond to 615.33 ff.

[Ναναίου, καὶ συντάξαι] γράψαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρ(ατηγῷ) μεταδῶναι τού[του]
[ἀντίγραφον τῇ Αὐρ(ηλίᾳ)] Ἰσιδώρᾳ ἂν περιῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, κληρονόμοις ᾳ[ὐτῆς]
[τελείοις, ἐὰν δὲ ἀφήλικες ὦσι], νομίμοις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρόποις, ὧν τ[ὰ ὀνό-]
[ματα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων δ]ηλωθήσεται, ἵν' εἰδῇ καὶ ποιήση[ται]
[μοι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν] τοῦ οἴνου κεραμίων τριακο[...]
[± 14 ἢ εἰ]δῇ χρησόμενόν με τοῖς ἐξῆς ἁρμόζουσι περὶ ἐν[εχυ-]
[ρασίας, κατὰ μηδὲ]ν ἐλαττουμένου μου ἐν οἷς ἑτέροις ἔχω π[ρὸς]
[αὐτὴν δικαίοις, ὡς καθή]κει. (ἔτους) ϛ Οὐαλεριανῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαϛ[τῶν]
[± 8 ἐσημειωσάμην. το]ύτου ὄντος ἀξιῶ τὴν μετά[δοσιν]
[γενέσθαι τῇ Αὐρ(ηλίᾳ) Ἰσιδώρᾳ ἐ]νώπιον ὡς καθήκει, μὴ ἐλατ'τουμέν[ου]
[τοῦ creditor's name (ἔτους) . Αὐτοκρατόρ]ων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Λικιννίο[υ]
[± 23] Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων
[καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου] Κορνηλίου Σαλωνίνου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ
[ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ]ῶν, Παχὼν η⁻.

4. καινοκέραμα 7. τιμήν 21. ὑποχειρογραφούμενον

4. . . for which I will supply new vessels, from the vineyard that I own near . . . at the vat, without delay, in the month of Mesore, by the measure with which the entire vintage is ladled out. If I fail to do so, I shall pay twice whatever the price of wine shall be at that time, as agreed, and you shall have right of execution against myself and all my property. This cheirograph, written in duplicate, is valid wherever presented and for whoever presents it on your behalf; and when asked the formal question I so declared. Year . . . of the Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinnius Valerianus and Publius Licinnius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi and Publius Licinnius Cornelius Saloninus the most glorious Caesar, Augusti, (month, day). I, Aurelia Isidora, acting without a guardian, have received from you. . . . This wine I will deliver as stated, and in answer to the formal question I so declared.

Desiring that of the cheirograph in two copies a single copy be made public, I give to the city, because a single copy is being published, the fixed 12 drachmas and the fee for publication; and I ask that you take this document from my representative, NN, signed by him to the effect that the subscription is in the hand of Aurelia Isidora, and register it together with this application, the original in the Library of Hadrian and a duplicate thereof in that of the Nanaion; and that you have an order written to the strategos of the nome to serve a copy on Aurelia Isidora, if she is still alive, and otherwise to her adult heirs; or if her heirs are minors, to their legal guardians, whose names will be learned on the spot, so that she may be informed and deliver to me the (so many) keramia of wine, or know

that I shall take the next appropriate steps concerning distraint; this with no prejudice to the other claims which I have against her, as is proper. Year 6 (?) of the Valeriani and Gallienus, Augusti, (month, day).

Signed by me. If this is the case, I request that notice be served on Aurelia Isidora, in person, as is proper, with no prejudice to (the claims of the creditor). Year . . . of the Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinnius (Valerianus and Publius Licinnius Valerianus) Gallienus Germanici Maximi and Publius Licinnius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, the most glorious Caesar, Augusti, Pachon 8.

2. *τοῦ ἐνεστ]ῶτος* δ[: δ[*ευτέρου ἔτους* or δ [*ἔτους*.

3. The traces before *λεγ[ομένων* should represent the name of the wine measure; cf. *P. Oslo* 43.1; *PSI* 1252.10.

4. *τριακο*]: *τριακοσίων* or *τριάκοντα*; cf. line 29.

κεν(l. καιν-)οκέραμα: cf. *PSI* 1249.27-28; 1250.3-4. The opposite, *παλαιοκεράμων*, is found in *Eos* 48.2, 1956, pp. 77-81, line 3. Cf. *Luke* 5:37-38. For the jugs called *κοῦφα*, *WO* i, 766 f.

4-5. *ἀφ' οὗ ἔχω περὶ* ± 5 *ἀμπελικ]οῦ*: restored from *PSI* 1252.12. Another possibility might be *ἀπὸ τοῦ* such-and-such *καλουμέν]ου κτήματος*.

6. *Μεσορή*]: July 25/August 23. This is the usual month for wine deliveries (cf. *P. Mich.* 608.11 note), but Hathyr (October 28/November 26) is specified in *P. Oslo* 43.2.

μέτρῳ] . . . *ἐξαντλεῖται*: cf. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 24, 1944, pp. 138 f.

25. *μεταδῶναι*: for *μεταδοῦναι*; *P. Mich.* 488.15-16 note.

26-27. *κληρονόμοις . . . ἐπιτρόποις*: cf. *BGU* 888.21 (*MChr.* 239); *P. Oxy.* 485.30 (*MChr.* 246).

32. Year 6 is A.D. 258/59.

33. *ἐσημειωσάμην*: restored from *P. Oxy.* 1473.43; *P. Meyer* 6.38. It is the archidikastes' approval of the purposed *μετάδοσις*.

35-36. The date should continue *Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ κτλ.* (cf. lines 11-12), but there is not room for all that. Probably one or more of the repetitious imperial names was omitted; e.g., read [*Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ*] *Γαλλιηνοῦ κτλ.* Pachon 8 is May 3.

616. Petition from an Ἐπιτηρητής of a Large Estate

P. Mich. Inv. 200b v a — 24 x 22.5 cm. — ca. A.D. 182

This is the draft of a petition, written on the verso of the wheat account P. Mich. Inv. 200b r ined. It includes numerous erasures and corrections, and it fails to name the addressee. Later it was turned upside down and the margins were used for the household account *P. Mich.* 619.

The petitioner Gemellus was one of the wealthy freedmen of Roman Egypt: in 166/7 he served as sitologos,[1] and in probably 174 (18 n.) he was appointed ἐπιτηρητής of the κτῆσις Μοσχιανή (lines 18 ff.; cf. lines 6-7 note). The present petition arose from the latter post, a liturgical service which entailed for its holder considerable financial responsibility.[2] It was his duty to lease out estate land and collect the rents (*SB* 5670, 2nd century), to collect the taxes on estate land (*WO* 1574-1576, A.D. 129/31, Thebes, all for τιμὴ οἴνου), and to deliver them to special πράκτορες οὐσιακῶν (*P. Gen.* 38 = *WChr.* 366, A.D. 208). For rents not paid, for land not leased, and doubtless for taxes defaulted, he was answerable (*SB* 5670; *P. Berl. Leihg.* 13.16 note; Tomsin, *Festschrift Oertel*, p. 96; Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 192; cf. *P. Meyer* 3.12 ff.). Ἐπιτηρηταί are known to have served both singly (*P. Gen.* 38 = *WChr.* 366; Tomsin, *ibid.*; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 158) and with colleagues (*P. Berl. Leihg.* 13; *SB* 5670). Gemellus had a colleague, a landholder in the Saite Nome named Didymus (lines 9 f., 17, συνεπετήρησα).

Under the management of Gemellus and Didymus the estate fell into more than three talents of arrears with the fiscus (line 10).

Behind the present text lay an order issued the previous year by a procurator (line 4 note) to the strategos of the nome that Gemellus's property be sequestrated till his debt with the fiscus was settled (lines 10 ff.). From line 15 it appears that Gemellus' best response to this situation would have been a personal appearance before the procurator to justify himself; as illness prevented this (line 15) he instead sent to the strategos a petition to be forwarded to the procurator. This petition evidently had been unsuccessful, for in *P. Mich.* 616 we find Gemellus still trying to clear himself a year later. The pleas he made in his defense are not preserved, but lines 16 f. perhaps imply that he claimed his term of service with Didymus was too short to have entailed such heavy responsibility (ἀποδεικνύς σοι τὰς ἡμέρας ἃς᾽ μόνας ⟦αὐ⟧τῷ Διδύμῳ συνεπετήρησα). He hoped also to find support in a review of the records ([τὸ]ν συνλογισμόν, lines 17-18).

Gemellus refers to his addressee as κύριος (lines 3, 4, 16), but that does not help establish his identity.[3] He was presumably an official not lower in rank than a strategos, and possibly someone of much higher status – quite likely the new procurator.

1. P. Mich Inv. 200b r ined. 1 ff.: Ἀντίγρ(αφον) λόγου χριστικ(οῦ) πυροῦ τοῦ μεμετ(ρημένου) ὑπὸ / Γεμέλλου ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) ξ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίων Ἀντων[είν]ου / καὶ Οὐήρου Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων / σείτο(υ) Ταν(άεως).

2. The ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσίας is treated in detail by A. Tomsin, "Le recrutement de la main d'oeuvre dans les domaines privés de l'Egypte romaine" in *Festschrift Oertel*, Bonn, 1964, pp. 95 ff. Tomsin cites the earlier bibliography and papyrus texts. Cf. for ἐπιτηρηταί in general Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 237 ff.

3. Κύριος was used to address any higher official respectfully; *WB* s.v. (11) for numerous examples.

The identification of Nemesianus (line 5 note) places this text within a few years of A.D. 182. The order to act against Gemellus' property was therefore, if the date suggested in line 18 note is correct, issued approximately 8 years after his appointment as ἐπιτηρητής.

Παρὰ Γεμέλλου ἀπελευθέρο[υ] ⟦Γεμέλλης⟧ Ἑλένης ἀπὸ τῆς
μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου· τῷ διελθόντι
ἔτει μηνὶ Φαρμοῦθι ⟦ἔγραψε, κύριε⟧ Κλαύδιος Καλουῖν[ος]
ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίτροπος ἔγραψεν, κύριε, ⟦Νεμεσιανῷ⟧ τ[ῷ]
στρατηγήσαν[τι] τοῦ νομοῦ Νεμ[εσ]ιανῷ ἐπιστολὴν δι'
ἧς ἐδήλου ἐ[πι]τηρητήν με γε[νό]μενον κτήσεως
Μοσχιανῆς ἐν ᾗ καὶ βαλανεῖον καὶ ἐργαστηρίων
τριῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κτήσει ἐκτεθεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ πεμφθε[ι-]
σῃ ἀπὸ διοικήσεως ἐκθέσει σὺν Διδύμῳ Διδύμου
γεουχοῦντι ἐν Σαείτῃ (ταλάντων) γ (δραχμῶν) Ἀσνγ καὶ
προσ(διαγραφομένων)· φρον-
τίσαι δὲ τὸν πόρον μου κατασχεῖν ἄχρι οὗ διευλυτ[ή-]
σω τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τῷ ταμείῳ· ἅπερ μαθὼν εὐ[θέ-]
ως τὰ δίκαιά μου βιβλειδίῳ ἐνγράψας ἀνέτεινα
Νεμεσιανῷ ὅπως τ' ἀ[ῦ]τα διαπέμψηται τ[ῷ ἐ]πιτρόπῳ,
[α]ὐτὸς τότε
οὐ δυνάμενος διὰ νόσον καταπλεῦσαι· ἅπερ καί σοι νῦ[ν]
τῷ κυρίῳ ὑποδείκνυμ[ι], ἀποδεικνύς σοι τὰς ἡμέρας ἃς μό-
νας ⟦αὐ⟧τῷ Διδύμῳ συνεπετήρησα καὶ [τὸ]ν συνλογι-
σμόν· τῷ γὰρ ιδ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀ[ν]τωνίνου Φαρμοῦθι ς—
ἐπισταλεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰσιδώρου στρατηγήσαντος τοῦ νο-
μοῦ διὰ Σερήνου ὑπηρέτου ἐ[πι]στολὴν ἐσφραγισ-
μένην ἐπισταλεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ [Σε]πτιμίου Σερήνου
τοῦ τότε ἐπιτρόπου δι' ἧς με [κατ]έστησεν ἐπιτη[ρη-]
τὴν τῆς δηλουμένης κτήσε[ως ἐ]γενόμην ἐν Ἀ[λε-]

Col. II [ξανδρείᾳ

13. βιβλιδίῳ

From Gemellus, freedman of Helen, from the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. Last year, my lord, in the month of Pharmouthi, Claudius Calvinus, who then served as procurator, wrote to the then strategos of the nome, Nemesianus, a letter in which he indicated that when I was superintendent of the Moschianus (or Moschus) estate, which includes a bath, and of three workshops in the same estate, I, along with Didymus, son of Didymus, who is a landholder in the Saite Nome, was cited for 3 talents 1,253 drachmae and additional charges in the list of arrears sent from the fiscus; and (he ordered him) to take pains to sequestrate my

property till I should settle my debts to the treasury. When I learned this, I immediately entered my claims in a petition which I presented to Nemesianus for him to forward to the procurator, since illness prevented me from sailing down myself at that time. These claims I now indicate also for you, my lord, pointing out for you the only days that I served as co-superintendent with Didymus and showing the accounts; for in the 14th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus, on Pharmouthi 6, I was sent by Isidoros, formerly strategos of the nome, acting through his assistant Serenus, a sealed letter that had been sent for me by Septimius Serenus, then procurator, in which he appointed me superintendent of the said estate; I went to Alexandria. . . .

1. ⟦Γεμέλλης⟧ Ἑλένης: there is no mark of erasure, but the writing of Ἑλένης over Γεμέλλης was evidently intended as a correction of the latter.

2. *τῷ διελθόντι ἔτει*: ca. 181; cf. line 5 note.

3. Pharmouthi: 27 March/25 April.

3-4. Κλαύδιος Καλουῦ[ος] *ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίτροπος*: I have not found this individual elsewhere. He is probably the dioiketes rather than the procurator usiacus. Orders to sequestrate the property of *debitores fisci* are known to have been issued by the dioiketes; cf. *BGU* 8 col. 2.26 ff. (*WChr.* 170); *BGU* 106 (*WChr.* 174); Meyer, "Διοίκησις und Ἴδιος Λόγος" in *Festschrift Hirschfeld*, Berlin, 1903, p. 146. Similar orders issuing from the procurator usiacus are not attested, and the land in question was in any case administered by the fiscus (line 9 note).

5. Νεμ[εσ]ι̣ανῷ: an Oxyrhynchite strategos of this name is known for A.D. 181 (*P. Oxy.* 2183).

6. ἐ[πι]τηρητήν: see introduction.

6-7. *κτήσεως* Μοσχιανῆς: previously unknown. An Antonius Moschianus Ulpianus was epistrategos of the Heptanomia in A.D. 191-194: *P. Teb.* 328, corrected by Martin, *Les épistratèges*, p. 119 n. 3; *PSI* 776.8; 1408.5. Μοσχιανή may, however, be a formation from Μόσχος rather than Μοσχιαχός. For a nearly complete list of the known estates of Egypt see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* II, Oxford, 1957, pp. 669 ff.; cf. further *P. Mich.* 620. Reversion to the state of once-private estates is well known; cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* I, p. 295. The changes in estate ownership are studied further by Tomsin, "Notes sur les ousiai de l'époque romaine," in *Studi in Onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II, Milan, 1957, pp. 215 ff.

9. *διοικήσεως*: the fiscus; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 154; Meyer, *Festschrift Hirschfeld*, pp. 136 ff. This is an example of the management of an estate by the fiscus rather than the patrimonium (*οὐσιακὸς λόγος*); cf. *P. Bouriant* 42 and commentary, and *P. Berl. Leihg.* p. 68.

ἐκθέσει: for *ἔκθεσις*, "list of arrears," cf. *P. Ryl.* 200.5 note; *WB* s.v.

11. *τὸν πόρον μου κατασχεῖν*: the *ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσίας* served at the risk of his property; cf. Tomsin, *Festschrift Oertel*, p. 96; Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 192. On *πόρος* cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 144 n. 2 and 359 ff. On *κατασχεῖν*, Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 688 ff.; as applied to liturgists, pp. 689 f.

17. *συνεπετήρησα*: *addendum lexicis*.

18. Αἰλίου: I doubt whether this can stand uncorrected. As written, it can only refer to Antoninus Pius; the date of Gemellus's notification of appointment would then be 1 April A.D. 151. This gives a hardly credible time lapse of about 30 years between Gemellus's brief but costly service as *ἐπιτηρητής* and the order to sequestrate his property. Even more seriously, it makes Isidoros strategos of the Oxyrhynchite Nome in A.D. 151; but R. A. Coles has informed me that texts to appear in *P. Oxy.* show one Aurelius Aphrodisius as strategos in 148/49 and in

154. It is hard to believe he did not hold office in the intervening A.D. 151 as well.

Probably Αἰλίου is a slip for Αὐρηλίου (i.e., Marcus Aurelius). The year would then be A.D. 174. This date would reduce the awkward time lapse noted above to about 8 years, Isidoros could be identified with the strategos of the same name already known for 174 from *P. Fouad* 32, and Aurelius Aphrodisius's strategia would remain uninterrupted.

19. ἐπισταλεὶς κτλ.: for the notification procedure described in the following lines cf. *P. Meyer* 3 (Arsinoite Nome, A.D. 148), which differs in some details.

Ἰσιδώρου: see note to line 18.

20-21. ἐσφραγισμένην: Erman, "Die Siegelung der Papyrusurkunden," *Archiv* 1, 1901, pp. 68 ff.; Pieper, "Die Siegelung in den griechischen Papyri Aegyptens," *Aegyptus* 14, 1934, pp. 245 ff.; *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 13.13 note.

21-22. [Σε]πτιμίου Σερήνου τοῦ τότε ἐπιτρόπου: cf. lines 3-4 note. I have not identified this person elsewhere.

23-24. ἐ]γενόμην ἐν Α[λεξανδρείᾳ: this is the procedure referred to in *P. Meyer* 3.15 ff., where the strategos informs the new liturgist of his appointment ὧν . . . εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὸν κρά(τιστον) ἐπίτροπ(ον) καταντήσῃς. The seat of the dioiketes was at Alexandria (Wilcken, *Grundzüge,* p. 156), as was that of the procurator usiacus (*P. Giss.* 40 ii; Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat,* p. 132). There is room for only the first few letters of Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, but the existence of a second column must be assumed on any reading, as the petition cannot have ended at this point.

617. Petition to a Strategos

P. Mich. Inv. 282 22 x 21 cm. A.D. 145/6

Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros also called Dioskoros, complains to the strategos Theon that owing to the negligence of the αἰγιαλοφύλαξ Apollonios and the κατασπορεύς Tyrannos the marsh which he has leased from the domain lands near Theadelphia is in danger of going dry. This is in fact a repetition of the same man's difficulties with the same aigialophylax in the previous year, as known from *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 34 and 35 (A.D. 144). The official letter from the procurator's assistant to the aigialophylax preserved in those texts vindicates the justice of Ptolemaios' complaint and stresses the responsibility of the aigialophylax: οὐ προσεδόκησα καὶ περὶ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἀξιωθήσεσθαι ἵνα παράσχῃ αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτάρκη ὕδατα, ὡς ὁ μισθωτὴς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ἠξίωσεν. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ ἦν τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ σου καὶ τούτου, πρὶν ἀξιῶσαί τινα, φροντίσαι (*P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 34.18-23; 35.24-30).

That the present document is only a draft is clear from its numerous corrected and uncorrected errors. This is not an easy text to read or understand; it has suffered considerably from tears and worm-holes, includes a number of terms used in unfamiliar contexts, and exhibits by far the poorest drafting of the known papyri relating to Ptolemaios (for which see note to line 2).

The date is fixed to the ninth year of Antoninus Pius by line 17 (cf. note). Line 5 implies that the time of high flood was past; this in the Fayum lasted into the first weeks of Phaophi, mid-October (*P. Mich.* VI, p. 41).

In line 7 we are told that the flood for A.D. 145 was τελεία; the difficulty in filling the marsh is ascribed solely to the incompetence of the irrigation officials. I have found no other information concerning the flood of that year. On the Nile in general, see D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil*, Paris, 1964.

[Θέωνι] στρατηγῷ Ἀρσι̣ν̣[οε]ίτου Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων
παρ̣[ὰ Πτο]λε̣[μα]ί̣ου̣ Διοδώρου̣ τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου μισθωτοῦ οὐσια̣[κ]οῦ δρυμοῦ
περὶ κώμην
Θε̣[αδέλφει]αν τῆς Θεμίστου̣ μερίδος καὶ ἄλλων. π̣ολλά̣[κ]ις προσελθόντος μ̣ου
Ἀπολλωνίῳ
αἰγ[ιαλοφύλα]κι καὶ τῷ τῶν τ[ό]πων̣ κατασπορεῖ, π̣ολλὰς ἀντικαταστάσις πρὸς
α[ὐ]τὸν π̣οιη[σ]άμε-
νος [παρόντα] ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἔτι καὶ ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ Νειλ̣[ου] πρὶν ἢ καὶ τὰ
ὕδατα εἰς τὰ ἐδ[άφη] χ̣ωρήσῃ παρασχεῖν τῷ προκιμένῳ δρυμῷ τὰ
σ̣υ̣[νήθη καὶ αὐ]τάρκη ὕδατα, καὶ μ̣έχρι νῦν διαβαλλ[ό]μενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, οὐκ
ἐβουλήθησαν παρασχεῖν,
τ̣ο̣[ῦ ἱερωτά]του Νείλου τὴν τελεί̣αν ἀνάβασιν ἐνεγκόντος καὶ πάν⟨τα⟩ τὸν νομὸν
ὀφ̣ειλοντα ἐνεν-
κε̣[ῶ ± 5], τοῦ οὖν δρυμοῦ μ̣έχρι σήμενον ἐνδεέ̣στατον [[εἶναι]] ὄντα· παντελῶς
γὰρ ὀλίγα ἦν τὰ
ὕδατ̣[α] κ̣α̣[ὶ ἤ]ν̣ (?) ἄγονα ἀπὸ ἀποχυμάτων καὶ μηδὲ ἓν {καὶ μηδὲ ἕν} ἀπὸ
μήτρας ἐσχηκότα· ὅθεν μὴ δυνά-
μ̣[ενος καθησ]υχάζειν ἀξιῶ τούτου τοῦ διαστολικοῦ τὸ ἴσον μεταδοθῆναι τῷ τε
αἰγιαλοφύλα-
κι καὶ {καὶ} τ̣[ῷ] τῶν τ̣όπων κατασπορεῖ Τυράννῳ διά τινος τῶν περὶ σὲ
ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς τὸ πλησθῆναι τὸν
προκίμεν[ο]ν ⟨δρυμὸν⟩ ἢ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν ἄρα τι ἐκ τούτου βλάβος ἐπακολουθήσῃ
λόγον ὑφ⟨έ⟩ξοντας
ἐπὶ τοῦ λ̣α̣μ̣[πρ]οτάτου ἡγεμόνος κ[αὶ] τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου· ἀποξηρανθέντος
γὰρ τοῦ προκιμέ-
νου δ̣ρυμοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἔδαφος καὶ τοῦ γ̣όνου καὶ τῶν μητρῶν μιωθέντων, οὐ μόνου τοῦ
ἐφετείου
φόρου βλάβος ἐπακολουθεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἔτη τρία ἄχρι ἂν γόνο̣ν καὶ μήτρας
εἰς αὔξιν
σχῇ ὁ δρυμ̣ὸς βλάβος ἐπακολουθεῖ· μένω δ᾽ ἐμοὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλοφύλακ⟨α⟩ τὸν
λόγον περὶ ἧς ἔχω
π̣ ± 11 ας διαστολῆς περὶ τ̣ο̣ῦ αὐτοῦ δρυμοῦ ὑ̣πὲρ τοῦ παρ̣ωχηθέντος ὀγδόου
ἔτους ἐπὶ τοῦ
κ̣ρ̣α̣τ̣ί̣σ̣τ̣[ου ἐ]πιστρατήγου.

4. ἀντικαταστάσεις 5. προκειμένῳ 7. ὀφείλοντος 8. δρυμοῦ written over a sponged-out word the first letters of which were *alpha hypsilon*. σήμερον, ἐνδεεστάτου, ὄντος 12. προκείμενον 13. προκειμένου 14. μειωθέντων; *ny* in μόνου corrected. 16. μένειν

To Theon, strategos of the Themistou and Polemonos Merides of the Arsinoite Nome, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros also called Dioskoros, lessee of the marsh belonging to imperial domain land in the neighborhood of the village of Theadelphia and of other properties.

I approached the shore-guard Apollonios and the district katasporeus many times and had many confrontations with him (the shore-guard) when he was in the village, (requesting) that they supply the customary and sufficient water to the aforesaid marsh while the Nile was still at its height and before the water should go into the fields; but up to now I have been put off by them and they have refused to supply (the water), although the most sacred Nile has brought an excellent flood and ought to benefit the entire nome. The marsh therefore remains up to today in the greatest need; for the water coming from run-off was of no great quantity and was without *gonos,* and had received nothing of *metra.* As I can find no rest because of this, I request that a duplicate of this communication be delivered to the shore-guard and to Tyrannos, the katasporeus of the district, by one of the assistants of your office, in order that the marsh may be filled or they may know that if indeed any damage results from this cause they will be called to account before the most illustrious prefect and his excellency the procurator; for once the aforesaid marsh has dried down to the ground and the *gonos* and *metrai* have been reduced, damage will result not to this year's rent only, but there will result damage for the next three years, till the marsh receives *gonos* and *metrai* for growth. I retain my claims against the shore-guard concerning the . . . injunction about the marsh for the past eighth year, for trial before his excellency the epistrategos.

1. Θέωνι]: strategos A.D. 144/5–149; see *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 18, introd. and note to line 1.

2. Πτο]λε[μα]ίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου: cf. *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 33, introduction; to the texts there cited should be added *P. Leit.* 14.

μισθωτοῦ: for lessees of ousiac property cf. Oertel, *Liturgie,* pp. 107 ff.; Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander,* Olten, 1962, pp. 101 ff.

οὐσια[κ]οῦ: belonging to the *patrimonium,* the private property of the emperor. Domain holdings consisted partly of land that had belonged to the emperor from the time of the Roman conquest, partly of later additions through confiscations and legacies. The Theadelphia marsh belonged to the second category, having once been the property of Livia, the wife of Augustus (Lewis, *Industrie,* p. 113); cf. for changes in estate ownership, A. Tomsin, in *Studi in Onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II, Milan, 1957, pp. 215 ff. From about the time of the Flavians estates which like the present one had reverted to the crown were administered under the department of the οὐσιακὸς λόγος under a procurator usiacus; cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge,* pp. 154 f., 302 f.; below, line 13 note.

2-3. δρυμοῦ περὶ κώμην Θε[αδέλφει]αν: part of the marsh which stretched ca. 30 km. from Philoteris to Theoxenis, with portions in the intermediate towns of Theadelphia, Polydeukia, and Euhemeria; cf. Lewis, *Industrie,* p. 98 and note 9. For the Theadelphia marsh in particular, cf. *P. Ath.* 14.6; 35.7; *P. Ryl.* 98 (a); *PSI* 458; *P. Oslo* 89-90; as well as the texts concerning Ptolemaios, *PSI* 160; 735; *P. Oslo* 91; *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 33-35; 37. Marshes were valuable principally for fish, papyrus, and birds; see Lewis, *Industrie,* pp. 97 ff.; *P. Teb.* 308.4

note; *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI, p. 125; Calderini, *Aegyptus* 1, 1920, pp. 56 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate,* p. 64; Bonneau, *Atti dell' XI congresso internazionale di papirologia,* Milan, 1966, pp. 386 f.

3. *ἄλλων*: most of the numerous marshes of the Fayum are listed by Calderini, *Aegyptus* 1, 1920, pp. 56 ff.; for towns lying near the marsh in question here, cf. preceding note.

4. *αἰγ[ιαλοφύλα]κι*: cf. lines 10-11, 16. The aigialophylax was head of the nome irrigation system; pertinent texts cited *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI 31.8 note; *P. Petaus* 49, introd.; cf. Oertel, *Liturgie,* pp. 192 f. For his responsibility in the present case, cf. introd. For a discussion of *αἰγιαλός*, Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat,* pp. 166 ff.; Calderini, *Aegyptus* 1, 1920, pp. 57 f.; Bonneau, *Atti dell'XI congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Milan, 1966, p. 387.

τῷ τῶν τ[ό]πων κατασπορεῖ: cf. line 11. The evidence, old and new, concerning this irrigation official is re-evaluated in the introduction to *P. Petaus* 52. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 188, was uncertain whether the authority of the katasporeus extended to domain holdings; *P. Mich.* 617 shows that it did. For another case of land going dry through the negligence of katasporeis, cf. *SB* 7361.

τῶν τ[ό]πων: "locality"; *WB* s.v. (1, a). This katasporeus was responsible for Theadelphia and the immediately neighboring area under its administration; for the spheres of competence of the various ranks of katasporeus, cf. *P. Petaus* 52, introd.

πολλὰς ἀντικαταστάσις: *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 34 and 35 are a reflection of these confrontations.

πρὸς α[ὐ]τόν: i.e., the aigialophylax. The katasporeus of this text was a man of much lesser importance and does not enter at all into the troubles related in *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 34 and 35.

4-5. *ποιη[σ]άμενος*: probably not *ποιη[σ]αμένου*; cf. line 6, *διαβαλλ[ό]μενος* and note.

6. *διαβαλλ[ό]μενος . . . ἐβουληθησαν*: cf. *P. Oxy.* 120.17-19, *αὐτὸν ἀξιώσας παραμῶναι οὐκ αἱβουλήθη*, with note to line 19.

7. *το[ῦ ἱερωτά]του* Νείλου: the standard cult epithet of the Nile. For worship of the river, Bonneau, *La crue du Nil,* Paris, 1964, pp. 217 ff.

7-8. *ἐνενκε[ῖν* ± 5]: the space is too short for *ἐνενκε[ῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν*], but "benefit" seems to be the sense required.

9. *ἄγονα*: "without *gonos*"; cf. line 14 note.

ἀποχυμάτων: apparently run-off water from an *ἀπόχυσις*. The word does not occur elsewhere in a similar context.

μήτρας: cf. line 14 note.

10. *διαστολικοῦ*: properly a communication issuing from an official (*WB* s.v.; Preisigke, *Fachwörter,* s.v.). This terminology implies that the lessee of the ousiac marsh enjoyed at least a semi-official position. On the question whether such lessees were liturgists, Oertel, *Liturgie,* pp. 109 ff.

11. *Τυράννῳ*: not known elsewhere.

ὑπηρετῶν: H. Kupiszewski and J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* 11/12, 1957/58, pp. 141 ff.

πληοθῆναι: the marsh is to be filled, not merely irrigated as for crops; so *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 34.6; 35.8 and editor's remarks p. 126.

13. *ἐπιτρόπου*: the procurator usiacus; cf. line 2 note; *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 31.4; 34.15-16.

14. *τοῦ γόνου καὶ τῶν μητρῶν μιωθέντων*: cf. *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI 35.15 *τοῦ γὰρ γόνου μιωθέντος* (ed. *δρυμοῦ μιοθωθέντος*); below, line 16, *γόνον καὶ μήτρας*. The meaning is obscure. Apparently the failure of the marsh to have received something masculine (*γόνος*, "sperm, seed") and something feminine (*μήτρα*, "womb") from the flood waters threatens its productivity. Perhaps this is a reference to a folk explanation of the fertilizing power of the Nile, which may be hinted at in Plutarch. D.I.O. 38: *ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴν, οὕτως Ἶσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει*

σπερμαύων καὶ μειγνύμενος; cf. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil*, pp. 130f.

15. *ἐφεξῆς ἔτη τρία*: so *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI 34.18 ff.; 35.10 ff., *ἀξιῶ σε ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ αἰγιαλοφύλακι, εἰδότα σε* (ed. *γράμματά {σε}*) *ὅτι ἐὰν ἀμέλιά τις γένηται . . . καὶ μὴ πλησθῇ* [i.e., the marsh] *. . . οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτι βλάβος ἐπακολουθεῖ· τοῦ γὰρ γόνου μιωθέντος ἄλλ' ἔτη τρία ἄφορος γείνεται.*

αὔξιν: = *αὔξησιν*; *LSJ* s.v. *αὔξις*, citing Hesychius.

16-18. *μένιν . . . [ἐ]πιστρατήγου*: cf. *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 35.19-20. For another appeal to the epistratego in a similar case, *SB* 7361; cf. Martin, *Les épistratèges*, pp. 157 ff.

17. More has been lost in the lacuna than *προτέρας*.

παρῳχηθέντος: this form is not attested elsewhere.

ὀγδόου ἔτους: of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 144/45; cf. *P. Lugd-Bat.* XVI 34.16; 35.20.

618. Petition to an Epistrategos

P. Mich. Inv. 987 each copy 11 x 14.5 cm. ca. A.D. 166/9

The priest Psenamounis of Bacchias complains to the epistrategos Lucceius Ofellianus that he has been improperly assigned by the *ἐκβολεὺς χωμάτων* to work on the dike corvée, despite an exemption from such work which had been granted him at least 11 years previously by the prefect. Reason for the exemption was Psenamounis' poor eyesight.

The gods, temples, and priests of Bacchias have been studied by E. H. Gilliam, "Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis," *YCS* 10, 1947, pp. 179 ff.; see especially pp. 199 ff. As late as 14 June A.D. 171 it was customary for priests of the *λόγιμον ἱερόν* of Soknobraisis in Bacchias to do corvée labor on a neighboring canal (Gilliam, *op. cit.*, text 19, lines 5 ff., *ἔθος ἡμεῖν ἐστιν ἄγεσθαι εἰς χωματικὰ ἔργα κτλ.*). There is no suggestion in our text that Psenamounis would have enjoyed exemption as a priest, any more than did the priests of Soknobraisis: the exemption was apparently grounded solely on his weak vision (lines 11-12). For the tangled question of priestly liturgical liability in general, cf. N. Lewis, "Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt," in *Actes du Xe congrès international de papyrologues*, Warsaw, 1964, pp. 78 f. and n. 46; Gilliam, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 ff.; J. A. S. Evans, "The Temple of Soknebtunis," *YCS* 17, 1961, pp. 262 ff. For a recent treatment of the whole subject of liturgical exemption, cf. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff., and its continuation in *Atti dell' XI congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Milan, 1966, pp. 508 ff.

The petition has been preserved in two copies, of which I have transcribed the better preserved. There are no textual variants, but copy B guarantees a restoration in line 17 of A (critical note *ad loc.*).

For the date cf. line 1, note.

Λοκκηίῳ Ὀφελλιανῷ
τῷ κρατ[ί]στῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ
παρὰ Ψεν[α]μούνεως Ψεναμού-
νεως τοῦ Ψεναμούνεως
ἀπὸ κώμης Βακχιάδος ἱερέ-
ος. ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ιη (ἔτους) θεοῦ Αἰ-
λίου Ἀντωνείνου ἐξ ἐνκε-
λεύσεως Σεμπρωνίου
Λιβελαρ[ί]ου τοῦ ἡγεμονεύ-
σαντος ἀπελύθην ἅμα
ἄλλοις [ἀν]δράσιν ὡς ἀσ-
θενὴς τ[ο]ῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς· ὁ
οὖν τῆς [Β]ακχιάδος κομο-
γραμματ[ε]ὺς καὶ ἐκβολεὺς
χωμάτ[ω]ν ὑπογύως ἐξέ-
βαλέν με [ε]ἰς τὸ ἐργάσασ[θαι]
εἰς τὰ χ[ώματα

1. Λοκκείῳ 5-6. ἱερέως 9. Λιβεραλίου 13-14. κωμογραμματεύς 17. εἰς τὰ χώματα τά |, B

To his excellency Lucceius Ofellianus, epistrategos, from Psenamounis son of Psenamounis and grandson of Psenamounis, from the village of Bacchias, priest.

As long ago as the 18th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus I, together with some other men, was by reason of my weak vision granted exemption (from corvée labor) by order of Sempronius Liberalis, who then served as prefect; well now, the village secretary and ekboleus chomaton of Bacchias has just assigned me to work on the dikes. . . .

1. Λοκκηίῳ Ὀφελλιανῷ: cf. *CIG* III 4701 = *SB* 8305 (10 May, A.D. 166); *BGU* 1046 col. 3.8 = *WChr.* 265 (23 August, A.D. 166); *SB* 7427.15 (A.D. 168/9); Wilcken, *Archiv* 3, 1906, p. 508; Martin, *Les épistratèges,* p. 182 n. 1. This text can be dated between 1 December, A.D. 165, when Ofellianus' predecessor Gratillanus was still in office, and late November 169, when his successor Capitolinus is attested; cf. Martin, *op. cit.,* pp. 182 f.; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres,* Paris, 1961, III p. 1090.

2. ἐπιστρατήγῳ: for the epistrategos as recipient of petitions concerning liturgical abuses cf. Martin, *op. cit.,* pp. 124 ff.; *P. Mich.* 426.1 note.

3. Ψεν[α]μούνεως: I have not identified this man elsewhere.

6-7. The 18th year of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 154/5.

8-10. Σεμπρωνίου Λιβελαρ[ί]ου τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος: M. Sempronius Liberalis is attested as prefect 29 August 154 – 158/9: O. W. Reinmuth, "A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt, 30 B.C. to 299 A.D.," *BASP* 4, 1967, pp. 97 f.; A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Aegypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit,* Bern, 1950, pp. 84 ff., 192. For the metathesis in the spelling of the cognomen, cf. *SB* 4227.3 and 7; *P. Ryl.* 115.20; *P. Oxy.* 594; *P. Fouad* 26.1; Stein, *op. cit.,* p. 85. For the prefect's role in liturgical affairs, Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian, Klio* Beiheft 34, 1935, pp. 15 ff.; in granting exemption from liturgies, pp. 18 ff.

11. ἀσθενῆς τ̣[ο]ῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς: cf. *Cod. Just.* 10, 51, 1; *P. Mich.* 426.3, 18 ff.; *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XVI 3.23; *PSI* 1103.14; *P. Flor.* 382.63; Lewis, *Atti XI congresso,* pp. 518 ff.

14-15. ἐκβολεὺς χωμάτ[ω]ν̣: cf. *P. Lond.* V 1648; 1649; *P. Ryl.* 90.17 note; *P. Oxy.* 1301; *YCS* 10, 1947, pp. 179 ff., text 19, lines 12-13 note; *P. Petaus* 49. The function of this official was the assignment of dike-workers to their jobs (ἐκβολὴ ἐργατῶν τῶν ὀφειλόντων ἀπεργάζεσθαι εἰς τὰ χωματικὰ ἔργα, *P. Petaus* 49.8-10; cf. below line 15, ἐξέβαλεν). In the present text the komogrammateus serves also as ekboleus chomaton. For such (voluntary or abusive) cumulation of liturgies cf. Lewis, *Atti XI congresso,* pp. 523 ff.; specifically for the komogrammateus, Oertel, *Liturgie,* p. 159.

15f. ἐξέβαλεν: not cited in this sense of "assign" in *WB* or *LSJ*, but cf. *O. Mich.* 655.4-5 and the references by Youtie, *TAPA* 76, 1945, p. 153 n. 90.

16-17. ἐργάσασ[θαι] εἰς τὰ χ[ώματα: for a recent bibliography on the dike corvée, *P. Sorb.* 59, introduction.

619. Household Account

P. Mich. Inv. 200b v β — ca. A.D. 182

The entries of this account were made in the margins of the petition 616 and are upside down in respect to that text. It is possible that the hands of both texts are the same, though 619 is far more cursive and is written in a lighter, brownish ink. The account as a whole has been cancelled by a number of lines drawn casually through it.

The text records expenditures on various household items, for the most part food, over an uncertain number of days. Bread, beets, asparagus, lupines, and a type of broth are prominent in the account; meat and eggs occur probably twice each, milk not at all. Much the largest expenditures on foodstuff were made for wine, in two purchases totalling 42 dr. 3 ob. (lines 11 and 27). The most costly entry, however, is the rather surprising item of "advocate's fees" (ῥήτορι, 8, 27). One recalls Gemellus's quarrel with the government (*P. Mich.* 616), but we cannot be certain that there is a connection.

For prices of household articles in Roman Egypt, see especially the chapter on "Wages and Living Costs" in Johnson's *Roman Egypt,* pp. 301 ff.; Mickwitz, "Ein Goldwertindex der römisch-byzantinischen Zeit," *Aegyptus* 13, 1933, pp. 95 ff.; and Lydia Bandi, "I conti privati nei papiri dell' Egitto greco-romano," *Aegyptus* 17, 1937, pp. 349 ff., and the older works cited by her, p. 423 n. 1. Scattered references to the cost of items of daily use are found in a wide range of papyri, largely utilized by Johnson, *loc. cit.* A convenient list of ninety private accounts is given by Bandi, pp. 351 ff.

For the date of the text see the introduction to *P. Mich.* 616.

The following chart summarizes the account. Some doubtful items are omitted.

Item	*Price*	*Line*
advocate's fees	44 dr.	8
	21 dr. 1 ob.	27
asparagus and beets	2 1/2 ob.	25
	3 ob.	2
	4 1/2 ob.	26
	5 ob.	3
bath admission	1/2 ob.	1, [4], 15
beans	2 ch.	1
	1/2 ob.	2
	1 ob.	3, 6, 24, 25, 26
beets (cf. asparagus and beets)	2 ob.	20
boiled food	1 dr.	25, 26
bread	4 ob.	1, 2, 23, 25
	6 ob.	3, 5, 26
	1 dr. 1 ob.	3
broth	1/2 ob.	2, 25
	1/2 ob. 2 ch.	3, 21, 26
	1 1/2 ob.	27
coriander	2 ch.	25
dishes	2 dr. 2 ob.	12
drinking-cups	2 dr. 4 ob.	25
dyes	2 ob.	18
eggs	1 dr. 1/2 ob.	26
(?)	1 dr. 3 ob.	4
gift	1 ob.	16
lamps	1 ob.	27
lamp wicks	1 ob.	1
leeks, see lettuce and leeks		
lemons	1 ob.	27
	4 ob.	3
lettuce	4 ob. (?)	25
lettuce and leeks	4 1/2 ob.	2
lettuce and . . .	4 1/2 ob.	22
lupines	1/2 ob.	1
	1 ob.	14, 25
	1 ob. 2 ch.	26
meat	at least 1 dr.	3
(?)	(?)	1
oil	5 dr. 1 ob.	4
payment to a child	1 dr. 1 ob.	7
payment to a slave	4 ob.	4
pickled fish	4 ob.	13
pomegranate wine	1 dr. 6 ob.	10
pot	1 ob.	19
radishes	1 1/2 ob.	25
	2 ob.	2
relish	1 dr. 3 ob.	2
snails	1 ob.	17

tip	1 dr. 5 ob.	9
vegetables	1 ob.	1
	4 ob.	26
vetch	2 ob.	1, 27
wine	18 dr.	11
	24 dr. 3 ob.	27

Column I

Written in upper margin of the account (=lower margin of **616**); space available 22.5 x 3 cm.; four lines.

κρ]ε̣ως ? (δραχμ ?) . (πεντώβολον ?), ἄρτ(ων) (τετρώβολον)[. . .] (δίχαλκον), βαλ(ανεῖ) (ἡμιωβέλιον), κυάμ(ου) (δίχαλκον), θέρμ(ου) (ἡμιωβέλιον), λαχ(άνων) (ὀβολός), ὀρβίω(ν) (διώβολον), ἐλλυχ(νίων) (ὀβολός)

.ἄρτ(ων) (τετρώβ.), ἀσπαρ[άγ(ου), σ]εύτ(λου) (τριώβ.), ζέμ(ατος) (ἡμιωβ.), κυάμ(ου) (ἡμιωβ.), ῥαφ(άνου) (διώβ.), θρίδ(ακος), πράσ(ων) (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), ὄψο(υ) (δραχμὴ) α (τριώβ.)

ἄρτ(ων) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς, κρέως (δραχμ) [....] κολ( ) (δραχμαὶ) ς ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς, ἄρτ(ων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.), ἀσπαράγ(ου), σεύτ(λου) (πεντώβ.), ζέμ(ατος) (ἡμιωβ.) (δίχ.), κιτρίο(υ) (τετρώβ.), κυάμ(ου) (ὀβ.)

ῳ]ῶν ? (δρ.) α (τριώβ.), βαλ(ανεῖ) [(ἡμιωβ.)], ... (δίχ.), παιδαρίῳ (τετρώβ.), ἐλαίου (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.)

Column II

Right margin (left margin of 616); space available 5 x 16.5 cm.; one column.

λ̄ ἄρτ(ων) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς
κυάμ(ου) (ὀβ.)
παιδίῳ (δρ.) α (ὀβ.)
ῥήτορι (δρ.) μδ
σπονδ(ῆς) (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
ῥοϊστικ(οῦ) (δρ.) α ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς
οἴνου (δρ.) ι[[β]]η
λεκανικ(ῶν) (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
ταρείχ(ου) (τετρώβ.)
θέρμ(ου) (ὀβ.)
βαλ(ανεῖ) (ἡμιωβ.)

ᾱ θαλλ(οῦ) (ὀβ.)
κοχλίω(ν) (ὀβ.)

χρωμ(άτων) (διώβ.)
χύθρας (ὀβ.)
σεύτ(λου) (διώβ.)
ζέμ(ατος) (ἡμιωβ.) (δίχ.)
θρίδ(ακος), ρ¯ (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.)
ἄρτ(ων) (τετρώβ.)
κυάμ(ου) (ὀβ.)

Column III

Lower margin (upper margin of **616**); space available 22.5 x 3 cm.; three lines.

ἀσπαρά]γ(ου), σεύτ(λου) (διώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), ζέμ(ατος) (ἡμιωβ.), ῥαφ(άνου) (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), θρ[ίδ(ακος)] (τετρώβ. ?), κορί(ου) (δίχ.), ἄρτ(ων) (τετρώβ.), κυάμ(ου) (ὀβ.), ποτηρίω(ν) (δρ.) β (τετρώβ.), θέρμ(ου) (ὀβ.), ἐφθοῦ (δρ.) α

]..( ) (δρ.) δ, λαχ(άνων) (τετρώβ.), ἄρτ(ων) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς, ᾠῶν (δρ.) α (ἡμιωβ.), ἐφθοῦ (δρ.) α, ἀσπαράγ(ου), σεύτ(λου) (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), ζέμ(ατος) (ἡμιωβ.) (δίχ.), κυάμ(ου) (ὀβ.), θέρμ(ου) (ὀβ.) (δίχ.)

] (δίχ.), ῥήτορι (δρ.) κα (ὀβ.), ζέμ(ατος) (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), ὀρβίω(ν) (διώβ.), κιτ(ρίου) (ὀβ.), οἴνο(υ) (δρ.) κδ (τριώβ.), λύχνω(ν) (ὀβ.), σωτηρ( ) (διώβ.)

Meat (?) . . . bread 4 ob.; . . . 2 ch.; bath admission 1/2 ob.; beans 2 ch.; lupines 1/2 ob.; vegetables 1 ob.; vetch 2 ob.; lamp wicks 1 ob.

Bread 4 ob.; asparagus and beets 3 ob.; broth 1/2 ob.; beans 1/2 ob.; radishes 2 ob.; lettuce and leeks 4 1/2 ob.; relish 1 dr. 3 ob.

Bread 6 ob.; meat . . . 6 dr. 6 ob.; bread 1 dr. 1 ob.; asparagus and beets 5 ob.; broth 1/2 ob. 2 ch.; lemons 4 ob.; beans 1 ob.

Eggs (?) 1 dr. 3 ob.; bath admission 1/2 ob.; . . . 2 ch.; for the slave 4 ob.; oil 5 dr. 1 ob.

30th. Bread 6 ob.; beans 1 ob.; for the child 1 dr. 1 ob.; advocate's fees 44 dr.; tip 1 dr. 5 ob.; pomegranate wine 1 dr. 6 ob.; wine 18 dr.; dishes 2 dr. 2 ob.; pickled fish 4 ob.; lupines 1 ob.; bath admission 1/2 ob.

1st. Gift 1 ob.; snails 1 ob.; dyes 2 ob.; a pot 1 ob.; beets 2 ob.; broth 1/2 ob. 2 ch.; lettuce and . . . 4 1/2 ob.; bread 4 ob.; beans 1 ob.

Asparagus and beets 2 1/2 ob.; broth 1/2 ob.; radishes 1 1/2 ob.; lettuce 4 ob. (?); coriander 2 ch.; bread 4 ob.; beans 1 ob.; drinking-cups 2 dr. 4 ob.; lupines 1 ob.; boiled food 1 dr.

. . . 4 dr.; vegetables 4 ob.; bread 6 ob.; eggs 1 dr. 1/2 ob.; boiled food 1 dr.; asparagus and beets 4 1/2 ob.; broth 1/2 ob. 2 ch. beans 1 ob.; lupines 1 ob. 2 ch.

. . . 2 ch.; advocate's fees 21 dr. 1 ob.; broth 1 1/2 ob.; vetch 2 ob.; lemons 1 ob.; wine 24 dr. 3 ob.; lamps 1 ob.; . . . 2 ob.

1. ἄρτ(ων) (τετρώβολον): probably represents a purchase of four single or two double loaves; see the occurrences in *P. Mich.* 123 and 128, *SB* 7181, and *P. Flor.* 322 cited by Johnson, *Roman Egypt,* p. 316. These indicate that the price of bread held steady at an obol a loaf from about the middle of the first to the middle of the third century A.D.

βαλ(ανεῖ): cf. lines 4, 15. "For the bathman," i.e., admission to the baths. Cf. *O. Wilb.*, p. 41, "Plusieurs comptes de ménage ont . . . un poste εἰς βαλανεῖον, d'une demi-obole. qui représente, sans doute, le prix d'une entrée du bain public."

ὀρβίω(ν): not in *WB* or *LSJ*, but given as a variant of ὄροβος in Du Cange, s.v. ὄρβιον; papyrus occurrences listed in *Spoglio Lessicale*, s.v. ὄρβιον. Plainly these are the wares of the ὀρβιοπώλης found several times in the papyri; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1432.6 note; *P. Lond.* IV 1445.7 note; *P. Mil. Vogl.* 69, 28 note; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 160 f.

2. ἀσπαρ[άγ(ου), σ]εὐτ(λου): a number of entries record a single expenditure for two items; cf. lines 3, 25, 26; lettuce and leeks line 2; lettuce and another item line 22.

ζέμ(ατος): a word for various vegetable broths: Sophocles, *Lexicon* s.v.; also *LSJ*, s.v.; not in *WB*.

3. ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς: six-obol entries in this account are clearly less than a drachma; cf. second entry following and lines 5 and 10. We are therefore dealing with the standard seven-obol drachma of *P. Oxy.* 9 verso (Vol. I, p. 77), ἔχει δραχμὴ ὀβολοὺς ἑπτά; evidence collected in West and Johnson, *Currency*, esp. pp. 51 ff.

κολ( ): not κο[χ]λ(ίων) (17). *WB* and *LSJ* for various possible expansions.

4. ᾠ]ῶν: for the restoration cf. line 26. ᾠῶν there is the only other unabbreviated genitive plural in this account, and the prices there and here are nearly the same.

παιδαρίῳ: apparently pin money (peculium) for a slave; cf. παιδίῳ, for a child, line 7. Similarly *P. Oxy.* 736 distinguishes between παιδάρια slaves (38) and παιδία children (39, 58, 59).

5. λ̄: the date; cf. line 16, ᾱ.

8. ῥήτορι: see introduction.

9. σπονδ(ῆς): cf. line 16, θαλλ(οῦ). These payments recall the "extras" so often included in leases; cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 114 ff.; E. Eitrem, "Σπονδή, Θαλλός, and Other Extra Payments in Papyri," *Symb. Osl.* 17, 1937, pp. 26 ff. But these small sums may represent gratuities or gifts for any occasion; cf. *LSJ* s.v. σπονδή (III); s.v. θαλλός (III).

10. ῥοϊστικ(οῦ): the usual form is ῥοικός.

12. λεκανικ(ῶν): clearly one of the many derivatives of λεκάνη (*LSJ*, s.v. λεκάνη). The word is not found elsewhere; possibly λεκανι⟨σ⟩κ(ῶν) should be read.

16. θαλλ(οῦ): see line 9 note; Ph. Derchain, *Chronique* 30, 1955, pp. 324 ff.

19. χύθρας: more commonly κύθρας or χύτρας.

22. ρ̄: the straight line to the upper right of *rho* does not resemble the curve sometimes used to represent initial *pi*; not, therefore, πρ(άσων) (cf. line 2).

25. ἐφθοῦ: boiled meat, fish, or vegetables; *LSJ* s.v. Not in *WB*, but cf. ἐφθίον.

27. λύχνω(ν): the fact that lamps here and lamp wicks in line 1 both cost 1 ob. would perhaps seem less curious if we knew the quantity and quality of each involved.

σωτηρ( ): or possibly Σωτῆρ(ι).

620. Account of an Estate

P. Corn. Inv. II, 25 + P. Mich. Inv. 273 88 x 22 cm. A.D. 239-240

Two pieces of this roll are known, one at Cornell and the other at Michigan. The relative positions of the fragments are certain, inasmuch as the hitherto unpublished Cornell verso preserves the ends of lines which begin on the Michigan papyrus (cf. col. 6 verso, lines 297, 299, 303). The recto of the Cornell papyrus was published by Naphtali Lewis, "The Non-Scholar Members of the Alexandrian Museum," *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV 16, 1963, pp. 257 ff., and has been further studied by J. F. Gilliam, "Valerius Titanianus," *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV 17, 1964, pp. 293 ff. and H. Bolkestein, "Ἐκ κενῆς P. Corn. Inv. II, 25," *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV 17, 1964, pp. 79 f. Cf. also E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction*, Oxford, 1968, p. 86. My re-edition of the Cornell text incorporates a number of improvements and restorations suggested by Gilliam and Bolkestein or by the Michigan roll. When my readings differ from Lewis's, this is indicated in the critical notes.

The document consists of copies of a series of financial reports concerning the operations of a large Fayum estate, from the caretaker Alkimedon to the proprietor Valerius Titanianus, either directly (col. 4 verso) or acting through his steward Aurelius Areios (cols. 1 and 6 recto, 2 verso). The reports preserved are:

1. A complete half-yearly account of rents for Phamenoth to Mesore of the second year of Gordian, 25 February/23 August A.D. 239 (cols. 1-5 recto).

2. The beginning of an account of expenditures in money and kind for Mesore of the same year, 25 July/23 August 239 (cols. 6-7 recto).

3. The end of an account for Hathyr of the following Egyptian year, 29 October/27 November 239 (col. 1 verso, much mutilated).

4. A complete account of expenditures in kind for Choiak, 28 November/27 December 239 (cols. 2-3 verso).

5. The beginning of an account in kind for Tybi, 28 December/26 January A.D. 239/40 (cols. 4-7 verso).

These reports were copied by a single hand onto a blank papyrus roll.[1] When the recto was filled, the roll was turned over and the copies were continued on the verso. The verso and recto accounts began at opposite ends of the roll, so that the present col. 1 verso is opposite 7 recto, 2 verso is opposite 6 recto, and so on. Between the last column preserved on the recto and the first of the verso have been lost part of the account for Mesore and the epagomenal days, the whole of those for Thoth and Phaophi, and most of that for Hathyr (25 July/27 November A.D. 239). The number of columns lost cannot be estimated satisfactorily, as the

1. Lewis's description of the Cornell text as "apparently part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*," *op. cit.*, p. 258, is inaccurate.

length of individual monthly reports varied greatly: two columns were sufficient for the account of Choiak (2-3 verso), while that of Tybi remains incomplete at four columns (4-7 verso).

The reports were dated, in the two cases where that information is preserved, on the fifth day of the month following that with which the report was concerned (lines 202, 258).

The estate of Valerius Titanianus included parcels of land near Dionysias (236, *ἐπέ[μφθη εἰς] Διονυσιάδα Σωτηρίχῳ φροντιστῇ*) and Alexandrou Nesos (243, *Σαπρίω[νος] φροντιστοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξ(άνδρου)*) as well as the property near Theadelphia which was in Alkimedon's charge (207 f., *προνοουμένου τῶν περὶ Θεαδέλφιαν*).[2] The distance from the latter to Dionysias was within a day's journey for asses: cf. 284 ff., where a herd of asses arrives at Alkimedon's stable on the 11th, departs the next day, and returns from Dionysias on the 13th. Theadelphia, Dionysias, and Alexandrou Nesos were located in the northwest part of the Themistou Meris of the Arsinoite Nome, near Philagris (231) and Magais (234). This part of the ousia was therefore located not far from the properties of the Heroninus archive, which provides the most useful documents for the present text.[3]

The first passage in which Alkimedon bears the title *προνοούμενος τῶν περὶ Θεαδέλφιαν* is col. 2 verso 207 f., Choiak of year three (28 November/27 December 239). In Mesore of the previous Egyptian year (25 July/23 August 239) he was called *προνοούμενος κτήσεως Σφηκὸς καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους* (5 f., 126 f.). This estate is not identifiable elsewhere, but that it cannot have been located far from the properties just discussed is shown by a number of references to persons and places found also in the verso accounts: Alexandrou Nesos (82, cf. 243), Polion (131, 163, cf. 249), the *εὐσχήμων* (41, cf. 224), and perhaps Paesios and Herakleos (148, cf. 309 note).

In addition to these holdings in the Themistou Meris, Titanianus possessed land near Philadelphia in the Herakleidou Meris, and possibly also in Arsinoe: see Gilliam, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 ff.

2. Concerning the large estates called in Roman times *οὐσίαι* consult especially Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1957, I, pp. 292 ff., II, pp. 669 ff.; *Kolonat*, pp. 120 ff.; A. Tomsin, "Notes sur les *οὐσίαι* de l'époque romaine," *Studi in Onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, Milan, 1957, II, pp. 211 ff.; "Le recrutement de la main d'oeuvre dans les domains privés de l'Egypte romaine," *Festschrift Oertel*, Bonn, 1964, pp. 81 ff., and the works cited by these authors. The land of an ousia ordinarily lay as here in scattered parcels; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 124: "Die geographische oder topographische Geschlossenheit gehört also nicht zu den Merkmalen einer *οὐσία*. Was der *οὐσία* ihre Einheit gibt, ist die Tatsache, dass der ganze Complex einer und derselben Person gehört."

3. The most informative Heroninus texts are *P. Lond.* 1170 v (III, pp. 193 ff.); 1226 (III, pp. 103 f.); *P. Flor.* 321 and 322; the correspondence of *P. Flor.* II with the editor's introduction; *SB* 9466 ff. and the references there cited. Apart from the Heroninus papyri, cf. especially *P. Lond.* 131 recto, republished with translation and commentary by Anna Swiderek, *La propriété foncière privée dans l'Egypte de Vespasien et sa technique agricole d'après P. Lond. 131 recto*, Warsaw, 1960. None of these texts, however, offer true parallels to *P. Mich.* 620.

The ousia was exploited by means of the following personnel:[4]

1. Aurelius Areios, *ἐπίτροπος*, was Titanianus' agent in the estate management. He was the recipient of Alkimedon's reports (4, 125, 206) and unquestionably his superior.

2. Limited sections of the ousia were headed by general managers, *φροντισταί* or *προνοούμενοι*.[5] There are *φροντισταί* reported for Dionysias (236) and Alexandrou Nesos (243, 299); Alkimedon was *προνοούμενος κτήσεως Σφηκὸς καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους* (5, 126), later *προνοούμενος τῶν περὶ Θεαδέλφιαν* (207, 262). Often one manager sent needed commodities to another: so Alkimedon received sour wine (243 f., 299 f.), reeds (313, 316), and the services of an ass-driver with asses from Alexandrou Nesos (192 ff., cf. 249 ff.); and he himself supplied wine to Dionysias (236).

3. Besides the managers, the estate employed a number of workers in comparatively specialized occupations: gatekeepers (9, 56), a bull-driver (50, 162), numerous ass-drivers (e.g., 131, 148, 273, 325), camel-drivers (233), a whitewasher (137), carpenters (270, 303), plasterers (245, 247, 252, 269), builders (327). No pay for these persons is recorded in the list of daily payments to *ἐργάται*, 130 ff. They were probably hired on a relatively long-term basis: cf. the monthly *ὀψώνιον*-payment for the bull-driver and an ass-driver (162, 163) and the free lodgings for the bull-driver and the gatekeepers (9, 50, 56). Such employees are well known from other estates; cf. Swiderek, *Propriété foncière*, p. 100, "un petit nombre de travailleurs réguliers appelés de leurs noms . . . dont la paye n'est pas mise en évidence." The otherwise unknown Papias, Eutyches, and Pasion (164, 165, 166) no doubt belong to this group.

4. The estate of Sphex and Aristokles had at least eleven foremen, *προστάται* (34, 42, 44, 48, 53, 63, 68, 71, 79, 113) whose responsibility where stated usually covered a specific piece of land (34, 42, 44, 68, 71, 79). With one exception (44) they received a reduction in rent. Cf. also 197, 253 note.

5. Unnamed workers were hired at two drachmae a day to attend asses performing various tasks (130, 134, 139, 142, 147, 150), to prepare whitewash (137), or to dig sebbach (145).

6. Several businesses on the estate were carried on by lessees. These included weavers (10, 46, 94), a miller (85), wine-producers (96), a beer-seller (109), an oil-producer (111), and a grower of garden crops (92). The list of rents cols. 1-5 recto distinguishes between these *μισθωταί* who do not pay *ἐνοίκιον* and the renters of rooms who do pay rent.

7. Large numbers of beasts of burden were supplied by the *εὐσχήμων*; cf. 41 note.

4. Cf. especially A. Tomsin in *Festschrift Oertel*, Bonn, 1964, pp. 81 ff.; A. Swiderek, *Propriété foncière*, pp. 100 ff.

5. Cf. *P. Flor.* II, pp. 58 ff. Whether the difference in title indicates a difference in function or in rank between *προνοούμενοι* and *φροντισταί* is questionable: the two terms are equated by the Flor. editor, p. 59. Heroninus bore both titles, in reference however to different persons; cf. *P. Lond.* 1171 (III, pp. 193 ff.).267 with, e.g. *P. Lond.* 1226 (III, pp. 103 f.).4.

Most persons renting rooms on the estate were obliged to provide 12 days of labor semi-annually (cf. below). We are not told how or when this was collected.

There is no trace of slave labor recorded for the estate.

The estate of Sphex and Aristokles offered lodgings for rent in κέλλαι which were part of the central building complexes called ἐποίκια (46 note). Columns 1-5 recto give a complete list of the rentable buildings of the estate. In this account the sections named after Sphex and Aristokles are kept separate, but such is not the case in the other accounts (cf. 132-133 note). The following list summarizes the five columns:

Estate of Sphex

Object	Terms	Line(s)
First Farmstead	Semi-annually	
Gateway with porter's lodging	Rent-free	9
Weavers' workshop with 6 rooms	Leased (cf. n. 7)	10-13
26 rooms, including:		
3 collapsed and unrented	—	14, 15, 20
1 collapsed, used by Alkimedon	not stated	39
1 storeroom used by the animal-supplier	not stated	41
10 rented for single occupancy, including one by a foreman (44)	20 dr. & 12 days' labor & 1/2 pig	17, 21, 27, 28, 30, 33, 36, 37, 38, 44
4 rented for double occupancy	20 dr. & 24 days' labor & 1/2 pig	18, 19, 29, 31
2 occupied by foremen (but cf. 44)	20 dr. & 1/2 pig	34, 42
2 occupied, rent uncertain	—	16, 22
3 all data lost	—	24, 25, 26
Second Farmstead		
Weavers' workshop	leased	46
5 rooms, including:		
2 collapsed and unrented	—	51, 52
2 occupied by foremen, including one with a son	20 dr. & 1/2 pig	48, 53
1 occupied by a bull-driver	rent-free	50

Estate of Aristokles

Object	Terms	Line(s)
Within the Farmstead	Semi-annually	
Area about the winepress, including:		
a) Weavers' workshop	leased	94

b) Winepress	leased	96
Watchtower, unused	—	108
Beershop	leased	109
Oil-press	leased	111
30 rooms, including:		
4 unused	—	58, 83, 90, 107
1 used by the gate-keeper	rent-free	56
19 single occupancy	20 dr. & 12 days' labor & 1/2 pig	59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 70, 73, 76, 82, 84, 87, 88, 91, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 106
4 occupied by foremen	20 dr. & 1/2 pig	63, 68, 71, 79
2 occupied by lessees	leased	85, 92
Outside the Farmstead		
Huts occupied by two foremen	rent-free	112

In addition to the structures rented, the estate of Sphex included a bath undergoing repair (140).

The following are the variations in rent:

1. Basic rent was 20 drachmae, 12 days' labor, and half a pig each six months.[6] A day of labor is reckoned in line 118 as worth two drachmae, and this is the sum actually paid to day laborers (above, p. 64). The porkers are *ἐξαίρετα* or *ἔκτακτα* of a sort well known in property leases; cf. line 173 note. Their value is calculated in line 119 as 20 drachmae each (cf. note *ad loc.*). The silver value of the rent is thus 20 + 24 + 10 = 54 drachmae. This is a reasonable rent for the mid-third century A.D.; cf. the lists in Johnson's *Roman Egypt,* pp. 262 ff.

2. On the Sphex estate only, four rooms for double occupancy were rented for 20 drachmae, 24 days' labor, and 1/2 pig per room. Silver value, 78 drachmae; per occupant, 39 drachmae.

3. Foremen with one exception (44) paid the silver and the pork, but were exempt from the labor. Silver value, 30 drachmae.

4. Lessees, having separate arrangements, paid no rent for lodgings.[7]

5. The gate-keepers and the bull-driver paid no rent.

6. Two foremen living outside the farmstead paid no rent.

7. The *εὐσχήμων* was responsible for a storeroom, and Alkimedon for a collapsed room, terms not stated.

The total cash value of the income from rents on the Aristokles estate was 1146 drachmae for the six months (cf. 117 ff.). The rents on the Sphex estate

6. Rent in half-yearly instalments was common; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1889.11 note; *Aegyptus* 21, 1941, p. 294 n. 16.

7. The terms of the leases, which no doubt varied, are not stated. For the exemption of lessees from *ἐνοίκιον* cf. *P. Oxy.* 729.34: *παρέξει* ὁ *αὐτὸς Σαραπίων* (the lessor) *τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν χωρὶς ἐνοικίου ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ καμάρας δύο.*

which have been preserved or can be restored with certainty total 972 drachmae. The minimum total of rents for both estates is therefore 2118 drachmae.

The principal product of the estate as presented by these records was wine. Vineyards or new plantings are mentioned in lines 34, 79, 149, 151, 196 (restored), 251, 320, 321. The associated reedfields are found in lines 42 and 44, a wine-press, 96, and two (additional ?) ληνοί, 132. Deliveries of wine from the estate are recorded in lines 180 ff., 231 ff. Reeds and rope, both used in viticulture, are imported 306 ff. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. Hist. of the Rom. Emp.* p. 673: "The estates, like private land in general, were mostly cultivated as vineyards, orchards, and olive groves, new plantations being a prominent feature of the management of the land."

Sour wine, ὄξος, was brought in from Alexandrou Nesos (244, 299).

Wheat in modest quantities is referred to in lines 161 ff., 211 ff., 265 ff. Barley is mentioned 173, lentils 170 and 248. A miller (85) presupposes grain, an oil-press under lease (111) presupposes olives or oil-productive vegetable crops. Large amounts of hay were necessary for the animals (216 ff., 278 ff.). A grower of garden crops is mentioned in line 92.

The following animals appear in the account:

Animal	Task performed, carrying:	Line(s)
4 female asses	pebbles	130, 139
4 female asses	sand	134, 143
4 female asses	sebbach	145
8 male asses	sebbach	147
8 male asses	sand	150
3 female asses	straw	[192], 251
Same, with two foals	(stabled)	218
2 riding asses & 1 horse	(stabled)	221, 290
12 camels	(stabled)	224
12 camels	100 Oxyrhynchitia of wine	232, 235, 237
24 male asses	79 art. 2 metra of wheat	272
4 female asses & 1 foal	(stabled)	281
22 male asses & 2 mules	(stabled)	284, 287
1 ass	(stabled)	289
23 male asses & 1 mule	(stabled)	292
2 bulls	(stabled)	295
4 male asses	reeds	308
other asses	reeds	311
4 asses	rope	324

The work performed by those animals whose stabling is recorded in lines 281 ff. has been lost.

From lines 219 and 281 ff. it can be calculated that grown asses were allowed ten bales of hay per diem and foals were allowed three. This agrees with line 289, where one ass receives ten bales. Camels received 12 bales (224 ff.), as

did the mules (284, 287 f.) and the horse (221, 290). Cf. in general T. Reekmans, *A Sixth Century Account of Hay*, Brussels, 1962.

The text includes the following names not found in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*: Ἀλκιμέδων (5), Ἀνᾶφις (105), Ἀνόψ (85), Ἀντιέψ (233), Ἄπος (95), Αὔλων (71), Ἠρώβη (266), Σερμῆς (50, 162), Σιριτιαιοῦς (46), Σωτιανός (322).

Vestiges of a preceding column on the left; then

I recto (Corn. Inv. II, 25)

Οὐαλερίῳ [Τ]ι̣[τ]ανιανῷ νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλ̣[ου] Σαράπιδος
ἀπὸ ἐπάρ[χ]ων οὐϊγούλων τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσίῳ
σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει διὰ
Αὐρηλίου Ἀρείου βουλευτοῦ ἐπιτρόπου
παρὰ Ἀλκιμέδοντος προνοουμένου κτήσεως
Σφηκὸς καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους.
Λόγος ποιήσεως ....ων κτήσεως Σφηκὸ̣[ς τ]ῶν ἀπὸ Φαμενὼθ
ἕως Μεσορὴ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) ἔστι δέ·
πυλὼν ἐν ᾧ θυρουρικὸν ὑπὸ Σαπρίωνα θυρουρὸν χωρὶς ἐν̣[οικίου]
καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν ἰσερχομένο(ις [ἐ]κ̣ λιβὸς ἐργαστήριον γερδια[κόν],
καὶ ἐκ κενῆς οἰκοδομήθησαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ
κέλλαι ς ὑπὸ Β.... καὶ Κ̣αλλῆν καὶ Σῆπω μισθωτῶν
χωρὶς ἐνοικίου
α¯ ἐγ'γὺς κέλλα καταπεπτωκυῖα
β¯ ὁμοίως κέλλα κα[τα]πεπτωκυῖα·
γ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Πασ[± 14 ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ..]¯
δ̣[ελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
δ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Μ[± 15 ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ι]β¯
δ̣[ελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
ε¯ κέλλα ὑπ[ὸ καὶ ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐρ]γ̣(ατῶν) κδ¯
δ̣ε̣λ̣[φ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
ς¯ κέλλα ὑπ[ὸ καὶ ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐρ]γ̣(ατῶν) κδ¯
δ[ελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
ζ¯ κέλλα καταπ̣[επτωκυῖα]
η¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ ..[± 15 ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐρ]γ̣(ατῶν) ιβ¯
[δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
θ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ .[
ἐνοικί[ου
ι¯ κ̣[έλλα
ι[α¯ κέλλα
[ιβ¯ κέλλα

1. [Τ]ι̣[τ]ανιανῷ Gilliam, Φανιανῷ Lewis 2. Μουσείῳ 7. ....ων; κόσμων Lewis 10. εἰσερχομένοις; ἰσερχόμενος, *l.* εἰσερ- Lewis 11. καωῆς Bolkestein; ᾠκοδομήθησαν 12. μισθωτάς 14. ἐγ'γύς: ἐγγυ( ) Lewis 17. ι[β:]δ̣ Lewis 21. ιβ opposite entry ζ¯ Lewis 23. Before ἐνοικί[ου Lewis supplied χωρίς

II recto (Mich Inv. 273)

ιγ¯ κέλλα ὑπ̣[ὸ] .[.]ṣορᾶν, ἐν[οικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν)] ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ιδ¯ κέλλα ὑπ̣[ὸ ....].ταν, ἐ[νοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐρ]γ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ιε¯ κέλλα ὑπ̣[ὸ] Δεῖον καὶ Ἀϊῶνα, [ἐνοικίου] (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) κδ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ις¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ .ọṣορᾶν ἐν̣[οικίου (δραχμῶν) κ] ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ιζ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ἀπολλῶν καὶ [Σ]ạραπάμμωνα, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργατῶν κδ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ιη κέλλα ὑπὸ Ὀρσενοῦφιν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ιθ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Πετουβέστω προστάτην νεοφύτων Ἀι-
μνήστου, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), χωρὶς ἐργατῶν
[κ¯] κέλλα ὑπὸ Κοῖνθον, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
κα¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ .. ως, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
κβ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Πε̣...., ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
[κγ¯] κέλλα ὑπὸ ἐμαὶ Ἀλκιμέδο[ντα] διὰ τὸ καταπεπτωκυῖαν ⟨εἶναι⟩
]λ̣λων ξενίαι traces of ca. 7 letters
[κδ¯ κέλλα, ἔστω] ταμῖον, ὑπὸ τὸ⟨ν⟩ εὐσχήμονα
[κε¯ κέλλα] ὑπὸ Νοῦφω προστ̣άτην μεγάλης καλαμείας,
[ἐνοι]κίου (δραχμῶν) κ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), [χωρὶς ἐργ]ατῶν
[κς¯ κέλλα] ὑπ[ὸ . .].υν προστάτ̣[ην ± 4 κα]λ̣αμείας
[ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ] ἐ̣ργ̣(ατῶν) ιβ¯, δ[ελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]

Ca. ten lines lost.

39. ἐμέ 41. ταμιεῖον

III recto

καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἐποικίῳ ἐργαστήριον ὑπὸ Σιριτιαιοῦν καὶ
Ἀπόλλωνα γερδίους μισθωτάς
α¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖον προστάτην καὶ Παῆσιν υἱόν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), χωρὶς ἐργατῶν
β¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Σερμῆν ταυρελάτην χωρὶς ἐνοικίου καὶ παντός
γ¯ κέλλα καταπεπτωκυῖα

δ¯ κέλλα καταπεπτωκυῖα
ε¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Σερῆνον προστάτη[ν], ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ
δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), χωρὶς ἐργατῶν
Blank space of two cm.
Κτήσεως Ἀριστοκλέους ὁμοίως, ἐν ᾧ πυλών·
α¯ κέλλα (πρότερον) ὑπὸ Παῆσιν θυρουρόν, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Ὡρίωνα
υἱόν, χωρὶς παντός
β κέλλα ἐκ νότου τοῦ ἐποικίου σκοτινὴ οὖσα, ἀργή
γ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ἀϊῶνα, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου)
(ἡμίσους)
δ¯ κέλλα πρότερον οὖσα ἀργή, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Διόδωρον,
[ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
[ε¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐρ]γ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου)
(ἡμίσους)
[ς¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ προστάτην, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ δε]λφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
χωρὶς ἐργατῶν
[ζ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐρ]γ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου)
(ἡμίσους)
[η¯ κέλλα ± 28]λον, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ
[ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
[καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐκ βορ]ρᾶ (?) κελλῶν δ¯ ὧν
[α¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ] προστάτην Λογ᾽γώνου, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ
[δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), χωρὶς] ἐργατῶν
[β¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ ἐνοικίου] (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου)
(ἡμίσους)
[γ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ προστάτην] Αὔλωνος, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ
[δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), χωρὶς] ἐργατῶν

IV recto

δ¯ κέ[λλ]α πρότερον οὖσα ἀργή, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Χαιρήμονα,
ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐκ βορρᾶ ὁμοίως, ⟨πρώτης⟩ στέγης ὧν·
α¯ κέλλα, ἔστιν ταμῖον, πρότερον οὖσα ὑπὸ κυριακὸν
χόρτον, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Χρυσᾶν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯
δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ ταμείου ὧν·
α¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ἥρωνα προστάτην νεοφύτων Αὔλωνος
ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους), χωρὶς ἐργατῶν
ὁμοίως νότον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ
α¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ὅλ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν)
ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
β¯ κέλλα πρότερον οὖσα ὑπὸ Νεῖλον, νυνὶ οὖσα ἀργή

γ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Τουτουῆν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
δ¯ κέλλα διπλῆ οὖσα, ἐν οἷς μυλαῖον, ὑπὸ Ἀνὸψ᾽ μυλωνικὸν μισθωτήν, χωρὶς παντός
ε¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ὀννῶφρω Φανιώτην, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ς¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Κάστορα, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
καὶ ἐπάνω τούτων, δευτέρας στέγης κελλῶν γ̄ ὧν·
α¯ κέλλα πρότερον οὖσα ὑπὸ Νεμεσᾶν, νυνὶ δὲ ἀργή
β¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Πετερμοῦθιν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
γ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Νώννον Κολλούθου κηπουρὸν μισθωτήν, χωρὶς ἐνοικίου καὶ παντός
ληνὸς ἐγ᾽γύς, ἐν αὐτῇ ᾽ὧν᾽ γερδιακὸν ἐργαστήριον διὰ
᾽Απον γέρδιν μισθωτήν, χωρὶς παντός
στεμφυλούργιον ὑπὸ Ἡραΐσκον καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μισθωτῶν
καὶ ἀπὸ λιβὸς ὁμοίως τοῦ ἐποικίου ὧν·
α¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ὀρσενοῦφιν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
β¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ὀρσενοῦφιν Σουλ᾽ποῦν, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
γ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖον Καρανιώτην, ἐνοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)

85. ῇ 96. τούς 97. μισθωτάς

V recto

δ¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ὡρίωνα ἀδε[λφό]ν̣, ἐνοικίο[υ (δραχμῶν)] κ ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δε[λφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)]
ε¯ κέλλα ὑπὸ Ἀνᾶφιν, ἐν[οι]κ̣ί̣ο̣[υ (δραχμῶν) κ] ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ς κέλλα ὑπὸ Πᾶσιν Φαν̣[ιώ]τ̣ην, ἐ[νοικίου (δραχμῶν) κ ἐ]ργ̣(ατῶν) ιβ¯ δελφ(ακίου) (ἡμίσους)
ζ¯ κέλλα ἀργή
μαγ᾽δὼλ ἐγ᾽γὺς ἀργός
ζυτοπώλιον πρότερον ὑπ[ὸ ± 6]ην μ̣ισθωτήν,
νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀμμῶνιν [± 6]ν̣
ἐλαιούργιον ὑπὸ Ἑρμίαν μι̣[σθωτήν]
καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἐποικίου οἰκίδια [ὑπὸ ± 9] καὶ Εὔπορον προστάτας, χωρὶς ἐνοι[κίου καὶ π]αντός
γίνονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κέλλαι λ ὧν̣ ἀργηταὶ οὖσαι δ¯

καὶ α¯ διπλῆ οὖσα ὑπὸ τὸν μυλω[νικόν], καὶ α¯ ὑπὸ τὸν
κηπουρόν, καὶ α¯ ὑ[πὸ] τὸν θ[υρουρό]ν. λοιπαὶ ἐνοικού-
μεναι κέλλαι κγ̄ ὡ[ς τῆ]ς α¯ διὰ ἐξαμήνου (δραχμῶν) κ (δρ.) υξ
ἐργατῶν σκη¯ ὡς τοῦ α¯ (δραχμῶν) β (δρ.) υνς
δελφάκια ια (ἥμισυ) ὡς τοῦ α¯ (δραχμῶν) [κ] (δρ.) σλ

(ἔτους) β′ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρ[κου Ἀντ]ωνίου Γορδιανοῦ
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστ[οῦ

VI recto

Οὐαλερίῳ Τιτανιανῷ νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος
ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων οὐϊγο[ύλ]ων τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσίῳ
σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει, δ[ι]ὰ
Αὐρηλίου Ἀρείου βουλευτοῦ ἐπιτρόπου
παρὰ Ἀλκιμέδοντος προνοουμένου κτήσεως
Σφηκὸς καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους.
Λόγος ἀναλωμάτων γενομένων δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ Μεσορὴ
μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) ἔστι δέ·
ἀναλώματος ἐργ(άτῃ) α¯ κατὰ ποδῶν ὄνων
θηλίων δ¯ σὺν Πωλίωνι ὀνηλάτῃ χάλικα
μεταφέροντες εἰς χωνίαν ληνῶν β¯ Αὔλωνος
καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας β¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμέρ[α]ς (δρ.) β (δρ.) δ
ἄλλῳ ἐργ(άτῃ) α¯ κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν αὐτῶν κτηνῶν σὺν τῷ
αὐτῷ ὀνηλάτῃ ἄμμον μεταφέροντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν
χωνίαν ἐπὶ ἡμέραν α (δρ.) β
ἄλλοι ἐργ(άται) δ¯ κόπτοντες κονίαν σὺν τῷ κονιάτῃ
ὡς τοῦ α¯ (δρ.) β (δρ.) η
ἄλλος ἐργ(άτης) α¯ κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν αὐτῶν κτηνῶν χάλικα
μεταφέροντες εἰς ἐπισκευὴν βαλανείου ἐν τῷ Σφηκὸς
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ε¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) β (δρ.) ι
ἄλλος ἐργ(άτης) α¯ κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν αὐτῶν κτηνῶν
ἄμμον μεταφέροντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ βαλανεῖον
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) β (δρ.) ς
ἄλλοι ἐργ(άται) β¯ σκάψαντες κόπρον πρὸ τῶν κτηνῶν
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δ¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) δ (δρ.) ις
ἄλλοι ἐργ(άται) β¯ κατὰ πο[δῶ]ν ὄνων ἀρσενικῶν η¯ σὺν
Ἡρακλέῳ καὶ Παησίῳ ὀνηλατῶν κόπρον μεταφέροντες
εἰς κτῆμα [Ἀ]ϊμνήστου ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δ¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμ(έρας)
(δρ.) δ (δρ.) ις
ἄλλοι ἐργ(άται) β¯ κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν αὐτῶν κτηνῶ(ν) ἀρσενικῶ(ν) η¯
ἄμμον μεταφ(έροντες) εἰς κτῆμα Ἀϊμνήστου ἐπὶ ἡμ(έρας) ι¯ ὡς τῆς
ἡμέρας (δρ.) δ (δρ.) μ

128. τοῦ corrected from τῷ 148. ὀνηλάταις

VII recto

γ(ίονται) [ἀν]αλώματος ἐργ(άταις) [
ερ[± 7]νη καὶ του[
καὶ̣[± 7]ṭαν ὐ[
ἀναλωθέντων εἰ[ς
γενικὸς ὁμ[οί]ως· ἐλοιπογραφή[θην ἐκ λόγου τοῦ (προτέρου) μηνὸς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
παρέλαβον καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπο̣[γεγραμμένων
παρὰ μὲν Ἀπ̣ολλῶτος καὶ Εὐπό̣[ρο]υ̣ [
παρὰ Πετ̣ε̣σούχο[υ] ἰ̣ατροῦ̣ [
γ(ίονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ̣ [τούτων ἀνηλώθησαν·]
Σερμῆ ταυρελάτῃ [ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου
Πωλίωνι ὀνηλ[άτῃ ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου
Παπιᾶτι ὑπὲρ ὀψ[ωνίου
Εὐτύχῃ Φρυγὶ ὑπὲ̣[ρ ὀψωνίου
Πασίωνι ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίο[υ
ἐμοὶ Ἀλ̣[κ]ι̣μέδοντι [ὑ]π̣ὲρ ὀ[ψωνίου
γ(ίονται) [ἀ]ναλώματος [(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
λοιπ(αὶ) ε̣[ἰς τ]ὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα [(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
φακῆς ὁμοίως ἐλοιπογραφήθη[ν ἐκ λόγου τοῦ (προτέρου) μηνὸς
μέτρα η¯ τὰ καὶ ανγο.[
ἐλοιπογραφήθην ἀπὸ γεωργιῶ[ν
παιδαρίου (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κγ, κριθῆς [
τὰ καὶ ἀποκείμενα εἰς τὸν [ἐξῆς μῆνα]
ἐξερέτων ἄρτων ὁμοίως πα[ρὰ
μαίου Σφηκὸς ἀρτάβ[
ὁμοίως καὶ παρὰ Βελλῆτος γερδ̣ί̣[ου
ὁμοίως καὶ παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνο[ς
(ἀρτάβη) α

175. ἐξαιρέτων

I verso

] ο̣ἰ̣νοπώ(λῃ) διὰ
] διχω(ρ) οβ¯
ἐ]ν διχώ̣[(ροις)
ἐ]ν διχώ̣(ροις) πη (ἡμίσει ?)
] διχω(ρ) σλβ¯
ἐξ ἐν]κελεύσεως ἐμ̣οῦ̣
] διχω(ρ) α¯
] μ̣ο̣νοχώ̣(ρ) β¯
·χ]ω(ρ) η (ἡμισ)

[λοιπ(ὰ) ἀποκεί(μενα) εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα] (μονό)χ[(ωρα)] .
[ἐν διχώ(ροις) . ἐν Ὀξυρυγ̣χιτίοις] φπε¯
[καὶ μονοχώ(ροις) .]
[ἀπεργασία ὄνων θηλίων γ̄] διὰ [Π]ω̣λίωνος
[ὀνηλάτου ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου
[ἔμιναν ἐν τῇ φροντίδι ἀπὸ κθ¯ ἕως] λ¯ ἡμερῶν β¯
[ὧν τὰ ἔργα· ἄχυρον μεταφέροντες εἰς τ]ὴν πλαστὴν τῶν
[κτημάτων σὺν τῷ ὀνηλ]άτῃ, ἡμερησίως
[προστάτης α¯]
[·]χω(ρ)..... [οἴ]νου
[ ]β¯ τὰ καὶ ἀποκεί(μενα)
[εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα]

[(ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀ]ντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ
[Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστ]οῦ, Χοἰ[α]κ̣ ε¯

II verso

Οὐαλερίῳ Τιτανιανῷ νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος
ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων οὐϊγ[ού]λ̣ων τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσίῳ
σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει διὰ
Αὐρηλίου Ἀρείου βουλευτοῦ ἐπιτρόπου
παρὰ Ἀλκιμέδοντος προνοουμένου τῶν περὶ
Θεαδέλφιαν.
Λόγος ἀναλωμάτων γενομένων δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ
Χοίακ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) ἔστι δέ·
γενικὸς ὁμοίως. ἐλοιπογραφήθην ἐκ λόγου
τοῦ (προτέρου) μηνὸς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λς
τούτων ἀνηλώθησαν
ἐμοὶ Ἀλκιμέδοντι ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α
λοιπ(αὶ) εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λε
χ[ό]ρτου ὁμοίως ἐλοιπογραφήθην ἐκ λόγου τοῦ (προτέρου)
μηνὸς δέσμας Δχπζ
τούτων ἀνηλώθησαν ὄναις θηλίαις γ̄ καὶ πω¯
λαρίω(ι)ς β¯ μ̣ωάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φροντίδι
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ιζ¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας δεσ(μῶν) λς¯ γ(ίνονται) δέσ(μαι) χιβ¯
ὁμοίως βαδισταῖς β¯ καὶ ἵππῳ α¯ ἐλθόντων ὑπὸ [Ἰ]ουλι-
ανὸν καὶ μ̣ώαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ φροντίδι ἐπὶ
ἡμέρας ια¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμ̣[έ]ρ̣ας δεσ(μῶν) λβ¯ γ(ίνονται) δέσ(μαι) τν[β]¯
ὁμοίως καμήλοις ιβ¯ τοῦ εὐσχήμονος ἐλθόντ̣ων
ἐπὶ οἴνου τῇ ιε¯ καὶ κοιμηθέντων παρ' ἐμοί, δέσ(μαι) ρμδ¯
γ(ίνονται) ἀναλ[ώ]ματος δέσμαι Ἀρη¯
λοιπ(αὶ) εἰς τὸν ἐξ(ῆς) μῆνα δέ[σ]μαι Γφμα

204. Μουσείῳ 217. δέσμαι 219. μεωάντων; *tau* in φροντίδι cor. from *delta* 222. μεώαντος

III verso

οἴνου ὁμοίως ἐλοιπογραφήθην ἐκ λόγου τοῦ (προτέρου) μηνός
[(μονό)]χω(ρα) Ἀπα (ἥμισυ), ἐν διχώ[(ροις) qα¯], ἐν Ὀξ[υρ]υγχιτίοις φπε¯
καὶ μονοχώ(ροις) κβ¯
τ[ο]ύτων ἐ[πέ]μφθ[η εἰς] Φιλαγρί[δα] Σαβείῳ οἰνοπώλῃ
διὰ καμήλω[ν ιβ¯ το]ῦ εὐσχήμονος διὰ καμηλατῶν
Ἀντιέψ[ι] καὶ [.....]ωνον Ὀξυρυγχίτια ρ¯
καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπέ[μφθη εἰ]ς [Μ]αγαΐδα Σαραπᾶ οἰνοπώλῃ
διὰ τῶν αὐτ[ῶν καμ]ήλων Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτια) ρ¯
καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπέ[μφθη εἰς] Διονυσιάδα Σωτηρίχῳ φρον-
τιστῇ δι[ὰ τῶν α]ὐτῶν καμήλων Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτια) ρ¯
γ(ίνεται) τῶν ἀ[ναλωθ]έντων Ὀξυρυγχίτια τ¯
ἃ ἐ[στι (μονό)]χω(ρα) υν¯
λοιπ(ὰ) ἀποκεί(μενα) [εἰς τὸν] ἐξ(ῆς) μῆνα (μονό)χω(ρα) χλα (ἥμισυ)
ἐν διχώ[(ροις) qα]¯ καὶ Ὀξ(υρυγχιτίοις) [[σ]] σπε¯
καὶ μον[οχώρ]οις κβ¯
παρέλαβον παρὰ Σαπρίω[νος] φροντιστοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξ(ἀνδροῦ)
ὄξους Ὀξ(υρυγχίτια) γ̄
τούτων ἀνηλώθησαν τοῖς πλαστευταῖς Ὀξ(υρυγχίτια) β¯
λοιπ(ὸν) [ἀ]ποκεί(μενον) Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτιον) α¯
καὶ ἀνηλ[ώ]θη[σα]ν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῖς πλαστευταῖς
φα[κῆ]ς μέτρα β¯
ἀπεργασία [ὄ]νων θηλίων γ̄ διὰ Πωλίωνος ὀνηλ(άτου)
ἔμ[ι]ναν ἐν τ[ῇ φρον]τίδι ἀπὸ α¯ ἕως ιζ¯ ἡμερῶν ιζ¯
ὧν τὰ ἔργα· [ἄ]χυρον μεταφ(έροντες) εἰς τὰς πλαστὰς τῶν κτη-
μάτων πρὸ τ[ῶν πλ]αστευτῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ις¯ σὺν τῷ
ὀνηλάτῃ, ἡμερ[ησίως] προστάτης α¯
καὶ ἤργ[ησ]εν τὰ α[ὐτὰ] κτήνη ἐπὶ ἡμέραν α¯
γ(ίνονται) αἱ προκεί(μεναι) [ἡμέρ]αι ιζ¯. καὶ τῇ ιη¯ ἀπ' ὄρθου ἀπελήλυ-
θεν εἰς τὴ[ν Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) ?]
(ἔτους) γ [Αὐτο]κράτορος Καί[σαρος Μάρκο]υ Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς
Εὐτυχ[οῦς] Σεβασ[τοῦ], Τῦβι ε¯

IV verso

Οὐαλερίῳ Τιτανιανῷ νεωκ[ό]ρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος
ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων οὐϊγούλων τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσίῳ σιτου-
μένων ἀτελῶν
παρὰ Ἀλκιμέδοντος προνοουμένου τῶν περὶ Θεαδέλφιαν.
Λόγος λημμάτων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων γενομένων δι' ἐμοῦ
τῷ Τῦβι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) [ἔσ]τι δέ·
γενικὸς ὁμοίως. ἐλοιπογραφήθην ἐκ λόγου τ[οῦ (προτέρου)] μηνός

(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λε καὶ παρέλαβον παρὰ Ἡρώβης μ[ι]σθωτοῦ
μέτρῳ δρόμῳ τετραχοινίκῳ ἄλλας (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) οθ μέτρα β¯
γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ριδ μέτρα β¯. τούτων ἀνηλώθησαν
Ἀπολλῶτι πλαστευτῇ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πλαστευταῖς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α (ἥμισυ)
270 ⟦Παυλείνῳ⟧ Ἀγαθείνῳ τέκτονι καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ τέκτοσι (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
β (ἥμισυ)
καὶ ιζ¯ ἀνηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ⟦ . . . ⟧ πόλεως δ[ι]ὰ κτηνῶν
ἀρρενικῶν κδ¯ τοῦ εὐσχήμονος δι[ὰ ..]ραῦτος
καὶ Ἡρακλῆτος ⟦ὀνηλατῶν⟧ καὶ Ἀμμωνᾶ το[ῦ] καὶ Σαρα-
πίωνος καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀνηλατῶν (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) οθ μέτρα β¯
275 ἐμοὶ Ἀλκιμέδοντι ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α¯
γ(ίνονται) ἀναλώματος (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) πδ μέτρα β¯
λοιπ(αὶ) εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λ
χόρτου ὁμοίως ἐλοιπογρα(φήθην) ἐκ λόγου τοῦ (προτέρου) μηνὸς
δέσμας Γφμθ
280 τούτων ἀνηλ[ώ]θησαν

274. τῶν 279. δέσμαι

V verso

ὄναις θηλίαις δ¯ καὶ πωλαρίῳ α¯ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
Διονυσιάδος τῇ ς¯ καὶ μ[ι]νάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φροντίδι
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δ¯ ὡς τῆς ἡμέρας δεσμῶν μγ̄, γ(ίνονται) δέσ(μαι) ροβ¯
ὁμοίως ἄλλοις ὄνοις ἀρρενικοῖς κβ¯ καὶ μούλοις β¯ τοῦ
285 εὐσχήμονος ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Κάλαμον τῇ ια¯
καὶ μ̣ι̣νάντων παρ' ἐμοί, δέσμαι σμδ¯
ὁμοίως τοῖς αὐτοῖς κτησί, ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Διονυσιάδος
τῇ [ι]γ̄ καὶ κοιμηθέντων παρ' ἐμοί, δέσμαι σμδ¯
ὁμοίως τῇ α(ὐτῇ) ἡμέρᾳ ὄνῳ α¯ ⟦ . . ⟧ ὑπὸ Καπίτ̣ο̣να, δέσμαι ι¯
290 βαδισταῖς β¯ καὶ ἵππῳ α¯ ἐλθόντων ὑπὸ Ἰουλιανὸν ⟦καὶ Ἀρπο-
κρατίωνα γεωμέτρην⟧ καὶ μ̣ι̣νάντων παρ' ἐμοί, δέσ(μαι) λβ¯
ἄλλοις ὄνοις ὁμοίως κγ̄ καὶ μούλῳ α¯ ἐλθόντων ὑπὸ Κάλα-
μον τῇ ιε¯ καὶ μ̣ι̣νάντων παρ' ἐμοί, δέσμαι σμβ¯
ις¯ ὁμοίως τοῖς αὐτοῖς κτησί, ἀργησάντων αὐτῶν, δέσ(μαι) σμβ¯
295 ὁμοίως ταύρο⟦ις κγ⟧ις β¯ ἐλθό[ν]των τῆς οὐσίας, ἠργασάντων
αὐ[τῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας . ὡς τῆς ἡμέρ]ας δεσ(μῶν) . γ(ίνονται) δέσ(μαι) .
Ca. 7 lines lost.

282. *ny* in *φροντίδι* corrected from *delta*. 290-291. The papyrus reads *και αρποκρατιωνα γεωμετρην*. The scribe's intention was of course to cancel all three words. 295. *ἀργησάντων*

VI verso (Mich. Inv. 273 + Corn. Inv. II, 25)

[ὅξους] ὁμοίως [ἐ]λοιπογραφήθην ἐκ [λόγου] τοῦ (προτέρου)
μηνὸς [Ὀ]ξυρυγχίτιον [α]
[πα]ρέλαβον παρ[ρ]ὰ Σαπρίωνος φ[ροντιστοῦ] τῆς
[Ἀλ]εξάνδρου ἄλλα Ὀξυρυγχ[ίτια
γ(ίνεται) ὄξους Ὀξυρυγχίτια [
τούτων ἀνηλώθησα[ν
[[Ἀγαθείῳ]] Παυλείῳ τέκτονι καὶ τοῖς σὺν α[ὐτῷ τέ]κτοσι
Ὀξυρυγχίτιον [α]
λοιπ(ὰ) εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς μῆνα Ὀ[ξυρυγχ(ίτια)
καλάμου ὁμοίως
ἀνηνέχθη μοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλκ[διὰ]
[ὄ]νων ἀρρ(ενικῶν) δ τοῦ εὐσχή[μονος διὰ
.... καὶ Παησίου καὶ Η[
τοῖς ὀνηλάτα[ις
... ὁμοίως δι' ἄλλ[ων κτηνῶν
το[ ] καὶ Ἡρακλῆτο[ς
ἀπὸ τῆ[ς Ἀλεξ]ἀν[δρου
Ca. 7 lines lost

VII verso (Corn. Inv. II, 25)

καὶ ἀνη[νέ]χ(θη) ἐμοὶ π..[...]...αι. Ἡρ[α]κλείδου ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) καλ(άμου) μυ(ριάδες) β Ἠω
γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καλάμου μυ(ριάδες) ε Ἠω
τούτων [[ἀνηλώθη]] ἐχωρήθησαν
[ἠ]μῶν
εἰς κτῆμα τῶν νεοφύτων μυ(ριὰς) α ω
καὶ εἰς κτῆμα Σκύλλακος μυ(ριάδες) β [[Ἀσ]] ς ω
καὶ τ[ὸ] κτῆμα Σωτιανοῦ μυ(ριάδες) β Ἀσ
γ(ίνονται) ἀναλώματος αἱ προκεί(μεναι)
σχοινίων λευκῶν ὁμοίως κς ἠνέχθ[η] μοι ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως διὰ κτηνῶν δ Ἡρακλείδου διὰ
Κάστορος ὀνηλάτου δέσμαι σ
τὰ καὶ ἀποκείμενα [εἰς] τὸν ἐξῆς μῆ(να)
δηλῶ δὲ Ἡρωνα οἰκοδόμον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
οἰκοδόμους ..... παρατηςπαλαιανπλεω
[ ]υτου κεραμείου
[ ] οἰκοδόμοι β
[ ]οντου
ο[ ]πὸ οἰκο·

Remnants of a further column do not warrant publication.

To Valerius Titanianus, warden of the great Sarapis, formerly praefectus vigilum, one of the tax-exempt who are dined in the Museum, and however he is styled, acting through Aurelius Areios, councillor, his steward,

from Alkimedon, caretaker of the estate of Sphex and Aristokles.

Account of the . . . of the estate of Sphex from Phamenoth to Mesore of the present 2nd year. To wit:

Gateway in which there is a porter's lodge used by Saprion the porter, rent-free.

And on the right as one enters, to the west, a weavers' workshop; and there have been constructed anew in the same workshop 6 rooms used by B . . . and Kalles and Sepis, lessees, rent-free.

1. Nearby, a collapsed room.
2. Likewise, a collapsed room.
3. Room used by Pas . . ., rent 20 dr., . . . workmen, 1/2 pig.
4. Room used by M . . ., rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
5. Room used by NN and NN, rent 20 dr., 24 workmen, 1/2 pig.
6. Room used by NN and NN, rent 20 dr., 24 workmen, 1/2 pig.
7. Collapsed room.
8. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
9. Room used by . . . rent. . . .
10. Room. . . .
11. Room. . . .
12. Room. . . .

II recto

13. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
14. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
15. Room used by Deios and Aion, rent 20 dr., 24 workmen, 1/2 pig.
16. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
17. Room used by Apollos and Sarapammon, rent 20 dr., 24 workmen, 1/2 pig.
18. Room used by Orsenouphis, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
19. Room used by Petoubestis, foreman of the new vineyard of Aimnestos, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.
20. Room used by Quintus, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
21. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
22. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
23. Room used by me, Alkimedon, because it has collapsed . . . guest chambers . . .
24. Room; this is a storeroom, used by the magistrate.
25. Room used by Nouphis, foreman of the great reedfield, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.
26. Room used by NN, foreman of . . . reedfield, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.

III recto

And in another farmstead a workshop used by Siritiaious and Apollo, weavers and lessees.

1. Room used by Ptolemaios, foreman, and his son Paesis, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.
2. Room used by Sermes the bull-driver, free of rent and all charge.
3. Collapsed room.
4. Collapsed room.
5. Room used by Serenos, foreman, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.

Likewise the account for the estate of Aristokles, in which there is a gateway.

1. Room formerly used by Paesis the porter, but now used by his son Horion, free of all charge.
2. Room to the south of the farmstead, unlit, unused.
3. Room used by Aion, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
4. Room formerly unused, but now used by Diodoros, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
5. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
6. Room used by NN, foreman, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.
7. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
8. Room . . . rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.

And to the left, on the north (?), 4 rooms. Including:

1. Room used by NN, foreman of Longinus, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.
2. Room used by NN, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
3. Room used by NN, foreman of Aulon, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.

IV recto

4. Room formerly unused, but now used by Chairemon, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.

And to the right, likewise on the north. Including:

1. Room; this is a storeroom, formerly used for the estate fodder, but now used by Chrysas, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.

And above the storeroom, second storey. Including:

1. Room used by Heron, foreman of the new vineyard of Aulon, rent 20 dr., 1/2 pig – no workmen.

Likewise from north to south:

1. Room used by Hol from Alexandrou Nesos, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
2. Room formerly used by Neilos, now unused.
3. Room used by Toutoues, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
4. Double room including a mill, used by Anops, miller and lessee, free of all charge.

5. Room used by Onnophris the Phaniote, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
6. Room used by Kastor, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.

And above these, on the third storey, 3 rooms. Including:

1. Room formerly used by Nemesas, but now unused.
2. Room used by Petermouthis, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
3. Room used by Ninnos son of Kollouthos, gardener and lessee, free of rent and all charge.

Nearby, area about the winepress, including a weaver's workshop used by Apos, weaver and lessee, free of all charge. Winepress used by Heraiskos and his fellow lessees.

And to the west, likewise belonging to the farmstead. Including:

1. Room used by Orsenouphis, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
2. Room used by Orsenouphis Soulpous, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
3. Room used by Ptolemaios the Karaniote, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.

V recto

4. Room used by Horion his brother, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
5. Room used by Anaphis, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
6. Room used by Pasis the Phaniote, rent 20 dr., 12 workmen, 1/2 pig.
7. Room, unused.

Watch-tower nearby, unused.
Beershop, formerly used by NN, lessee, but now used by Ammonis. . . .
Oil-press used by Hermias, lessee.
And outside of the farmstead, cottages used by NN and Euporos, foremen, free of rent and all charge.
Total 30 rooms, including 4 rooms unused, 1 double room used by the miller, 1 used by the gardener, and 1 by the porter.

Remainder, 23 rooms rented at 20 dr. each semi-annually	460 dr.
228 workmen at 2 dr. each	456 dr.
11 1/2 pigs at 20 dr. each	230 dr.

Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus.

VI recto

To Valerius Titanianus, warden of the great Sarapis, formerly praefectus vigilum, one of the tax-exempt who are dined in the Museum, and however he is styled, acting through Aurelius Areios, councillor, his steward,

from Alkimedon, caretaker of the estate of Sphex and Aristokles.

Account of expenditures which took place under my management in the month of Mesore of the present 2nd year. To wit:

Expenditure: for 1 workman in attendance on 4 female asses under Polion, ass-driver, carrying gravel for the . . . of 2 wine-press areas named after Aulon and

Aristokles, for 2 days, @ 2 dr. 4 dr.
For another workman in attendance on the same beasts under the same ass-driver carrying sand for the same . . . for 1 day. 2 dr.
4 more workmen breaking up lime for the white-washer, @ 2 dr. 8 dr.
Another workman in attendance on the same beasts carrying gravel for the repair of a bath on the estate of Sphex, for 5 days, @ 2 dr. 10 dr.
Another workman in attendance on the same beasts carrying sand for the same bath, for 3 days, @ 2 dr. 6 dr.
2 more workmen digging sebbach before the beasts, for 4 days @ 4 dr. 16 dr.
2 more workmen in attendance on 8 male asses under Herakleos and Paesios, ass-drivers, carrying sebbach to the vineyard of Aimnestos, for 4 days, @ 4 dr. 16 dr.
2 more workmen in attendance on the same 8 male asses carrying sand to the vineyard of Aimnestos, for 10 days, @ 4 dr. 40 dr.

VII recto and I verso omitted because of poor condition.

II verso

To Valerius Titanianus, warden of the great Sarapis, formerly praefectus vigilum, one of the tax-exempt who are dined in the Museum, and however he is styled, acting through Aurelius Areios, councillor, his steward,

from Alkimedon, caretaker of the properties near Theadelphia.

Account of expenditures which took place under my management in the month of Choiak of the present 3rd year. To wit:

Account in kind of ditto. Balance carried over from the account of the previous month 36 artabs wheat

Of these were expended:

For myself, Alkimedon, for salary 1 artab wheat

Remainder for the next month 35 artabs wheat

Hay likewise. Balance carried over from the account of the previous month 4,687 bales

Of these were expended for 3 female asses and 2 foals which remained in our care for 17 days at 36 bales per day total 612 bales

Likewise for 2 riding asses and 1 horse which came under Iulianus and stayed in our care for 11 days at 32 bales per day total 352 bales

Likewise for 12 camels belonging to the magistrate, which came for wine on the 15th and were bedded at my place 144 bales

Total expenditure 1,108 bales

Remainder for next month 3,541 [*sic*] bales

III verso

Wine likewise. Balance carried over from the account of the previous month, 1,081 1/2 monochora, in the form of 91 dichora, 585 Oxyrhynchitia, and 22 monochora. Of these there were sent to Philagris, to Sabinos the wine merchant, by means of 12 camels belonging to the magistrate, under the supervision of the camel-drivers Antieps and NN 100 Oxyrhynchitia

And likewise there were sent to Magais, to Sarapas the wine merchant, by means of the same camels 100 Oxyrhynchitia

And likewise there were sent to Dionysias, to Soterichos the caretaker, by means of the same camels 100 Oxyrhynchitia

Total expenditure 300 Oxyrhynchitia

Which equals 450 monochora.

Remainder in store for next month 631 1/2 monochora

in the form of 91 dichora, 285 Oxyrhynchitia, and 22 monochora.

I received from Saprion the caretaker of Alexandrou Nesos, of sour wine 3 Oxyrhynchitia

Of these were expended for the plasterers 2 Oxyrhynchitia

Remainder in store 1 Oxyrhynchition

And there were expended by me for the plasterers

2 metra of lentils

Labor performed by 3 female asses under Polion the ass-driver. These stayed in our care from the 1st to the 17th, 17 days. Their tasks were: carrying chaff in front of the plasterers to the mud walls of the vineyards for 16 days under the direction of the ass-driver, with 1 foreman daily.

And the same beasts were idle for 1 day.

Total the above-stated 17 days. And on the 18th they went away at dawn to Alexandrou Nesos (?).

Year 3 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 5.

IV verso

To Valerius Titanianus, warden of the great Sarapis, formerly praefectus vigilum, one of the tax-exempt who are dined in the Museum

from Alkimedon, caretaker of the properties near Theadelphia.

Account of receipts and expenditures which took place under my management in the month of Tybi of the present 3rd year. To wit:

Account in kind of ditto. Balance carried over from the account of the previous month 35 artabs wheat

And I received in addition from the lessee Herobe by the four-choinix dromos-measure 79 artabs, 2 metra wheat

Total 114 artabs, 2 metra wheat

Of these were expended
For Apollos the plasterer and his fellow plasterers, 1 1/2 artab wheat
For Agatheinos the carpenter and his fellow carpenters, 2 1/2 artabs wheat.

And on the 17th there were taken up to the city (Arsinoe) by means of 24 male asses belonging to the magistrate, under the direction of NN, Herakles, and Ammonas also called Sarapion, and their fellow ass-drivers
79 art. 2 metra wheat
For myself, Alkimedon, for salary 1 art. wheat
Total expenditure 84 art. 2 metra wheat
Remainder for next month 30 artabs wheat

Hay likewise. Balance carried over from the account of the previous month
3,549 bales

Of these were expended

V verso

For 4 female asses and 1 foal which came from Dionysias on the 6th and stayed in our care for 4 days at 43 bales per day total 172 bales

Likewise for 24 more asses, males, and 2 mules, belonging to the magistrate, which came under the direction of Kalamos on the 11th and stayed at my place 244 bales

Likewise for the same beasts, which came from Dionysias on the 13th and were bedded at my place 244 bales

Likewise on the same day for 1 ass under the direction of Capito 10 bales

And for 2 riding asses and 1 horse which came under the direction of Iulianus and stayed at my place 32 bales

Likewise for 23 more asses and 1 mule which came under Kalamos on the 15th and stayed at my place 242 bales

On the 16th likewise, for the same beasts, which were idle 242 bales

Likewise for 2 bulls belonging to the estate, which came and were idle for . . . days at . . . bales per day, total . . . bales

VI verso omitted because of poor condition

VII verso

And there were brought to me . . . from the same Alexandrou Nesos
28,800 reeds
Grand total 58,800 reeds
Of these were expended for our use:
For the vineyard of the new planting 10,800
And for the vineyard of Skyllax 26,800
And the vineyard of Sotianos 21,200

Total expenditure, the quantity stated above.

White cord likewise. On the 26th were brought for me from the city (Arsinoe), by 4 asses belonging to Herakleides, by Kastor the ass-driver
200 bundles

And these are in store for next month.

And I declare that Heron the builder and his fellow builders. . . .

1. *Οὐαλερίῳ* [T]ι[τ]*αυιανῷ*: Gilliam's suggested reading of the name (*Mnemosyne* Ser. IV, 17, 1964, p. 293) is confirmed by lines 122, 203, 259. Gilliam plausibly identifies this man with the Valerio Titaniano praef(ecto) vig(ilum) em(inentissimo) v(iro) of *CIL* XIV 4393 (*ILS* 465).10 f., who made a dedication at Ostia in A.D. 217. The Titaniani are otherwise known to have been prominent in the Fayum during the third century A.D.: Gilliam cites the relevant papyri; cf. also John Oates, *Atti dell' XI congresso internazionale di papirologia,* Milan, 1966, p. 470.

Line 259 shows that Valerius Titanianus was still alive in January 240, when he cannot have been much younger than 70 (cf. Gilliam, p. 296 and notes 4 and 5).

A list of other Roman senators and equestrians who owned ousiai in Egypt is given by Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. His. of the Roman Emp.* II, p. 671.

νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλ[*ου*] *Σαράπιδος*: for the priestly title *νεωκόρος* cf. Otto, *Priester* I, p. 113; *RE* s.v. The reference here is to the cult at Alexandria; for bibliography cf. *Acta Alexandrinorum,* pp. 99 f., and now especially P. M. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3, 1960, pp. 1 ff.; 7, 1967, pp. 23 ff.

2. *ἀπὸ ἐπάρ*[*χ*]*ων οὐϊγούλων*: cf. line 1 note. On *ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων* (here = ex praefecto) and similar phrases, cf. Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigr.* 5, 1884, pp. 128 ff.

2-3. *τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσίῳ σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν*: cf. *RE* s.v. Museion. "Titanianus is distinctly the highest known official, in retirement or in office, to be a member of the Museum" – Gilliam, p. 294 n. 1. Lewis suggests, *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV, 16, 1963, p. 257, that "under the Romans men of affairs as well as representatives of the arts and sciences were rewarded with membership in the Museum, with its attendant privileges of *ἀτέλεια* and *σίτησις*," and lists supposed "non-scholar" members, p. 260. Caution is required, however: the intellectual achievements of these shadowy individuals are unknown; some or even all may have been genuine scholars in their own right. So also Turner, *Introduction,* p. 86.

4. *Αὐρηλίου Ἀρείου*: "He is called *βουλευτὴς ἐπίτροπος*, which . . . makes one think that he was not an imperial *procurator* [cf. Lewis, p. 259, translation]. He was important enough to be a councilman in his own right." – Gilliam, p. 297 n. 1. This may be the *Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀρείῳ Ἡρακλείδου βουλευτῇ τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως* of *P. Lond.* 948 (III, p. 220) = *MChr.* 341.2 f. (A.D. 236).

In A.D. 248 Titanianus had a different steward, named Nepotianus (*SB* 7464.12).

7. The doubtful word was read by Lewis as *κόσμων,* which yields no acceptable sense. The list that follows is one of the collection of rents, and what is called for here is a Greek word to that effect.

7-8. Phamenoth through Mesore of the 2nd year (of Gordian, cf. lines 120 f.), February 25/August 23, A.D. 239.

9. *πυλῶν*: an entrance courtyard; cf. *P. Oxy.* 2406.1 note.

θυρουρικόν: *addendum lexicis* – Lewis, who translates "porter's lodge."

ὑπό: regularly used with the accusative in this account to indicate the person using the room and responsible for its rent; cf. *WB* s.v.

10. *ἐργαστήριον γερδια*[*κόν*]: cf. S. Calderini, "Ricerche sull' industria e il commercio dei tessuti in Egitto," *Aegyptus* 26, 1946, pp. 13 ff.; Iohannes Kalleris, *Αἱ πρῶται ὕλαι τῆς*

ὑφαντουργίας, Athens, 1952; Ewa Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine*, Warsaw, 1965.

12. *μισθωτῶν* for *μισθωτάς*: the scribe has fallen back to the more common case after *ὑπό*; cf. lines 96 f. On the lessees, introduction and footnote 7.

16. Since the number of *ἐργάται* is lost one cannot know whether this room was occupied by one workman or two. For the restorations in this and the following lines. cf. lines 31 ff. The abbreviations *ἐργ( )* and *δελφ( )* are resolved in lines 118 f. For a discussion of the estate rents see introduction and lines 118 and 119 notes.

34. *νεοφύτων Ἀμμήσιου*: cf. *κτῆμα [Ἀ]μμήσιου* (149).

39. *⟨εἶναι⟩*: there is room for this word in the following line only if it extended into the column of figures on the left. As this is avoided elsewhere except for headings (e.g. lines 46, 55, 75) it seems better to assume an omission.

40. This line probably describes the following rooms rather than the terms on which Alkimedon held the room, line 39. The word before *ξενίαι* is not *το]ύτων* (cf. line 89). The traces after *ξενίαι* may be from a word that was sponged out. For *ξενία* as "guest-chamber," *LSJ* s.v. (II).

41. *κέλλα, ἔστω] ταμῖον*: cf. line 76.

εὐσχήμονα: cf. lines 224, 272, 285, 308. The *WB* defines *εὐσχήμων* as a "wohlhabender Mann, angesehener Bewohner, Mann von Rang und Bedeutung"; cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 152; *P. Petaus*, pp. 288 f. Conceivably the *εὐσχήμων* here is Titanianus himself: so the editor of *P. Flor.* II, pp. 60 f. identifies the *εὐσχήμων* with Alypius. But the editor points out that in *P. Flor.* 228 *εὐσχήμων* does not mean Alypius, and in the present text it is not clear that the *εὐσχήμων* and Titanianus are the same. The latter's property is elsewhere called *κυριακός* (line 76) and *τῆς οὐσίας* (line 295).

42. *καλαμείας*: the reedfields are to be connected with the estate viticulture; cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 255; *P. Oxy.* 1631.7 note; Swiderek, *Propriété foncière*, p. 95 and n. 143.

44. Line 42 has *μεγάλης καλαμείας*, but there is not room here for [*μικρᾶς κα]λαμείας*; [*ἄλλης* is possible. The *προστάτης* of this reedfield is the only foreman to pay full rent; cf. introduction.

46. *ἐποικίῳ*: cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. Hist. of the Roman Emp.*, p. 673: "The centers of the *οὐσίαι* were usually *ἐποίκια*, large farm-houses of the owner and adjacent houses of his tenants and workmen." *WB* s.v. (1).

63. *προστάτην*]: so restored because the rent is *χωρὶς ἐργατῶν*.

66. The restoration of the rent is guaranteed by the totals in lines 114 ff.

67. [*καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐκ βορ]ρᾶ*: cf. line 75.

71. *προστάτην*] *Αὔλωνος*: for the restoration cf. note to line 63. *προστάτην*] *Αὔλωνος* is parallel to *προστάτην Λογγώου*, line 68.

75. *⟨πρώτης⟩ στέγης*: the first *στέγη* is the American second storey: Preisigke, "Die Begriffe *πύργος* und *στέγη* bei der Hausanlage," *Hermes* 54, 1919, pp. 423 ff.; *WB* s.v. *στέγη*.

στέγης is misplaced. It belongs in line 78, for the following list of rooms shows that the storeroom itself was on the ground level. Above the storeroom was a room used by Heron (line 79) and six other rooms listed south to north (lines 81-88). These are the rooms which were *⟨πρώτης⟩ στέγης*, for the three chambers above them were *δευτέρας στέγης*, third storey (lines 89 ff.). This is possible only if the *ταμεῖον* itself was at ground level.

76-77. *κυριακὸν χόρτον*: fodder belonging to the owner of the estate, as distinct from that belonging to lessees (or to the *εὐσχήμων* ? cf. line 41 note). Cf. *P. Flor.* 240.9 *κυριακῶν κτηνῶν*. On the various meanings of *κυριακός*, cf. *WB* s.v.

82. *τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου*: for the omission of *Νῆσος* in the name of Alexandrou Nesos cf. *P. Teb.* II, p. 366.

87. *Φανιώτην*: cf. line 106. An ethnic like *Φρύξ* (line 165) and *Καρανιώτης* (line 101); apparently not found outside this account, and possibly to be connected with the *Φανίου ἐποίκιον* of *P. Princ.* 13 col. 8.33; col. 19.3.

89. *δευτέρας στέγης*: cf. line 75 note.

94. *ληνός*: for *ληνός* as "Kelterraum, wie sonst *ληνών*," cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 283. The area of a *ληνών* could be measured in arourae (cf. *P. Ryl.* II, p. 255, lines 4 and 30), thus offered ample space for a weaver's shop.

'ὧν': the scribe entered the *ληνός* and the winepress as separate items, then realized that the latter was part of the *ληνός* and awkwardly inserted *ὧν* to signify the fact.

100. *Ὀρσενοῦφω Σουλ'ποῦν*: possibly = *Ὀρσενοῦφω τὸν καὶ Σουλποῦν*; cf. *P. Mich.* V, p. 15, and on double names in general *P. Petaus*, pp. 54 ff.

101. *Καρανιώτην*: cf. *P. Oxy.* 922.24 and 25; 1903, 8 note.

108. *μαγ'δώλ*: = *μαγδῶλον*; for the form cf. *P. Hamb.* 62.8. On these watchtowers cf. *P. Fay.* 38.5 note; 54 introd.

114. *ἀργηταί*: *addendum lexicis*.

114-119. The totals cover lines 55-113; all figures correct.

118. *ἐργατῶν σκη¯ ὡς τοῦ α¯ (δραχμῶν) β*: cf. Johnson's chapter on "Wages and Living Costs," *Roman Egypt*, pp. 301 ff. Two dr. per diem for farm labor is also found in *P. Lond.* 1170 v (III, pp. 193 ff.); cf. introduction.

119. *δελφάκια . . . ὡς τοῦ α¯ (δραχμῶν) [κ]*: on the price of pigs cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 231 f. 20 dr. for a young pig is also found in *P. Berl. Leihg.* 23.16 (A.D. 252).

120 f. The second year of Gordian, A.D. 138/9. Following *Σεβαστ[οῦ* there is room for the month and day; cf. lines 202, 258.

128-129. Mesore of year 2, 25 July/23 August A.D. 239.

131. *Πωλίωνι ὀνηλάτῃ*: cf. lines 163, 192, 249.

132. *χωνίαν*: not in *WB* (cf. *χώνευσις, χωνεύω, χώννυμι*) or *Spoglio Lessicale*, and the meanings cited in *LSJ* are not appropriate here. The land around the winepresses (on the meaning of *ληνός* in this account cf. line 94 n.) is to be covered or diked about with sand (line 135) and gravel (line 131), a combination which suggests concrete. Neither Schnebel nor Ricci, "La coltura della vite e la fabbricazione del vino nell' Egitto greco-romano," *St. Sc. Pap.* IV i, pp. 1 ff. explain this process. It may refer to the construction of the treading-vats themselves, which were often made of cement: Forbes, *Technology* III, p. 110.

132-133. *Αὔλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους*: two foremen of Aulon's holdings live on the estate of Aristokles (lines 71, 79). This property named after Aulon and Aristokles was therefore probably located on the estate of Aristokles. If so, the distinction between the estates of Sphex and Aristokles made in cols. 1-5 recto is not preserved in the present account, since there is a reference to work done on the Sphex estate in line 140.

137. *ἄλλοι ἐργ(άται)*: for the variation in cases, especially common in lists, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 3, pp. 191 ff.

κονίαν: "Feiner Kalk (zum Mauerbewurf und Tünchen der Wände)" – *WB*, s.v.

145. *σκάψαντες κόπρον*: for sebbach-digging in Roman Egypt cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 2, 1903, pp. 308 ff.

147. *ἀρσενικῶν*: so also line 150, but *ἀρρενικῶν* in lines 272, 284, 308. Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, I, pp. 219 ff.

148. *Ἡρακλέῳ καὶ Παησίῳ*: cf. line 309 note.

149. *κτῆμα*: for the frequent use of *κτῆμα* as "vineyard" in the Roman period, as regularly in the Ptolemaic, cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 242; Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, pp. 14 f.

157. *ἐλοιπογραφή[θην κτλ.*: for the supplement cf. lines 211, 265 f.

162. The usual payment for *ὀψώνιον* is one artab wheat, which was sufficient to feed one person one month; cf. lines 214, 275; Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 301; cf. in general T. Reekmans, *Sitométrie dans les archives de Zénon*, Brussels, 1966.

170. *φακῆς*: cf. *P. Oxy.* 1192.5 note, but cf. line 248 note.

171. *αγγο*: not *ἀποκείμενα*.

172. *γεωργιῶ[ν*: farms, leased out by the estate; cf. following note.

173. *παιδαρίου*: leases often provided for the payment of small quantities of various goods in kind in addition to the principal rent. The grain here and the bread for *ἐξαίρετα* in line 175 represent income of this type from land let by the estate. Cf. introduction, p. 66; *P. Sarap.* 46.26-27 note; Taubenschlag, *Law,* p. 401; *Archiv* 5, 1913, pp. 253 f.; Berger, *Strafklauseln,* p. 156 n. 2; *P. Mich.* 619.9 note.

180-188. Cf. lines 231 ff.

181. *διχω(ρ) οβ¯* : either [*ἐπέμφθη . . .*] *δίχω(ρα) οβ¯*, or [*ἐπέμφθη . . . μονόχωρα ρμδ¯ ἐν*] *διχώ(ροις) οβ¯*. For the former wording cf. lines 231 ff., *ἐπέμφθη . . . Ὀξυρυγχίτια ρ̄*; but lines 182 f. suggest that the latter wording is more probable here. For the accounting practice of reducing dichora and Oxyrhynchitia to monochora, cf. lines 189 ff., 229 ff., 240 ff., and especially 239; *P. Lond.* 1170 v (III, pp. 193 ff.).357 ff.; *P. Flor.* 239.8 f. On the wine measures cf. lines 228 ff. note.

189-191. Cf. 240-242. The balance forwarded must equal the total in lines 229-230, which suggest reading here *μονόχωρα*] *Ἀ̣π̣[α]* (*ἥμισυ*?)/[*ἐν διχώ(ροις) qα¯ ἐν Ὀξυρυγ̣χιτίοις*] *φπε¯* / [*καὶ μονοχώροις κβ¯*]. But there appears to have been an additional expenditure or income in lines 198 ff. which this reading would leave out of account; and *Ἀ̣π̣[α]* (*ἥμισυ*?) is not a very satisfactory interpretation of line 189.

192 ff. Cf. lines 249 ff. The supplements assume that the same asses are involved in both passages; cf. also line 218.

193. *ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου*: cf. lines 256, 281 f., 287.

196. Cf. line 252. There is not room here for both *πρὸ τῶν πλαστευτῶν* and *ἐπὶ ἡμέρας β¯*.

197. *προστάτης α¯*]: cf. line 253.

198-200. Cf. lines 189 ff. note.

201 f. The date is 2 December, A.D. 239.

210. Choiak of the 3rd year of Gordian, 28 November/27 December, A.D. 239.

211. *ὁμοίως*: i.e. *ἀναλωμάτων γενομένων δι' ἐμοῦ κτλ.* (lines 209 f.). For *ὁμοίως* used to avoid repeating words cf. *WB* s.v.

218. *ὄναις θηλίαις γ¯*: the labor performed by these asses is recorded in lines 249 ff.; cf. lines 192 ff. n. The feminine *ὄνη* is not found in *LSJ* or *WB*, and *ὄνος* is used as a text example of common gender in *P. Amh.* 21.33-34; for other examples of *ὄνη* in papyri see *Spoglio Lessicale,* s.v. *ὀνή* [*sic*].

πωλαρίο(ι)ς: not in *WB*. As they are absent from the work in lines 249 ff., these ass-foals are perhaps too young to work.

219. *φροντίδι*: virtually = stable; for *φροντίς* as "Arbeitsstätte" cf. *WB* s.v. (2,a).

224. *καμήλοις*: cf. lines 232 ff.

227. *Γφμα*: this total is wrong: there should have been 3,579 bundles left.

228 ff. Cf. lines 189 ff. note. The figures restored are guaranteed by the calculations in the following lines. On the liquid measures, cf. *WO* 763 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge,* p. lxxiv; *P. Lond.* III, p. 195 n. 79; *P. Flor.* 123.5 n. The *Ὀξυρυγχίτιον* equals 1 1/2 monochora (cf. line 239) and is to be identified with the *Ὀξυρυγχιτικόν* of *P. Giss.* 34 (*MChr.* 75).12 and the *Ὀξυρυγ̣χ ( )* of *P. Lond.* 1170 v (III, pp. 193 ff.).79; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 4, 1908, p. 554; spelled *Ὀξυρρυγχιτικόν* in *LSJ,* without ms. authority. *Ὀξυρυχίτια l. Ὀξυρυγχίτια* is found in *P. Ross-Georg.* II 41.13. For other measures named after localities cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 6, 1920, p. 400.

232. *καμήλω[ν ιβ¯*: for the number, cf. line 224. With this reading the average burden was 8 1/3 Oxyrhynchitia = 12 1/2 monochora per camel. Since the load had to be equal on both sides of the animal, this would probably be accomplished by loading 10 camels with 8,

and 2 with 10 Oxyrhynchitia. The heaviest laden beast would thus have a burden of 15 monochora. This agrees well with Schnebel's estimate of a camel load as about twice an ass load (*Landwirtschaft*, p. 338; cf. *P. Lond.* III, p. 38, n. 7. An ass could carry 8 monochora, *P. Lond.* 1170 v [III, pp. 193 ff.].79 note). It is not possible that the herd was divided into one group of four each for each of the three destinations: the burden per camel would then be too high, and *τῶν αὐτῶν* (lines 235, 237) would be incorrect.

243 f. *παρέλαβον* κτλ.: cf. lines 299 ff.

248. *φα[κῆ]ς*: cf. line 170. Possibly not lentils but lentil soup or lentil cake delivered as a treat like the sour wine; if so, *μέτρα* would be comparable to artab used as a measure of bread (for which cf. lines 175 ff.). For lentils (*φακοί*) as a treat with wine cf. *Deipnosophistae* IV 159e, quoting Pherecrates, *Corianno*.

251. *πλαστάς*: on the mud walls often built around vineyards, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 243.

253. *ἡμερ[ησίως] προστάτης α¯*: cf. lines 196 f. Here a foreman is in charge of a specific operation, while elsewhere they were placed over specific pieces of land (cf. introd., p. 64).

256. *τὴ[ν Ἀλεξ(άνδρου)]*: cf. line 193. Less probable is *τὴ[ν πόλιν]*, for which cf. line 271 note.

257-258. The date is 1 January, A.D. 240.

265. *ὁμοίως*: cf. line 211 note.

266. *(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λε*: cf. line 215.

267. *μέτρῳ δρόμῳ τετραχοινίκῳ*: for the 4-choinix dromos-measure cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. lxix and n. 2.

270. ⟦*Παυλείνῳ*⟧ *Ἀγαθείνῳ*: cf. line 303.

271. *ἐπὶ τῆς* ⟦...⟧ *πόλεως*: Arsinoe; cf. *P. Mich.* 518.23-24 note.

274. *(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) οθ μέτρα β¯*: cf. line 267. 79 art. 2 metra for 24 asses is an average load of 3.6 artabs. The usual ass-load was only 3 artabs: Preisigke, *Archiv* 3, 1906, p. 47 n.1; *Fachwörter*, s.v. *ὄνος*; *WO* I, p. 754. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 338, accepts 3 art. as normal, quotes *BGU* 802 for a load of 3.5 artabs.

279. *δέσμας Γφμθ*: cf. line 227.

284. *μούλοις β¯*: cf. line 292, *μούλῳ*. Masculine *μοῦλος* is not found in *LSJ* or the *WB*, but cf. *SB* 9409, frag. 7.110 (p. 278); 9411.18; *P. Corn.* 39.3.

285. *ὑπὸ Κάλαμον*: the text could be read *ὑπὸ κάλαμον*, "with a load of reeds." but *Κάλαμον* is parallel to *Καπίτονα* (line 289) and *Ἰουλιανόν* (line 290), and lines 285 and 292 cannot be integrated with such reed deliveries as are preserved in lines 306 ff.

289. *α(ὐτῇ)*: or *(προτέρᾳ)*.

306. *κ̣α̣λ̣ά̣μου*: reeds were required for the *καλαμουργία*, the work of supporting the vines with stakes. This regularly took place as here in Tybi (27 December/25 January). Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 260 f.

309. *Παησίου καὶ Η̣[*: possibly *Η̣[ρακλέου*; cf. line 148. After the name read probably *καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐ-*]/*τοῖς ὀνηλάτα[ις* (for *ὀνηλατῶν*); cf. line 274.

311. The first word was no doubt a date.

312. *το[ ] καὶ Ἡρακλῆτο[ς*: cf. lines 272 f.

314. The first word of the lacuna may be *π̣α̣ρ̣[ά*.

323. *σχοινίων λευκῶν*: the necessity of fetching cord from the metropolis of the nome (cf. line 271 note) suggests that this cord was a by-product of the papyrus industry, which in Roman times became concentrated in the metropoleis (Lewis, *Industrie*). The burden of 50 *δέσμαι* per ass is reasonable if a *δέσμη* of cord weighed ca. 4 pounds; cf. *P. Cair. Isid.*, p. 92. Cord was used to tie vines to stakes in the *καλαμουργία* (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 261 f.), and the present delivery may have been necessary to replenish the stock on hand after the considerable outlay which must have been required for the myriads of stakes mentioned in lines 319 ff.

621. Communication to a Nomographos

P. Mich. Inv. 648 14 x 24 cm. A.D. 37

A request from Herodes also called Herakleides to Kronion the nomographos of Tebtynis concerning 13 1/2 arouras of catoecic[1] land that Herodes had previously ceded to Herakleides the younger, son of Maron (line 6 note). The land lay in two parcels, one of 7 1/2 arouras near Tebtynis, the other of six arouras near Herakleides' Farmstead.

The papyrus is interesting as a complement to *P. Mich.* 326 and 353. The first of these, dated April 6, A.D. 48, is a division of the property of the recently deceased Herakleides among his heirs: included in the share of the eldest son, also named Herakleides, is a six-aroura lot in the neighborhood of Herakleides' Farmstead. As these six arouras are explicitly called *πρότερον Ἡρώδου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρακ(λείδου) Λυσιμάχου* (lines 14-15; they are further defined as *λεγομένας λεσώνου*) there can be little if any doubt that they are identical with those of the present text. It is tempting also to identify the 7 1/2 arouras near Tebtynis with those inherited by the second son, Maron (*P. Mich.* 326.20), although it is not stated in the division that these once belonged to Herodes.

P. Mich. 353 (April of the same year, A.D. 48) is a guarantee by Herakleides the son to secure the nomographos from arrest or prosecution for having allowed him to take away from the grapheion a deed of cession that had been made out for his father. The nomographos had refused to issue this document during the father's lifetime because of the latter's failure to produce the necessary authorization (*ἐπίσταλμα*) from the bureau of catoecic registry. The names of the parties and the description of the land[2] leave no doubt that the cession referred to is the same as that involved in the present text. Consequently the editor's view that "Herakleides the father was the vendor and not the purchaser in the transaction" because "he, not Herodes, receives the *ἐπίσταλμα* and takes the initiative in having the contract of cession prepared at the grapheion" (*P. Mich.* 353 introd.; cf. 281 introd.) must be revised, as *P. Mich.* 621 shows that the vendor was Herodes. This is also the natural interpretation of *P. Mich.* 353.13 f.

Herakleides the father let the deed of cession remain in the office of the nomographos through the rest of his lifetime. After his death the property division made it necessary to put his affairs into legal order; and although still no *ἐπίσταλμα* was forthcoming, the nomographos, after the passing of more than ten uneventful years, contented himself with the promise of immunity in *P. Mich.* 353.

1. The terms *παραχώρησω* (line 2), *καταλελοχίσθαι* (line 11), and *καταλοχισμῶν* (line 12) are appropriate only if the land in question was catoecic. The six arouras of *P. Mich.* 326.14, which are probably those of *P. Mich.* 621, are described as catoecic (lines 4 f.).

2. Interpreting the papyrus text *ἀρουρῶν δετριων ἡμίσους* as *ἀρουρῶν δε⟨καλ⟩τριῶν ἡμίσους* rather than the editor's *ἀρουρῶν ⟨δὲ⟩ τριῶν ἡμίσους* (line 12).

The beginning of *P. Mich.* 621 has been lost, and with it the object of Herodes' request. In the text it is stated that the *παραχώρησις* had been drawn up (lines 2-3 note; 9), that Herodes had received his payment for the land (lines 5 ff.), and that Herakleides had been registered as the owner with the bureau of catoecic registry (lines 11 f.). The document cannot be identified with any known stage in the procedure for ceding catoecic property (references line 2 note). It was perhaps written at Herakleides' request in order to support his vain effort to obtain the deed of cession without the requisite *ἐπίσταλμα*.

κλει[± 34]
τωι διὰ σοῦ παραχώρησω ἀρουρῶν δεκατριῶν ἡμ-
ίσους, περὶ μὲν Τεβτῦνω ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμίσ-
ους καὶ περὶ τὼι Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον ἀρουρῶν
ἕξ, διὰ τὼι ἐμὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην τὸν καὶ Ἡρακλείδην
ἀπεσχηκαίναι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδου
τὴν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν δεκατριῶν ἡμίσους
τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρους παραχρῆμα διὰ
χειρὸς ἐκς οἴκου ἅμα τῆι παραχωρήσι γωομένηι
τῶι τρίτωι καὶ εἰκοστῶι ἔτι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
διὰ τὼι καταλελοχίσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἀρουρῶν διὰ τοῦ τῶν καταλοχισμῶν λογιστηρίου·
καὶ μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποήσις. μένω δ' ἐμοὶ τῶι
Ἡρώδηι τῶι καὶ Ἡρακλείδηι ὧ πεποίηταί μου
ὁ προγεγραμμένος Ἡρακλείδης χειρόγραφον
περὶ χορηγίας καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειρογρά-
φου διαστολῶν πασῶν. ἔρρωσο.
ἔτους δευτέρου Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, Φαῶφι πέμπτηι.

verso ἀπόδ(ος) Κρονίωνι νομογράφωι Τεβτύνεως.

4. τό 5. τό 6. ἀπεσχηκέναι 9. χειρός, ἐξ, παραχωρήσει 10. ἔτει 11. τό. After αὐτῶν a filler stroke. 13. ποήσῃς, μένεω 14. ὅ, μοι 15. χειρόγραφον; then a filler stroke. 16-17. χειρογράφου

. . . the cession (drawn up) by you of thirteen and a half arouras, seven and a half arouras in the neighborhood of Tebtynis and six arouras in the neighborhood of Herakleides' Farmstead, since I, Herodes also called Herakleides, received from the same Herakleides the whole price of the same thirteen and a half arouras, in full, at once, from hand to hand, out of the house, at the same time that the cession took place, in the twenty-third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, since he was registered as owner of the same arouras through the bureau of catoecic registry. Therefore do not do otherwise. I retain my claims in respect to the cheirograph which the afore-said Herakleides made with me concerning service

and all the provisions of the same cheirograph. Farewell.

Second year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Phaophi fifth.

verso: Deliver to Kronion, nomographos of Tebtynis.

2-3. *τωι διὰ σοῦ παραχώρησω ἀρουρῶν δεκατριῶν ἡμίσους*: *σοῦ* refers to the nomographos Kronion (verso). In lines 1-2 read perhaps [*τὴν γεγονυῖαν αὐ*]*τῶι* (i.e., *Ἡρακλείδῃ*); cf. *P. Mich.* 353.7-13, *τὴν προγεγονυίην διὰ σοῦ ἰς τὸν πατέρα μου Ἡρακλείδην νεώτερον Μάρωνος . . . παραχώρησω ἀρουρῶν δε*[*κα*]*τριῶν ἡμίσους* (for this reading, introd. n. 2). For the identification of the land, introduction.

2. *παραχώρησω*: cf. introduction, n. 1; Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v.; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 181: "Wenigstens bei den Staatsnotariaten in der *χώρα* ist *παρακεχωρηκέναι* der technische Ausdruck bei Katökengrundstücken. . . ." For the terminology and legal procedure used in alienating catoecic land see W. Kunkel, "Ueber die Veräusserung von Katökenland," *ZSS* 48, 1928, pp. 285 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 303 ff.; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 111 f., 176 ff.; Preisigke, *Girowesen*, pp. 496 ff.; *P. Oxy.* 45, introd.; 1462, introd.

5. *Ἡρώδην τὸν καὶ Ἡρακλείδην*: cf. line 14; *P. Mich.* 281.1; 326.14; 353.13.

6. *Ἡρακλείδου*: Herakleides the younger, son of Maron; see *P. Mich.* V, pp. 16 ff.

8. *τιμήν*: here = *παραχωρητικὸν κεφάλαιον*. The technical terms of sale and cession became confused when there was no longer a meaningful difference between the two forms of alienation; cf. references in line 2 note.

8-9. *διὰ χιρὸς ἐκς οἴκου*: cf. *P. Mich.* 605.5 note.

10. The 23rd year of Tiberius, A.D. 36/7.

11. *καταλελοχίσθαι*: cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 305: "Der Grundbegriff des *καταλοχίζειν* verlangt, dass nicht das Grundstück, sondern die Person des Erwerbers Gegenstand des *καταλοχισμός* ist. . . ." Herakleides was registered as the owner of the land in the *καταλοχισμῶν λογιστήριον* (line 12) despite the irregularity which prevented his receiving the deed of cession from the nomographos (*P. Mich.* 353; cf. introd.). The word *καταλοχίζειν* is not cited in the *WB*, and not for this sense in *LSJ*; but cf. *P. Mich.* 338.9 note.

12. *καταλοχισμῶν λογιστηρίου*: the *κατοικικὸν λογιστήριον* (cf. *P. Mich.* 273.6), for which see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 306 and the works cited above, 2 note.

18-19. The date is 2 October, A.D. 37. As Tiberius died 16 March, A.D. 37, the minimum time lapse between the cession of the land and the present document is ca. 6 1/2 months, less whatever time was required for news of the death to reach Tebtynis.

verso. *Κρονίωνι*: attested as nomographos of Tebtynis A.D. 31-52; cf. Husselman, *TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 69 ff.; *P. Mich.* II, pp. 4 ff.; V, pp. 1 ff. The nomographos was in charge of the grapheion; cf. *P. Mich.* V, p. 2; *P. Mich.* 605, 28 note.

622. Letter to a Strategos

P. Mich. Inv. 1370 — 16 x 23 cm. — ca. A.D. 298-300

A letter from Philadelphos and Dioskoros (cf. line 2 note) to the strategos Heron regarding his request to see their accounts for a seven-day period of an unnamed month and year. The point of the letter is rather uncertain because of the mutilation of lines 10 f. The recoverable information is as follows:

(1-9) The strategos' request for the account was delivered to the writers by the ὀρεοφύλαξ Isidoros. The account was then duly prepared, and delivered by another member of the strategos' staff.

(9-14) Although lines 10-11 are somewhat obscure because of damage suffered by the papyrus, the sentence indicates that the account had been requested a second time, after it had already been sent. The occurrence of the oreophylax in line 10 suggests that it was he who made the request. It is possible that as he had delivered the message from the strategos (line 3), he was expected also to return with the accounts required. If this is so, then in sending the accounts not by the oreophylax but by a different official (line 8), Philadelphos and Dioskoros committed an administrative blunder. To rectify this they gave the oreophylax a note for the strategos explaining that the accounts had already been sent (lines 13-14) and later wrote the present document as a final report in clarification of the whole affair.

The hand, which is very similar to that illustrated in *P. Cair. Isid.*, plate V, suggests a date suitable for the Arsinoite strategos Aurelius Heron (line 1 note).

The letter is the only evidence thus far known for the existence of an ὀρεοφύλαξ in a Fayum village. It has been referred to briefly by N. Lewis, *BASP* 6, 1969, p. 14.

Κυρίῳ μου Ἥρωνι στρατηγῷ
Φιλάδελφος καὶ Διόσκορος χαίρειν.
ἐκομισάμεθά σου γράμματα δι(ὰ) Ἰσιδώρου
ὀρεοφύλακος κώμης Φιλαδελφίας
ὥστε δηλωσα[ι] σοι τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ κα¯ ἕως
τῆς κζ¯ τί ἐστιν ἃ παρε[ι]λήφαμεν ⟦κ⟧ ἀ-
φ' ἑκάστης κώμης. τὸν μὲν λόγον συν-
ποιήσαντες ἀπεστίλαμεν δι(ὰ) δημοσίου
τῆς σῆς τά[ξ]εως. ὅτ[ε ἔπ]εμσες πρὸ[ς]
[ἡμᾶς] τὸν [ὀ]ρεοφύλ[ακα ± 4]..[± 4].
[± 3].ς μετὰ τῶν σῶν π[± 4].ονα ἤτη-
σεν ἡμᾶς τὸ ἀντίγ[ρ]αφον καὶ ἀν-
τ[ε]γράψαμέν σοι ὅτι π[οι]ήσαντες
[τ]ὸν λόγον ἀπεστίλ[αμεν] αὐτόν.
(2nd hand) ἐρρῶσθαί σ[ε] εὐχόμεθα,
κύριέ μου

3. Second *mu* in ἐκομισάμεθα corrected from *theta*. 8. ἀπεστείλαμεν 9. ἔπεμψες 14. ἀπεστείλαμεν

To my lord Heron, strategos, Philadelphos and Dioskoros send greeting.

We received your letter by Isidoros the oreophylax of the village of Philadelphia, (requesting us) to show you the account from the 21st to the 27th, what we collected from each village. We got the account together and sent it by

an official of your office. When you sent the oreophylax to us . . . with your . . . he asked us for the copy; and we wrote in reply that we had drawn up the account and sent it.

(2nd hand) We pray for your health, my lord.

1. *Κυρίῳ μου*: this formulaic use of *κυρίῳ μου* in a letter from two persons is found also, e.g., in *P. Oxy.* 1158.1-2; 1299.1.

Ἡρωνι στρατηγῷ: Aurelius Heron, strategos of the Arsinoite Nome, is attested A.D. 298-300; cf. *P. Cair. Isid.* 64, introduction; *P. Merton* 89.1.

2. *Φιλάδελφος καὶ Διόσκορος*: perhaps to be identified with the collectors of chaff who served together in *O. Mich.* 181-184 (A.D. 301, from the Herakleidou Meris, where Philadelphia [line 4] was located).

4. *ὀρεοφύλακος*: previously known for Egypt only from a list of police officials first published in *Sitzb. Ak. Berl.* 39, 1892, pp. 817 ff. = *SB* 4636.28 and re-edited as *P. Achmim* 7.36; the mime *P. Oxy.* 413.132 and 141; and possibly *OGIS* 111.16 (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 3, 1906, p. 323). Rostovtzeff (*Philol.* 64, 1905, pp. 297 ff., esp. 302 ff.) identifies oreophylakes with the private estate guards called *saltuarii,* citing *Corp. Gloss.* II 177, 48, *saltarius* [*sic*]; *ὀρεοφύλαξ*. In the Achmim text, however, as in the present document, the *ὀρεοφύλακες* are public officials (so Rostovtzeff, pp. 304 f.); and the same may be true, despite Rostovtzeff's objection, pp. 305 f., of the mime. The gloss cited is reasonable only in regions where *saltus* can exist as wooded highlands (cf. Rostovtzeff, p. 303); it does not reflect Egyptian conditions, where "fällt eben Gebirge und Wüste zusammen" (Wilcken, *Archiv* 4, 1908, p. 228).

Philadelphia (line 4) was situated in the east of the Fayum, almost within the Libyan Hills, which rise to a moderate height around the Fayum: these are perhaps the *ὄρη* in question. But *ὀρεοφύλαξ* may simply = *ἐρημοφύλαξ*, as *ὄρος* commonly means "desert" in Greco-Egyptian koiné.

5. *δηλῶσα[ι] σοι τὸν λόγον*: as head of the nome tax administration the strategos often required reports from the collectors; cf. e.g. Wallace, *Taxation,* pp. 37 and 294.

623. Official Letter

P. Mich. Inv. 290 v — 12 x 32.5 cm. — A.D. 299(?)

A letter to the official *ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν* of an Egyptian metropolis informing him of an order issued by the dioiketes that for every bull which should have been sent *εἰς τὸν ἔναγχος τέταρτον πεντηκοστὸν ἀγῶνα* (lines 13 f.) 400 drachmae be collected *παρ' ὧν προσήκει* (lines 15 f.) and paid into the fiscus. Writer of the letter was probably the prytanis of the city *βουλή* (line 1 note).

The survival of the *ἀγών* in question for 54 celebrations indicates that it was an event of considerable significance. As the money owed for the bulls was due to the imperial fiscus under the dioiketes, the contest was not a local game of Alexandria or an Egyptian city. It was important enough to merit a requisition of bulls presumably throughout Egypt. These considerations make it nearly certain that the games meant are the Capitolia founded by Domitian in A.D. 86

(Censorinus XVIII, 15; cf. Suet. *Domit.* 4, 8; Herodian VIII, 8, 3; cf. *P. Oslo* 85 with editor's commentary). This *ἀγών*, which "ebenfalls dem olympischen gleichgeachtet ward," (Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms,* 9th ed., Leipzig, 1920, II, 148) is known to have survived at least into the fourth century (*RE* III, col. 1528). The 54th celebration of the Capitoline Games took place in A.D. 298. This would place *P. Mich.* 623 at about 299 (*ἔναγχος*, line 13). This date is consistent with the paleography of the text, which suggests a date in the late third or early fourth century.

No other certain evidence concerning the requisition of sacrificial animals for the sacred games is known to me, though something of the sort may lie behind *P. Oxy.* 1570, where *ἀπαιτηταὶ ταύρων* are mentioned (line 4). The failure to deliver the bulls themselves when due for the event is perhaps to be connected with the violent political and military disturbances in Egypt during the years immediately preceding 298.

The text preserved is only a draft. The writer became confused by his officialese and found it necessary to cancel lines 18-22; cf. also lines 5 ff., 9 notes. The subscription which would be expected in a letter intended for delivery is consequently missing.

Διοσκο[υρί]δης ἔναρ[χος πρύτα]νις(?) . . [. .]
ων ⟨καὶ⟩ ὡ[ς] χ[ρ(ηματίζω)] ἐξηγητ[ὴς . . .] . . . .
Ἡρώδῃ υἱῷ Ἀπίωνος [τῷ] ἐπὶ τῶν
πολειτικῶ[ν] τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.
τοῦ ἐπισταλέντος ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ
νομοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ) Κλαυδ(ίου) Ἰσχυρίωνος τοῦ καὶ
Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀντιγράφου ἐπιστολῆς
γραφείσης ὑπὸ Οὐμμιδι[.] . . υπίου
τοῦ κρατίστου διοικητοῦ ση.νγ( ) τῶν
νομῶν ἐν οἷς καὶ τουτου . . . . περὶ
τοῦ τὰς ὀφειλομένας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδει
ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ ταύρων πεμ-
φθῆναι εἰς τὸν ἔναγχος τέταρτον
πεντηκοστὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ ἑκάσ-
του (δραχμὰς) υ¯ εἰσενεχθῆναι παρ' ὧν
προσήκει προστεθησομένας
τῷ κυρ[ια]κῷ λόγῳ· ὅ' οὖν, τιμιώτα-
τε ⟦φανερ[ὸ]ν ἡμεῖν ποιήσῃς ὑ-⟧
⟦πὲρ πόσων ταύρων ἡ διαγραφὴ⟧
⟦ὡς τοῦ ἑνὸς (δραχμῶν) υ¯ ἐκ το[ῦ πο]λειτι-⟧
⟦κοῦ λόγου [γ]ε̣ίνεται . . . [. . . σ]οι ἐπι[σ-] ⟧
⟦τέλλεται⟧
ὅ' οὖν, τιμ(ιώτατε), τὰ ἀκόλ(ουθα) τοῖς κελευσ(θεῖσι)
γένηται ἐπιστέλλετ(αί) σοι.

4. πολιτικῶν 5. ἡμῖν 18. ἡμῖν 20-21. πολιτικοῦ 21. γίνεται

Dioskourides, prytanis (?) in office . . . and however I am styled, exegete . . . to my dearest Herodes son of Apion, supervisor of the municipal funds of the same city, greeting.

(There is being sent you a . . .) of the copy which the strategos of the nome, Claudius Ischyrion also called Artemidoros, sent to us of a letter written by his excellency Ummidius NN the dioiketes . . . of the nomes, including also (instructions) about having the monies owed for the bulls which should have been sent from this nome for the past fifty-fourth contest, 400 dr. for each bull, collected from the proper persons and forwarded to the state treasury. We therefore send you word, most honored friend, in order that action may be taken in accordance with the instructions.

1. *ἔναρ[χος πρύτα]νις*: this reading is suggested by *P. Oxy.* 55.4 = *WChr.* 196 (A.D. 283); cf. XII, p. 70, "This fund [the *πολιτικὸς λόγος*] was . . . administered by the senate through the prytanis, and below him by the *ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων*. . . ." The long descender of the *rho* in *ἔναρχος* is clearly preserved.

3-4. *τῷ] ἐπὶ τῶν πολειτικῶ[ν]*: sc. *χρημάτων* (Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 167, commenting on *P. Oxy.* 55.4). This official is perhaps to be identified with the *ταμίας τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* (*P. Oxy.* 55.14 f.; XII p. 70; cf. *P. Ryl.* 86.2 note. We are promised a re-evaluation of the evidence concerning the administration of municipal funds in A. K. Bowman's forthcoming *Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Chapter Two). Πολιτικά means money collected from residents of the metropolis as distinct from villagers as well as funds owned by the city and revenues obtained from city-owned property, whether used for purely municipal expenses (*P. Oxy.* 55) or for state dues as in the present text; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1419.2 note.

4. *α(ὐτῆς)*: the city name in lines 1-2 to which this refers is represented by *-ων* in line 2; cf. Ἀλεξανδρέων, Ἀντωοέων, etc.

5 ff. The sentence *τοῦ . . . λόγῳ* (line 17) lacks a verb, and possibly a subject as well (cf. line 9 note). The verb was intended to be *ἐπιστέλλεται* (lines 21 f., 24), but *οὖν* (lines 17, 23) interferes.

6-7. Κλαυδ(ίου) Ἰσχυρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου: unknown elsewhere.

8. Οὐμμιδι[ ]. .υπίου: the first name is surely Οὐμμιδίου, but may have been abbreviated. The man is unknown elsewhere. Οὐμμίδιος is not cited in the *Namenbuch*.

9. *διοικητοῦ*: Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 156; cf. *P. Mich.* 616.3-4 note. The doubtful word is not *ἀντίγ(ραφον)*. The word may be nominative (subject of the sentence) or dative (addressee(s) of the dioiketes' letter). *τῶν νομῶν* rather suggests the latter. [John Rea suggests *στρατηγ(οῖς)*. This may well be correct, though it is rather difficult to interpret the traces after *σ* as *tau rho*.]

14-15. *ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου (δραχμὰς) υ¯*: for evidence on the price of cattle cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 232.

15-16. *παρ' ὧν προσήκει*: cf. lines 20 f., *ἐκ το[ῦ πο]λειτικοῦ λόγου*.

17 ff. Translation: "We therefore send you word, most honored friend, in order that you may inform us as to how many bulls the draft from the municipal account is made out for, at 400 dr. apiece."

23. *ἵν' οὖν, τιμ(ιώτατε)*: resumes lines 17 f.

624. Letter of Theodoros

P. Mich. Inv. 4013 — 26 x 27 cm. — Early 6th cent.

A business letter from Theodoros to the *exceptor* Kyrillos, written on papyrus of poor quality in a highly practiced sixth-century cursive which is at times very difficult to decipher.

The writer Theodoros dealt directly or indirectly with the following officials: an ἀβάκτης (line 10), the ἄρχων (8, 28), the βοηθός of a πολιτευόμενος (3), an ἐξκέπτωρ (31), a κονδούκτωρ (24), a νουμεράριος (26), ὀφφικιάλιοι (26), πάγαρχοι (9, 14), πολιτευόμενοι (3, 11), and a σχολαστικός (30). Of these all except the pagarchs, the curiales with their assistant, the ἄρχων and perhaps the *conductor,* would be found in a ducal or praesidial officium; if, as is likely, only one officium was involved, it was no doubt the latter (cf. line 8 note; ἄρχων is not used to refer to a *dux*). Theodoros was probably a member of the same praesidial officium. As he was impowered to collect taxes (ποιῶ πραχθῆναι, line 18) or to reduce a man's assessment (ἐποίησα Ζωΐλον κουφισθῆναι, line 27), he must have filled a post of considerable authority. His official connection with the curiales is apparently a consequence of his financial responsibilities (cf. line 12, correspondence concerning the erection of columns probably for a basilica). His dealings with the pagarchs in this letter may be non-official.

Lines 17 and 18 were written shorter than the preceding lines in order to leave a blank space to receive the signature (lines 19-21). As the long sentence beginning line 16 was still incomplete at 18, the letter was continued for two lines along the left margin and seven additional lines on the verso. The verso text is at right angles to that on the recto, so that the writing runs parallel with the fibers on both sides of the papyrus.

Literature concerning the ancient letter is cited by H. Zilliacus, *Zur Sprache griechischer Familienbriefe des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Helsingfors, 1943, pp. 3-8.

Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Κυριλλῳ
Θεόδωρος
τὸ ὑπόμνημα τοῦ βοηθο[ῦ ...]λιανοῦ τοῦ πολειτευομένου ἀπέστιλά σοι
.μπ...ο.....δ[ιὰ] Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ ἑταίρου ἡμῶν· ὅπερ δεξάμενος
κατὰ λόγον τοὺς μισθοὺς ὑπό[δε]ξε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βοηθητικά,
παρασχούμενος
τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παρεχομένου τῇ μητρὶ Ἡρακλάμμωνος· οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι καὶ
αὐτὴ
χρίαν ἔχει. καὶ ἐὰν ῥᾷον ἔχῃς ἐνκατάλαβε ἡμᾶς· πάνυ γὰρ ἐπιζητῖ πάντας
ὁ κύριός μου ὁ ἄρχων. καὶ μετάδος τοῖς κυρίοις μου ἀδελφοῖς Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ
Θέωνι τοῖς παγάρχοις ὡς παραυτὰ μηδὲν μελλήσας ὑπέβαλα τὴν ἀναφορὰν
αὐτῶν, τοῦ κυρ(ίου) μου τοῦ ἀβάκτης μὴ ὄντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν, καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευομένους κατέ-
[π]εμψα διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐδαίμονος προφάσει τῆς ἀνεγέρσεως τῶν κειόνων
τῆς βασιλικῆς. (?) καταξίωσον δὲ ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τυγχάνοντος ποιῆσαι
ὅλον
τὸν χόρτον κοβαλευθῆναι, ὑπομνήσας τοὺς αὐτούς, τουτέστιν Ἀντίοχον
καὶ Θέωνα,
τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν παρασχῶν πρὸς μετ[α]φορὰν τούτων καθὼς καὶ ἐπηγγίλατο.
ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν λίβελλον τοῦ κυρ(ίου) μου ἀδελφοῦ Διδύμου ἀποστειλα⟨ς⟩, τὰς
δὲ ἀναφορὰς
τοῦ δεσπότου μου τῆς ψυχῆς Ἰσιδώρου δεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ κυρ(ίου) μου
[ἀ]δελφοῦ Σαραπίωνος – τοῦτο γάρ μοι μεταδέδωκεν – ποιῶ πραχθῆναι

In a blank space of ca. 4 x 3.5 cm. left after lines 17 and 18 in the lower right-hand corner of the papyrus:

ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχ(ομαι)
πολλοῖς χρ(όνοις),
κύριε ἄδελφε.

In the left margin:

].ν μοι ὡς ατα.ονα περι[
]....σαν ευ.ρακατα[

verso Ἀράμμωνα τὸν κονδούκτορα ἀπαίτησον τὰ ὁλοκόττινα – ἡ γὰρ χρία αὐτῶν
πάνυ κατεπίγι – ἐάσας παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ Ἡρακλάμμωνος ὃ βούλεται· Ἀνδρέας
γὰρ ὁ
νουμεράριος ἀπήντησεν καὶ μέλλει σοι ὀχλῆσαι δι' ὃ οἶδας. πάντων δὲ τῶν
ὀφφ(ικιαλίων)
ἀναπεμφθέντων ἐποίησα Ζωίλον κουφισθῆναι ὡς αὐτοῦ κακουμένου. καὶ
ἀνακίμενος
τὰς ἀναφορὰς παρεσχόμην τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ ἄρχοντι. καὶ ἤδη ὡς προεῖπον
πράττονται. παρήγγιλα δὲ καὶ τῷ κυρ(ίῳ) μου Τιμαγένει πάντας ἀναπέμψω
καὶ τουταυτοῦν αὐτῷ
ὁ κύρ(ιός) μου ὁ σχολαστικός.

A blank space of ca. 10 cm. Then the address, written in the opposite direction from lines 24-30.

τῷ δεσπότῃ μου πάντων τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Κυρίλλῳ ἐξκέπτορ(ι)
Θεόδωρος

3. πολιτευομένου, ἀπέστειλα 5. ὑπόδεξαι, παρασχόμενος 7. χρείαν, ἐπιζητεῖ 12. κιόνων
15. παρασχεῖν, ἐπηγγείλατο 24. χρεία 25. κατεπείγει 27. ἀνακείμενος 29. παρήγγειλα

To my most honored lord and brother Kyrillos, Theodoros.

I have sent you the memorandum of the assistant of the councillor . . . by our comrade Eudaimon. When you receive it, collect the wages and the assistant's fees from him as it says, and furnish half of the monies furnished to Heraklammon's mother; for you know that she too is in need. And if you are better, come to us; for my lord the praeses is looking hard for everyone. And communicate to my lords and brothers Antiochos and Theon the pagarchs that I submitted their report immediately, without delay, my lord the *ab actis* not being in Herakleopolis but in Arsinoe, and I sent a letter about this matter to the councillors by the same Eudaimon, on the pretext of the erection of columns for the basilica (?). Be good enough to have all the hay transported while you are still in the city, and remind the same individuals, that is, Antiochos and Theon, to supply their asses for its transfer just as he announced. Having already sent the libellus of my lord and brother Didymos, and having received the reports of the lord of my soul Isidoros from my lord and brother Sarapion — for he turned this task over to me — I am having collected. . . .

(verso) Collect the holokottina from Harammon the contractor, for we need them badly, but leave with Heraklammon's mother whatever she desires. For Andreas the numerarius has met me and he is going to be troublesome to you in the matter that you know. When all the subordinates of the officium were sent up I had Zoilos's assessment reduced on the grounds that he is being treated injuriously. And although laid up ill (?) I gave the reports to my lord the praeses. And already, as I predicted, they are carrying out the collection. I instructed my lord Timagenes to send them all up, and my lord the advocate did exactly the same thing at the same time.

I pray for your health through many years, my lord brother.

To my all-honored lord and brother Kyrillos, clerk, Theodoros.

3. *βοηθο[ῦ*: for the *βοηθοί* of *πολιτευόμενοι* cf. Rouillard, *Administration*, p. 64.
πολειτευομένου: cf. line 11; *P. Mich.* 613.2 note.

4. *ο.....*: perhaps *ὅπ̣ω̣ς ε̣ἰδῇ̣ς*, but the traces are not adequate to confirm the reading. The preceding word is not *τιμιώτατε*.

5. *βοηθητικά*: the adjective *βοηθητικός* is well known, but this substantive meaning "fees for the services of a *βοηθός*" has not occurred previously.

6. *τῇ μητρὶ Ἡρακλάμμωνος*: cf. line 25.

7. *ἐνκατάλαβε*: here = *κατάλαβε*; cf. *WB* s.v. *καταλαμβάνω*. *Ἐγκαταλαμβάνω* is not in the *WB*, and is not cited for this meaning in *LSJ*; cf. perhaps *P. Vars.* 28.6. Between *nu* and *kappa* a space was left blank to avoid a flaw in the papyrus.

8. *ἄρχων*: the praeses; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1829.2 note; 1888.2 note; Rouillard, *Administration*, p. 48.

9. *παγάρχοις*: Rouillard, pp. 52 ff.; Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 83; Bell, *JHS* 28, 1908, pp. 100 ff.; cf. Gelzer, *Studien*, pp. 90 ff.
μηδὲν μελλήσας: *μέλλω* in the pejorative sense of "delay" is not cited in the *WB*.
ὑπέβαλα: for the confusion of first and second aorist verbs cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk § 81.

10. ἀβάκτης: or perhaps ἀβάκτις; cf. S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 40, 1960, p. 181. For the *ab actis* of the officium of the praeses cf. *Not. Dign. Or.* XLIV 12; Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* pp. 73 f. Lines 9 ff. possibly indicate that the seat of the *ab actis* was Heracleopolis Magna and that during his absence in Arsinoe he deputed the receipt of the ἀναφοραί to Theodoros.

12. Εὐδαίμονος: a space between the first *omicron* and *nu* was left blank to avoid a flaw in the papyrus; cf. line 7 note.

13. βασιλικῆς: the word is much mutilated, but the *alpha* and *kappa* are probable; and if they are correct, then βασιλικῆς seems inevitable.

15. τούτων: refers perhaps to the bales of hay, or may be simply an error for τούτου.

16. λίβελλον: Taubenschlag, *Law,* pp. 504 ff.; Mitteis, *Grundzüge,* pp. 32 ff.

Διδύμου: or perhaps Ἡδύμου.

17. δεσπότου μου τῆς ψυχῆς: cf. *P. Abinn.* 36.1 note.

19-21. These lines are written with great speed and attendant Verschleifung, but no change of hand is apparent.

24. Ἀράμμωνα: i.e., "Horos-Ammon": not in *Namenbuch.*

κονδούκτορα: *P. Oxy.* 2115 introduction; Daris, *Aegyptus* 40, 1960, p. 228, cf. 227. *Conductores* have been clearly attested only for postal services. This man may therefore have contracted to deliver the mail of the officium; cf. Rouillard, *Administration,* p. 51.

ὁλοκόττωα: for the identification of ὁλοκόττωον with νόμισμα (*solidus*), cf. *P. Lond.* 985 (III, pp. 228 f.).7 and 14; West and Johnson, *Currency,* p. 137.

26. νουμεράριος: Rouillard, *Administration,* p. 51; Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* p. 74; Daris, *Aegyptus* 40, 1960, p. 245.

ἀπήντησεν: cf. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen,* p. 60.

27. ἀνακίμενος: the reading is clear, but none of the meanings cited in *LSJ* or the *WB* is convincing here. Perhaps "laid up" with illness; cf. line 7.

29. τουταυτοῦν: i.e., τοῦτ' αὐτὸ οὖν. A surprising compound not attested elsewhere, but the reading seems unavoidable.

30. σχολαστικός: for a *scholasticus* in the praesidial officium cf. e.g. *P. Berl. Zil.* 5.5; Axel Claus, Ὁ Σχολαστικός, Dissert. Köln, 1965, p. 136: "in der Regel war die Position der σχολαστικοί neben dem praeses oder dem praefectus Aegypti."

31. ἐξκέπτορ(ι): "Les *exceptores* sont les greffiers attachés à la personne d'un magistrat, et chargés de la rédaction des *acta*" – *P. Cair. Masp.* 67312.5 note; cf. *P. Oxy.* 43 recto col. 2.26 n.; 942.6 n.; Lallemand, *L'administration civile,* pp. 73, 75.

625. Receipt for Taxes on an Ἐνοίκησις Contract

P. Mich. Inv. 118 — 12 x 22.5 cm. — A.D. 121

Bibliography: This text has been referred to by Leiv Amundsen, "The Use of Official Stamps on Papyrus Documents," *TAPA* 57, 1926, pp. xviii f.; *P. Oslo* III, p. 173; Taubenschlag, *Law,* p. 283 n. 54.

A receipt for the payment of taxes for establishing and renewing an antichretic loan on ἐνοίκησις terms (τέλος θέσεως ἐνοικήσεως καὶ ἀνανεώσεως, line 4 note; for ἐνοίκησις cf. *P. Mich.* 605 introduction). Parallel texts are *P. Oslo*

118 (A.D. 111/12) and P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined. (early 2nd cent.), both receipts for the *τέλος ἀνανεώσεως*. As suggested below, *ἐνοίκησις* could apparently serve as a form of hypothecation;[1] it was consequently subject to the *ἐγκύκλιον* (property transfer tax) on mortgages, the payment of which is recorded in this text.[2]

The *ἐνοίκησις* contract with which this receipt is concerned has been preserved in *P. Mich.* 188, as the following list of correspondences, with line references, demonstrates:

	P. Mich. 188	*P. Mich.* 625
creditor:	Tapekysis d. of Horos (4)	Tapekysis d. of Horos (3)
debtor:	Hermas s. of Ptolemaios (3)	Hermas s. of Ptolemaios (5)
loan:	300 dr. (7, restored from 21)	300 dr. (5)
property:	*τόπ. οἰκοπ.* (9-10)[3]	*τόπ. οἰκοπ.* (4)
location:	Bacchias (9, cf. 2)	Bacchias (4)
terms:	*ἐνοίκησις* (8)	taxes for *ἐνοίκησις* (4)
dated:	24 Mesore, 4th year of Hadrian (1-2)	terms verified from the abstracts of the 4th year of Hadrian (5)

P. Mich. 625, together with *P. Mich.* 188, establishes two points of some juristic interest:

1. The tax for *ἀνανέωσις* had to be paid on a contract of loan which ran without a time limit. This decisively favors the interpretation of *ἀνανέωσις* as a step in the executional procedure against property mortgaged by hypothecation.

2. The *ἐγκύκλιον* was payable on an *ἐνοίκησις* arrangement which made no mention of hypothecation, and an executional procedure involving *ἀνανέωσις* was applicable against this. This suggests that loans on *ἐνοίκησις* terms were treated as secured by hypothecation; cf. footnote 1; further line 4 note.

On the verso is a well-preserved red official stamp, as is often found on *ἐγκύκλιον* receipts (*P. Teb.* 350, introduction). This has been discussed by Amundsen, *TAPA* 57, 1926, pp. xviii f.

Ἔτους ἕκτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)
μη(νὸς) Σεβ(αστοῦ) κβ̣ [δ]ιεγρ(άφη) ἐπὶ τὴ(ν) ἐν Πτολ(εμαίδι) Εὐεργέτ(ιδι)
το(ῦ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) ἐνκυ(κλίου) τράπ(εζαν) εἰς τὸ(ν)

1. Subject to the *ἐγκύκλιον* tax, *P. Mich.* 625; subject to *παράθεσις*, *P. Princ.* 144.19; executional procedure included *ἀνανέωσις*, *P. Mich.* 625.4 note. *Use* of a *ὕδρευμα* for five days is called *ὑποθήκη*, *P. Grenf.* II 69.14 ff. Cf. Partsch, *Archiv* 5, 1913, p. 510: "Gebrauchsüberlassung zum Zinsersatz als *ὑποθήκη* bezeichnet werden kann." Cf. however Alan Samuel, *JJP* 13, 1961, pp. 34 ff.

2. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 227 ff., esp. 229 f.: "The *ἐγκύκλιον* was also [in addition to sales] collected on mortgages, but at the rate of 2 per cent, payable by the mortgagee. A tax was again paid if the mortgage was renewed." Cf. *P. Oslo* III, p. 173; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 142; *P. Oxy.* 243. The taxes of *P. Mich.* 625 are paid into the *ἐνκυ(κλίου) τράπ(εζαν)*, line 2.

3. Cf. *P. Mich.* 605.22 note.

Στατιλ(ίου) Ἀπίω̣ν̣(ος) [κα]ὶ Οὐαλ(ερίου) Ἀπο̣λ̣(λωνίου) νομ(αρχῶν)
λόγο(ν) Ταπεκύσιος Ὥρου τέλος
θέσεως ἐνοι̣κ̣ήσεως καὶ ἀνανεώσεω(ς) τόπ(ων) οἰκοπ(έδων) ἐν κώμῃ
Βακχιάδ(ι)
ὑποχρέ̣ο̣(υ) Ἑρμᾶτος το(ῦ) Πτολ(εμαίου) πρὸς δραχ(μὰς) τριακοσίας ἐξ
εἰρομ(ένου) κώμη(ς)
μ ̣ τό(μου) κο(λλήματος) π̣α̣ τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους

(2nd hand) Οὐαλέριος Ἀπολλώνιος διὰ Ἰσιδώ(ρου)
ἐπιτρόπ(ου) σεση(μείωμαι) τέλος θέσεως ἐνοι·
κήσεως καὶ ἀνανεώσεως δραχ(μῶν)
τριακο̣σ̣ίων Ταπεχύσεως

(3rd hand) Στατίλιος Ἀπίων δι(ὰ) Αἰλουρίωνος
τοῦ ˋ καὶ ˊ Ἀμμωνίου σεσημ(είωμαι) τέλος θέσε-
ως ἐνοικήσεως καὶ ἀνανεώσεως
δραχ(μῶν) τριακοσίων Ταπεχύσεως

verso (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
Ἁδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

3. After τέλος a filler stroke.

Year six of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, the 22nd (?) of the month of Sebastos. Paid into the bank for the tax on property transfer located in Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite Nome, to the account of the nomarchs Statilius Apion and Valerius Apollonius, by Tapekysis daughter of Horos, the tax for entering into a habitation agreement and for "renewing" it, in a house (?) in the village of Bacchias belonging to the debtor Hermas son of Ptolemaios, against the sum of three hundred drachmae, as verified from the list of abstracts of the village, volume 40 column 81 (?) of the fourth year.

(2nd hand) Signed by me, Valerius Apollonius acting through my steward Isidoros. Tax paid by Tapechysis for entering into a habitation agreement and for "renewing" it, against the sum of three hundred drachmae.

(3rd hand) Signed by me, Statilius Apion acting through Ailourion also called Ammonios. Tax paid by Tapechysis for entering into a habitation agreement and for "renewing" it, against the sum of three hundred drachmae.

verso: Year 5 of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus.

1-2. The date is 19 (?) September, A.D. 121.

2. τὴ(ν) ἐν Πτολ(εμαΐδι) Εὐεργέτ(ιδι) το(ῦ) Ἀροι(νοίτου) ἐνκυ(κλίου) τράπ(εζαν): Ptolemais Euergetis is Arsinoe (*P. Teb.* II, pp. 398 ff.). On the banks of the Arsinoite Nome, A.

Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18, 1938, pp. 248 ff. The resolution of ἐνκυ( ) is taken from *BGU* 914.4, Ἀρσι(νοίτου) [ἐνκυ]κλίο(υ) *τράπεζαν* (see *BL* I p. 83 with n. 2, reporting Schubart's re-examination of the original). In *P. Teb.* 350.4 the ἐγκύκλιον is paid to the *νομαρχίας τράπεζα*.

2-3. *τὸ(ν)* Στατιλ(ίου) Ἀπίων(ος) [κα]ὶ Οὐαλ(ερίου) Ἀπολ(λωνίου) *νομ(αρχῶν) λόγο(ν)*: cf. *P. Lond.* 297b (II, p. 111), A.D. 119, where the ἐγκύκλιον on sales is paid to this account. The nomarchs and their responsibilities in tax collection are discussed by Oertel, *Liturgie,* pp. 165 ff.; Preisigke, *Girowesen,* pp. 256 ff. Cf. Wallace, *Taxation,* p. 306: "The ἐγκύκλιον and the *τέλος* ἐκστάσεως were frequently paid directly to the bank and credited to the account of the nomarch. . . ."

3. Ταπεκύσιος Ὥρου: for a genealogy of this woman see *P. Mich.* III, p. 180; cf. *P. Mich.* 605.17 note. Her name can be restored with certainty also in P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined. 6; cf. also P. Mich. Inv. 129 ined. 2, where my (hasty) transcript reads Τ]απεκύσεως ἀμφότεροι Ὥρου. In lines 10 and 14 the name is spelled Ταπεχῦσις.

3-4. *τέλος θέσεως* ἐνοικήσεως: the tax to be paid upon establishing the ἐνοίκησις arrangement in contrast to "renewing" it. This tax is well known as applied to ὑποθῆκαι proper (cf. introduction, footnote 2), but has not been previously attested for ἐνοίκησις.

4. ἀνανεώσεω(ς): not "merely 'renewal' of the contract with an extension of its term and the continuation of its provisions" (*P. Dura,* p. 114; similarly Taubenschlag, *Law* pp. 282 f.; *P. Strass.* 52.7 note; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.,* p. 205), because the contract (*P. Mich.* 188, cf. introd.) ran without a time limit.

Cf. *P. Flor.* 1.6 ff. (Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 68; *MChr.* 243; A.D. 153): if the debtor does not repay the loan when it falls due, *εὐθέως ἐξέστω τῇ δεδανικυίῃ ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς μὴ προσδεομένοις ἀνανεώσεως ἢ διαστολικοῦ ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἁπλῶς, ταξαμένοις τὰ εἰς τὸ ἐνκύκλιον καθήκοντα τέλη, ἐπικαταβολὴν ποιήσασθαι . . . καὶ κτᾶσθαι . . . κυρίως ἀντὶ τῶν ὀφειλομένων καὶ ἐμβαδεύειν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνοικίζειν.* So also *P. Flor.* 81.11 (A.D. 163); *P. Strass.* 52.7 (A.D. 151). Cf. further *P. Oxy.* 274 (*MChr.* 193, A.D. 89-97), where a mortgagee is recorded as paying on a ὑποθήκη that he holds, first the *τέλος ἀνανεώσεως* (line 20, A.D. 93), then the *τέλος* ἐπικαταβολῆς (line 22, A.D. 94), and finally entering into possession of the property (lines 24 f., A.D. 97). In all these passages ἀνανέωσις is clearly one step in the executional procedure against a debt secured on a ὑποθήκη; so Mitteis, *Grundzüge,* pp. 162 f.; Welles, *YCS* 2, 1931, pp. 23 ff. (Welles later rejected this interpretation, *P. Dura,* p. 114); Harmon, *YCS* 2, 1931, pp. 28 ff. This meaning is required for *P. Mich.* 625 and is unobjectionable in *P. Oslo* 118 (A.D. 111/12) and P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined. (2nd cent.). It is fair to consider this the standard technical meaning of ἀνανέωσις during the first two centuries of Roman rule in Egypt.

According to *P. Oxy.* 1105.20 f. (A.D. 81-96) as presently read the *τέλος ἀνανεώσεως* was paid annually: [ἐ]φ' ᾧ *κατ' ἔτος τὴν ἀναν*ε[ώσ]εως *τάξεται.* This is at variance with the texts cited above, where it is only a single payment preceding the ἐπικαταβολή (*P. Oxy.* 274). I doubt that *ἀνανεώσεως* has been correctly read: only one letter is certain and the grammar is anomalous. Naber's suggestion that the tax in *P. Oxy.* 274 was annual (*Archiv* 1, 1901, p. 314) is without foundation.

The discussion above has left out of account the Ptolemaic and Dura texts, where the situation was different. (This is denied by the Dura editor, p. 114.) Relevant Dura passages are *P. Dura* 18.4, 19; 20.19,20; 21.9,11; 22.12,13; 24.17,18. Here, in contrast to the practice of Roman Egypt, (1) a renewal clause was a standard feature of loans that had a specific term, and is lacking in the one case that ran without limit (*P. Dura* 23). Cf. p. 20: "In all known cases the loan had a specific term, and the purpose of the renewal must have been to extend this. . . . Where there is no renewal, there is also no term." (2) ἀνανέωσις was the responsibility of the mortgager and not of the mortgagee, and (3) was not demonstrably a part of executional procedure.

The debtor's responsibility to renew is paralleled in Ptolemaic practice. So unmistakably in *P. Teb.* 814.64 (late 3rd cent. B.C.). In *P. Ent.* 15 (218 B.C.) special permission is requested so that the creditor may make renewal in the name of his debtor, deceased, whose son was still a minor. In *P. Ryl.* 584 (late 3rd cent. B.C.) the creditor's responsibility to renew is apparently a special compensation to the debtor for certain farm labor that she agrees to perform. *BGU* 1222.23 (2nd cent. B.C.) is too mutilated for use here.

This similarity between Ptolemaic practice which was early abandoned in Egypt and later usage in Dura is paralleled by the survival of double documents outside Egypt; cf. Wilcken's remarks on the Avroman parchments, *Archiv* 6, 1920, pp. 369 f.

For the literature on *ἀνανέωσις*, which must now be reconsidered, consult Taubenschlag, *Law*, p. 282; *P. Dura* 20 introd. with n. 31 on p. 114; *YCS* 2, 1931, pp. 23 ff.; Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, p. 118.

If it is true that the *ἐνοίκησις* agreement of Greco-Roman Egypt involved hypothecation only of the use of property and not of the property itself (Nutzungspfand vs. Substanzpfand; so Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, pp. 152 ff., Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 286 ff.; cf. Samuel, *JJP* 13, 1961, pp. 34 ff.), then the interest alone and not the principal was secured. The action contemplated in *P. Mich.* 625 would therefore be directed at obtaining the use of the property to serve as interest, and a separate suit would be necessary to collect the (unsecured) principal. Then in *P. Oslo* 118, where apparently *ἐνοίκησις* and *ὑποθήκη* both occur, two taxes should have been paid. Possibly, however, *ἐνοίκησις* in *P. Mich.* 188 and similar texts was understood as an alternative expression for *ὑποθήκη ἐπ' ἐνοικήσει*; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1105.14-18.

τόπ(ων) οἰκοπ(έδων): cf. *P. Mich.* 605.22 note.

5. *Ἑρμᾶτος το(ῦ) Πτολ(εμαίου)*: for Hermas cf. *P. Mich.* 605.3 note and the documents cited in the introduction there; *P. Mich.* 189, introduction.

πρός: cf. P. Mich. Inv. 138 ined. 7 ff.: *τέλος*] *ἀνενεώσεως* (*l. ἀνα-*) *ἐνάτου* [*εἰκοσιεβδό*]*μου μέρ*[*ους*] *τόπων οἰκοπέδων* [*ἐν κώμῃ* Βακ]*χιά*[*δι*] *ὑποχρέου* Ταύριος [Νάννιτο]ς [π]*ρὸς ἀργ(υρίου) δραχ(μὰς)* [*διακοσίας*]. The receipt states only the sum against which the tax was levied and not the amount of the tax itself. The latter was no doubt calculated at the 2 per cent standard for mortgages (*P. Oxy.* 243; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 229; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 142).

ἐξ εἰρομ(ένου) κώμη(ς): for the lists of abstracts of contracts called *εἰρόμενα* cf. *P. Mich.* II, pp. 2 f. and introduction to *P. Mich.* 121 recto; *P. Mich.* V, p. 6; Segrè, *Aegyptus* 7, 1926, pp. 104 ff.; Preisigke, *Girowesen*, p. 413; *Fachwörter* s.v. *εἰρόμενον*; Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 63. Examples of *εἰρόμενα* are listed by O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, p. 42; the most extensively preserved is *P. Mich.* 121 recto, in which IV, xi is an abstract of a *ὁμολογία ἐνοικήσεως*.

For the connection of the village grapheion with the *ἐγκύκλιον* tax, cf. *P. Mich.* 123 recto 21.1 note and p. 101. Here the abstract, in a copy sent to the metropolis, rather than the original contract, was used to verify Tapekysis' claims; cf. *Stud. Pal.* XXII 36, where a copy of a loan is taken *ἐξ εἰρομένου κώμης Νείλου πόλεως καὶ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου*. The registration of *P. Mich.* 188 in the Bacchias grapheion is recorded in line 27 of that text.

6. Year 4 of Hadrian, A.D. 119/120. *P. Mich.* 188 (cf. above, introduction) is dated 18 August, A.D. 120.

8. *ἐπιτρόπ(ου)*: not *ἐπιτηρητ(οῦ)*. Nomarchs often acted through representatives: Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 167 f.

verso: Year 5 of Hadrian, A.D. 120/121; cf. the date lines 1-2. The old year's stamp was still being used in the first month of year 6, till a new stamp could be obtained; see Amundsen, *TAPA* 57, 1926, pp. xviii f.

INDICES

INDICES

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ιη 618.6
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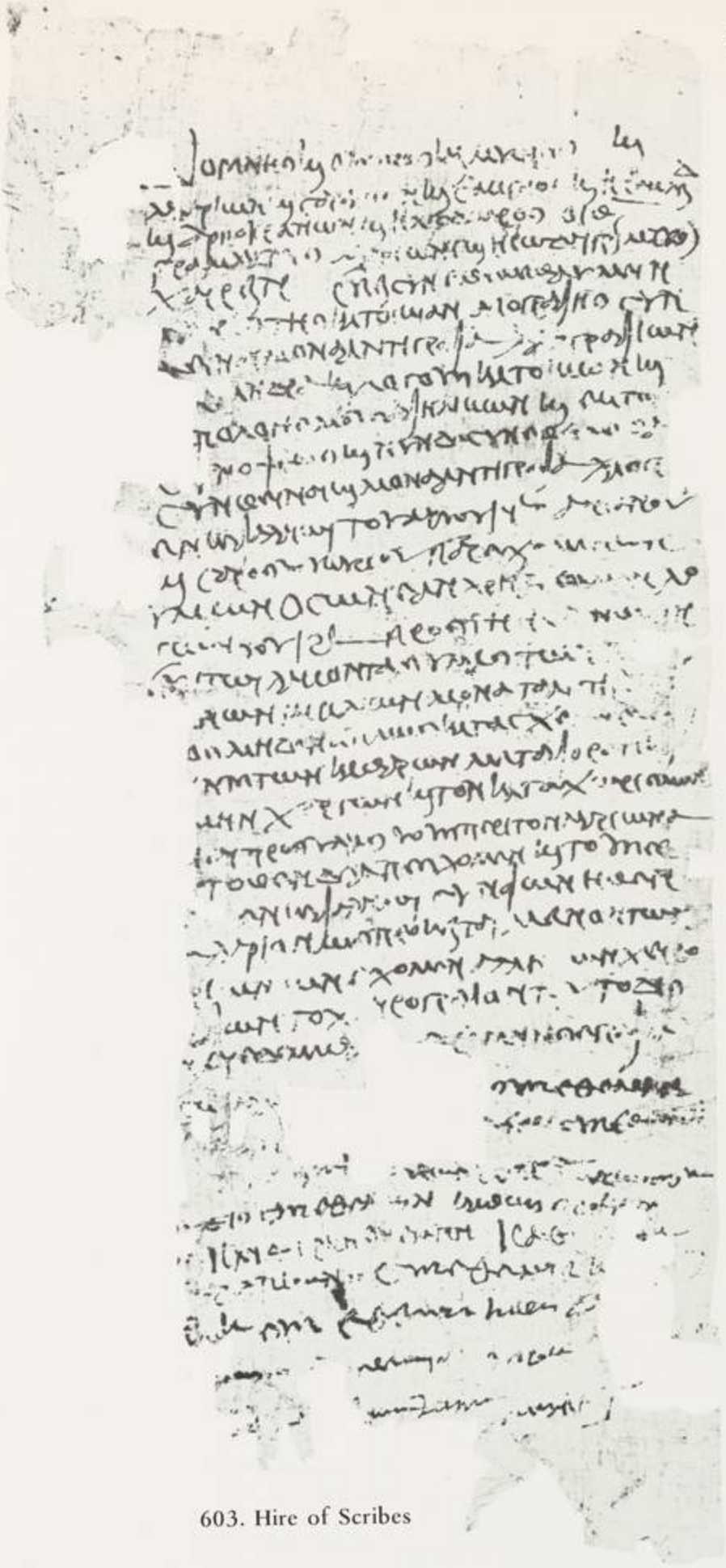
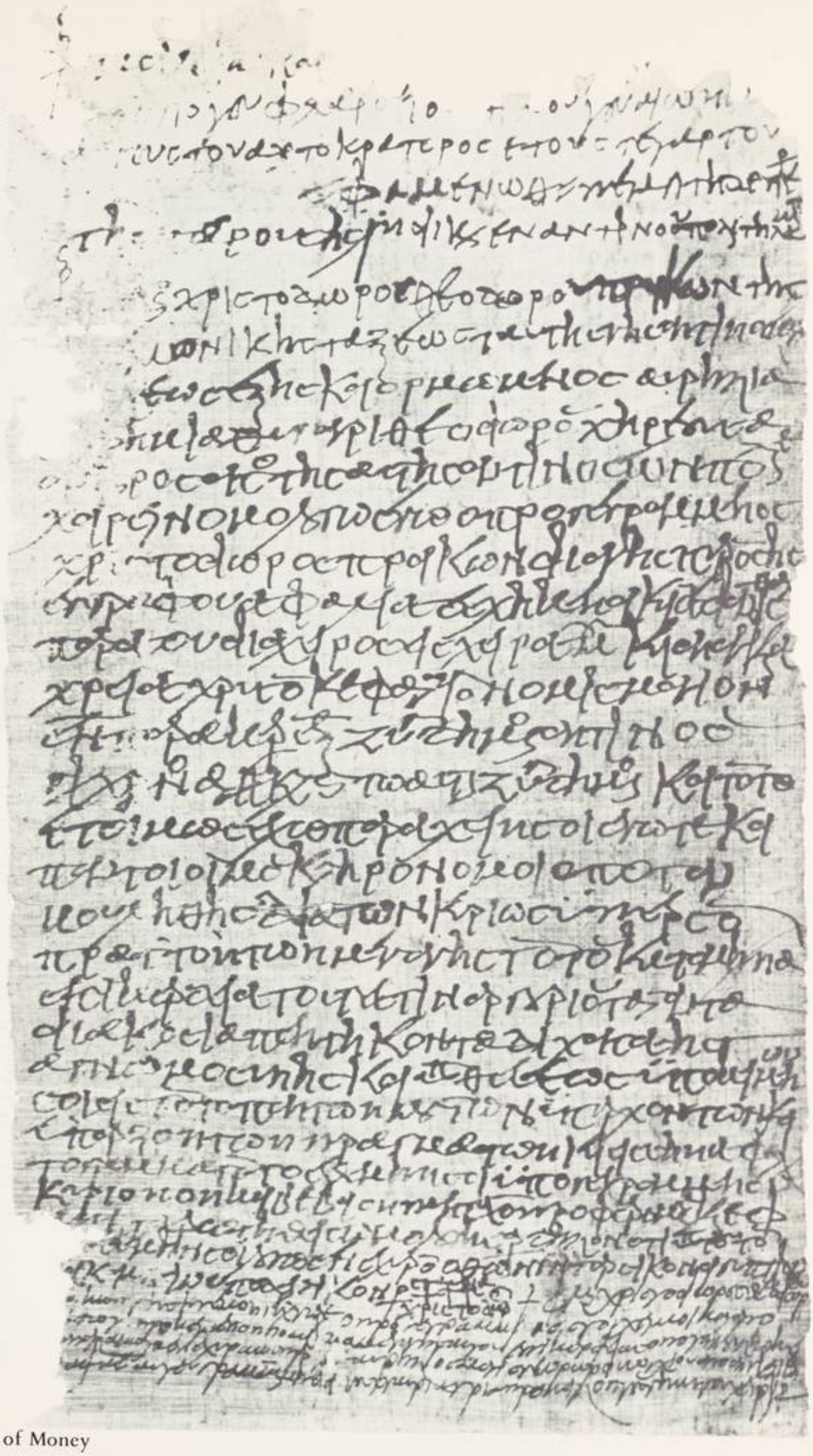
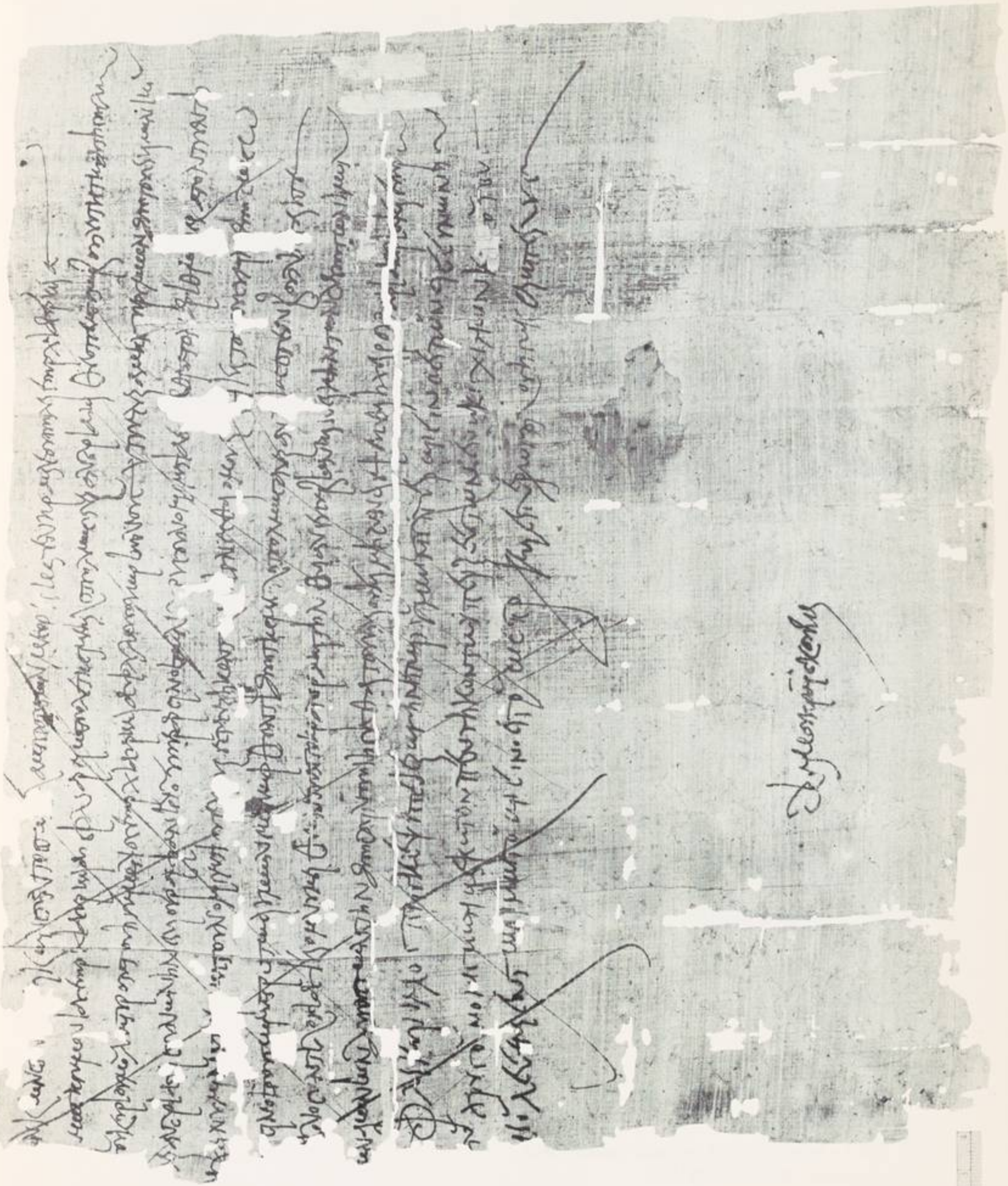


603. Hire of Scribes

PLATE II



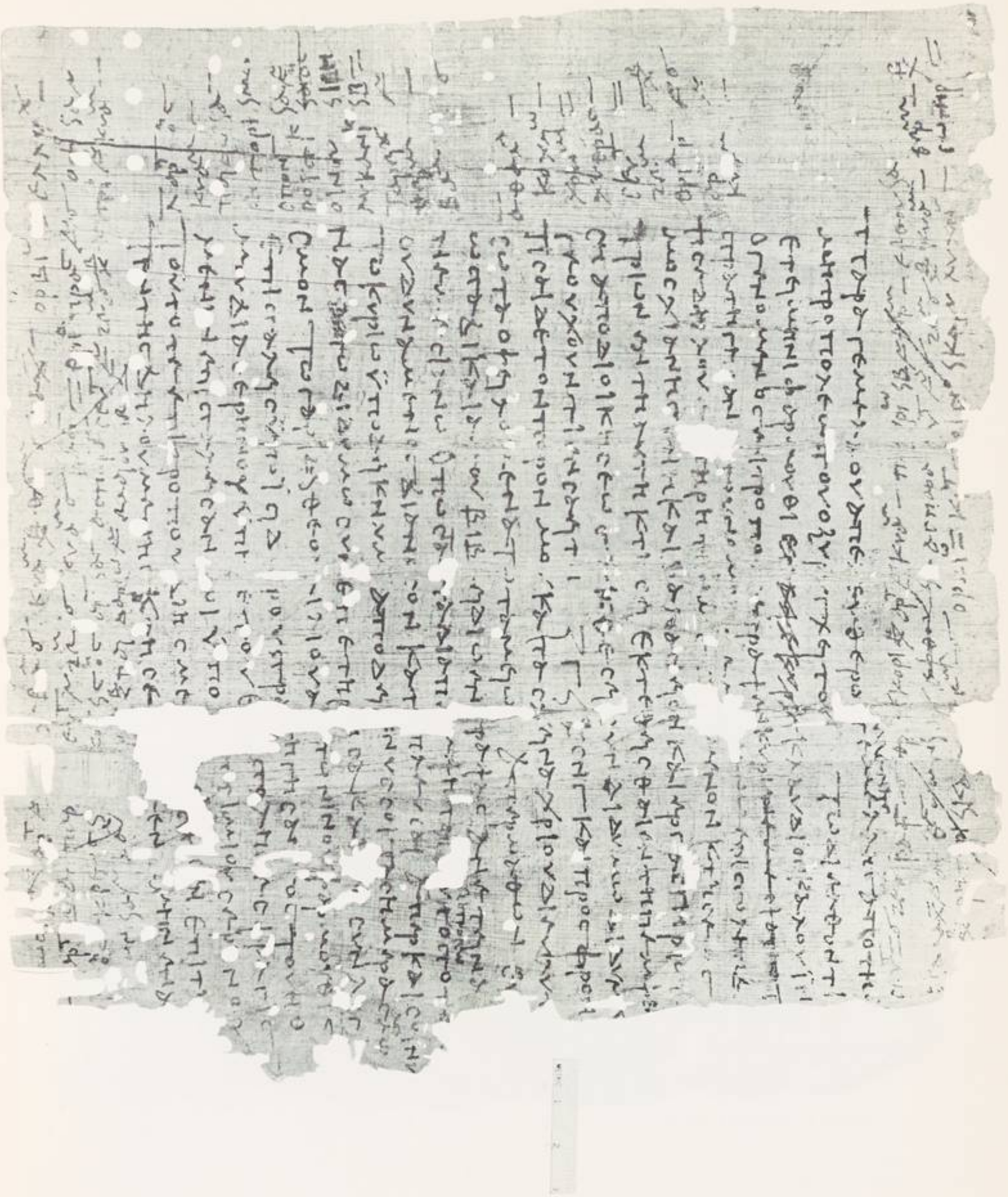
607. Loan of Money



613. Contract for Purchase and Delivery of Radish Oil
(reduced by 15 percent)

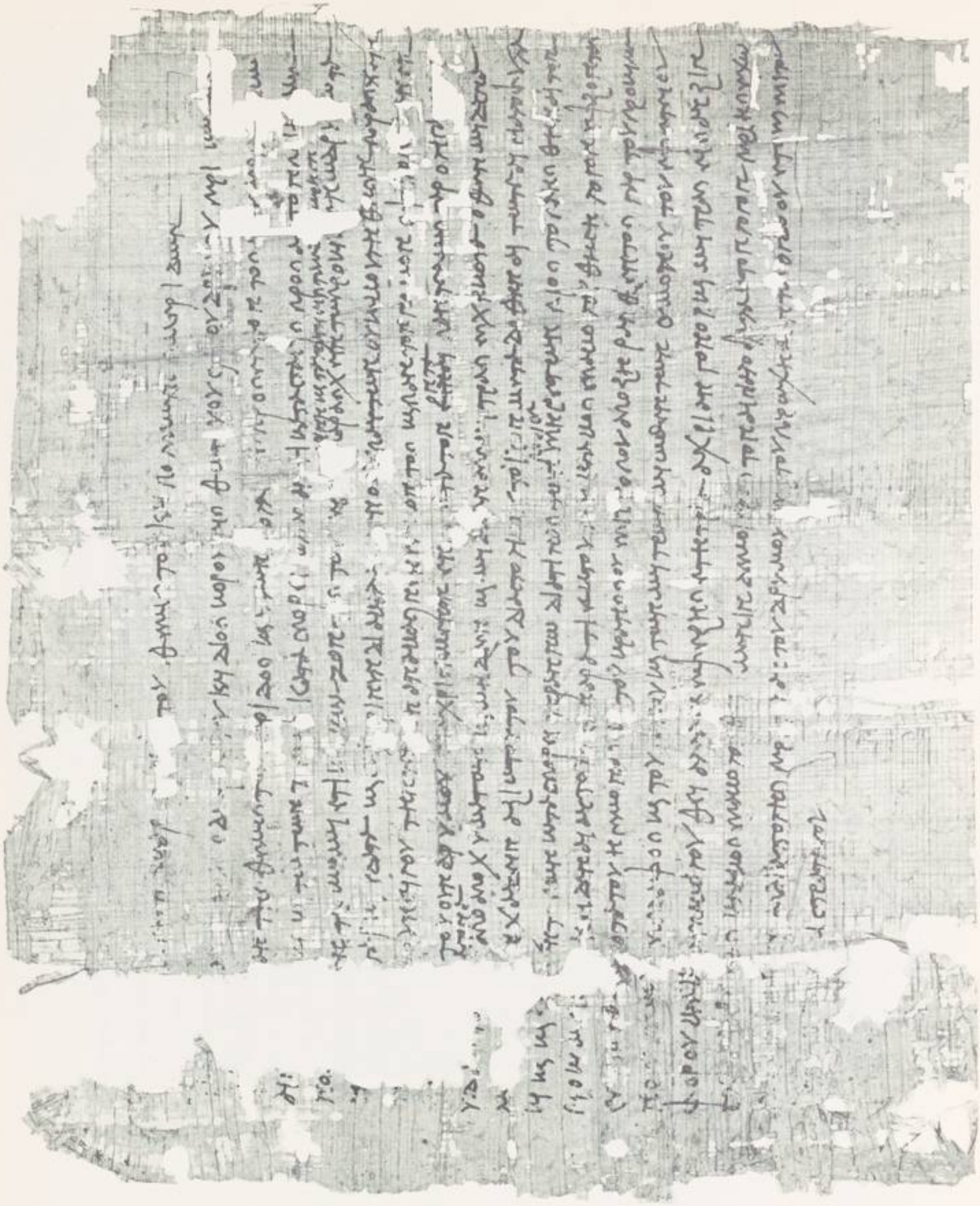
PLATE IV

614. Petition to a Strategos

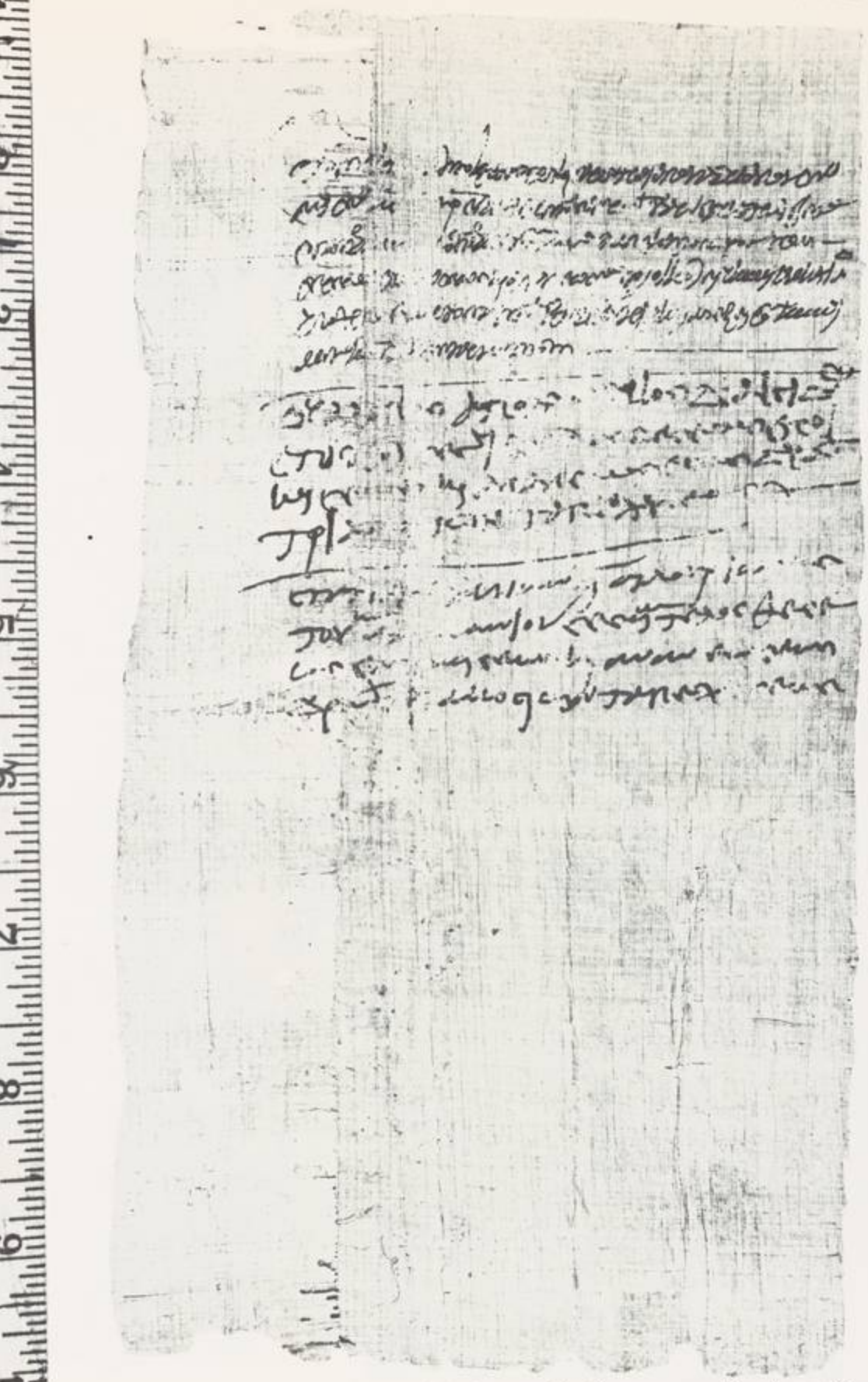


616. Petition from an Ἐπιτηρητής of a Large Estate
619. Household Account (Marginalia)
(reduced by 15 percent)

PLATE VI



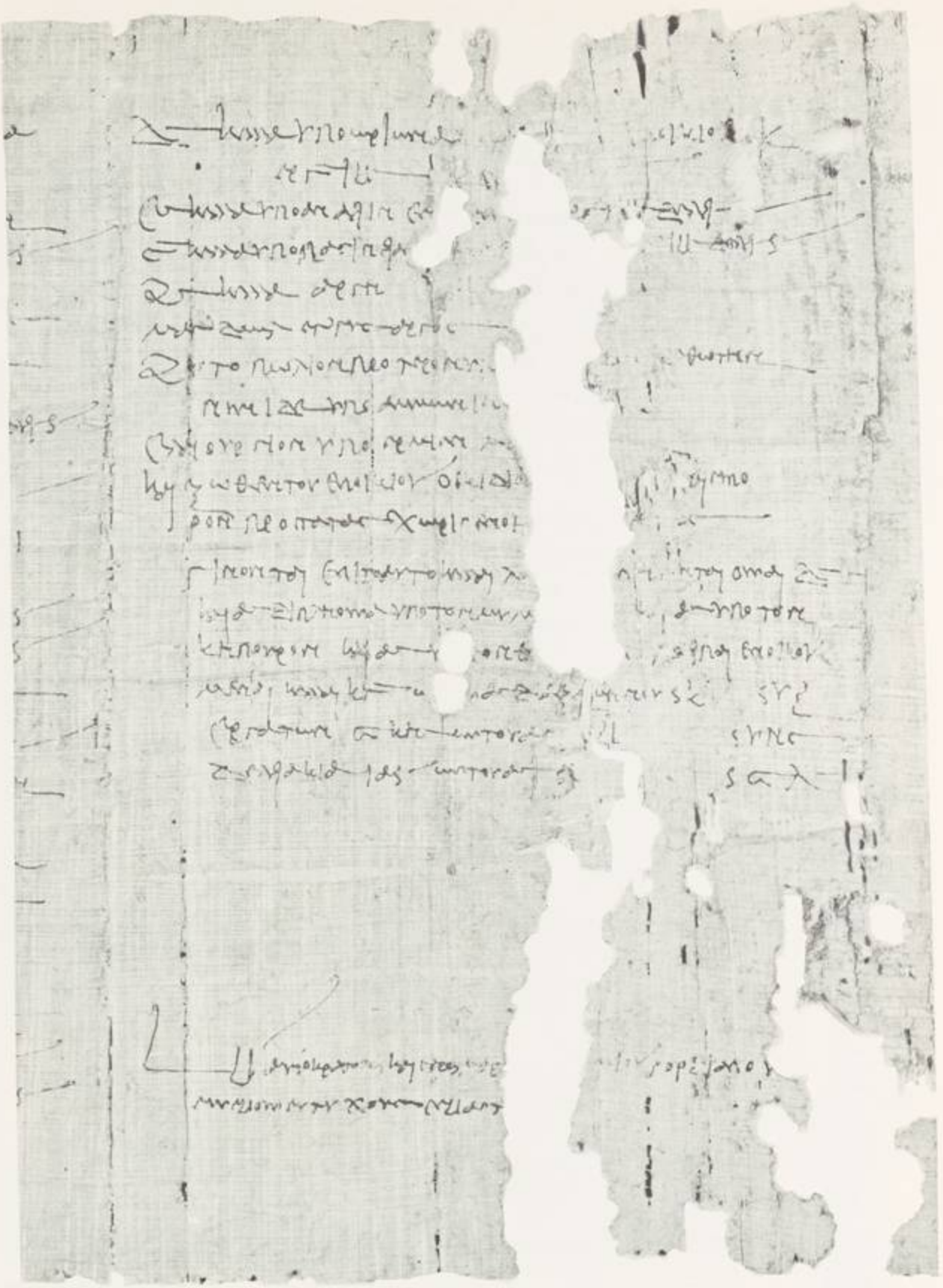
617. Petition to a Strategos



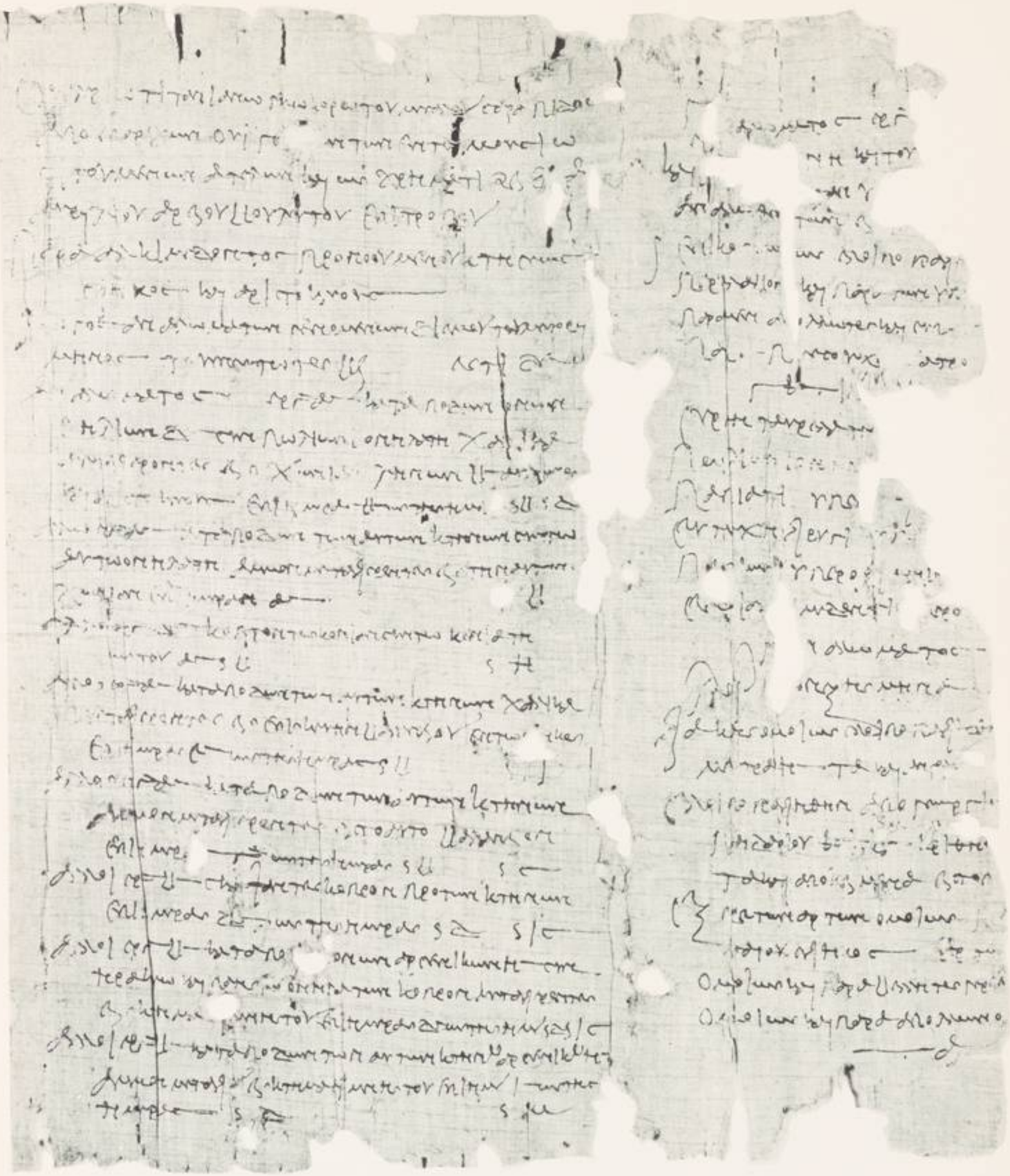
625. Receipt for Taxes on an Ἐνοίκησις Contract

617. Petition to a Strategos

PLATE VIII



620 recto, col. V
Account of an Estate



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