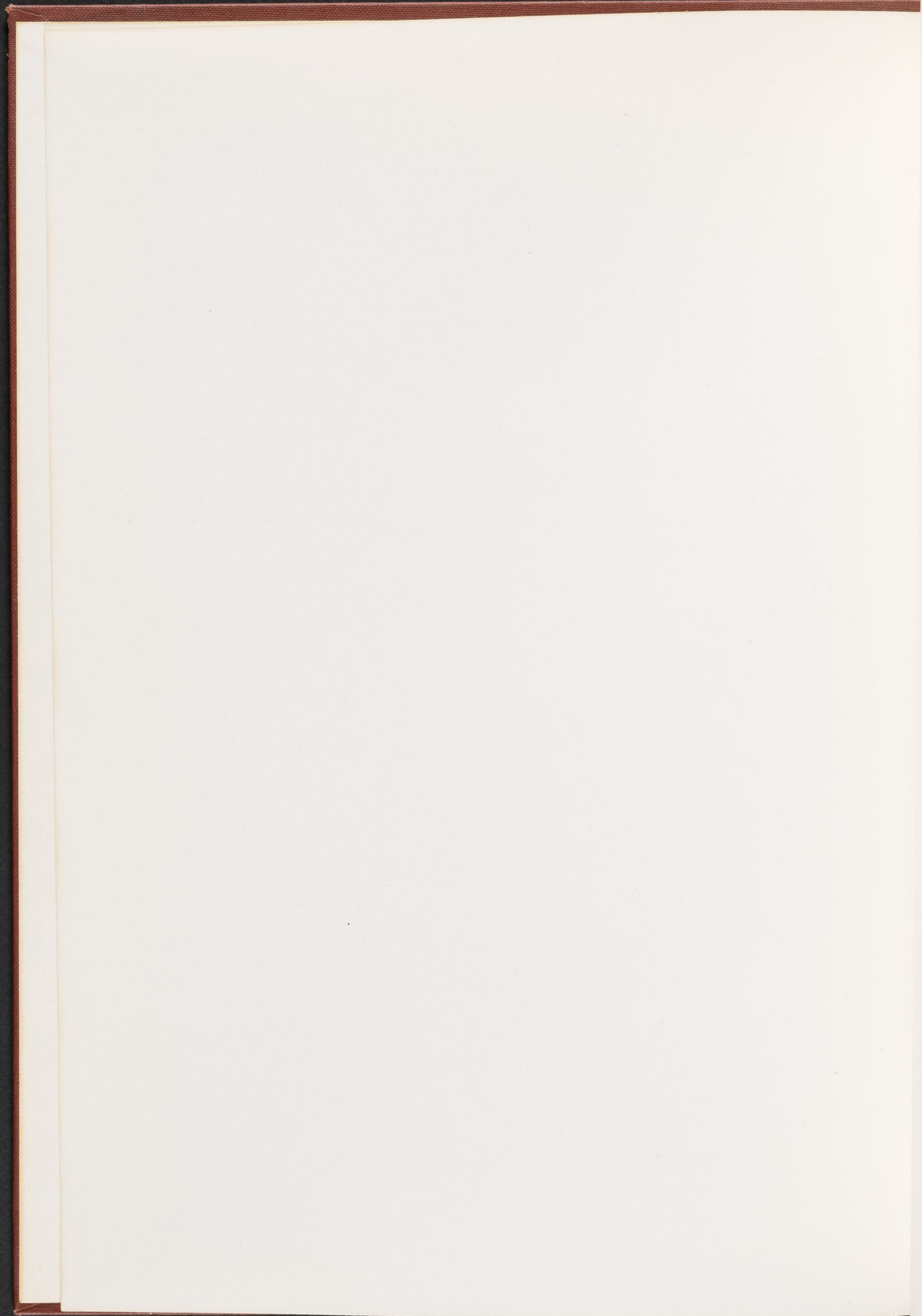




For Roger
- Best Wishes
- Michael





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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

VOLUME FOURTEEN

MICHIGAN PAPYRI

(P. MICH. XII)

GERALD M. BROWNE

HAKKERT TORONTO MCMLXXV

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Preface

The present volume is an edition of thirty-three Greek documentary papyri from the collection of the University of Michigan. Some of the texts I have published before; most appear here for the first time. *Miscellaneous Papyri*, the title of *P. Mich.* III, would be equally applicable to this volume, since it too is a heterogeneous collection. But within this miscellany there are several groups of closely related texts: 632-634 are land leases from the Tebtunis grapheion, 643-646 contain tax receipts written in Philadelphia in the fourth century of our era, and 654-655 are from the Harthotes archive. The tax documents, 638-642, deserve special mention. They concern first-century Philadelphia and come from a large group of texts which have been widely scattered and are now lodged chiefly in Cornell, Michigan, and Princeton. Not all of these papyri have as yet been edited. Professor John Oates is currently working on the unpublished pieces from Cornell, and I hope to have the opportunity to publish the remaining Michigan texts from this collection.

I should like to thank the Fondation Egyptologique and Harvard University Press for permitting me to republish the editions which originally appeared in *Chronique d'Egypte* and *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Many scholars have generously aided me in the preparation of this volume, and their contributions have been acknowledged in the appropriate places. Special thanks are due to Professor Ann Hanson, who checked readings for me in those Princeton papyri which come from the same group as 638-642; and to Professor Naphtali Lewis, who contributed to the editing of 626 and 636 by providing his transcript of P. Col. inv. 181 (11), and who furnished a photograph of SB 9560, a text closely connected with 654-655. In addition Professor Lewis kindly read my edition of 636, making many helpful suggestions for its improvement. I am also especially grateful to Dr. John Rea for providing me with information from *P. Oxy.* XL, which was not available when this book went to press; and to Professor John Shelton, who read over an early draft of the entire edition and saved me from numerous errors. Above all, my thanks go to Professor and Mrs. H. C. Youtie; they read over the final draft, carefully checked my transcripts against the originals, and made many contributions to the reading and understanding of the texts in this volume.

The University of Illinois
August, 1974

Gerald M. Browne

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EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

- [] lacuna
- || deletion in original
- < > omission in original
- { } superfluous letter or letters
- () resolution of a symbol or abbreviation

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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

P. Köln. Panop. I = L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn, H. C. Youtie, "Urkunden aus Panopolis I," *ZPE* 7, 1971, pp. 1-40.

P. Köln. Panop. II = L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn, H. C. Youtie, "Documents from Panopolis II," *ZPE* 8, 1971, 207-34.

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626. Excerpt from Land Declarations

Inv. 1387

8 x 25.5 cm.

Before 302 A.D.

This papyrus was originally published in *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 181-183; it preserves the left-hand portion of an excerpt from declarations of land submitted by Atisios, son of Hatres, in response to the census conducted by Julius Septimius Sabinus in 297 and the following years (see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 2 introd., and J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Egypte* pp. 262 f.).¹ The list is a duplicate of P. Col. inv. 181(11) ined., which is briefly described in *P. Cair. Isidor.* 2 and 6 introd.² The Columbia papyrus is a detailed listing of Atisios' holdings both in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis and in the village itself. Only that part of the list which deals with the village property is preserved in the present papyrus.

The more extensive Columbia text mentions property belonging to Atisios in the first and fifth *sphragides* in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis (P. Col. inv. 181 (11) cols. 2 and 3). Since Atisios surrendered his ownership of these parcels in 636, a contract of cession dated in 302, the excerpt must have been made sometime before that year.

Similar texts are *P. Cair. Isidor.* 7, which summarizes declarations made by Herakles and Alexander, sons of Horion; and P. Col. inv. 181(25) ined. (see *P. Cair. Isidor.*, p. 30).

ἐξ ἀπογραφῶν Σαβ[είνου κηνσίτορος κώμης Καρανίδος]

Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ κ[ώμης Καρανίδος]

δ/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Στῶ [λεγομ(ένῳ) βασιλικῆς] σπορ(ᾶς) γ (ἔτους)
(ἀρούρης) γ' ἰς λβ ξδ]

ἀνατολ(ῶν) γῆ ἄβροχος ἀ[δέσποτος διόλου, δυσμ(ῶν) Ἡρωνος]

5 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἀπ[ὸ κοινωνίας Ἡρωνος ἰδιω(τικῆς) σ(πορᾶς) γ
(ἔτους) (ἄρουραι) δ d η ξδ]

ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμ(ῶν) Ἡρωνος κτῆσις]

ς// σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Τιμου[εἰταλῆ λεγομ(ένῳ) βασιλικῆς] ἀβ(ρόχου)
(ἄρ.) η d η ις]

ἀνατολῶν Λεωνίδου, [δυσμ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγὸς μεθ' (ὄν) Παννοῦ]

1. A copy of a land declaration of Atisios, which was submitted during the same census, is preserved as *P. New York* 1.

2. Unless otherwise noted, the Columbia papyrus has provided all the restorations in the present text. I should like to express my thanks to Professor Naphtali Lewis for letting me use his transcript of P. Col. inv. 181(11) and to Professor William M. Calder III for permitting me to quote from the papyrus.

- ζ/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Τα[πατῆς λεγομ(ένῳ) βασιλικῆς] σπο(ρίμης)
(ἄρ.) γ δ ις ξδ]
- 10 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ [ιδιω(τικῆς) σπο(ρᾶς) φοιν(ικῶνος) ιβ (ἔτους) (ἄρ.) ε]
ἀνατολ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγ(γός) μεθ' (ὄν) ἄ[βροχ(ος) ἀδέσποτ(ος) διόλου,
δυσμῶν Ἡρακλέου]
- ια/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πέλ[ουα λεγομ(ένῳ) ιδιω(τικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου)
(ἄρ.) γ η']
ἀνατολ(ῶν) γῆ ἄβροχ(ος) ἀδέ[σποτ(ος) διόλου, δυσμ(ῶν) γῆ χέρσο(ς)
ξυλῖτις διόλου]
- ιγ// σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πι[ασόκμην λεγομ(ένῳ) ιδιω(τικῆς) σπορ(ίμης)
(ἄρ.) ε λ η ις ξδ]
- 15 ἀνατολ(ῶν) Ἀβοίκεως [κτῆσις, δυσμ(ῶν) Παησίου κτῆσις]
ιδ/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τό[π(ῳ) ιδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) ιδ d ις]
καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ [ιδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου (ἄρ.) γ η']
ἀνατολ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγός [μεθ' (ὄν) Ἀβοίκεως κτῆσις, δυσμ(ῶν) ± 4]
ιη/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πα[άλαμα λεγομ(ένῳ) ἀπὸ κοινωνίας]
- 20 Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἡρω[νος καὶ Ἑλένης ιδιω(τικῆς) σπορᾶς ιδ (ἔτους)
(ἀρούρης) λ η ις λβ ξδ]
ἀνατολῶν Ἰσιδῶρ[ου κτῆσις, δυσμ(ῶν) χέρσο(ς) ξυλῖτις διόλου]
(γίνονται) ὁμοῦ βασιλι(κῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) δ λ η ις]
ιδιωτι(κῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) λ η ξδ]
βασιλ(ικῆς) [ἀβρόχου (ἄρ.) η δ η ις]
- 25 [ιδιω(τικῆς) ἀβρόχου (ἄρ.) γ η']
[ιδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου (ἄρ.) η']

1. read by H. C. Youtie 11. μεθ' (ὄν): Pap. μεθ/ 13. ἀδέσποτος: a remade 18. Pap. ὑδραγωγος
20. Pap. ἰσιδῶρου

Excerpt from declarations for Sabinus *censitor*: Village of Karanis. Atisios, son of Hatres, of the village of Karanis.

In the 4th section, in the district called Sto, 55/64 ar. of royal land classed arable in year 13; on the east uninundated land entirely unowned, and on the west the estate of Heron. And in the same district, 4 25/64 ar. of private land classed arable in year 13, in partnership with Heron; on the east and west the estate of Heron.

In the 6th section, in the district called Tmoueitale, 8 7/16 ar. of uninundated royal land; on the east the estate of Leonides, and on the west an irrigation ditch, beyond which is the estate of Pannous.

In the 7th section, in the district called Tapates, 3 53/64 ar. of arable royal land. And in the same district, 5 ar. of private land classed arable in year 12 and containing a palm grove; on the east an irrigation ditch, beyond which is uninundated land entirely unowned, and on the west the estate of Herakles.

In the 11th section, in the district called Peloua, 3 1/8 ar. of uninundated private land; on the east uninundated land entirely unowned, and on the west waste land covered with underbrush throughout.

In the 13th section, in the district called Piasokmen, 5 45/64 ar. of arable private land; on the east the estate of Aboikis, and on the west the estate of Paesios.

In the 14th section, in the same district, 14 5/16 ar. of arable private land. And in the same district, 3 1/8 ar. of private waste land; on the east an irrigation ditch, beyond which is the estate of Aboikis, and on the west. . . .

In the 18th section, in the district called Paalama, 47/64 ar. of private land classed arable in year 14, in partnership with Isidoros, Heron, and Helene; on the east the estate of Isidoros, and on the west waste land covered with underbrush throughout.

Total, of arable royal land	4 11/16 ar.
of arable private land	30 9/64 ar.
of uninundated royal land	8 7/16 ar.
of uninundated private land	3 1/8 ar.
of private waste land	1/8 ar.

3. β(ασιλικῆς): by the end of the third century most of the βασιλική γῆ had passed into private possession. See *P. Cair. Isidor.* 3 (p. 39) and A. Swiderek, *JJP* 16-17, 1971, p. 38.

σπορ(ᾶς) γ (ἔτους): i.e. the land was brought under cultivation in the 13th year (of Diocletian, 296/7 A.D.); see N. Lewis, *JEA* 29, 1943, pp. 71-73. The word σπορά, which technically means "sowing," is here used as the rubric under which the parcel was listed.

4. ἄβροχος: *P. Col. inv.* 181(11).22, which corresponds to this passage, has ἄβρόχου.

10. ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπο(ρᾶς) φου(ικῶνος) β (ἔτους): the position of φου(ικῶνος) is awkward. It is probably a subheading of the title σπορᾶς β (ἔτους), in which the land was classified. Year 12 = 295/6. Professor Youtie suggests that the sowing of year 12 converted the φουικῶν into a φουικῶν ὑποσπειρόμενος, i.e. a palm grove under the trees of which other crops were planted (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 295 f.; *P. Köln Panop.* I, p. 20).

11. Ἡρακλέου: on the inflection, see *P. Mich.* 578.6n.

13. χέρσο(ς): land so designated had fallen permanently out of cultivation. See *P. Cair. Isidor.* 6 (p. 57) and Swiderek, *JJP* 16-17, 1971, p. 43, note to 10-11.

ξυλῖτις: *P. Col. inv.* 181(11).33 has ξυλίτιδος. On the meaning of γῆ ξυλῖτις, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 14.

16 as publ.

15. The estate of Paesios also appears in 636.10.

17. (ἄρ.) γ η': note the scribal discrepancy between this amount and that in the totals (line 26).

19. ἐν τόπῳ Πα[ά]λαμα: probably to be identified with the Παχάλαμα mentioned in *SB* 9242d (= A. A. Aly, *Ibrahim University Studies in Papyrology* 1, No. 5); this text associates the district with the plain of Psenarpsenesis, which was near Karanis.

20. Year 14: 297/8.

627. Request for Parathesis

Inv. 197

19.8 x 19.3 cm.

5 April 298 A.D.

This text was first published, with photograph, in *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 177-180. The sheet has been damaged along several vertical folds, and its surface is abraded in many places, especially toward the right. The body of the text is written in a clear semi-uncial, while the first and last lines are composed in a highly stylized cursive which is identical with the 4th hand of P. Wisc. inv. 66a ined. (see Boswinkel-Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri* 32).

Dr. Sijpesteijn has kindly sent me his transcript of P. Wisc. inv. 66a, as well as 66b. Both papyri, which will be published in *P. Wisc.* II, are copies of a contract of sale, in which Aurelius Titus Valerius Gaianus conveys to Aurelia Tapais a building containing a mill. The property was located in Philadelphia, and the contract was drawn up on 10 Pharmouthi (i.e. 5 April), 298 A.D.

The present Michigan papyrus records a later stage in the same transaction. It is a request submitted by Aurelia Tapais to the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων of the Arsinoite Nome. She informs the office of her purchase from Aurelius Titus Valerius Gaianus. Because the latter has not declared the property in the βιβλιοθήκη (μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένου, line 11), the sale cannot be booked definitively. Accordingly, Aurelia Tapais requests that a provisional registration (παράθεσις) be entered to ensure the priority of her claim. As evidence of the transaction, she includes a copy of the contract of sale, probably P. Wisc. inv. 66a, since its docket is in the same hand as lines 1 and 17 of the present text. Another example of an application for parathesis accompanied by a contract of sale is provided by *P. Hamb.* 15 and 16; for the procedure, see R. H. Pierce, *Symb. Osl.* 43, 1968, p. 73; J. C. Naber, *Mnemosyne* 55, 1927, pp. 212-220.

For a recent discussion of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, including the question of provisional and definitive registration, see E. Kiessling, *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 73-90. *BGU* 2031 is a recent edition of a request for parathesis with a good bibliography and list of similar texts.¹

1. To this list should be added *P. Alex.* 266 (p. 36). This text, which is not published in full, is nine lines in length. Only lines 3-8 are transcribed in the edition; they are obviously fragmentary lines of a parathesis request, for which I suggest the following restoration:

[διὰ] τῶν βιβλι[ο]φυλάκων. διὸ [ἐπιδιδωμι]
[εἰς τὸ τήν] παράθε[σις] γενέσθαι ἀκ[ολούθως]
5 [τῷ ἀντι]γράφῳ [τ]οῦ χρηματισμο[ῦ. ὁπόταν]
[γὰρ τήν] ἀπογραφ[ὰ] φήν αὐτοῦ ποιῶ[μαι, ἀποδεί-]
[ξω ὥς ἐστ]ιν κ[αθα]ρόν. εἰ δὲ φανεῖ[ται] [ἐτέρω]
[προσῆ]κον [δι]ὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφ[υλακίου]

It will be necessary to check the original for the reading of the doubtful letters and for the precise distribution of the words over the lines. In lines 4-5, 6-7, and 7-8 the customary formulas have had to be shortened to fit the space.

- A[ύρη]λ(ίω) Ὠρίωνι βουλ(ευτῇ) βιβλ(ιφύλακι) ἐγκτήσ(εων)
 Ἀ[ρσ]ινοίτου
 (2nd hd.) π[αρά A]ύρηλίας Ταπαίτος Παπνούθ[ιος] μητρὸς Θαισᾶτ[ος ἀπὸ]
 [κώμης Φι]λαδελφίας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερ[ί]δος χωρὶς κυρί[ου]
 χρη(ματίζουσα)]
 κ[ατὰ τὰ Ῥ]ωμαίων ἔθνη τέκνων δι[κ]αίω. ἡγόρασα .[± 6]
 5 .[± 4]..ν γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ τῇ ἐν[εσ]τ[ώ]σ[η]
 ἡ[μέρα] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ Φιλαδελφία οἰκίδιον μο[ν]όστειον
 [μετὰ τοῦ] ἐνότος μυλαίου ἐν ᾧ ὑπαυλὶς καταπεπ[τωκυῖα]
 [τιμῆς] ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν τρισχιλίων γί(νονται) [(δρ.) τρισχιλῖαι]
 παρὰ Αὐρήλιου Τίτου Οὐαλερίου Γαιανοῦ Τίτου Οὐαλερί[ου] Σατριάνοῦ
 10 τοῦ καὶ Σερήνου μητρὸς Ἰουλίας Ἀντινοέους καὶ ὥς χρη(ματίζει)
 μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένου. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι εἰς τὸ τὴν [π]αρά[θεσιν]
 γενέσθαι ἀκολουθῶς ᾧ παρεθέμην εἴσω τοῦ χ[ρη]ματισ-
 μοῦ τῆς πράσεως. ὁπότεν γὰρ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν αὐτ[οῦ] π[οιῶ]μαι),
 ἀποδείξω ὥς ὑπάρχει καὶ ἐστὶ καθαρὸν μηδενὶ κρατούμεν[ον],
 15 εἰ δὲ φανῇ ἐτέρῳ προσήκω ἢ προκατεσχημένον τὸ οἰκίδιον
 διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου, μὴ ἔσ[σ]εσθαι ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῇ[σδε] τῇ[ς]
 παραθέσεως. (1st hd.) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ὠρίων βουλ(ευτῆς) βιβλ(ιφύλαξ)
 ἐγκτήσ(εων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) ± 7

2. Pap. θαῖσατ[(read by O. M. Pearl) 5. Pap. αρσινόιτη 7. Pap. υπαυλὶς 8. δραχμῶν: ων corrected from ας 9. Pap. γαῖανου 10. Pap. ἰουλίας; Ἀντινοέως 11. ἐπιδίδωμι 12. εἴσω 14. ἀποδείξω 15. φανείη, προσήκων; προκατεσχημένον: ον perhaps corrected from ω 17. ἐγκτήσ(εων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) read by O. M. Pearl

To Aurelius Horion, senator and archivist of the registry of real property of the Arsinoite Nome (2nd hd.) from Aurelia Tapais, daughter of Papnouthis and Thaisas, from the village of Philadelphia of the division of Herakleides, acting without a guardian in accordance with the customs of the Romans in virtue of the *ius liberorum*. I purchased [in accordance with a contract] drawn up here in the Arsinoite Nome on the present day a building of one story, containing a mill, in which there is a dilapidated yard, located in the same village of Philadelphia, at a price of three thousand drachmas of silver, equal three thousand dr., from Aurelius Titus Valerius Gaianus, son of Titus Valerius Satrianus also called Serenus and of Julia, Antinoite and however he is styled, not registered. Accordingly, I submit the application that a provisional entry be made in accordance with the copy of the contract of sale which I have deposited. For when I submit the declaration for this property, I shall show that it belongs to me and is unencumbered and unclaimed by anyone, but if the building should appear to belong to another or to be subject to a previous claim through the record office, there shall be no hindrance from the present entry.

(1st hd.) Aurelius Horion, senator and archivist of the registry of real property of the Arsinoite Nome. . . .

1. Aurelius Horion also signs P. Wisc. inv. 66a.22.
 2. Aurelia Tapais: hitherto known from P. Wisc. inv. 66a and b; see Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 45, 1965, p. 186, no. 44a, where she is listed as Ἀὐρ. Ταπάεις Πάειτος. The present text shows that the father's name is Papnouthis; see also P. Wisc. inv. 66a (Boswinkel-Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri* 32), line 5: Ἀὐρηλία Ταπάειτι Παπ[ν]ούθ[ιος].
 - 4-5. Possibly κ[ατὰ χρη-]μ[ατισ]μόν: cf. e.g. BGU 2031.9-10, SB 9625.7-8. It would then be necessary to alter γεγονότος to γεγονότα.
 5. In the *editio princeps* I translated ἐν Ἀρσινωίτῃ as "in Arsinoe," but this is incorrect. The words can only mean "in the Arsinoite Nome." The other requests for parathesis lack such a phrase. It was perhaps intended to inform the *bibliophylakes* that the sale took place within the nome; for otherwise it would not concern their office (cf. Kiessling, *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 83 f.).
 - 5-6. τῇ ἐν[εσ]τῶ[σ]ῃ ἡ[μέρᾱ]: after τῇ the ink is practically gone, but the phrase appears in other requests for parathesis (*MChr.* 215.9; SB 9625.8; BGU 2031.11; PSI 1126.8; 1127.5).
 6. μο[ν]όστειγον: see F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten*, p. 38.
 7. ὕπαυλις: ἔπαυλις could also be read, but there is a diaeresis over the first letter. Since diaeresis is expected over υ and not over ε, ὕπαυλις is a preferable reading. E. G. Turner, in *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, p. 12, notes that diaeresis occurs occasionally over α, ε, ο, ω, but in a letter to me (6 October, 1971) he writes: "Compared with the regularity of occurrence over ι or υ, examples of other letters are clearly uncommon and therefore you were probably right to choose ὕπαυλις."
- The word ὕπαυλις has not previously appeared. It is true that *LSJ* cites it from the docket of P. Lond. I 113.5a (p. 211): μίσθ(ωσις) ὑπαύλεως, but Bell showed that the correct reading there is ἐπαύλεως (*BL* I, p. 237). (I have examined the London papyrus at the British Museum and have verified Bell's correction.) Possibly ὕπαυλις is a spelling variant of ἔπαυλις; for interchange of initial ε and υ, see P. Cair. Isidor. 3.39n.; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*, p. 33 and n. 1; Hombert and Préaux, *Chronique* 31, 1941, p. 262, n. 3.
- καταπεπ[τωκνῖα]: καταπεπ[τω]κνῖα *editio princeps*, on the basis of a photograph. Comparison with the original showed that I had often interpreted as ink mere discolorings of the papyrus (see below, notes to lines 8, 11, 13, 16).
8. [(δρ.) τρισχίλια]: [(δρ.)] τρι[σχ]ί[λ]ια *ed. pr.*
 11. [π]αρά[θεσιν]: παρά[θεσιν] *ed. pr.*
 - 11-14. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμει κτλ.: see Kiessling, *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 87 f.
 13. π[οιῶ]μαι: ποιῶ[μαι] *ed. pr.*
 - 16-17. μὴ ἔσ[σ]εσθαι ἐμπόδιον κτλ.: i.e. "if the *bibliothèque* discovers a prior claim, then my parathesis will not oppose it." Cf. J. C. Naber, *Mnemosyne* 55, 1927, pp. 217 f. Kiessling, *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 87 ff., thinks that ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς παραθέσεως refers to the claims of a third party. He paraphrases the passage: "dann wird . . . aus einer solchen . . . Eintragung eines Dritten für meine später erfolgende definitive ἀπογραφή zum Zweck der Umbuchung auf meine Personalfolie kein Hindernis entstehen." His view is based primarily on the declarant's statement that when he submits his definitive ἀπογραφή, he will prove that the property is "frei von allen Rechten Dritter"; thus any claims which subsequently come to light can only be fraudulent. But in my opinion the phrase ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς παραθέσεως more naturally refers to the application which is being submitted; otherwise we would expect ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς παραθέσεως. Further, even though the buyer expects that in his *apographe* the property will be shown to be unburdened by previous claims, some may have gone undetected and may someday appear in the *bibliothèque*. He therefore acknowledges that such claims, if they are valid, will take precedence over his own.

16. ἐκ τῇ[σδε] τῇ[ς]: ἐκ τῇσδε τῆς *ed. pr.*

17. After Ἀρσι(νοῖτον) the writing is extremely damaged. Perhaps ὥ (ἔτους?) Φαρμ(οῦθι)
[ι could be read; the date (= 5 April 298) comes from P. Wisc. inv. 66a and b.

628. Request to Sell and Pickle Meat

Inv. 178

8 x 21.2 cm.

13 Oct. 183 A.D.

The papyrus was originally published in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 63-68. The text is an application made by Onesimos, son of Amerimnos and grandson of Alkimos, to the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑκῆς for the right to sell and pickle meat in the villages of Theadelphia and Argias. The concession is to last one year, with the rental fixed at 600 drachmas. Subleasing is not permitted, and the concessionaire is to have one young man as his assistant. The application was drawn up on 13 October, 183 A.D.

For other papyri in which Onesimos appears, and for a list of similar applications, see the *editio princeps*, pp. 63-66.

[Ἡ]ρωνίνω καὶ Χαιρέα καὶ τοῖς
λοιπ(οῖς) ἐπιτ(ηρηταῖς) ὑκῆς
παρὰ Ὀνησίμου Ἀμερίμνου
τ[ο]ῦ Ἀλκίμου ἀ[π]ὸ ἀμφό[δ]ου
5 Γυμνασίου. βούλομαι ἐπιχω-
ρηθῆναι παρ' ὑμῶν κρεο-
πολικὴν καὶ ταριχηρὰν κώμης
Θεαδελφείας καὶ Ἀργειάδος πρὸς
10 τὸ ἐνεστὸς κδ (ἔτος) θνεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ
τελέσαι ὑπὲρ φόρου τοῦ ἔτους
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἑξακοσίας ὧν καὶ τὴν
ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσομαι κατὰ μῆνα
τὸ αἰροῦν ἐξ ἴσου. οὐκ ἐξέσται δέ
15 μοι ἐτέρω μαγείρῳ μετα-
[μ]ισθοῦν, καὶ ἔξω σὺν ἐμοὶ
[χ]ωρὶς φόρου νεανίσκον ἓνα
[ἐ]ὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχω(ρῆσαι). (2nd hd.) Ἡρωνῖνος
[ἔσ]χον τούτο<υ> τὸ ἴσον. (3rd hd.) Δίδυμος
[δι]ὰ Ζωίλου ἔσχον τούτου
20 [τ]ὸ ἴσον.

(1st hd.) (ἔτους) κδ / Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
Ἀ[ν]τωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Φαῶφι ιε.

6-7. κρεοπωλικήν 8. Ἀργιάδος 10. τελέσαι: a corrected, perhaps from ο 18. Pap. ἴσον; Δίδυμος:
first δ corrected from ζ

To Heroninos, Chaireas, and the other superintendents of the pig tax, from Onesimos, son of Amerimnos and grandson of Alkimos, of the Gymnasium quarter. I wish to be granted by you the right to sell and pickle meat in the villages of Theadelphia and Argias for the present 24th yr. . . ., on condition that I pay as rent for the year six hundred dr. of silver, the payment of which I will make monthly in equal instalments. It will not be permissible for me to sublease to another butcher, and, apart from paying rent (?), I will have with me one young man, if it appears advisable to grant the concession.

(2nd hd.) I, Heroninos, have received a copy of this application. (3rd hd.) I, Didymos, acting through Zoilos, have received a copy of this application.

(1st hd.) 24th yr. of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi 15.

2. ἐπι(τηρηταῖς) ὑκῆς: the ὑκῆ was a property tax in Ptolemaic Egypt and was assessed in proportion to the number of pigs an individual had. By the Roman period, at least in lower Egypt, it had become a capitation tax, which was often connected with the λαογραφία. See Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 143-145. 628 shows, nevertheless, that it had not completely lost its original association with pigs.

The ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑκῆς appear only here. Since the tax was normally collected by the πράκτορες λαογραφίας or ἀργυρικῶν, the ἐπιτηρηταί were probably concerned exclusively with leasing concessions. It is, therefore, surprising that they should be called supervisors of the tax. That they dealt with the meat industry in general is not at all remarkable, since, next to fish, pork was one of its most important constituents. See Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten*, pp. 158 f.

7. ταριχηράν: for the process of pickling meat in Greco-Roman Egypt, see Reil, *Beiträge*, pp. 162-164, and R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, pp. 185 ff. Cf. also Suidas s.v. τάριχος: ἔστι . . . κρέας ἀλοῖ πεπασμένον.

8. Ἀργειάδος: see *P. Teb.* 872.14n.

9. θνεῖν: αὐεῖν might also be read. In many texts the concession is designated by an infinitive (see the list in the *editio princeps*). It is possible that some such infinitive was inadvertently and defectively written here.

13-15. On the restrictions against subleasing at times found with such concessions, see Taubenschlag, *Law*², p. 384 and n. 14.

14. The μάγειρος functioned as butcher, cook, and retailer; see Reil, *Beiträge*, pp. 160 f.

15-16. A similar stipulation, without the phrase χωρὶς φόρου, occurs in *P. Ryl.* 98a.15-16: ἔξω δὲ σὺν ἐμαντῷ ἐργάτας δύο. The precise pertinence of χωρὶς φόρου cannot be determined. It means either that, apart from paying rent, Onesimos will undertake to maintain one assistant, or that he will be able to have one assistant without paying an additional fee for him. With the former explanation the clause ἔξω σὺν ἐμοὶ χωρὶς φόρου νεανίσκον ἓνα fits in with the other provisions in lines 9 ff., all of which are obligations incumbent upon Onesimos.

23. Φαῶφι ιε: i.e. 13 October.

(For additional notes, see the *editio princeps*, pp. 67 f.)

629. Petition to Epistrategos

Inv. 4680

10.2 x 14.3 cm.

166-169 A.D.

This text was mentioned by A. E. R. Boak in his edition of inv. 2922 (= *SB* 7558: *JEA* 18, 1932, pp. 69-76). Both papyri concern Marcus Anthestius Gemellus, a Roman veteran who died between 166 and 173 and was a citizen of Antinoopolis. He also had holdings at Karanis and appears elsewhere in *P. Mich.* 224 (Karanis, 172/3). 3752, 5140, and 5423. A person of the same name, possibly his father, figures in *P. Mich.* 568-9.5,8 (Karanis, ca. 90), where he is described as a soldier of the third Ituraean cohort; he may be the Marcus Anthestius Gemellus from the Fayumic village of Hippeon who appears as a lessor in *P. Mich.* 185 (122 A.D.). Other members of the gens of Anthestii are mentioned by Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 261, n. 263. See also Boak, *JEA* 18, 1932, p. 73, note to lines 3-4, and *P. Mich.* 568-9.5n.

629 was discovered during the 1926/7 excavations conducted by the University of Michigan at Karanis. Gemellus, who has gone to Karanis to attend to agricultural business, petitions the epistrategos to allow him to stay "another thirty days" (lines 14-15), so that he can complete his business. The petition is addressed to the epistrategos, since Antinoites were directly under his control (Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, p. 142). This control, as is clear from the present text, impinged even on the Antinoites' freedom of movement.

For the date, see note to lines 1-2.

Λοκκείωι Ὀφελ(λ)ιανῶι τῶι
 κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ
 παρὰ Μάρκου Ἀνθεστίου Γεμέλ-
 λου Νερουιανείου τοῦ καὶ Προπα-
 5 τορείου τῶν ἐκτὸς σιτηρεσίου
 ἀναγορευομένων. παραγεν-
 μένου μου, κύριε, ἐνθάδε πρὸς
 [τῇ] γ' τῶν γεννημάτων συνκομι-
 10 [δὴν π]ρὸς τὸ [δ]ιευθῆναι τὸ δη-
 [μόσιον] γ', μέχρι δὲ τούτου μηδέ-
 [πω τι ἂ]παρτείσας, ἀξιῶι, ἐάν σοι
 [δόξηι,] προσμερίσει μοι μετὰ
 [± 5] μὲνον τὸ ἀποδημεῖν
 [με καὶ] ἄλλας ἡμέρας τριάκον-
 15 [τα ἢ α.] ὥς ἐνεργετημένος. διευτύχει.

4. Pap. νερουϊανείου 5. σιτηρεσίου: υ above the line 8-9. συγκομιδὴν 11. ἀπαρτίσας, ἀξιῶ
 12. προσμερίσαι

To Lucceius Ofellianus, his excellency the epistrategos, from Marcus Anthestius Gemellus, of the Nervian tribe and the Propatorian deme, belonging to those who are designated as being outside the dole. Having come here, my lord, for the harvest of the crops, in order to settle the public account, but up to now having not yet accomplished anything, I ask, if it seems good to you, to allow me, after . . . to remain abroad for another thirty days as well, in order that I may be benefited. Farewell.

1-2. Lucceius Ofellianus was epistrategos of the Heptanomia from 166 to 169; see A. E. R. Boak, *JEA* 13, 1927, p. 153; *P. Mich.* 618.1n.; M. Vandoni, *Gli epistrategi nell'Egitto greco-romano*, p. 31.

4-5. On the tribe and deme, see Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, pp. 123-125.

5-6. τῶν ἐκτὸς σιτηρεσίου ἀναγορευομένων: cf. *P. Oxy.* 2903.9-11: ἐν τῇ γειομένη τότε τῶν ὁμοίων μ[ο]ν ἀναγορεῖα ἐτύγχανον ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ ὦν; 2913.14-16: ἀξιῶ ἐνταγῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἀναγορευομένοις πρὸς διάδοσιν τοῦ σιτηρεσίου ὀνόμασι. *P. Oxy.* 2941 and 2942 (ca. 154 A.D.) show that a σιτηρέσιον also existed in Antinoopolis, perhaps originating in an endowment by Hadrian (see Rea's introd. to 2941-2942). And *P. Lond.* III 955 (p. 127 = *WChr.* 425) gives evidence of a similar dole for Hermopolis in 261 A.D.

None of these texts, however, illuminates the precise significance of τῶν ἐκτὸς σιτηρεσίου ἀναγορευομένων. The phrase perhaps refers to an age group not eligible for the dole. In Alexandria, before 261, a σιτηρέσιον seems to have been given to all citizens from 40 to 70 (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.21.9; see J. Rea, *P. Oxy.* XL, introduction, pp. 1-2). Those not within the specified ages could be described as οἱ ἐκτὸς σιτηρεσίου ἀναγορευόμενοι. But we have no means of knowing whether Antinoopolis followed the Alexandrian system. The distribution might have been made on the basis of social class. In Oxyrhynchus, as *P. Oxy.* XL shows, the organization imitated the Roman model, and the dole was available mainly to μητροπολίται and to those who had performed a liturgy, while the curial class was probably excluded (*P. Oxy.* XL introd., pp. 2-4, 8). (I am grateful to Dr. J. Rea for providing me with relevant information from *P. Oxy.* XL, in advance of its publication.)

7. ἐνθάδε: i.e. Karanis, where the papyrus was found.

9-10. [δ]ιευθῆναι τὸ δη[μόσιον]: cf. *P. Fay.* 296: διευθύνων τὰ δημόσια. The phrase refers to paying taxes (cf. *WB* s.v. διευθύνω 1: "eine Zahlung begleichen, entrichten," also *PSI* 1243.26 and 636.15).

13. Possibly [τὸ ὥρισ]μένον (H. C. Youtie); the sense would then be "after (i.e. in addition to) what has been fixed."

15. The papyrus breaks off before the subscription and date.

The following two texts are of a well-known type; though drawn up in the form of an application to lease land, they are really offers of a price for the crops themselves, in this case dates, which the lessees will harvest. Transactions of this kind are treated by Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, pp. 305-310; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 222-229; Taubenschlag, *Law*², p. 340. For a discussion of the cultivation of dates, with references to pertinent documents, see N. Hohlwein, "Palmiers et palmeraies dans l'Egypte romaine," *Etudes de Papyrologie* 5, 1939,

pp. 1-74. Addenda to Hohlwein's list of leases on pp. 40 f. can be found in *BGU* 2127 introd., to which should be added *P. Strassb.* 336, *P. Mich.* 561; 562; 564, and several of the texts in *P. Köln Panop.* I (see table, p. 7).

630. Application to Sublease Date Crop

Inv. 3161

9.5 x 28.8 cm.

26 September 38 A.D.

Maron, son of Melankomas, and Eukrates, son of Herakleides, address this application to Herakleides, son of Pnepheros, and request the right to sublease from him two-thirds of the crop of a palm grove of which he is the lessee. The rent is fixed at 26 drachmas 3 or 4 obols (see line 15).

Eukrates seems to have been illiterate (see note to line 21), but Maron wrote his own subscription, adding a clause in which a gratuity of Syrian figs was promised (lines 24-26). This clause is probably an additional stipulation demanded by the lessor; it resembles the clauses which the lessors inserted at the end of several of the applications in *P. Köln Panop.* I (see editors' comments on pp. 4 f.).

Although no provenance is indicated and the parties involved cannot be further identified, the papyrus may be from Tebtunis. The first hand stylistically resembles the first hand of *P. Mich.* 266 (plate III), which was drawn up in the Tebtunis grapheion in 38 A.D. But, as Professor Youtie points out to me, the text also reminds one of the contemporary hands in contracts from Oxyrhynchus (e.g. *P. Mert.* 10).

5 Ἡρακλείδῃ Πνεφερῶτος
 παρὰ Μάρωνος τοῦ Με-
 λαγκώμου καὶ Εὐκράτου
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου. βουλό-
 μεθα μισθώσασθαι τὸ
 δίμυρον μέρος τῶν
 ἐκπεποκτόνων εἰς τὸ
 ἐνεστὸς τρίτον ἔτους
 10 Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ φοινικίνων καρ-
 πῶν ὧν καὶ σὺ ἔχεις ἐν μισ-
 θώσει. ὑφιστάμεθα τελέ-
 σειν φόρον τοῦ παντὸς ἀρ-
 γυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμῶν ἑκο-
 15 σι ἕξ τετρίοβολον ἃς καὶ δια-
 γράψωμεν ἐν μηνὶ Τῦβι τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθ[ὶ]-
 σαι ἡμεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προκιμένοις.
 (ἔτους) γ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς

- 20 Σεβαστοῦ κθ̄.
 Εὐκράτου Ἡρακλείδου (ἐτῶν) λ οὐλ(ῆ) κά(τωθεν) μή(λου) ἀρισ(τεροῦ).
 (2nd hd.) Μάρων Μελαγκώμου συνεπιδ-
 έδωκα τῷ πρωκίμενον) ἀναφόρ-
 ιν. καὶ τελέσομεν Συρίου φύνικο[ς]
 25 ἀρτάβην μίαν μέτρῳ δρώμῳ
 φοινικ(ηγῶ). (ἔτους) γ [Γα]ίου Καίσαρος
 [Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ κθ̄.]

2-3. Μελαγκώμου 5. μισθώσασθαι 6. δίμοιρον 7. ἐκπεπτωκότων 8. ἔτος 11-12. μισθώσει
 14-15. εἴκοσι 15. τετριόβολον: {τε}τριώβολον or τετρ{ι}ώβολον 15-16. διαγράψομεν 18. ἡμῶν,
 προκειμένοις 22. Μελαγκώμου 23. τὸ προκείμενον 23-24. ἀναφόριον 24. φοίνικος 25. δρόμων
 26. φοινικηγῶ.

To Herakleides, son of Pnepheros, from Maron, son of Melankomas, and Eukrates, son of Herakleides. We wish to lease two-thirds of the date crop which arrived at maturity in the present third year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus and which you hold on lease. We promise to pay, for the whole, a rent of twenty-six drachmas of coined silver and . . . obols, and we will pay it in the month of Tubi of the same year, if it appears good to lease to us on the aforesaid terms.

Year 3 of Gaius Caesar Augustus, 29th of the month of Augustus.

Eukrates, son of Herakleides, 30 years old, with a scar on the lower part of the left cheek.

(2nd hd.) I, Maron, son of Melankomas, have also submitted the aforesaid application. And we will pay one artaba of Syrian dates by the dromos-measure for dates.

Year 3 of Gaius Caesar Augustus, 29th of the month of Augustus.

7. ἐκπεπτοκ(ότ)ων: the offer was made on 26 September (line 20), i.e. shortly before the harvest, which took place in October to December. The perfect participle shows that the dates have already reached maturity; on ἐκπίπτω in this sense, see Hohlwein, "Palmiers et palmeraies," pp. 50-52.

16. Τῦβι: i.e. 27 December – 25 January.

21. Εὐκράτου: genitive for nominative. The signalment without subscription probably means that Eukrates was illiterate. Cf. *P. Osl.* II 32, where two signalments stand above the text, and both men are illiterate (lines 30 f.).

κά(τωθεν) μή(λου) ἀρισ(τεροῦ): for the resolution cf. 636.3 κάτωθεν [γ]όνατος. Also possible is μή(λω) ἀρισ(τερῶ); cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 128.14: οὐλή ἄνωθεν (read ἄνωθεν) ἀπικνημίζω δεξιῶ.

23-24. ἀναφόρι ν: on the reduction of -ων to -ιν and of -ως to -ις, see D. J. Georgacas, *CP* 43, 1948, pp. 243-260.

24. After ἀναφόριν, the second hand continues, perhaps with a change of pen. At any rate, the writing suddenly becomes noticeably thinner, and the clause καὶ τελέσομεν κτλ. may have been added later.

For Syrian dates, which at times figure as gratuities in leases of date crops, see *P. Aberd.* 57.19n.; cf. *BGU* 591.20-21.

25-26. μέτρῳ δρώμῳ φοινικῆ(γγῶ): cf. PSI 33.15-16: μέτρ[ω] φοινικηγῶ, P. Ryl. 172.13-14: δρώμῳ φοινιγγῶ (i.e. -κηγῶ). For the dromos-measure see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. lxix and n. 2.

26. The papyrus looks utterly blank below this line, and it is possible that the text stopped with Καίσαρος.

631. Application to Lease Date Crop

Inv. 179

7.1 x 16.5 cm.

19 August 185 A.D.

The top portion of the papyrus is gone, and with it the names of the lessors and lessees. The latter are mentioned, without patronymic, in lines 14-16: Ἄρειος and Χαιρή(μων).

The present text is an application to lease a date crop for the 26th year of Commodus (185/6 A.D.); the rent is fixed at 100 drachmas.

ἀπὸ μητρο[πόλ(εως). βουλό]με-
 θα μισθώσασθ[αι] παρ' ὑ-
 μῶν τοὺς ἐπικει[μ]ένους
 καρποὺς φοινικῶνος
 5 Πτάτον λεγο(μένου) πρὸς τὸ ἐνεσ(τὸς)
 κς (ἔτος) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κυρίου, φόρου ἀργυρίου
 δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, τὴν
 10 δὲ ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ φόρου
 ποιησόμεθα ἐν μηνὶ
 Φαῶφι καὶ Ἀθὺρ ἐξ ἴσου
 ἐὰν φαίνητ(αι) μισθ(ῶσαι).
 Ἄρειος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λγ οὐλ(ή)
 15 ἀντικ(νημῖω) δεξ(ιῶ),
 Χαιρή(μων) ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε οὐλ(ή)
 ἀντικ(νημῖω) ἀριστ(ερῶ)
 εἰκονίσθ(ησαν) φά(μενοι) μὴ εἰδ(έναι) γρά(μματα).
 (ἔτους) κῆ Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 20 Ἄντωνίνου Καίσ[α]ρ[ος] τοῦ
 κυρίου Μεσορῆ κς.

... from the metropolis. We wish to lease from you the ripening crop of the palm grove called Ptaton for the present 26th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, at a rent of one hundred drachmas of silver. We will make payment of the rent in the months of Phaophi and Hathyr in equal instalments, if it appears good to lease.

Arios, about 33 years old, with a scar on the right shin, and Chairemon, about 35 years old, with a scar on the left shin: their description was recorded, as they said that they were illiterate.

Year 25 of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore 26.

1. "At end of line is the long tail of a letter coming down from a lost line above, possibly ρ" (H. C. Youtie).

3. ἐπικει[μ]ένους: the dates have not yet reached maturity; see Hohlwein, "Palmiers et palmeraies," pp. 50-52.

5. Πτάτον λεγο(μένου): two principal patterns of expression are found in phrases of this type; the participle agrees with either 1) the name of the locality, as in *P. Mich.* 259.10: ἐν τῇ Κανάβει λεγομένη, or 2) the plot or area which is the object of the transaction, as in *P. Mich.* 311.10-12: ἀρούρας πέντε . . . ἐν τῷ Μελελεῦτος λεγόμενας (which the editor needlessly alters to λεγομένης), and *P. Ryl.* 172.8-9: φοινικῶνα περὶ κώμ(ην) Ἡφ(αιστιάδα) ἐπικαλούμενον Ἐρεννίου; see also 634.10. At times total confusion prevails, as in *P. Phil.* 12.9-11: ἐλ[αι]ωνοπαραδεί[σου] ἀρουρῶν ἐπτά . . . [Ἰου]λίου λεγ[ό]μενον.

In the present papyrus Πτάτον is indeclinable, and the resolution is modeled on *BGU* 603.12-15: ἐλεῶνο[ς] παραδίο[υ]ν . . . Πκεμενθιάι καλο[υ]μένου.

5-6. πρὸς τὸ ἔνεσ(τός) κς (ἔτος): not strictly accurate, since the text was written toward the end of year 25 (see line 21).

11. μηνί: one expects μηνί. For a similar use of the singular, see *WO* 1136.5-6: μηνὸς Ἀθύρ καὶ Χοιάκ κ[αὶ] Τῦβ[ι]. . . Cf. also *P. Beatty Panop.* 2.217.

12. Φαῶφι: 28 September – 27 October.

Ἀθύρ: 28 October – 26 November.

18. εἰκονίσθ(ησαν) φά(μενοι): for the resolution cf. *WB* IV, s.v. εἰκονίζω.

21. The date is 19 August 185.

632-634

On pp. 75 ff. of her article, "Two New Documents from the Tebtunis Archive," *TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 69-77,¹ E. M. Husselman referred to short passages from *P. Mich.* inv. 724, 735, and 958, three unpublished land leases from the large group of Tebtunis papyri in the Michigan collection. These leases are here edited in their entirety. The discovery that inv. 728, also unpublished, is a duplicate of 724 has greatly facilitated decipherment of the damaged areas in the latter. For 735 I have had the benefit of Mrs. Husselman's preliminary transcript.

A list of land leases may be found in Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 247-288, supplemented by *JJP* 15, 1965, p. 129, n. 1. See also D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Aegypten*, pp. 173-362. In *ZPE* 9, 1972, pp. 111-131, D. Hennig has a valuable discussion, "Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter in Landpachtverträgen aus dem Faiyum," in which he mentions many recently published leases.

1. These two texts are *P. Mich.* inv. 1431 and 631. They were subsequently reprinted as *SB* 9109 and 9110.

632. Sublease of Land

Inv. 958

20.5 x 13.2 cm.

10 August 26 A.D.

Harmaeis and Patynis, both sons of Marepsemis, and Haryotes, son of Sokeus, sublease 18 arouras of land to Didymos the younger, son of Lysimachos. The land, which lies in two parcels, is to be sown with grass and aracus. Patynis appears also in *P. Mich.* 348, and Didymos in 232, 262 and 266. This Didymos may be related to the family whose archive was published as *P. Fam. Teb.* There two different persons named Didymos appear, both sons of Lysimachos; one may have been born in 47, and the other was born in 61 (see *P. Fam. Teb.*, p. 6, No. 11; and p. 10, No. 86). The lessee in 632 was perhaps the grandfather of one of them.

The lessors are styled Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, and they undertake to look after the irrigation of the land; Didymos has only to provide the seed. Lines 18-20, though damaged and defective, suggest that the lessors received the rent in advance (see note). The text thus bears all the characteristics of a μίσθωσις προδοματική. In contracts of this sort, the lessors are under a legal obligation to the lessees, and the μίσθωσις is often a *datio in solutum*. For a discussion of this type of transaction, see *P. Yale* 67 introd. and Hennig, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 36-41. *P. Mich.* 561 and 563 are recently published examples of prodomatic leases.

The drafting of 632 is most inexpert, and the contract was never finished. Especially glaring is the omission of the duration of the lease. The same scribe also made a botch of 634; he was more successful with inv. 631 (see introd. to 634).

- ἔτους δωδεκάτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς
 Ὑπερ[β]ερεταίου ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ Μεσωρῇ ιξ' ἐν Τεβτῦνι
 τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ. ἐμίσ-
 θωσ[α]ν Ἀρμάεις ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα τεσσάρων οὐλ(ῇ)
 5 ἀντικνημίῳ ἀριστερῷ καὶ Πατῦνις ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκο-
 σι ἐ[νν]έα οὐλῇ ἀμφοτέρων Μаре-
 ψήμιος καὶ Ἀρνώτης Σοκέος λεσ(ῶ)νις ὡς ἐτῶν
 τεσ[σ]αράκοντα τριῶν οὐλῇ < > τοῖς τρισὶ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπι-
 γονῆς ἀλλήλων ἐγγυοὶ εἰς ἔκτισιν Διδύμῳ νεωτέ-
 10 ρῳ Λυσιμάχῳ ὡς ἐ[τ]ῶν τριάκοντα οὐλῇ ἀντικ(νη-)
 μίῳ[ι] δεξιῷ μεμ[ισθ]ωκέναι αὐτῷ ἀφ' ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἔχουσιν ἐμ μισθῷ[σι] Ἡρακλήου τοῦ Ἡρακλήου
 ἐπι[κ]αλουμένου...[.] δευτοῦ γῆς ἀρούρας δεκα-
 15 οκτῶν ἐν δυσὶ σφρ[α]γῖσι εἰς χορταράκων σπορὰν
 [κατ]αβρώματος πρ[οβ]άτων, τοῦ Διδύμου χορη-
 [γούντος] ἑαυτῷ[ι] σπ[έρ]ματα, τῶν [δέ] μεμισθω-
 μέ[νων] τοὺς ποτισμ[ο]ὺς καὶ χωμ[ατισμοὺς] ποιου-
 μέ[νων], ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀπέσχηκαν οἱ [μεμισθωκότες]

παρ[ὰ τοῦ Διδύμου π]αραχρῆμα δι[ὰ χειρὸς ἐξ]
20 [οἴκου ± 10]ποχριων [

Papyrus unfinished

2. Μεσορή 6. οὐλή 7. Σοκέως; Pap. λεις, final ς corrected from ο 8. οὐλή οἱ τρεῖς Πέρσαι
9. ἔγγυοι 10. Λυσιμάχου, οὐλή; ἀντικ(νη): Pap. ἀντικ- 12. ἐν μισθώσει 13-14. δεκαοκτώ 16-17.
μεμισθωκότων (see commentary)

The twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, on the seventeenth of the month Hyperberetaios, Mesore 17, in Tebtunis in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite Nome. Harmaeis, about thirty-four years old, with a scar on the left shin, and Patynis, about twenty-nine years old, with a scar , both sons of Marepsemis, and Haryotes, son of Sokeus, the lesonees, about forty-three years old with a scar < >, the three of them Persians of the epigone and mutual sureties for recovery, have leased (*sic*) to Didymos the younger, son of Lysimachos, about thirty years old, with a scar on the right shin, to have leased to him, from the land which they themselves have on lease from Herakles, son of Herakles, also called ...deutes, eighteen arouras of land, in two parcels, for the sowing of grass and aracus for the grazing of sheep. Didymos will provide himself with seed, and the lessees (*sic*) will maintain the irrigation and dike systems. For the land, the lessors have straightway received from Didymos from hand to hand out of the house. . . .

1-2. The date is 10 August 26 A.D.

3-4. ἐμίσθωσ[α]ν: joined with μεμ[ι]σθωκέναι in line 11. We expect ὁμολογοῦσθαι, but collocations of this type are fairly common and are not restricted to prodomatic leases. See *P. Mich.* 563.12n. and 603.5-7n.: συνεθέμεθα . . . συνθεῖναι.

5-6. ὥς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι ἐγγέα: in *P. Mich.* 348, which was drawn up on 21 May 26 A.D. (not 27, as the editor says), i.e. about four months before 632, Patynis is said to be about 30 (line 7). "The indifference of Egyptian villagers to precise statements of age is notorious" — *P. Cair. Isidor.* 125.14n.; cf. *P. Mich.* 605.16n.

6. After οὐλή the scribe left a space for the location of the scar. From *P. Mich.* 348.8 we know that it was ὑπ' ὀφρὺν ἀριστεράν, "below his left eyebrow."

7. λεσ(ῶν)ις: also spelled λεσώνης. The word is the Greek transcription of the Demotic priestly title *mr šn*; see *P. Mil. Vogl.* III, p. 185.

8-9. On Persians of the epigone, see the bibliography in *P. Mich.* 585.4n.

10. ὥς ἐ[τ]ῶν τριάκοντα: in *P. Mich.* 262, Didymos is said to be about 41 (line 1). This text is a contract of cession, which contains a clause guaranteeing that the land ceded is free from all taxes up to and including those of the 21st year of Tiberius. The cession was in all probability written in the 21st year (cf. 636.13), i.e. in 34/5 A.D., not 35/6 as in the edition. If the information in 632 is correct, Didymos should be 39 in 262. For the discrepancy, see above, note to 5-6.

13. ..[.]δευτου: very little is visible on pap. Possibly ἐπ[α]ρ]δευτοῦ, "irrigator" (cf. *P. Teb.* 120.137). On ἐπικαλούμενος introducing a trade designation, see *P. Petaus*, p. 63, and R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21, 1941, p. 236.

14. εἰς χορταράκων σποράν: "for the sowing of grass and aracus." The phrase is the equivalent of εἰς χόρτου καὶ ἀράκου σποράν in 633.4. χορτάρακος is not a mixture; see R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, p. 71; *P. Oxy.* 2766.5n. The use of χορταράκων instead

of χορταράκου (cf. *P. Lond.* III 1171 (p. 177) 38, *P. Teb.* 423.6) may suggest that the scribe was conscious of the plurality of crops, but the plural is at times used where we would expect the singular; cf. κριθῶν in 649.32. For χόρτος and ἄρακος see 633.4n.

15. κ[ατ]αβρώματος: see 633.4n.

16-17. μεμισθωμέ[νων]: a mistake for μεμισθωκότων. Cf. *P. Yale* 67.12-13: τοῦ Μαρσιούχου (lessee) χωρηγούντος ἑαυτ[ῷ] σπέρ[ματα], τοῦ δὲ μεμισθωκότος τοὺς χωματισμοὺς κτλ.

18-20. ὑπὲρ ὧν κτλ.: cf. *P. Yale* 67.15-17: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπέσχηκεν ὁ Μαρεπκᾶμις (lessor) παρὰ τοῦ Μαρσιούχου (lessee) τὸν φόρον ἐκ προδώματος διὰ χ[ε]ρὸς ἐξ οἴκου. The reading in line 20,]ποχριων, was made by Professor Youtie, who suggests that it is a mistake for ἀπὸ] π(ρ)οχριῶν (= προχρειῶν). Perhaps τὸν φόρον preceded.

μεμισθωκότες: or μεμισθωμένοι (sic), as in 16-17.

633. Lease of Land

Inv. 724 = 728

724: 14 x 22 cm.; 728: 14 x 21 cm.

Ca. 30 A.D.

These two papyri are duplicates, and the hands are the same in both. The first hand is a skilled and rather graceful cursive and is extremely close in style to *P. Yale* 67 (plate VII), which was drawn up in Tebtunis in 31 A.D.¹ Both the second and third hands are in an awkward, angular style. The transcription is that of 724, which preserves more of the text than 728.² Where the latter offers divergent readings, I have noted them in the apparatus.

The top portion of each papyrus has vanished, taking with it the date and the beginning of the contract. *P. Yale* 67 suggests an approximate date of 30 A.D.

In 633 Kronion, son of —, leases to Horos, son of Horos, and his two sons, Hermas and Horos, 13 arouras located in the vicinity of Thegonis, a hamlet near Tebtunis (cf. *P. Teb.* II, p. 379, *P. Mert.* 122.2n.). Neither lessor nor lessees can be identified further.³ The 13 arouras are divided into two parcels, one of eight, the other of five arouras. The lease is to last for two years, and in the first year the eight-aroura plot is to be used for growing grass and aracus, while in the second year it is to be planted with wheat.⁴ The other parcel undergoes no rotation of crops and is simply to be sown with wheat for the duration of the lease. Although the crop of this plot is not specified, the reference to seed in wheat (lines 13-14) shows clearly what it is.

633 was originally published in *BASP* 6, 1969, pp. 5-9; it was subsequently reprinted as *SB* 10535.

1. In *BASP* 6, 1969, p. 5, I stated that the two hands were the same. I now believe that, though clearly contemporary, they are the work of different scribes.

2. Inv. 728 begins with τῆς μισθώσεως (633.8) and ends with καθὼς πρόκειται (633.40).

3. A Horos son of Horos is mentioned in *P. Mich.* 249.3 (Tebtunis, 18 A.D.), but the name is too common to permit any inference.

4. For other examples of crop rotation, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 218 ff. Cf. also Hennig, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 50 f.

Faint traces of 3 lines

- εἰς χόρτου καὶ ἀράκου σπορὰν καταβρώματος προ[βάτων ἀνευ φόρου,]
 5 τοῦ Κρονίωνος τοῦ νος χωρηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς σπέρ-
 ματα, τῶν δὲ (με)μισθωμένων τούς ποτισμούς καὶ χωμα-
 τισμούς καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν χλωρῶν πυομένων, τοῦ
 δὲ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς μισθώσεως τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρούρας ὁκτώ
 10 εἰς πυροῦ σποράν, ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός σὺν σπέρμασι αἷς λήμ-
 ψονται οἱ μεμισθωμένοι πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὁκτῶ τοῦ παν-
 τὸς πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ ἀδῶλου {ἀδῶλας} ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸ(ν)
 καὶ θαλλοῦ ἄρτων ἀρτάβης μιᾶς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρουρῶν
 πέντε ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός καθ' ἔτος σὺν σπέρμασι αἷς λήμ-
 ψονται οἱ μεμισθωμένοι πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο ἡμισον τοῦ
 15 παντός καθ' ἔτος πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ ἀδῶλου ἀρταβῶν τεσσαρά-
 κοντα καὶ θαλλοῦ καθ' ἔτος ἄρτων ἡμιαρτάβιον, ἅπαντα δὲ
 μέτρῳ ἐκσαχυνίκῳ θησαυροῦ Σατορνίνου. ἡ μίσθωσις
 ἤδη ἀκίνδυνα παντός κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλωγα παντός
 20 ὑπολώγου, τὰ δὲ ἔργα πάντα τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοὺς καθήκοντας
 χωματισμούς καὶ πωτισμούς καὶ βωτανισμούς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 γεοργικὰ ἔργα πάντα ἀγαγέτωσαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι καθ' ἔ-
 τος τοῖς δέουσι καιροῖς βλάβος μηδὲν ποιούμενοι, τὰ δὲ σημε-
 νώμενα ἐκφώρια ἀποδώτωσαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι καθ' ἔτος
 25 αἰεὶ ἐν μηνεὶ Παῦνι κατασταμένας εἰς κώμην Θεωγων(ίδα).
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσουσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τὸν
 κλῆρον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ θρύου ἀγρώστεως πάσης δίσσης, τὸν δὲ
 Αἰγύπτιον κάλαμον ἐξ ἐπικωπῆς καὶ τὰς διόρυγας ἀναβεβλη-
 μένας, καὶ μὴ ἐκσέστω οὐν τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις ἐντὸς τοῦ
 30 χρόνου ἐκγληπῶ τὴν μίσθωσιν. βεβαιοῖ Κρονίων τὴν μίσ-
 θωσιν ἀπὸ δημωσίων χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὠφίλουσι οἱ μεμισθομέ(νοι)
 κατὰ συγγραφὴν δανήων καὶ ἧς ἔχει αὐτοῦ σὺν ἐτέρῳ μίσθωσειν.
 ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) Ἀφροδίσιος Ἡρώδου ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε οὐλὴ ὑπ' ἀντικνήμιον
 δεξιόν.
 (2nd hd.) Ὡρος Ὡρου καὶ υἱοῖ μοι Ἑρμᾶς καὶ Ὡρος υἱοῖ τρεῖς Πέρσαι
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλήλων ἐγγυοὶ εἰς ἔκτισιν μεμισ{σ}θώμεθα
 35 τὰς προκίμενας ἀρούρας δεκατρεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ προκίμενα
 ἔτι δύο χορεῖς ἄλλον ἢ ὧν ὀφίλομεν τῷ Κρονίῳ κατὰ
 συγγραφὴν δανήου καὶ ἧς ἔχι ἡμῶν σὺν ἐτέρῳ μίσ{σ}θω(σιν)
 καθὼς πρόκιτε. ἔγραψε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀφροδίσιος Ἡρώδου
 [δι]ὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδένε αὐτοὺς γράμματα. (3rd hd.) Κρονίων ± 8
 40 [με]μίσθωκα καὶ βεβαιόσω καθὼς πρόκειται. (1st hd.) ἔτους ..

Faint traces of 1 line

5. χορηγοῦντος 7. χλωρῶν ποιουμένων 10. ὁκτῶ 11. ἀδῶλου; {ἀδῶλας} (omitted in 728): as corrected from ὦν 14. ἡμισον 15. ἀδῶλου 16. ἡμιαρταβίου 17. ἐξαχυνίκῳ 18. ἤδε, ἀκίνδυνος,

ἀννπόλογος 19. ὑπολόγον 20. ποτισμούς, βοτανισμούς; καὶ τὰ ἄλλα {καὶ τὰ ἄλ(λ)α} 728 21. γεωργικά 22. πνούμενοι 728 22-23. σημαίνόμενα 23. ἐκφόρια ἀποδότησαν (ἀποδότησαν 728) 24. μηνὶ Παῦνι καθεσταμένα, Θεογονίδα (Θεωγωνίδα 728) 26. δέσης 27. ἐπικοπῆς, διώρυγας 28. ἐξέστω (ἐκσέστω 728) 29. ἐκλιπεῖν 30. δημοσίων, δφείλουσι (δφίλουσι 728), μεμισθωμένοι 31. συγγραφὴν δανείων; αὐτοῦ σὺν ἑτέρου (= ἑτερέω) ἑτέραν μίσθωσ[ε]ω (= μίσθωσιν) 728 32. ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν μεμισθωμένο(ν) (= μεμισθωμένων) 728 33. οἱ υἱοί (οἱ υἱὸ [οἱ corrected from ο] 728); μου: μ corrected from ἐρ 728; υἱ(ο) (= οἱ): υἱ 728 35. προκειμένας, προκείμενα 36. ἔτη, χωρὶς ἄλλων, δφείλομεν τῷ 37. συγγραφὴν δανείου, ἔχει 38. πρόκειται, αὐτῶν 39. εἰδέναι; αὐτοὺς om. 728 40. βεβαιώσω

... for the sowing of grass and aracus for the grazing of sheep, without rent, Kronion ... providing them(?) with seed, and the lessees maintaining the irrigation and dike systems and assuming the supervision of the green crops; and in the second year of the lease, for the same eight arouras to be used for the sowing of wheat, the rent in entirety, including eight artabas of wheat which the lessees will receive as seed, in entirety is one hundred artabas of new, pure, unadulterated wheat, with a gratuity of one artaba of bread. For the other five arouras the rent in entirety per year, including two and one-half artabas of wheat which the lessees will receive as seed, in entirety per year is forty artabas of new, pure, unadulterated wheat, with a gratuity of one-half artaba of bread per year, all measured by the six-choinix measure of the granary of Saturninus.

This lease is free from every risk and every deduction, and the lessees will perform each year at the right time all the work on the allotment, viz. the requisite work on the dike and irrigation systems and in weeding and all the other agricultural tasks, and will cause no damage. The lessees will pay the designated rents each year in the month of Pauni and will transport them to the village of Theogonis. At the expiration of the period the lessees will surrender the allotment free from rushes, coarse grass, and all dirt, with the Egyptian reeds cut and the canals built up. It will, accordingly, not be permissible for the lessees to abandon the lease during the period.

Kronion guarantees the lease against public charges, irrespective of other debts which the lessees owe in accordance with a contract of loan and except for any lease which he (i.e. Kronion) has with him (*sic*) and anyone else.

Signatory: Aphrodisios, son of Herodes, about 35 years of age, with a scar below his right shin.

(2nd hd.) I, Horos, son of Horos, and my sons, Hermas and Horos, all three Persians of the epigone and mutual sureties for recovery, have leased the above-mentioned thirteen arouras for the above-mentioned two years, irrespective of other debts, either debts which we owe to Kronion in accordance with a contract of loan and (*sic*) apart from any lease which he has with us and anyone else, as stated above. Aphrodisios, son of Herodes, wrote for them, as they are illiterate.

(3rd hd.) I, Kronion, son of ..., have leased and will guarantee, as stated above.

(1st hd.) Year ...

4. The reading is modeled on *P. Mil. Vogl.* 139.14-16: εἰς <σ>πορὰν [χόρ]του κα[ταβρώ]ματος προβάτων ἀνευ [φό]ρου. Similar are 83.9-11; 106.15-17; 138.13-14. In all these Milan papyri exemption from rent is coupled with the lessee's agreeing to pay certain of the land taxes. This is the regular practice; see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 103.11-14n. Possibly a similar situation is implicit in the present Michigan papyrus.

That the eight-aroura plot is rent-free in the first year is apparent if we compare ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός in line 9 with ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς καθ' ἔτος in 13. The latter covers two years explicitly, but the former conspicuously lacks καθ' ἔτος and accordingly refers only to the second year.

The word χόρτος is used to designate both green and dry forage; see T. Reekmans, *A Sixth Century Account of Hay*, p. 31 and Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 211-218. For aracus as fodder, see Schnebel, pp. 185-189, where the meaning of the word is also discussed; and cf. *P. Osl.* 33.8-10: εἰς <σ>πορὰς ἀράκια (= ἀράκου?) καὶ κατάβρωμα προβάτων; *P. Mich.* 121 Recto IV 5.2: εἰς ἀράκου σπορ(άν), *P. Sarapion* 27.11-12: εἰς ξυλαμὴν χόρτου καὶ ἀράκου.

5. τοῦνος: since the father's name is not expected here, this is possibly {τοῦ Κρογγίωτος}; cf. line 11: ἀδῶλου {ἀδῶλας}.

ἀιτοῖς: the surface is badly torn and abraded. The reading is inspired by *P. Mich.* 311.16-17: χωρηγοῦντος ἑατῶι σπέρματα, and 632.15-16. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the scribe wrote the illogical ἑαυτῶ, which occurs once (*PIFAO* I 1.15), when the lessor is the subject of χωρηγοῦντος.

7. χλορῶν: χλωρά is a comprehensive term which includes both χόρτος and ἀρακος; cf. *P. Osl.* 32.17n. and Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 213.

8. τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρούρας: τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν is expected, in dependence upon ἐκφορίου in line 9; cf. lines 12-13: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρουρῶν πέντε ἐκφορίου κτλ.

9. τοῦ παντός: "for the whole area, in entirety"; see *P. Mich.* 346(c) 1n., *P. Athen.* 14.11n., *P. Hamb.* 5.15.

The repetition of τοῦ παντός in line 10 was probably intended to resume the clause ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός. Similarly redundant is the repetition of τοῦ παντός καθ' ἔτος (lines 13-15). A more economical use of language is illustrated in *P. Teb.* 377.17-19: ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον σὺν αἷς λήμψομαι σπερμάτων κριθῆς ἀρτάβαις τρισὶ τρίτῳ τοῦ παντός κριθῆς ἀρταβῶν κτλ. Cf. also *P. Fam. Teb.* 44.5-6; *BGU* 2123.12-15; and *SB* 9313.20-23 (republished as *P. Mil. Vogl.* 132, where a glaring haplography is responsible for the loss of the end of line 20 and the beginning of 21).

10. ἀρτάβας ὀκτώ: the usual seed allowance is one artaba of wheat or barley per aroura (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 125-127; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 130 n. 1). Here and in line 14 the dative instead of the accusative would be regular; see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, iii, pp. 105.45-106.15. Cf. below, note to line 31.

11. {ἀδῶλας}: {ἀδῶλων} editio princeps.

ἀρταβῶν ἑκατό(ν): as the plot consisted of eight arouras, this is a rent of 12 1/2 artabas per aroura. The usual rent is four to seven artabas of wheat or barley for each aroura, but it may go as high as 15 art./ar. (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 86); see *P. Mert.* 107.7-8n.; *P. Mich.* 558.14-15n.; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 102.

12. θαλλοῦ: for extra payments or gratuities, regularly called θαλλοί in Arsinoite leases, see S. Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* 17, 1937, pp. 26-48; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 115 f. A θαλλός consisting of a quantity of bread occurs also in *P. Mich.* 348.21-22 and *P. Athen.* 14.14-15.

14. ἀρτάβας δύο ἡμισον: here the amount of seed grain is half of what we would expect (see note to line 10). For similar divergencies from the norm, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 126 f. and Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 130 n. 1.

16. ἅπαντα: same loose construction in inv. 631 (= SB 9110).12.

17. μέτρῳ ἑκοσυχνίκῳ (= ἑξαχυνίκῳ): on choinix-measures, see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 103-105 and Waszynski, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 109-113.

Σατορνίνου: i.e. Marcus Aponius Saturninus, who is known to have owned property in the vicinity of Thegonis, Euhemeria, and Karanis. See Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*² II, p. 671 iii (18); *P. Mich.* 312.7n.; Tomsin, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II, pp. 219 f., 222 f.; *PIR* I², pp. 936-937.

18-19. ἀκίνδυνα παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλῳγα παντὸς ὑπολόγου: such clauses are regularly inserted to protect the lessor against a reduction in the rent; see U. Wollentin, 'Ο Κίνδυνος in den Papyri (Diss. Köln 1961), *passim*, especially p. 61.

The lack of syntactic agreement between μισθώσεις and ἀκίνδυνα . . . ἀνυπόλῳγα is probably due to the fact that the ἀκίνδυνος-clauses were frequently treated as adverbial accusatives. This use is especially apparent when the phrase is in juxtaposition with the rent sum, and the latter is in the genitive. Cf. *P. Hamb.* 99.10-13: φόρου . . . δραχμῶν δεκαδύο . . . ἀκίνδυνα παντὸς κινδύνου κτλ.

20-22. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα . . . μηδὲν ποιοῦμενοι: cited in *TAPA* 81, 1950, p. 75 n. 14 from "P. Mich. Inv. 734.16-19" (*sic*).

24. Παῦναι: rent in kind is regularly paid in Pauni in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes; at this time the harvest had already begun, and the collection of revenues in grain had reached its height (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 107; *P. Mich.* 375 introd. p. 41).

καθεσταμένας: as if ἀρτάβας had preceded. The same mistake appears in *PIFAO* I 1.18; for the syntax, cf. *PSI* 1129.9-11: ἀρταβῶν ἐξήκοντα τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ καθεσταμένῳ[ν εἰς] Κερκῆσιν. For the opposite error, see *PSI* 1028.11-13: ἀρταβῶν . . . ἄς καὶ ἀποδόσωσαν . . . καθεσταμένα εἰς κώμην Τεβτῦνιν. Cf. 634.17.

Θεωγων(ίδα): see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 9, 1972, p. 87, 13-14n.

26-27. τὸν δὲ Αἰγύπτιον κάλαμον: for other occurrences of this term in papyri, see 634.18-19n. The Egyptian reed was often used as a writing stylus; see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 16.64.157: "chartisque serviunt calami, Aegyptii maxime cognatione quadam papyri." Other common varieties of reed were the κάλαμος Ἑλληνικός and κάλαμος Ἰνδικός, for which see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 256 and 258.

27. ἐξ ἐπικωπῆς: i.e. after cutting them down. For the harvesting of reeds, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 260.

27-28. τὰς διόρυγας ἀναβεβλημένας: for similar phrases, cf. *P. Amh.* 91.11: ἀναβολὰς διωρύγων(ν), *P. Mich.* 315.27-28: χώματα ἀναβεβλημένα.

29. βεβαιοῖ: for the asyndeton, cf. *P. Mich.* 312.43.

30. δημοσίῳν: δημοσίῳν editio princeps.

30-31. χωρὶς ἄλλων κτλ.: repeated in slightly different form below, lines 36-37; note also the addition in 728 (see apparatus). Similar phrases are collected in *P. Osl.* 39.21n., to which may be added *PSI* 1028.19-20; *P. Vars.* 10 1.18, 3.21, 33; *P. Mich.* 121 Recto IV 7.2; 314.4; *P. Ross. Georg.* II 35 B 12; *P. Cair. Isidor.* 88.3-4, 13-14; *P. Warren* 8.21-23, 34-37. Of these, *P. Warren* 8 invites special consideration; see lines 21-23: χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφίλει ὁ εἰς Παποντῶς (one of the lessees) . . . , μενόντων κυρίων ὧν ἔχει αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκος (lessor) μισθώσεων κλήρων, and 34-37: χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφίλει ὁ εἰς Παποντῶς . . . , μενόντων κυρίων ὧν ἔχει ἡμῶν μισθώσεων κλήρων καὶ ἧς ἔχει ἐμ[ο]ῦ τοῦ Αὐνήους (the other lessee) καταμωνῆς ἐτέρας μισθώσεως (N.B. καταμωνῆς may = παραμονῆς; see Wegener, *P. Lugd. Bat.* XIII 17, p. 50). In both the Leiden and Michigan papyri, all debts which the lessees have incurred with the lessor are to remain in effect, and any lease which they have drawn up with the same lessor is also to remain valid. See further G. Hage, *Acts of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 197-205.

31. αὐτοῦ: i.e. Horos; αὐτῶν would be more appropriate in view of ἡμῶν (line 37). Doubtless the father was regarded as the leading figure in the transaction.

σὺν ἑτέρῳ: "with another"; i.e. with someone else who, together with Horos and his sons, assumed the role of lessee.

μίσθωσειν (i.e. μίσθωσω): the genitive would be more normal; see the corresponding passage in *P. Warren* 8, cited in 30-31n., and cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II, iii, pp. 103-105. See also above, note to line 10.

34. ἀλλήλων (= ἀλλήλων) ἐνυνοῦ εἰς ἔκτισιν: see H. W. van Soest, *De civielrechtelijke ἐγγύη (Garantieovereenkomst) in de griekse Papyri uit het ptolemaeische Tijdvak* (Diss. Leiden 1963), pp. 67 ff.

36-37. ἡ . . . καί: note the discrepancy.

40. After ἔτους, perhaps ις, i.e. the 16th year of Tiberius (29/30 A.D.).

634. Lease of Land

Inv. 735

11.8 x 29 cm.

25/6 A.D.

634 was first published, with photograph, in *BASP* 6, 1969, pp. 9-12 (=SB 10536). The upper part of the papyrus is gone, and with it the date at which the contract was drawn up. But the reference in lines 7-8 to the "approaching thirteenth year of Tiberius" shows that it was written sometime in the twelfth year (25/6 A.D.). According to E. M. Husselman, the document is composed in the same hand as inv. 631, which she published in *TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 73-77; see p. 75 n. 12. The same scribe also wrote 632.

The text breaks off abruptly in the midst of identifying one of the signatories. It is not difficult to see why it was left incomplete. Apart from minor blunders, such as the omission of ἐκφορίου in line 12, the scribe is uncertain about the number of lessors and lessees involved. The first part of the contract gives evidence of only one lessor and lessee; but in lines 19-22 the scribe writes: "the right of execution rests with *both of them* or *their* representatives on *both of them* and on all *his* property." (Cf. also 16n.)

Despite these eccentricities of drafting, the general nature of the transaction is clear. Patynis, son of Harpaesis, who cannot be further identified, leases a catoecic allotment of seven arouras located in the Tkanabis district near Tebtunis. The lessee is Orseus, son of Phasos, who also appears in *P. Mich.* 123 Recto VII 29, 30, and (with his name spelled Orses) in 121 Recto IV 12. 2. The lease is of one year's duration, and the land is to be planted with wheat.

[± 15] Ἀρσινοείτου νομοῦ.
[ὁμολογεῖ Πατ]ῆνις Ἀρπαῆσις ὡς ἐτῶν ἐκότηκ(οντα)
τε[σσάρων μέσ]ος μελάνχρως μακροπρόσω-
π[ος] οὐ]λήι μήλωι ἀριστερῶι Ὀρσεῦτι
5 Φασῶτος γεωργῶ Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν

- τριάκοντα πέντε [ο]ὐλλήι γόνατι δεξιῳ μεμισ-
 θωκαίνει αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ εἰσιὼν τρισκαιδέκατον
 ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τὸν ὑπάρχον-
 τα αὐτῷ Πατῦνι κληῖρον κατυκικὸν ἀρουρῶν
 10 ἑπτὰ ἐν τῷ Τκανάβι λεγομένων, γῆς ἀρουρῶν
 ἑπτὰ ἢ [ὄ]σων ἐὰν ὦσιν [ἐ]φ' ἡμίσι μέρει <κα>θαρῶν
 ἀπὸ δημοσίων εἰς πυροῦ σπορὰν <ἐκφορίου> τοῦ παντὸς
 πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τεσσαράκοντα μέτρῳ τετραχυ-
 νίκῳ θησαυροῦ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τέκ-
 15 νων Γερμανικοῦ Καί[σ]αρος Καίσα[ρ]ων], πάντων
 τῶν δαπανῶν πρ[ὸς τ]οὺς ἀμφοτέρους,
 ἃς καὶ ἀποδώτωι ἐν [μη]νὶ Παῦνι καθαρὰ ἀπὸ
 θρύου ἀγρώστεως πάσης δίσσης, τὸν δὲ Ἑγύπτ(ων)
 κάλαμον ἐκς ἐπικοπῆς, οὐσης τῆς πράξεως
 20 τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐ-
 τῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης, βαιβεουμέ-
 νης τῆς μισθώσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατύνεως
 ἐπὶ τοῖς προκειμένοις καὶ ἀπὸ δημοσίων.
 25 ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ μὲν Ὀρσεῦτος Φασῶτος

Papyrus unfinished

2. ἑξήκοντα 3. μελάγχρως 4. οὐλή 6. οὐλή 6-7. μεμισθωκέναι 7. τρεις- 9. κατοικικόν
 11. ἡμίσει μέρει 13-14. τετραχυνίκῳ 17. ἀποδότη 18. δέισης, Αἰγύπτιον 19. ἐξ 21. ὑπαρχόντων
 22. ἐκ 22-23. βεβαιουμένης 24. προκειμένοις 25. ὑπογραφεῖς

. . . of the Arsinoite Nome. Patynis, son of Harpaesis, about sixty-four years old, of medium height, black-skinned, long-faced . . . , with a scar on the left cheek, acknowledges to Orseus, son of Phasos, farmer, Persian of the epigone, about thirty-five years old, with a scar on the right knee, that he has leased to him for the coming thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the catoecic allotment which belongs to Patynis himself, and which consists of seven arouras stated to be in the Tkanabis district, seven arouras of land or however many there are, on the basis of half shares, free from public charges, for the cultivation of wheat, (the rent being) in entirety forty artabas of wheat measured by the four-choinix measure of the granary of Julia Augusta and the children of Germanicus Caesar, Caesares, all the expenses devolving upon both of them, which he will pay (*sic*) in the month of Pauni, free from rushes, coarse grass, and all dirt, with the Egyptian reeds cut. The right of execution rests with both of them or with their representatives on both of them and on all his property as if in accordance with a legal decision. The lease is guaranteed by Patynis on the above-mentioned terms both (*sic*) from public charges.

Signatories: for Orseus, son of Phasos (Papyrus unfinished)

3. In the *editio princeps* I transcribed this line as τε[σσάρ]ων μελάνχρως κτλ. But, as the photograph shows, the lacuna is sufficient for at least nine letters. The restoration here adopted is modeled on *P. Mich.* 264-5.17-18: μέσος μ[ελί(?)χ]ρωος (or μ[ελάγ]χρωος) μακροπρόσωπος εὐθύρως οὐλή κτλ.; 281.3-4: μέσης μελίχρους μακροπρόσωπος εὐθυρήνην; *PSI* 1402.9: μέσος μελάνχρως τετα[νός]; *P. Lugd. Bat.* XIII 24.4: μ[έση μελίχ(ρως) μακ[ρ]οπ(ρόσωπος); *BGU* 2053.1: μέσος μελίχρως[.

4. After π[ος] perhaps τετανός; cf. *PSI* 1402.9 cited in preceding note. Also possible, though probably too long, is εὐθύρως (see examples in preceding note).

10. ἐν τῷ Τκανάβι λεγομένων:μα...αι *editio princeps*. The present reading, though doubtful, seems preferable. The participle refers to ἄρουρῶν in the previous line; see 631.5n. Cf. also *P. Mich.* 269-271.7-8: κοινῶν καὶ ἀδι[ε]ρέτων . . . ἐν Τεβτῦνι λεγόμενων πρότερον Ὀπιος (and line 14), and 326.31: τὰς ἐν μιᾷ σφραγεῖδι κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἄρο(ύρας) . . . λεγομένας κλήρου Ἀμήνις.

Since Τκανάβις has the Egyptian feminine article, we would expect ἐν τῇ. Elsewhere the name is usually treated as feminine, whether it has the T- (*P. Teb.* 528 and 597) or not (*P. Mich.* 121 Recto III 11.1 and 259.10, 28). In *P. Mich.* 313.13 Κανάβις λεγομένου appears (and is restored in line 26). If rightly read, this may be another instance of the place name as masculine, or the participle may be loosely used to refer to the land in question (see 631.5n.).

11. [ἐ]φ' ἡμίσι μέρι: this is the usual way of referring to "Teilpacht," but it may also specify a *societas* of lessees; see Waszynski, *Bodenpacht*, p. 154, n. 2. The latter interpretation is preferable, since with "Teilpacht" we would not expect mention of the definite rental which we find in lines 12-13. If the scribe was thinking of such a *societas*, his use of ἀμφοτέροι in the latter part of the document is more understandable.

13-14. μέτρῳ τετραχυνίκῳ (= τετραχοι-) see 633.17n.

14-15. An estate of Julia Augusta and the children of Germanicus is attested at Theadelphia in *P. Med.* 6 and in *P. Sorbonne* inv. 2364 (ed. G. M. Parássoglou, forthcoming in *BASP*). See Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*², II, p. 670 ii (7 bis), and Tomsin, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni*, II, pp. 217 f., who discuss the holdings in the Fayum belonging to the Empress Livia (generally called Julia Augusta after 14 A.D.) and her grandson Germanicus. *PSI* 1028, written at Tebtunis in 15 A.D., refers to the θησαυρὸς Λιβυίας Σεβαστῆς (line 13); this granary is probably identical with the property mentioned in the present text.

15. Καῖσάρων:[.] *editio princeps*. The present reading is modeled upon *P. Sorbonne* inv. 2364.5-7 Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τέκνων Γερμανι[κ]οῦ Καيسάρων. The children include Nero Julius, Drusus Julius, and Gaius, the future Emperor, all Caesars.

16. ἀμφοτέρους: since it is regular for the lessee to bear the expenses of keeping up the land (see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 126-128), the scribe is probably confused about the number of lessees involved, as he is below, lines 19-22.

17-19. Confusion is rampant here. The words ἄς . . . Παῦνι ought to refer to the payment of rent, but starting with καθαρά, the scribe seems to be concerned with the restitution of the property. Note, by way of contrast, the rational presentation in 633.22-28.

17. καθαρά: probably καθαράς was intended; cf. 633.24n. (καθαράς, in *TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 75 f., 19-20n., is incorrect.)

18-19. τὸν δὲ Ἑγύπτ(ιον) (= Αἰγύπτιον) κάλαμον: Mrs. Husselman (*TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 75 f., 19-20n.) transcribes this passage as τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτ(ῷ) κάλαμον. But Ἑγύπτ(ιον), though cursively written, is supported by 633.27. The same phrase should also be read in inv. 631 (= *SB* 9110).19; *PIFAO* I 1.25, as corrected in *ZPE* 9, 1972, pp. 193 f.; and perhaps in *P. Mich.* 310.13-14 (but see *P. Mert.* 123.6n.).

22. καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης: see H. J. Wolff, *Acts of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 527-35.

24. καὶ ἀπὸ δημοσίων: the scribe doubtless intended to proceed with καὶ ιδιωτικῶν πάντων aut sim. (cf. *P. Mich.* 310.17; 329-30.9-10).

635. Contract of Habitation

Inv. 100

23.3 x 21 cm.

13 April 71 A.D.

This papyrus was first published in *BASP* 7, 1970, pp. 13-16. It was folded eight times from left to right and is broken off to the right of the eighth fold. In the upper right corner most of the writing has been lost through abrasion.

Tauris, Didyme, and Soueris, daughters of Petsiris, have received a loan of 200 drachmas from Maron, son of Hermas, and, in lieu of paying interest, they allow him to live for five years in their share amounting to one ninth of a house and courtyard in Bacchias. Of this property Maron already owns a third. A *ὁμολογία ἐνοικίσεως*, documenting this transaction, was drawn up on 13 April 71 A.D. 635 is a copy (*ἀντίγραφον*) of the original contract. For a discussion of *ὁμολογία ἐνοικίσεως*, see *P. Mich.* 585 introd. and 605 introd.

The same premises are the subject of *P. Mich.* 188; 189; 583-585; 605; 625. Particularly close to the present transaction is 583 of 78 A.D. Here Maron sells to Hermas, son of Ptolemaios, his share of the property, which consists of a third portion inherited from his mother and a ninth acquired by purchase (*μητρικὸν τρίτον μέρος καὶ ἀγοραστὸν ἕνατον μέρος*); see lines 6-7 and 27-28. This *ἀγοραστὸν ἕνατον μέρος* is almost certainly to be identified with the share belonging to Tauris, Didyme, and Soueris in 635. The three sisters are not mentioned when all the owners of the premises are listed in 584 (84 A.D.); their *μέρος* was presumably purchased by Maron after the contract established by the present papyrus had expired.

ἀντίγρ(αφον) (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 μηνὸ(ς) Φαρμοῦθ(ι) ιη ἐν Βακχιάδει τῆς Ἡ[ρακλεί-]
 δου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογοῦσιν Ταῦρις ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα
 [...][...].[± 5 καὶ]
 Διδύμη ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα πέντε οὐλὴ μετώπῳ ἐγ δεξιῶν καὶ Σουήρις
 ὡς (ἐτῶν)[± 8]
 αἱ τρεῖς Πετσίριος Περσίναι ἀλλήλων ἐνγονοὶ εἰς ἔκτισιν μετὰ κυρίου τῆς
 μὲν Ταύριος κ[αὶ Δι-]
 5 δύμης τοῦ τῆς Διδύμης ἀνδρὸς Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Χαιρήμωνος ὡς (ἐτῶν)
 .. οὐλὴ [...].[ἀριστε-]
 ρῶ, τῆς δὲ Σουήριος τοῦ ἐαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Ὀννώφριος ὡς
 (ἐτῶν) .. οὐλὴ [...].[± 6]
 Μάρωνι Ἐρμάτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μα οὐλ(ή) μετώπῳ μέσῳ ὑπὸ τρίχαν ἔχιν
 παρ' αὐ[το]ῦ ἀργυρίου ἐ[πισ]ήμ[ου νομίσ-]
 ματος κεφαλαίου δραχμᾶς διακοσίας παραχρῆμα διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, ἀντὶ
 δὲ τ[ῶν] τρυ[των τόκων]

- [σ]υγκεχωρηκέναι τὰς ὁμολογούσας ὥστε ἐνοικῖν τὸν Μάρωνα καὶ τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ [κ]αὶ οὓς [ἐὰν]
 10 βούληται ἐφ' ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου χρόνου ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντι
 αὐτὰ[ις] ταῖς [ὁμο-]
 λογούσαις ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένη κώμῃ Βακχειάδει ἐνάτῳ μέρει οἰκίας
 καὶ αὐλῆ[ς] καὶ τῶν
 συνκυρώντων πάντων ἐν τῇ λεγομένη Βορροανον λαύρα ὧν ἐστὶν τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ Μάρωνος [τρι-]
 τον μέρος. βεβαιώσωσαν οὖν αἱ ὁμολογοῦσαι καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ
 Μάρωνι καὶ τ[οῖς] παρ' αὐ[τοῦ]
 τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν ταύτην πάσῃ βεβαιώσι ἐπεὶ τε τοῦ κατ' αὐτῆς
 κεφ[αλ]αίου καὶ ἐφ' [ὃν ἐὰν]
 15 δέον ἢ ἐπενοικῖν χρόνον καὶ παρέξεσθαι τὸ δηλούμενον ἑνατον μέρος τῆς
 οἰκίας [καὶ αὐ-]
 λῆς ἀνέπαφον καὶ ἀνενεχύραστον καὶ ἀνεπειδάνιστον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ
 δημοσίου τε καὶ
 ιδιωτικοῦ ὀφειλήματος, καὶ μηδένα κωλύοντα τὸν Μάρωνα μηδὲ τοὺς παρ'
 αὐτοῦ ἐν[οικοῦν-]
 τας ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἐτέροις {καὶ ἐτέροις} ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἐνοίκια
 ἀποφερομένους]
 καὶ χρω[ο]μένους τοῖς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι κατὰ
 κοινόν. καὶ μετὰ τ[ὸν]
 20 χρό[ν]ον ἀποδ[ότ]ωσαν αἱ ὁμολογοῦσαι τῷ Μάρωνι τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς διακοσίας,
 μέχρι δὲ τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὰς συγχωροῦσι ἐνοικῖν τὸν Μάρωνα καθὼς
 πρόκειται. κ[αὶ]
 ἐὰν φανῇ ὁ Μάρων ἀνηλωκῶς δαπάνας εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ἢ καὶ ἀνοικοδομήν
 ἢ ἄλλου τ[ινος]
 ἐν τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ ἐνάτῳ μέρει τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς, ἐπ' ἀνάγκην
 τὰς ὁμολογούσας ἀπ[οδοῦναι]
 αὐτῷ Μάρωνι ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας. ὑπογραφεὺς
 τῆς μὲν Διδύ[μης]
 25 καὶ Ταύριος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἑαυτῶν κύριος καὶ ἀνὴρ
 τῆς Διδύμης, τῆς [δὲ]
 Σο[υ]ήριος καὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀνδρὸς Εὐβίς Ἰσιδώρου ὡς (ἐτῶν) κε
 οὐλὴ ῥινὶ μέσῃ.

1. Βακχιάδι 3. ἐκ 4. τρεῖς, ἔγγνοι 7. τρίχα ἔχειν 8. χειρός 9. συγκεχωρηκέναι, ἐνοικεῖν
 11. Βακχιάδι 12. συγκυρόντων 14. βεβαιώσῃ ἐπὶ 15. ἐπενοικεῖν 16. ἀνεπιδάνιστον
 17. ὀφειλήματος 18. ἐνοικίζοντας (see note) 20. Μάρωνι 21. συγχωροῦσι ἐνοικεῖν 22. ἐπισκευήν
 23. ἐπ' ἀνάγκην 24. Μάρωνι, εὐρησιλογίας 26. Εὐβίος

Copy. The third year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, the 18th of the month of Pharmouthi, in Bacchias in the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite Nome.

Tauris, about fifty years old . . .; and Didyme, about forty-five years old, with a scar on her forehead on the right; and Soueris, about . . . years old . . . (who are, all three of them, daughters of Petsiris, Persian women, and mutual sureties for recovery, and for whom the guardians are: for Tauris and Didyme the husband of Didyme, Herakleides, the son of Chairemon, about . . . years old, with a scar on his left . . .; for Soueris her own husband Onnophris, the son of Onnophris, about . . . years old, with a scar . . .), acknowledge to Maron, son of Hermas, about 41 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead below the hair, that they have received from him a loan of two hundred silver drachmas in coined money forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, and that instead of the interest thereon, the parties of the first part have agreed that Maron, his representatives, and whomever he wishes shall reside for five years from the aforesaid time in the property which belongs to the parties of the first part themselves, in the aforesaid village of Bacchias, viz., a ninth share of a house and courtyard with all the appurtenances in the so-called street of Bor . . .; of which a third share belongs to the same Maron.

Accordingly let the parties of the first part and their representatives guarantee the provisions of this contract of habitation to Maron and his representatives with full guarantee both for the duration of the loan established by the contract and for as long as additional lodging is necessary. And they will deliver the designated ninth share of the house and courtyard unencumbered, unpledged, not offered as collateral, and free from all debts, both public and private, and they will see that no one hinders Maron or his representatives from living in this property, lodging others therein, collecting the rents, and using all the appurtenances of the house and courtyard in common.

And at the expiration of the period let the parties of the first part repay the two hundred silver drachmas to Maron, and until they repay they agree that Maron shall reside as stated above. And if it appears that Maron has undergone expense in repairing or also in building or for any other purpose in the aforesaid ninth share of the house and courtyard, it is necessary that the parties of the first part repay Maron himself without any delay or subterfuge.

Signatory: for Didyme and Tauris Herakleides, their aforesaid guardian and husband of Didyme; for Soueris and her guardian and husband Eubios, son of Isidoros, about 25 years old, with a scar in the middle of his nose.

2. Ταῦρις: if the reading is correct, there is a long connecting stroke leading from the *upsilon* to the *rho*. Possibly the variant spelling, Ταῶρις, was written. The other occurrences of the name (lines 4 and 25) are too damaged to be decisive.

12. Βορροανον: perhaps to be equated with a *laura* at Bacchias mentioned in *P. Mich.* 186.10: [ἐν] τῇ λεγομένῃ Βορρίτι λαύρα, and 187.8: ἐν τῇ λεγωμένῃ Βορρείτει λαύρα. But it is difficult to see how the scribe, except through sheer inadvertence, could get from Βορρίτι (or -είτει) to Βορροανον.

λαύρα: see *P. Mich.* 598 introd. n. 1.

12-13. τρι-]τον: restored on the basis of *P. Mich.* 583; see introd. above.

14. ἐπεὶ τε τοῦ κατ' αὐτῆς κεφ[αλ]αίου κτλ.: the closest parallels to this phrase are *P. Mich.* 585.15-16: ἐπὶ τε τὸν κατ' αὐτῆς [χρόνον] καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν δέον ᾖ ἐνοικεῖν χρόνον, and *P.*

Hamb. 30.18-19 (as corrected in *P. Mich.* 585.15-16n.): ἐπὶ τε τὸν κ[ατὰ α]ὑτὴν καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν δέον ᾖν ἐπενοί[κεῖν χρ]όνον. The accusative with ἐπὶ and κατὰ is regular in this context (see Mayser, *Grammatik* II, ii, 432.37, 479.25), and the genitive is an abnormality.

18. ἐνοικοῦντας: mistake for ἐνοικίζοντας; cf. *P. Mich.* 584.27, and 585.18.

19. κατὰ κοινόν: a *communio pro indiviso*, or common ownership of physically undivided property, is here involved. See *P. Mich.* 583 introd.

24. ὑπογραφεύς: for the singular, even when two signatories are engaged, see *P. Mich.* 251.36.

26. Εὐβίς Ἰσιδώρου: Εὐβίς illustrates the common reduction of -ως to -ις; see 630.23-24n. The son of Eubios appears as a signatory in *P. Mich.* 195 (Bacchias, 121 A.D.).¹⁷ and 26: Ἰσιδωρος Εὐβίου.

636. Cession of Land

Inv. 1415 +
P. New York 21

Inv. 1415: 18.5 x 19 cm.
P. New York 21: 6.3 x 14.5,
4.6 x 5.8, 6 x 24 cm.

Probably
Jan./March
302 A.D.

The present text, which was originally published in *HSCP* 74, 1970, pp. 321-329, was formed by combining the three fragments of *P. New York* 21 with *P. Mich.* inv. 1415 ined. The resulting papyrus preserves only about half of the original document, and about 90 to 100 letters per line have been lost at the left. Nevertheless, enough remains to show that it is another copy of the contract partially preserved as *P. New York* 20, in which Aurelius Atisios transfers to Aurelius Heron a quantity of private and royal land.¹ Because the fragments which constitute 636 provide the right half of the contract and *P. New York* 20 the left half, we are now in a position to restore the original with a high degree of accuracy. The editor of *P. New York* 20, without the aid of the Michigan papyrus, was nonetheless able to arrive at a very accurate reconstruction, and the only important change to be made is in the amount of royal land ceded: it is 7 7/8 arouras, not 1 1/64 as the editor of the New York papyrus thought. There are, however, numerous alterations to be made in language; consequently, as an aid to the reader, I have added in an appendix a revised version of *P. New York* 20.

A detailed listing of Atisios' holdings, contained in *P. Col.* inv. 181(11) ined.,² shows that he here cedes all of his property in the first and fifth *sphragides* in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis. The cession is described as being "without price, cession money or any payment whatever" (636.10-11, *P. New York* 20.12). That it was made in exchange for the payment of public imposts on the property was suggested by the editor of *P. New York* 20 and is confirmed by line 29 of the

1. D. Hagedorn in *Gnomon* 41, 1969, pp. 745 f., without knowledge of *P. Mich.* inv. 1415, suggested that *P. New York* 21 was a copy of 20.

2. This text was briefly described in the introduction to *P. Cair. Isidor.* 2 and 6. Part of it is duplicated in 626.

present text: ἀντὶ τῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν. One naturally thinks that these are the current taxes, i.e. that Atisios agreed to cede the property to Heron without price if the latter would pay all the outstanding tax obligations. This is the view put forth in the introduction of *P. New York* 20. But the contract states explicitly that Heron will not assume fiscal liability until the following year (636.15, *P. New York* 20.17), and that Atisios is responsible for all the taxes due up to and including those of the present year, because he retains the crop of that year (636.12-13, *P. New York* 20.13-15). This is the normal practice: the current taxes devolve upon the person who receives the year's crops (see *P. New York* 20 introd.). Atisios' liability for the outstanding taxes is also clearly implicit in the clause stating that the arouras are καθαράς ἀπὸ τελεσμάτων πάντων (636.12, *P. New York* 20.13). This phrase, though restored in both texts, is strongly supported by parallels (see below, note *ad loc.*). It is difficult to explain its presence if Heron had in fact agreed to take on the property still burdened with Atisios' taxes.

The text gives no evidence of faulty drafting, and its implications are inescapable: Atisios felt compelled to give the land away and still pay the current dues on it, if only someone would take over all financial responsibility starting in the following year. Why Atisios proceeded as he did is not stated. His retention of the year's crop would probably not be adequate compensation for his loss of the cession money and is accordingly not sufficient, by itself, to motivate the transaction. Professor N. Lewis suggests (letter of 2 December 1971) that the royal land in 636, which exceeds the amount of the private, was a forced imposition (see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 11 introd. p. 102; G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, p. 27 and n. 1). This suggestion could, at least in part, account for Atisios' extreme willingness to cede the property. A parallel to this situation is found in *P. Cair. Isidor.* 103, an offer to lease five arouras of royal land from the village *koinon*. There is to be no payment of rent, and the lessees are only required to pay all the public dues for the duration of the lease. The government had forced these arouras upon the *koinon*, and the organization was clearly overburdened with the land, just as Atisios was with his property. Hence the eagerness in both cases to get rid of the land, to give it away free of price or rental, provided only that the future taxes be paid.

For a discussion of matters relevant to the present document, the reader is referred to the introduction and commentary of *P. New York* 20; *P. Mert.* 121 should also be consulted. In the transcription of 636 all passages which are found in the extant portion of *P. New York* 20 have been underlined.

I am grateful to Professor Naphtali Lewis, who generously made available his transcript of P. Col. inv. 181(11), and who also furnished a photograph of *P. New York* 21.

[ἔτους ιη/ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ιζ/ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Οὐ]αλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερ[μ]ανικῶν Μ[εγίστ]ων

- Σαρμ[ατ]ικῶ[ν Μεγίστων Περσικῶ]ν Μεγίστων Βρεταννικῶ(ν)
 [Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἔτους
 ι/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου] Κῶ[νστ]αντίνου καὶ
 Γαλερίου Οὐα[λ]ερίου Μαξιμιανού Π[ερ]σικῶν Μεγίστ[τ]ων
 Βρεταννικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων (τῶν) ἐπιφανε-
 [τάτων Kaisάρων μηνὸς — ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινότου
 νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρήμη] τρὸς Θαλλοῦτος
 [ἀπὸ κώμης Κα]ρανίδος ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα οὐλὴ κάτωθεν [γ]όνατο[ς
 .]....[.....].ω Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρώνι [Ἀ]πωνος μητρὸς
 [— ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ὡς ἐτῶν .. οὐλὴ ± 5 δεξιᾷ (?)
 παρακεχωρηκέναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῶ Ἡρώνι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἅπαντα [χρόνον τὰς ὑπα]ρχούσας αὐτῶ καὶ ἀπο[γρ]αφίσας ὑπὸ
 αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γενομένης παρὰ Σαβίνῳ κληρονομίᾳ ἀπογραφῆς
 5 [τῶ .. ἔτει καὶ .. (ἔτει)/ καὶ . (ἔτει)/ μηνὶ Θώθ κβ περὶ
 ὀριδοκτιάν τῆς προκειμένης κώμης Καρανίδος (τετάρτης)
 (πέμπτης) τοπαρχίας] Ἡρακλίδου(ν) μερίδ[ος ἐπὶ μὲν τ]ῆς
 πρώτης σφραγίδος ἐν τόπῳ Ταλιάρτυ λεγομένῳ ιδιωτικῆς γῆς
 [σ]πορίμης ἀρούρας τρεῖς ὄγδοον τατρα-
 [καιεξηκοστὸν καὶ ἀβρόχου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ἐκκαιδέκατον, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τῆς ε/ σφραγίδος ἐν τόπῳ Τκαινπάῳ λεγομένῳ ιδιωτικῆς γῆς
 σπορᾶ]ς ἰδ' ἔτους καὶ ιγ' (ἔτους)[/ καὶ ς ἔ]τους ἀρούρας δύο,
 ἔτι τε καὶ ἐκκεχωρηκέναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῶ Ἡρώνι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 εὐτυχῶς
 [εἰσιόντος ιθ' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιη' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ια' (ἔτους)/ δια-
 παντὸς γεωργίαν ὧν ἀπεγράψατο ὁ ὁμολογῶν Ἀτίσιος διὰ
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἐ]πὶ τῆς προκιμ[ένης α/ σφρ]αγίδος ἐν τῶ
 τ[όπῳ Ταλι]νάρτυ λεγομένῳ βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρουρῶν ἑξ
 ἡμίους τετάρτου
 [ὀγδόου καὶ ἄλλων βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιγ' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιβ' (ἔτους)/
 καὶ ε' (ἔτους)/ ἀρούρης τετάρτου ὀγδόου ἐκκαιδεκάτου καὶ
 ἀβρόχου] ἀρούρης ἡμί[ους ἐκκαιδεκά]του ἐπὶ παντὸς [τοῦ]
 ἀρουρηδοῦ ἢ ὅσων ἢ ἀν' ὧσι ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆον ἢ ἔλαττον, ἐπὶ τοῖς
 οὔσι αὐτῶν ὀρίοις
 [καὶ ποτίστραις καὶ ἐκχύσει καὶ εἰσόδοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 χρήσεσι καὶ δικαίοις πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
 νῦν συνήθειαν,] ὧν γίτονες καθὼς ἢ προ[κιμέ]νη ἀπογραφῇ
 [περιέ]χι, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς α/ σφραγίδος ιδιωτικῆς τε καὶ
 βασιλικῆς γῆς πάσης οὔσης
 10 [ἐν ἐνὶ πηγμῆτι ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Πολλᾶ κτησίς ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν
 διῶρυξ μεθ' ἣν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ε/
 σ]φραγίδος ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν[ατολῶν] Ταυη[μέρας] κτησίς ἀπὸ
 δὲ δυσμῶν Παησίου κτησίς, ἀνευ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ καὶ

- [πάσης τινὸς γοῦν δόσεως ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων
πάντων, καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον] τῷ Ἡρωνί
καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κ[ατὰ τὴν παραχ[ώρησιν] τῶν προκιμένων
ἀρουρῶν πάσῃ βαμβεώσει, ἃς καὶ παρέξασθαι ἀνεπάφους
[καὶ ἀνενεχυράστους καὶ ἀνεπιδανείστους καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ μὲν
τελεσμάτων πάντων, τῶν δημοσίων παντοίων σιτ[ικῶν] δὲ καὶ
κριθικῶν κ[αὶ ἀργυρικῶν καὶ ἀννω[ν] καὶ ἐτέρων παντοίων
ἐπιβολῶν καὶ τῆς θείας διατυπώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν
[ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιη
(ἔτους)/ καὶ ιζ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ι (ἔτους)/ ὧν τῶν πρὸς τὸν
ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον διὰ τὸ] καὶ τὴν [ἐ]πικιμένην ἐν τ[αῖς
ἀρουρ]αῖς τῷ ἐν[εστῶτι] ἔτι σπορὰν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀτισίῳ διαφαίρειν,
ἀπὸ δαὶ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσης ἐνποιήσε[ω(ς)]
- [διαπαντός, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν τὸν Ἡρώνα τῶν παραχωρηθέντων
καὶ ἐκχωρηθέντων αὐτῷ ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ κυριεύειν κ[αὶ] τὰ ἐξ
αὐτῶν περιγεωμέ[ενα ἀπὸ] τοῦ ἐξῆς εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους
[εἰς τὸ] ἴδιον αὐτὸν ἀποφ[έ]ρεσθαι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν διοικῖν
καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶ(ν)
- 15 [καὶ — τὴν βασιλικὴν γῆν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρῇται καὶ διευθύνειν αὐτὸν
τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιό[ν]τος
ἔτους τὰ δημ[όσια] πά[ν]τα καὶ ἀννῶνα[ς κ]αὶ ἐπιβολὰς πάσας καὶ
τὴν θίαν διατύπωσιν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰ χρόνον, ἐφ' ἃς καὶ μὴ ἐπι-
[πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀτίσιον μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μηδένα
κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον καθ' ὅντιναοῦν]
τρόπον[.....]·ν ἀποστήσῃ αὐ[τὸν] π[αραχρῆμα] τ[ο]ῖς
ἰδ[ίοις] αὐτοῦ δαπανήμασι, ἔτι καὶ προσεκτίσῃ τὰ ἀναλώματα
[διπλᾶ χωρὶς τοῦ μένειν κύρια καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, καὶ οὐκ
οὔσης ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῷ ἐκχωρήσαντι Ἀτισίῳ οὔτε μὴν τῷ
ἐκχωρηθέντι] Ἡρωνί ...[.....] αὐτὸν ἀλλάξῃ τὸν [ἕτερον] ἢ
παραβῇ τί τῶν ἐνγεγραμμένων κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐκουσίῳ
[καὶ αὐθαίρετῳ γνώμῃ ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ ἐκχώρησιν
αὐτοὺς ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς καλῶ]ς
γεγονέ[ναι] ἐπερωτηθέ[ν]τες ὡμολόγησ[αν.] (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος
Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρή [ὁ]μολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι
περὶ ὀριοδικτίαν
- [κώμης Καρανίδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας πέντε
τέταρτον ὄγδοον ἐκκαιδέκατον τετρακαιεξηκοστόν,] ἔτι τε κ[αὶ]
ἐκκεχωρηκέναι [ἐ] [βασιλ]ικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρ[ούρας] ἐ[π]τά
ἡμισι τέταρτον ὄγδοον, ὧν αἱ γιτνῖαι πρόκινται, ἀντὶ τῶν
δημοσίων τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν
- 20 [πάντων καὶ τῆς θείας διατυπώσεως, καὶ βεβαιῶ καὶ ἐμμενῶ πᾶσι
καὶ οὐδὲ παραβῆσομαι ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

Αὐρήλιος — ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτων. (3rd hd.)
 [Αὐ]ρήλιος [Ἡρ]ων Ἀπωνος γέγονεν εἰς μαι ἡ παραχώρησις
 καὶ ἐκχώρησις τῶν προ-
 [κειμένων ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ τελέσω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια πάντα
 καὶ τὴν θείαν διατύπωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θωθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶ]ς
 εἰσι[όντος ιθ (ἔτους)] καὶ ιη (ἔτους)/ καὶ ια (ἔτους)]/
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπα[ντα] χρόνον ὥς πρόκε[ι]ται, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος
 [Θεονίου οὐετρανὸς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτων.]

3. κάτωθεν: ω corrected from ο 4. ἀπογραφείσας; ἀπογραφῆς: γ corrected from ρ; the scribe started to make a *phi* too close to the *alpha*; after the vertical stroke was written, the *phi* was rewritten at its proper distance. 5. Ἡρακλείδου; Pap. ἰδιωτικῆς; *τρεῖς, τετρα-* 6. Pap. ἰδιωτικῆ; Ἀτίσιον inserted above the line 7. προκειμένης; βασιλικῆς: βασ corrected from ἰδι 8. ἀρουρηδοῦ: 1st ρ corrected from δ; ὅσων, αὐτῶν: ω corrected from ο; ἐάν, πλεῖον 9. γείτονες, προκειμένη, περιέχει; Pap. ἰδιωτικῆς 11. προκειμένων, βεβαιώσει; παρέξασθαι: θ corrected, perhaps from τ (cf. line 14) 12. τε, θείας 13. ἐπικειμένην, ἔτει, διαφέρειν, δέ, ἐμποιήσεως 14. ἐξ: ξ corrected from α; περιγυρόμενα; Pap. ἰδιον; ἀποφ)έρεσθαι: θ corrected from τ; διοικεῖν 15. θείαν; Pap. αἰ (read αἰ) 16. ἀποστήσεων; ἰδίους: Pap. ἰδ[;] δαπανήμασι: π corrected from ν; προσεκτίσειν 17. ἀλλάξει, παραβῆναι, ἐγγεγραμμένων 19. γεινῆαι πρόκεινται 20. με

The 18th year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletian and the 17th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian Germanici Maximi Sarmatici Maximi Persici Maximi Britannici Maximi Carpici Maximi Pii Felices Augusti and the 10th year of our lords Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximian Persici Maximi Britannici Maximi Carpici Maximi the most noble Caesars, in the month . . . (day) in Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite Nome. Aurelius Atisios, son of Hatres and Thallous, from the village of Karanis, about sixty years old, with a scar on the lower part of the . . . knee, acknowledges to Aurelius Heron, son of Apon and . . ., from the same village, about . . . years old, with a scar on the right (?) . . ., that he, Atisios, has ceded to Heron from the present for all time the following property which belongs to him and which was registered by him in the declaration made in the office of the *censitor* Sabinus in year x-x-x, on Thoth 22, and which is located in the *horiodeiktia* of the above-mentioned village of Karanis in the 4th and 5th toparchy of the division of Herakleides: in the first section, in the hamlet called Talinarty, three and nine sixty-fourths arouras of arable private land, and five-sixteenths of an aroura of uninundated land; and in the 5th section, in the locality called Tkainpao, two arouras of private land sown in year 14-13-6.

And Atisios has further surrendered to Heron from the auspiciously approaching year 19-18-11 forever the cultivation of the following property which the party of the first part, Atisios, registered in the same declaration: in the above-mentioned 1st section, in the hamlet called Talinarty, six and seven-eighths arouras of arable royal land; and other property, viz. seven-sixteenths of an aroura of royal land sown in year 13-12-5, and nine-sixteenths of an aroura of uninundated land, the measurements in arouras of the entire area being whatever

they are, more or less, with all their existing boundaries, conduits, sluices, entrances and all other rights of use in accordance with the custom from the past to the present.

Of this property the adjoining areas, as contained in the above-mentioned declaration, are as follows: of the private and royal land in the 1st section, which is all in one block, on the east the estate of Ptollas, on the west a canal, beyond which there is waste land entirely unowned; of the arouras in the 5th section, on the east the estate of Tauemera, on the west the estate of Paesios.

[The transaction is] without price, cession money or any payment whatever, in return for all the public taxes on the property.

The party of the first part, Atisios, will guarantee with full guarantee to Heron and his representatives the terms of the cession of the above-mentioned arouras, which he will deliver unencumbered, unpledged, unmortgaged and free from all taxes – the public dues of all kinds, i.e. taxes in wheat, barley, and money, the *annonae*, all other impositions, and the imperial *delegatio*, from the past up to the month Mesore of the present year 18-17-10, devolving upon the party of the first part, Atisios, because the crop standing in the fields in the present year belongs to Atisios himself – and from private debts and every claim forever.

From now on Heron will exercise ownership and control over all the arouras that have been ceded and surrendered to him, and from the next auspiciously approaching year he will appropriate their produce and will have the authority to administer and manage the property and to . . . the royal land, in whatever way he chooses, and he will pay to the imperial treasury starting in the month Thoth of the auspiciously approaching year all the public dues, i.e. the *annonae*, all impositions, and the imperial *delegatio* for all time.

Neither Atisios himself nor anyone else on his behalf shall proceed against this property in any way, but, if anyone does proceed against it in any way whatsoever . . ., he [Atisios] will himself immediately remove him at his own expense and will further pay double the costs, apart from the fact that the aforesaid terms also will remain valid. Neither the transferor Atisios nor indeed the transferee Heron has the authority to alter . . . or to violate in any way any of the provisions written herein, inasmuch as they have entered upon this cession and surrender voluntarily and of their own free will. That this transaction has been correctly and accurately done, they have, in response to the formal question, so declared.

(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Atisios, son of Hatres, acknowledge that I have ceded the following property which belongs to me in the *horiodeiktia* of the village of Karanis: five and twenty-nine sixty-fourths arouras, in all, of private land; and have further surrendered seven and seven-eighths arouras, in all, of royal land, of which the adjoining areas are mentioned above, in return for all the public taxes on the property including the imperial *delegatio*. I guarantee and will abide by all the terms and will not violate them, as stated above. In response to the formal question, I have so declared. I, Aurelius . . ., wrote for him as he is illiterate.

(3rd hd.) I, Aurelius Heron, son of Apon, have received the cession and

surrender of all the aforesaid arouras and will pay all the public dues on them, including the imperial *delegatio*, starting in the month Thoth of the auspiciously approaching year 19-18-11 for all time, as stated above. In response to the formal question, I have so declared. I, Aurelius Ammonios, son of Theoninos, veteran, wrote for him as he is illiterate.

1-2. The year is 301/2. For the series of imperial titles, cf. *P. Thead.* 1.1-2, where the titles of Constantius and Galerius are given as Γερμ(ανικῶν) Σαρματικῶν Μεγίστων Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βριτανικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, and cf. the similar, though longer, titulature in *P. Thead.* 2.2-3.

1. Βρεταννικῶν(ν): Βρεταννικῶ[ν] HSCP.*

2. Π[ερ]σικῶν: τ[ῶν] ἐπιφανεστάτων *P. New York* 21.

τῶν: omitted by haplography. The article is at times intentionally omitted before ἐπιφανεστάτων, but only when the latter immediately follows Μαξιμιανοῦ (e.g. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 1.21; 101.19; *SB* 6607.2).

2-3. ἐπιφανεσ/[τάτων: ἐπιφανεσ(τάτων) in HSCP, but there is no mark of abbreviation on the papyrus, and the length of the lacuna in line 3 does not necessitate the assumption that the word was abbreviated.

3. There is no room for both the Macedonian and the Egyptian months, though such doublets often occur at this time (e.g. *P. Thead.* 1.3; 2.3). The mention of the standing crop (line 13) suggests Mecheir or Phamenoth (cf. *P. New York* 20.3-4n., *P. Mich.* 375 introd. p. 41).

κάτωθεν [γ]όνατο[ς: cf. 630.21n.

4. δεξιᾶ (?): doubtfully read in *P. New York* 20.5. It is preceded by either κνήμη or ὠλένη (see ed.'s note *ad loc.*).

ἅπαντα: ἅπαντ[α *P. New York* 21.

4-5. A copy of Atisios' land declaration is preserved as *P. New York* 1; the date, unfortunately, has been lost.

5. τῶ .. ἔτει κτλ.: for the dative, cf. *SB* 9618.7-8.

Θῶθ κβ: 19 September.

In *P. New York* 20.6, κώμη[ς Κ]αραν[ίδος] (τετάρτης) (πέμπτης) τοπ(αρχίας) Ἡ[ρακλείδου] κτλ. should now be read instead of the ed.'s κώμη[ς ἐ]π[ὶ] τῇ[ς α/ σφραγίδος] ἐν] δὲ τό(πω) Τῇ[.ωαργυ] κτλ. For the phrase, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 5.5-6.

τοπαρχία]ς Ἡρακλίδου(ν) μερίδ[ος : τῇ]ς Ἡρακλίδου(ς) μερίδ[ος *P. New York* 21.

6-10. The missing or damaged indications of the size, location, and boundaries of the plots are restored on the basis of *P. Col. inv.* 181(11); see above, p. 30, and *P. New York* 20.6-11 n.

6. σπορᾶ]ς: the editor of *P. New York* 21, in his note to line 6, thought that σπαρείσης would suit the space better than σπορᾶς. But the lacuna contains two final sigmas, the horizontals of which are frequently lengthened in this hand. A similar phrase, with σπορᾶς, occurs in line 8.

The imperial date was read in *P. New York* 21 as ἡ[δ](ἔτους)/ καὶ ιγ (ἔτους) [/ καὶ ς (ἔτους)].

Year 14-13-6: 297/8 A.D. In the corresponding passage in *P. New York* 20 (line 7), the ed. restored year 13-12-5, probably because the same date appears in line 9.

* HSCP = the original edition of 636, in *HSCP* 74, 1970, pp. 321-329. In this commentary I mention all the alterations I have made in the text of *P. New York* 21, except for changes involving only the addition or removal of dots.

6-8. On γεωργίαν (line 7) depend not only ὧν ... ἀρουρῶν ἕξ ἡμίους τετάρτου [ὀγδόου, but also ἄλλων ... ἀρούρης τετάρτου ὀγδόου ἑκκαιδεκάτου and ἀρούρης ἡμί[ους ἑκκαιδεκά]του. For the syntax, cf. PSI 1144.4-6: ἐκκεχωρηκέ[ναι τὸν Ψεν[κῆβκ]ω τῶ[ι] Παῶπι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν διὰ παντὸς τῆς γεωργείας ... βασιλικῆς γῆ[ς ἀ]ρουρῶν [πέντε κτλ.

7. Year 19-18-11: 302/3 A.D.

διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς: *P. New York* 20.8 has ἐδαφῶν [ἐ]ν τῇ ἀπογραφῇ. But δι[ι]ὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς, which refers to the declaration mentioned in line 4, fits the context better. The reading suits the exiguous traces (see the plate in *P. New York*, opposite p. 48); in particular the *upsilon* seems fairly secure. For the syntax, cf. BGU 2091.7: ἀπογεγρ(αμμένον) δι' ἐτέρου ὑπομ(νήματος).

προκιμ[ένης α/ σφρ]αγίδος ἐν τῷ τ[ό]πῳ: the editor of *P. New York* 21 read προκιμ[ένης σφραγίδος] ἐν τῷ(πῳ)ωτ[ι].

8. ἄλλων: sc. ἐδαφῶν or ἀρουρῶν. *P. New York* 20.8-9 should now read τετάρ[ι]του ὀγδόου καὶ ἄλλων instead of the editor's τῆς/ τοῦ α[ι]τ[ο]ῦ καὶ ἄλλων.

Year 13-12-5: 296/7 A.D.

τετάρτου ὀγδόου ἑκκαιδεκάτου: *P. New York* 20.9 read, in the *editio princeps*, τέταρτο[ν] ὀγ[δ]ο[ν] ἐκκ[α]ιδεκάτου. This should be corrected to τετάρτο[ν] ὀγ[δ]ο[ν] ἐκκ[α]ιδεκάτου. The genitives depend upon γεωργίαν (line 7); see 6-8n.

ἡμί[ους ἑκκαιδεκά]του: the editor of *P. New York* 21 read ἡμί[ου] τέταρτον ὀγδο[ν]. The present reading is based on the amount of Atisios' property recorded in *P. Col. inv.* 181(11). 55. For the genitives, see 6-8n.

9. μέχρι τοῦ νῦν: cf. CPR 176.18: μ[έ]χρι τοῦ νῦν συνήθειαν, and see WB s.v. συνήθεια. Also possible is μέχρι νῦν; cf. *P. Wisc. inv.* 66a (ined.; see Boswinkel-Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri* 32) 9: κατὰ τὴν [ἐξ ἀρ]χῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν συνήθειαν. I am grateful to Dr. Sijpesteijn for a transcript of this papyrus, which will be published in *P. Wisc. II*.

10. διῶρυξ μεθ' ἣν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου: restored from *P. Col. inv.* 181(11).56: διῶρ(υξ) μεθ' (ἣν) χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου. The phrase χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου is well attested (e.g. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 3.13, 17; 4.11; 5.19, 29; BGU 1049.8), and the omission of ἀδέσποτος in the Columbia papyrus is to be regarded as a blunder.

ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν[α]τολῶν: the ed. of *P. New York* 21 has ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν[α]τολῶν, but the lacuna need not be so long. The size of letters, particularly *alpha*, varies considerably in this hand.

Παησίου κτῆσις: cf. 626.15.

11. ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων: restored on the basis of lines 19-20 and *P. New York* 20.22.

12. The restoration of the first part of the line is that used by the ed. of *P. New York* 20.13. It may be supported by numerous parallels (see the list in BGU 1642.10-11n.). Further, ἀπὸ δαί (=δὲ) ιδιωτικῶν, line 13, requires ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων *aut sim.* (cf. CPR 4.19-20). What cannot be paralleled is the insertion of the gen. abs., τῶν δημοσίων ... ὄντων πρὸς τὸν ... Ἀτίσιον ..., between ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων πάντων and ἀπὸ δαί ιδιωτικῶν. But the meaning is clear enough: the property ceded is delivered free from all taxes through the current year because Atisios undertakes to pay them.

ἀννω[ν]ων: ἀννωνῶν HSCP, ἀννωνῶν *P. New York* 21.

14. εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους: see *P. New York* 21.14n.

15. At the beginning of the line perhaps read καὶ ἐκχωρεῖν *aut sim.* For the pertinence of referring to royal land at this point, see *P. New York* 20.16-17n.

16. Unless the writing is very cramped, there is no room after ἐπελευσόμενον for ἡ ἐμποιησόμενον, despite its occurrence in *P. New York* 20.18. After τρόπον the ed. of *P. New*

York 21 read ἐπ' ἀσφαλῖ[α]ων, but the writing is too faded to support it; further, the space is not adequate for such a phrase in *P. New York* 20. I should prefer to read τρόπον ἢ ἐμποιη[σόμενον] and assume that the scribe, having inadvertently omitted ἢ ἐμποιησόμενον after ἐπελευσόμενον, added it after τρόπον.

17. διπλᾶ: see *P. Thead.* 1.16; 2.14; *P. Osl.* II 31.24.

οὔτε μὴν: *P. New York* 20.19 has οὔτε μή; μή should be corrected. See Denniston, *Greek Particles*², p. 341. Cf. SB 9011.14.

After Ἡρωνι perhaps περὶ [τὸν λόγον] αὐτόν, "concerning the wording itself." For λόγος in this sense, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 82.12n., where the phrase ἀλλάξαι τὸν ἕτερον is also discussed.

17-18. ἐκουσίῳ [καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ: same phrase in *P. Cair. Isidor.* 81.27.

18. καλῶς γεγόνε[ναι ἐπερωτηθε]ντες ὡμολόγησ[αν: καλῶς γεγο[νέναι ἐπερωτηθε]ς ὡμολόγησεν, *P. New York* 21.

21. There is no room for the entire series of taxes which appears in line 15. The restoration is based on *P. New York* 20.22.

In line 21 *P. New York* 21 read]..σι[] [.].....ον...[

Revision of *P. New York* 20 (first published in *HSCP* 74, 1970, pp. 329-331).

[ὑπατίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξίμια]γοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφ[ανέσ]τάτων [Κα]ισάρω[ν τὸ δ/. (4th hd.) κατεχω(ρίσθη)
ιη (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιζ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ι (ἔτους)/ month, day.]
(1st hd.) [ἔτους ιη/ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γα]ίου Αὐ[ρηλίου]
Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητι[αν]οῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ιζ/ Αὐτ[οκράτορος]
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν
Μεγίστων Σαρματικῶν Μεγίστων Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βρεταννικῶν
Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν]

[Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σ]εβ[αστ]ῶν καὶ ἔ[τους ι/ τ]ῶν κυρίων
ἡμῶν Φ[ιλαο]υίου Οὐαλερίου Κ[ωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου]
Μαξιμιανοῦ Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βρεταννικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν
Μεγίστων τῶν ἐπιφανέσ[τατων] Καισάρων]

[μηνὸς — ἐν] Π[τολεμαίδι] Ε[ν]εργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινόου νομοῦ.
ὁμολογεῖ Α[ὐ]ρηλῖος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρή μη[τρὸς] Θαλλοῦτος ἀπὸ
κώμης Καρανίδος ὡς (ἔτῶν) (ἑξήκοντα) οὐλὴ κάτωθεν
γόνατος ± 13 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρωνι Ἀπωνος μητρὸς —
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς]

5 [κώμης ὡς (ἔτῶν) .. οὐλὴ] δεξιᾶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὸν
Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρωνί ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅ[παντα] χρόνον τὰς
ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπογραφείσας ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γενομένης
παρὰ Σαβίνῳ κηνσίτορι ἀπογραφῆς]

[τῷ .. ἔτει καὶ .. (ἔτει)/ καὶ . (ἔτει)/ μην]ὶ Θῶθ κβ περὶ
ὁριδικτίαν τῆς προκιμένης κώμης [Κ]αραν[ίδος] (τετάρτης)
(πέμπτης) τοπ(αρχίας) Ἡ[ρακλείδου] μερίδος ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς
α/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Ταλιάρτυ λεγομένῳ ἰδιωτικῆς

- γῆς σπορίμης ἀρούρας τρεῖς ὄγδοον τετρα-]
 και[εξηκοστὸν καὶ ἀ]βρόχου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ἐκκαιδέκατον, ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῆς ε/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τ[ό(πῳ) Τκα]νπάω λ[ε]γομένῳ
 [ιδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιδ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιγ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ς
 (ἔτους)/ ἀρούρας δύο, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐκκεχωρηκέναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον
 τῷ Ἡρῳι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος]
 ιθ (ἔτους) [/ καὶ ιη (ἔτους)/ καὶ] ι[α (ἔτους)]/ διαπαντὸς
 γεωργίαν ὧν ἀπεγράψατο ὁ ὁμολογῶν Ἀτίσιος δι[ι]ὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀπογραφῆς ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης α/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
 Ταλινάρτυ λεγομένῳ βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρουρῶν ἕξ ἡμίσιους
 τετάρ-]
 του ὁ[γδ]οῦ καὶ ἄλλων βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιγ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιβ
 (ἔτους)/ καὶ ε (ἔτους)/ ἀρούρης τετάρτο[υ ὁγ]δ[ό]ου
 ἐκκ[αι]δεκάτου κ[αὶ] ἀβρόχου ἀρούρης ἡμίσιους ἐκκαιδεκάτου ἐπὶ
 παντὸς τοῦ ἀρουρηδοῦ ἢ ὅσων ἐὰν ὦσι ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ ἕλαττον,
 ἐπὶ τοῖς]
 10 οὔσι αὐ[τῶν] ὁρίοις καὶ ποτίσ[τρ]ες καὶ ἐκχύσει καὶ ἰσόδοις
 καὶ τῆς ἄλλαις χρήσεσι καὶ δικαίοις πᾶ[σ]ι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ
 ἀρ[χ]ῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν συνήθειαν, ὧν γείτονες καθὼς ἡ
 προκειμένη ἀπογραφὴ περιέχει, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς α/ σφρα(γίδος)
 ιδιωτικῆς τε καὶ βα-]
 σιλικῆς (γῆς) πάσης οὔσης ἐν ἐνὶ πηγματι ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν
 Πολλᾶ κτῆσι[ς] ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν διῶ[ρυξ] μεθ' ἣν χέρσος
 ἀδέσποτος διόλου, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ε/ σφρα(γίδος) ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ
 μὲν ἀνατολῶν Ταυημέρας κτῆσις ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν]
 Πα[ρ]η[σ]ι[ο]ν κτῆσις, ἄνευ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ καὶ πάσης τινὸς
 γοῦν δόσεως ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ [αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων,
 καὶ βεβαιώσειν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρῳι καὶ τοῖς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν]
 παραχώρησιν τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν πάσῃ βεβαιώσει, ἃς καὶ
 παρέξα[σθαι] ἀνεπ[ά]φους καὶ ἀν[ε]νεχυράστους καὶ ἀνεπιδανείστους
 καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων πάντων, τῶν δημοσίων παντοίων]
 σιτικῶν ται καὶ κριθικῶν καὶ ἀργυρικῶν καὶ ἀννωνῶν καὶ ἐτέρων '
 π[α]ντοίων ἐπιβολῶν καὶ τ[ῆς] θείας διατυπώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιη
 (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιζ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ι (ἔτους)/]
 15 ὄντ[ω]ν πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπικιμένην
 ἐν ταῖς ἀ[ρο]ύραις τῷ ἐ[ν]εστῶτι ἔτι σπ[ορὰν] αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀτισίῳ
 διαφέρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ ιδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσης ἐμποιήσεως διαπαντὸς,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν τὸν Ἡρῳα τῶν πα-]
 [ρα]χωρηθέντων καὶ ἐκ[[κε]]χωρηθέντων αὐτῷ ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ
 κυριεύειν καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγινόμε[να] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξῆς εὐτυχῶς

- εἰσιόντος ἔτους εἰς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι καὶ ἐξουσίαν
 ἔχειν διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ — τὴν βασι-]
 [λ]εικὴν γῆν ὡς ἐὰν ἐρῇται καὶ διευθύνῃ αὐτὸν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἱ[σ]ι[ό]ντος ἔτους τὰ δημόσια
 πάντα καὶ ἀννῶνας καὶ ἐπιβολὰς πάσας καὶ τὴν θείαν διατύπωσιν
 ἐπὶ τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μὴ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν]
 τὸν Ἀτίσιον μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μηδένα κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποι[η]σόμενον καθ' ὄντιναοῦν
 τρόπον ἀποστήσειν αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ
 δαπανήμασι, ἔτι καὶ προσεκτίσειν τὰ ἀναλώματα διπλᾶ χωρὶς
 τοῦ μένειν]
 κύρια καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, καὶ οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῷ
 ἐκχωρήσαντι Ἀτισίῳ οὔτε μὴ(ν) τῷ ἐκχωρη[θέντι] Ἡρῶνι ± 10
 αὐτὸν ἀλλάξαι τὸν ἕτερον ἢ παραβῆναί τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων
 κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐκουσίῳ καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ]
 20 [γ]νώμη ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ ἐκχώρησιν αὐτοῦς
 ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὁ[ρθῶς] καλῶς
 γεγονέναι ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολόγησαν. (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος
 Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῆ ὁμολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι
 περὶ ὀριοδικτίαν]
 κώμης Καρανίδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας πέντε τέταρτον
 ὄγδοον ἐκκαιδέκατον τετρακαιεξηκοστόν, ἔτι τε καὶ
 ἐκκεχω[ρη]κέναι βασιλικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ
 τέταρτον ὄγδοον, ὧν αἱ γειτνίαὶ πρόκεινται, ἀντὶ τῶν
 δημοσίων]
 τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν πάντων καὶ τῆς θείας διατυπώσεως, καὶ βεβαιῶ
 καὶ ἐμμενῶ πᾶσι καὶ οὐδὲ παραβῆσομαι ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ
 ἐπερω[τη]θεὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος — ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 ἀγραμμάτου. (3rd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρῶν Ἀπωνος γέγονεν εἰς με]
 [ἦ] παραχώρησις καὶ ἐκχώρησις τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ
 τελέσω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια π[άντα] καὶ τὴν θείαν διατύπωσιν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ιθ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιη
 (ἔτους)/ καὶ ια (ἔτους)/ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὡς πρόκειται,
 καὶ ἐπερωτη-]
 [θ]εὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Θεονίνου οὐετρανὸς ἔγραψα
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.

N.B. The following notes are mainly diplomatic. For the changes made in the reading of *P. New York* 20, see the commentary on 636.

The photograph of *P. New York* 20 no longer reveals the traces which the editor transcribed as]εβ[(line 3),]Πτ[(line 4), and before δεξιᾶ (line 5). The small scrap between lines 4 and 5, which may have been misplaced, could account for some of them. The

transcription obviously was made when more of the papyrus survived, and I see no reason, in this re-edition, to depart from what the editor once saw.

3. In the revision of this text in HSCP, I put *Καισάρων* at the beginning of line 4. Reconsidering the size of the lacuna at the end of line 3 and at the beginning of line 4, I find the present distribution to be more satisfactory.

6. *a/*: perhaps *πρώτης* as in 636.5.

13. The restoration of the end of the line is somewhat too short (75 letters, excluding *iota*), but the corresponding restoration in 636.12 suits the space involved. The number of letters per line can vary considerably (see following note).

16. *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξῆς εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους*: if we read *ἐκχωρεῖν* before *τὴν βασιλικήν* (see 636.15n.), the restored part of this line contains 105 letters, excluding *iota*. Starting in line 4, where the vertical break is quite even, an average of 85-90 letters has been lost per line. Accordingly, one is tempted to assume a scribal error in 16 similar to that in 636.14: *εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους*. But this assumption, though attractive, cannot be proven. At times the number of letters deviates from the norm. The restored part of line 13 contains 75 letters (see note *ad loc.*), while the restorations of 17 and 19, which are to a large extent guaranteed by the corresponding passages in 636, contain 99 and 100 letters respectively.

18. The restored part of this line contains 109 letters (excluding *iota*), a noticeable departure from the norm; here, as in line 16, a scribal error may be involved, e.g. omission of *καθ' ὀντιναοῦν τρόπον*. In 636.16, the corresponding passage, *ἐμποησόμενον* could have been awkwardly transposed (see note *ad loc.*). Although the same mistake does not occur in the present papyrus, the scribes of the two texts may have been influenced by a defective model and have made different mistakes in each case. But the variation in the number of letters per line makes certainty impossible.

637. List of Roman Legionaries

Inv. 1953

7.9 x 25.7 cm.

Early 1st cent. A.D.

This papyrus bears the names of five Roman legionaries, together with their filiation, tribe, century, and in two cases their origo. The first four lines have been washed out; they probably contained an entry similar to the others. The text is in Greek, not Latin, the official language of the military establishment, and it is possible that it is not a military document in the strict sense, i.e. a text dealing with the internal administration of the army. Perhaps 637 was designed for private or civilian use, and consequently the employment of Latin was deemed unnecessary; cf. A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter roemischer Herrschaft*, pp. 173-186. Comparable is *P. Mich.* 593, a list of soldiers likewise drawn up in Greek. This text is from the time of Diocletian, but the reasons for drafting it in Greek may have been the same as in the present case.

On paleographical grounds, 637 is to be dated fairly early in the first century of our era. It exhibits an awkward, though rather fluent hand, which is somewhat similar to that of *P. Lond.* III 1166 (Atlas pl. 19), of 42 A.D. Except for the

centurions, all of the soldiers listed lack cognomina, a further indication of the date of the text; it was not until the reign of Claudius that this part of the nomenclature was regularly reported. See Mommsen, *CIL* III, 6627 p. 1210, and G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, p. 61, n. 1. Absence of cognomina is also attested by BGU 1083, of the time of Augustus (see the revised edition in R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, No. 36).

Two of the soldiers have their origo listed as Florentia in Italy (lines 7 and 11-12), but for the other three no origo is given. These three all have fathers with the same praenomen, and so does one of the two from Italy. This fact arouses the suspicion that they are the illegitimate sons of legionaries; for, as Mommsen pointed out long ago, upon entering military service the *castrenses* regularly duplicated their own praenomen in giving that of their "father." See *CIL* III, 6627 p. 1212. One of the legionaries also comes from the Pollian tribe (line 17), to which illegitimate sons of soldiers were assigned; see *CIL loc. cit.* and H. A. Sanders, *AJP* 62, 1941, p. 86. But the papyrus is too short to permit certainty in this matter.

There seems to be no way of ascertaining the legion or legions involved, or whether the soldiers are on active duty or are veterans. If the text lists men still in the service, it probably refers to the legions known to have been stationed in Egypt at that time, the Legio III Cyrenaica and the Legio XXII Deiotariana. But if veterans are involved, the problem is further complicated, since it was Augustus' policy to send discharged legionaries far from where they had served, while his immediate successors preferred to settle them in the province where they had been stationed (Forni, *Reclutamento*, pp. 38 and 40).

I am grateful to Professors G. W. Bowersock, R. O. Fink, and J. F. Gilliam for their help in interpreting this text.

(4 lines washed away; scattered letter traces)

- | | |
|----|--|
| 5 | Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος
Γαίου υἱὸς φυλῆς
Σκαπτία Πλωρεντία
κεντυρία(ς) Γάλλου Τιτι-
δίου. |
| 10 | Λούκιος Ὀρρώνι[ο]ς Λουκ(ίου)
υἱὸς φυλῆς Σκαπτία Φλω-
ρεντία κεντ(υρίας) Γάλλου
Τιτιδίου. |
| 15 | Γάιο[ς] Λιβιλήιος Γαίου υἱὸς
φυλ(ῆς) Παλατίνα κεντ(υρίας)
Κο..ου Ὀφελλίου.
Γάιος Ἀτίλιος Γαίου υἱὸς Πολλία
κεντυρ[ί]α(ς) Τερτίου Ὀφελλίου. |
| 20 | Πόπλιος Ἰγνάτιος Ποπλ(ίου) υἱὸς
φυλ(ῆς) Σεργία [[κντυ]] κεντυ(ρίας) Σιλβανοῦ. |

7. Φλωρεντία 17. υἱὸς added above line by 2nd hd.

7. Σκαπτία Πλωρεντία: for the preservation of the Latin inflection, see C. Döttling, *Die Flexionsformen lateinischer Nomina in den griechischen Papyri und Inschriften*, pp. 94 f.

For the location of Florentia within Scaptia, see L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*, pp. 115, 275.

8-9. Throughout this text the cognomen precedes the gentilicium in the centurions' nomenclature.

10. Ὀρρώνι[ος]: for the name Orronius, see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 431. Also possible is Ἐρρώνιος; *epsilon* and *omicron* are very similar in this hand.

14. Λιβιλήιος: i.e. Livileius; see Schulze, pp. 181 and 459.

16. Κο.ου: perhaps Κόμτος; for the cognomen Comtus, see *CIL* VI, 16035.5 and n.

19. Ἰγνάτιος: probably Egnatius. Latin *e* is often represented by *iota* in Greek; see *P. Oxy.* 2951.19n. Cf. Σμβρονία (= Sempronia) in 651.10.

638-642

The five tax documents here published were acquired by the University of Michigan in 1922. Many of the personal names appearing in them occur also in tax registers of first-century Philadelphia; this fact, together with the similarity of the writing of these registers with that of 638-642, convinces me that we are dealing with a large, homogeneous group of texts which lies scattered in various collections. The other texts of this group which have thus far been edited include: all of *P. Princ.* 1 (14 texts), *P. Corn.* 21-24, *P. Graux* 1 and 2 (*SB* 7461 and 7462), *P. Mich.* 582,¹ *P. Ryl.* 595, possibly also 656 in the present volume. There are additional unpublished pieces in the Cornell and Michigan collections.

Taken together, these papyri provide a detailed picture of the social and economic life of first-century Philadelphia, but many of them, unfortunately, cannot yet be safely used by historians and other scholars. The cursive hands in which they are written are by no means easy to decipher, particularly in the case of proper names. In the commentaries to 638-642 I have noted various places requiring correction, but much more work in this area remains. It is likely that at least the Cornell and Princeton texts will have to be entirely re-edited.

The papyri of this group spread over three decades; the earliest published text which is securely dated is *P. Princ.* 9 (31 A.D.),² the latest *P. Ryl.* 595 (57

1. In *Col.* 2.1 read Νεμεσίωνος τ[ο]ῦ Ζω[ί]λου instead of ..[...ωνος τ[ο]ῦ β[ε]. The patronymic is restored on the basis of *P. Mich.* inv. 864; in a letter of 4 October 1972 Mrs. L. C. Youtie informs me that this text has παρὰ Νεμεσίωνος τοῦ Ζωίλου πράκτορος λαογραφίας [Φιλαδ]ελφείας. Other texts in this group also mention Nemesion: *P. Corn.* 24; *P. Graux* 2; and *P. Ryl.* 595 (for the assignation of *P. Corn.* 24 to Nemesion see *P. Ryl.* 595 introd. p. 69 and n.1). Cf. also 656 and see L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 10, 1973, p. 187.

2. *P. Princ.* 2 is dated in 25 A.D. by the editors. But this date rests on *col.* 3.1-2:

Ἔτους ια Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶ δ[ια]γέγρα(απτα)] (see *BL* II, ii, p. 112).

There is no sure indication of the size of the lacuna at the end of line 1, and we should be reluctant to assume

A.D.).³ *P. Mich. inv. 880v*, an unpublished register from the same collection, was written after 61 A.D.⁴ Unfortunately, many of the texts cannot be precisely dated. The Michigan papyri record imperial dates, but without the emperor's name: year 2 appears in 640.74, 78; year 3 in 641.1; and year 9 in 642.78. Caligula, Claudius, and Nero are all possible candidates for years 2 and 3, while year 9 is either Claudian or Neronian.

At first sight, *P. Princ. 8* provides a control for the dating of our papyri, since it is the only text of this collection to give the taxpayers' ages. But it bears no date, and the editors' conclusion that it was drawn up between 27 and 32 A.D. rests on very weak prosopographical evidence and is far from being certain.⁵ It is on the basis of their dating of *P. Princ. 8* that the editors infer that *P. Princ. 14* was written no later than ca. 35 A.D. (see *P. Princ.*, p. 107). But *P. Princ. 14* was drafted by the same scribe who was responsible for *P. Corn. 24* (56 A.D.), *P. Ryl. 595* (57), and 642 (after 48/9 or 62/3).⁶ *P. Princ. 14* is also typologically similar to 642, and it is very likely to have been dated at least a decade too early. Further investigation may reveal that other texts of this group should likewise be redated.

Two scribes drafted 638-642. The first has a very rapid, professional style, with a slight inclination toward the right. He often slurs letters together, especially in the case of the name Πετεσοῦχος, in which only *pi* and *chi* are distinct (see 638.10n.). This scribe is responsible for all of 638, 639, and 642; his is also the hand which wrote *P. Princ. 14*, *P. Corn. 24*, *P. Ryl. 595r*, and *P. Mich. inv. 880v*.⁷ The second scribe helped the first in composing 640 and 641 (for the

that Καῖσαρος is inevitable, especially since in *P. Corn. 21* introd. the papyrus is reported to read Καῖσαρος. The papyrus might in fact have Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος in line 1. Unfortunately, when I visited Princeton, *P. Princ. 2* could not be located. Until it is found, the dating of the text remains in doubt.

3. *P. Graux 2* was written between 55 and 59, possibly after 57 (Chalon, *L'Edit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, p. 62 and n. 50).

4. The Michigan text records arrears in years 5 and 7 of an unspecified emperor. The years are to be assigned to Nero (58/9 and 60/1): the list occupies the verso of an account drawn up in the second and third years of that emperor, and the account was clearly written before the list, since the end of the latter is crowded into the available space on the recto.

5. The editors discuss the date of *P. Princ. 8* on p. 24. They establish the terminus ante quem of 32 A.D. through an argument which assumes that Φάσις Ἡρακλήου in *P. Corn. 21.343* is to be identified with a person of the same name in *P. Princ. 8* 2.4. But since the name Phasis occurs 18 times in *P. Princ. 1*, and Herakles countless times, it is rash to assume that the same person is involved in both texts. The editors' terminus post quem, 27 A.D., rests chiefly on identifying Hatres son of Didymos, age 55 in *P. Princ. 8* 10.19, with a Hatres son of Didymos in *P. Princ. 10* 3.15 (34 A.D.). "Since Hatres was exempt from taxation at the age of 62 [Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 107 f.], the earliest possible date for our ledger is 27 A.D." The ubiquity of the names involved again raises doubt about identification. The editors are on firmer ground when they cite Ἡρακλῆς ὃς καὶ Παποντῶς πρόγονος Χαυρήμωνος, who is 54 in *P. Princ. 8* 3.14, and who appears in *P. Princ. 10* 1.24 (34 A.D.); cf. 642.125-129n. The case of Herakles will push the terminus post quem back to 26 A.D. (i.e. if he is 62 in *P. Princ. 10* of 34 A.D., *P. Princ. 8*, in which he is 54, will have been written in 26 A.D.). The terminus ante quem cannot be established with accuracy; a date of ca. 60 would probably be adequate.

6. See the next paragraph for a discussion of the hands involved in these texts.

7. *P. Corn. 24* and *P. Ryl. 595* explicitly come from Nemesion's office. Of the other texts referring to Nemesion (above, n. 1), 656 and the petition in *P. Mich. 582* somewhat resemble the style of the first scribe of 638-642, but not sufficiently to permit identification; *P. Graux 2* was definitely written by another scribe (see the plate in *BIFAO* 21, 1923, end of vol.).

details see the introductions to these texts). His style is considerably slower than that of his companion, although, as the numerous ligatures show, his hand is not unpracticed.

I am grateful to the following for providing me with photographs of some of the previously published texts in this group: Professor N. Lewis (*P. Corn.* 21), Mrs. W. M. Randall (*P. Princ.* 14), Dr. F. Taylor (*P. Ryl.* 595). I had the opportunity to visit Princeton in 1972 and to check some of the corrections to *P. Princ.* I; I am grateful to Messrs. A. P. Clark and C. E. Greene of the Princeton Library for their helpful service during my visit. Subsequently, Professor Ann Hanson generously undertook to check other corrections for me.

638. List of Names

Inv. 828

4.3 x 8.6 cm.

1st half of 1st cent. A.D.

A list of names from the village of Arabon, which was situated in the northeastern part of the division of Herakleides, near Philadelphia and Karanis; see A. A. Aly, *Ibrahim Univ. Stud. Papyrology* 1, 1952, No. 9.4n.¹ A sum of eight drachmas, which appears opposite the name in line 4, suggests that the text was copied from a tax register. In the name list published as *P. Petaus* 92, there is a similar occurrence of 8 dr. and 4 dr. in lines 41-42 (see the editors' note).

- | | |
|----|--------------------------------|
| | γραφή Ἀράβω(ν) |
| | Ἀπελλῆ(ς) Ἰωσήπο(ν) |
| | Ἀγρων Πουώρεω(ς) |
| | Ἀπολλω() Μύσθ(ου) (δραχμαὶ) η |
| 5 | Πασίων Ἀπολλω() |
| | Ἑλλη(ν) Σαμβ(ᾱτος) |
| | Ἑλλην Ἀρφαή(σεως) |
| | Ἀλκιμο(ς) Ἀρφαή(σεως) |
| | Πανετβ(ύς) ἄλλο(ς) |
| 10 | Νεκφερῶ(ς) Πετεσοῦχ(ου) |
| | Χαιρή(μων) Ἀρφαή(σεως) |
| | Σαμβ(ᾱς) Φαῶτο(ς) |
| | Ἐκτω(ρ) ἀδελφό(ς) |
| | Ἐκτωρ Πανετβ(ύιος) |
| 15 | Σαμβ(ᾱς) Ἐκτωρο(ς) |
| | Ὠρος Ὠρίωνο(ς) |
| | Μύσθ(ας) ἄλλο(ς) |
| | Ἡρακλ() (ὁμοίως) Ἴβις |
| | Ἀτρῆ(ς) ὃς κ(αὶ) Διδυμᾱτ(ος) |
| 20 | Νεμίω(ν) Πανετβ(ύιος) |

1. P. Mich. inv 6877, which Aly mentions, has now been published as *P. Petaus* 40.

2. Ἰωσήπο(υ): perhaps to be restored in *P. Princ.* 2 3.12 and 13; cf. *CPJ* 416.12 f. and notes.

4. Ἀπολλω(): e.g. Ἀπολλω(νίδης), Ἀπόλλω(ν), Ἀπολλώ(νιος). If the last is right, then the person is probably to be identified with the Ἀπολλῶνις Μύσθου in *P. Corn.* 21.81.

Μύσθ(ου): on the form of the name, see below, note to line 17.

6. A Hellen son of Sambas appears also in *P. Princ.* 1 1.13.

7-9. The same individuals appear in *P. Princ.* 6 2.2-4; in 4 Ἀλκίμ[ος] should be read instead of the editors' Ἀλκίμ[ακος].

9. Πανετβ(ῦς): the name is written out in full in *P. Corn.* 21.193, 199, 201, etc. See editors' note to line 49. The genitive is Πανετβύως: see below, note to line 14.

ἄλλο(ς): so also in line 17. For the resolution, see 642.158n. and *P. Petaus* 102.9, 18, 31, 43. In line 9 of the present text, ἄλλος could stand for either ἄλλος υἱός or ἄλλος ἀδελφός, but in line 17 only ἄλλος υἱός is acceptable.

10. Πετесоῦχ(ου): written very fast, as it usually is in these Philadelphian texts. I prefer to interpret such pieces of writing as Πετесоῦχος. The editors of *P. Corn.* and *P. Princ.*, however, frequently transcribed them as Πτεῦχος or Πετεῦχος. I have elsewhere shown that Πετесоῦχος is often written with extreme *Verschleifung* (*P. Mich.* 582 1.8n., 584.33n.), but I am not prepared to say that every occurrence of Πτεῦχος or Πετεῦχος should be corrected. Certainty is possible only where a clearly written Πετесоῦχος alternates with a form transcribed as Πετεῦχος (see 640.21n.).

A Nekpheros son of Petesouchos appears also in 642.167, *P. Corn.* 21.85, and *P. Princ.* 1 1.8 (the last transcribed as Πετεῦ[χου]).

14. The same person appears also in *P. Princ.* 1 2.2.

Πανετβ(ύως): the genitive is written out in full in *P. Corn.* 21.129.

17. Μύσθ(ας): in *P. Corn.* 21 (see 81n.), the nominative of this name in all the unabbreviated forms is regularly Μύσθας, and the genitive is Μύσθου. See also *P. Princ.* I, name index.

18. Ἡρακλ(): e.g. Ἡρακλ(ῆς) or Ἡρακλ(είδης).

(ὁμοίως): "Dies ὁμοίως steht häufig hinter Eigennamen, um die Wiederholung des Namens im Genetiv anzudeuten" — *WO* I 819, n. 2. Throughout 638-642 ὁμοίως is represented as a horizontal stroke, as it is in *P. Princ.* I and *P. Corn.* 21; see *P. Corn.* 21.15n.

Ἰβις: the reading is certain, and neither Ἰβίω(νος) nor ἰβιο(βοσκός) *aut sim.* can be read. For Ἰβις as a personal name, see *NB*, s.vv. Ἰβ, Ἰβεις, Ἰβις. Here it is probably the alias of the son; see *P. Petaus*, pp. 54 f.

19. ὅς κ(αί): Pap. ος^κ.

Διδυμᾶτ(ος): probably a mistake for Διδυμᾶς.

20. Νεμίω(ν): written out in full in *P. Princ.* 13 7.3; 10 10.22, etc.

639. List of Tax Payments

Inv. 844

12.3 x 17.1 cm.

1st half of 1st cent. A.D.

This papyrus, which is broken on all sides, contains three incomplete columns of money payments; each entry consists of a month day followed by the amount paid. The text is probably a summary of payments made to a tax collector. Not all of the payments are divisible by four (line 7: 186, line 23: 202,

line 28: 58, line 32: 122, line 39: 314), and thus the tetradrachma was not invariably used. No odd numbers are recorded, and, unless this is simply accidental, it shows that the smallest unit employed was the didrachm.

Col. 1

	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$	ξ
	$\kappa\bar{\beta}$	$\rho\beta$
	$\kappa\bar{\gamma}$	$\sigma\beta$
	$\kappa\bar{\delta}$	ρ
5	$\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$	$\rho\mu\delta$
	$\kappa\bar{\zeta}$	$\rho\pi\delta$
$\alpha\lambda(\lambda\alpha\iota)$	$\kappa\bar{\eta}$	$\rho\pi\varsigma$
	$\kappa\bar{\theta}$	$\kappa\eta$
	$\bar{\lambda}$	$\xi\eta$
10	$\bar{\alpha} \epsilon\omega(\varsigma) \bar{\gamma}$	$\mu\eta$
	$\bar{\delta}$	$\mu\delta$
	$\bar{\epsilon}$	$\xi\eta$
	$\bar{\eta}$	$\iota\varsigma$
	$\bar{\theta}$	$\sigma\beta$
15	$\bar{\iota}$	$\sigma\pi\delta$
		$\beta\tau\gamma\beta$
	$(\gamma\iota\nu.) (\delta\rho.)$	$\beta\tau\gamma\beta$
	$[\epsilon\pi]\epsilon\iota\phi$	
	$\iota\bar{\alpha}$	$\rho\eta$

Col. 2

20	$(\gamma\iota\nu.) (\delta\rho.) ..$	
	Μεσορῆ	
	$\bar{\xi}$	$\pi\eta$
	$\bar{\iota}$	$\sigma\beta$
	$\iota\bar{\beta}$	σ
25	$\iota\bar{\gamma}$	$\xi\delta$
	$\iota\bar{\zeta}$	$\rho\pi\eta$
	$\iota\bar{\eta}$	$\kappa\eta$
	$\iota\bar{\theta}$	$\iota\eta$
	$\iota\bar{\delta}$	δ
30	$\kappa\bar{\beta}$	$\kappa\delta$
	$\kappa\bar{\delta}$	$\rho\mu\delta$
	$\kappa\bar{\zeta}$	$\rho\kappa\beta$
$\alpha\lambda(\lambda\alpha\iota)$	$\kappa\bar{\eta}$	$\mu\delta$
	$\kappa\bar{\theta}$	$\lambda\beta$
35	$\kappa\bar{\theta}$	$\kappa\eta$

	$\bar{\lambda}$	$\kappa\delta$
	$\bar{\alpha} \epsilon\omega(\varsigma) \bar{\beta}$	$\nu\beta$
	$\bar{\gamma}$	$\tau\omicron\beta$
	$\bar{\delta}$	$\tau\iota\delta$
40	$\bar{\epsilon}$	$\mu\delta$
	[($\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu.$)] ($\delta\rho.$) $\beta\lambda\beta$	

	Col. 3	

	$\bar{\lambda}$	$\mu\delta$
	$\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$	$\iota\beta$
$\alpha\lambda(\lambda\alpha\iota)$	$\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$	δ
45	$\kappa\bar{\eta}$	κ
	$\kappa\bar{\theta}$	$\iota\varsigma$
	$\bar{\lambda} \epsilon\omega(\varsigma) \bar{\gamma}$	$\lambda\varsigma$
	$\bar{\delta}$	η
	$\bar{\epsilon}$	$\xi\eta$
50	($\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu.$) ($\delta\rho.$) $\omega\mu\varsigma$	

7. $\alpha\lambda(\lambda\alpha\iota)$: sc. $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$, so also in 33 and 44. But the scribe may have intended $\alpha\lambda(\lambda\omicron)$, i.e. "another item." In tax documents of this sort the word is invariably abbreviated.

17. The total, 2392 dr., includes sums now lost above line 1. The extant entries (excluding the doubtful entry in line 16) add up to 1466 dr.

18. [$\epsilon\pi$] $\epsilon\iota\phi$: 25 June-24 July.

19. $\rho\eta$: η corrected from δ (L. C. Youtie).

21. $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\rho\eta$: 25 July-23 August.

41. The total, 2032 dr., is correct.

50. How much has been lost may be seen by comparing the recorded total, 846 dr., with the total of the extant payments in this column, 208 dr.

Below this line a space has been left blank for 1.5 cm., perhaps an indication of the end of the year.

640. Tax List

Inv. 883

45 x 29.5 cm.

1st half of 1st cent. A.D.

This papyrus preserves three columns of a list of payments for the syntaximon, pig tax, and dike tax. The syntaximon consists of the poll tax (40 dr. per annum for non-privileged inhabitants of the Fayum) as well as supplementary charges and surtaxes. In the Philadelphian tax lists the total payment for syntaximon is usually either 44 dr. 6 ch. or 44 dr. 2 ch. The reason for the variation is not known, but it is possible that the 4 ch. were intended as a *symbolikon*. See Keyes, *AJP* 52, 1931, pp. 263-269; Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 121-124.

The pig tax, often paid with the poll tax, amounts to 1 dr. 1 ob. and is represented in the papyrus as α^- , i.e. 1 dr. 1 ob. This same method of presentation appears in *P. Princ.* I and *P. Corn.* 21 (see *P. Princ.* I introd., p. xiv). For the dike tax the standard rate of 6 dr. 4 ob. is found.

The present text lists monthly instalments made to local banks. For certain taxpayers several instalments are recorded, as the following table shows:

Reference	Name	Amount	Month
23	Antis son of Apollo()	20 dr. & dike tax	Choiak
53	"	12 dr. 6 ch. & pig tax	Pachon
22	Herakles son of Horos	20 dr.	Choiak
40	"	12 dr.	Phamenoth
25	Nekpheros son of Esouris	20 dr.	Choiak
30	"	8 dr.	Tubi
41	"	8 dr.	Phamenoth
56	"	8 dr. 6 ch. & pig tax	Pauni
3	Papontos son of Haryotes	16 dr.	Choiak
11	"	8 dr.	Mecheir
21	Petesouchos son of Phanomgeus	8 dr.	Choiak
39	"	8 dr.	Phamenoth
45	"	4 dr.	Pharmouthi
48	"	12 dr.	Pachon
18	Psosneus son of Horos	8 dr.	Neos Sebastos (=Hathyr)
36	"	16 dr.	Mecheir
4	Sambas son of Sisois	16 dr.	Choiak
12	"	12 dr. 2 ch. & pig tax	Mecheir

Only Nekpheros son of Esouris pays the full amount of 44 dr. 6 ch. The amounts entered for the others are smaller, but the list is not complete; only the months of Hathyr through Pauni (28 October-24 June) are listed.

The space between cols. 2 and 3 was later used for another list of payments for syntaximon and dike tax. A second year appears in lines 74 and 78, either that of Caligula (37/8), Claudius (41/2), or Nero (55/6); see above, p. 44. This text usually records the sum of 45 dr. 2 ob., the amount assessed when the syntaximon is in arrears (see Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 123). There is one occurrence of 29 dr. 2 ob. (line 66), and one of 17 dr. 2 ob. (68). In 83 f. no payment of syntaximon is recorded. The dike tax of 6 dr. 4 ob. is also regularly listed, and in lines 63-65 only the total of these two imposts appears. No dike tax is recorded in line 68, nor in 75 f., though in the latter it was subsequently added (see note to 77). In lines 75 f. an *aphelix* is said to owe the full amount of syntaximon for three years; see note *ad loc.*

640 is the work of two scribes. The hands are sometimes difficult to distinguish, but the text may have been composed as follows: First, scribe 1 wrote the headings (lines 1 and 16), and scribe 2 proceeded to fill in the rest of the three columns, including the totals in lines 6, 9, 13, 28, 37, 43, 46. Most of these are in

lighter ink and may have been added later. Scribe 1 made various additions to the list (see lines 19, 24, 31, 33), and he completed it starting in line 51. His is also the column inserted between cols. 2 and 3. After this insertion was completed, scribe 2 made the addition in line 77, which was subsequently canceled.

Col. 1

(1st hd.)	[τρ(απεξ) ..]..ου δι(ἀ) Ἀντιφιλο(υ) χειρῆστοῦ		
(2nd hd.)	Χοιάχ		
	Παποντῶς	Ἀρυώτου	ις
	Σαμβᾶς	Σισόιτος	ις
5	[Πανετβ]ῦς	Πτόλλειδ(ος)	ις
	(γίν.) (δρ.) μη		
	[Τῦβι]		
	[Σαμ]βᾶς	Πτόλλειδος	λβ
	(γίν.) (δρ.) λβ		
10	[Μεχείρ]		
	Παποντῶς	Ἀρυώτου	η
	Σαμβᾶς	Σισόιτο(ς)	ιβ (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) κ (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)		
	Φαμενώθ		
15	᾽Ωρίων	Ἀσκληπιάδ(ου)	ιβ

Col. 2

(1st hd.)	τρ(απεξ) Κερκεσοῦχ(ων) δι(ἀ) Μάρωνος πρε(σ)β(υτέρου)		
(2nd hd.)	μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ		
	Ψοσνεῦς	᾽Ωρου	η
(1st hd.)	(γίν.) (δρ.) η		
(2nd hd.)	Χοιάχ		
21	Πετεσοῦχ(ος)	Φανομγέ(ως)	η
	Ἡρακλῆς	᾽Ωρου	κ
	Ἄντις	Ἀπολλω()	κ
	(1st hd.)	χωματικ(οῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)	
(2nd. hd.)	Νεκφερῶ(ς)	Ἐσούρεος	κ
26	Φάσεις	Ἀνουβᾶτ(ος)	ιβ
	Πετερμώτ(ης)	Ἀνουβᾶτ(ος)	κ
	(γίν.) (δρ.) [[ϛβ]] συνερέ(ματος) (δρ.) ρ		
	Τῦβι		
30	Νεκφερῶς	Ἐσούρεος	η
(1st hd.)	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Ἀνουβ()	ς (τετρώβολον)

(2nd hd.) Ὠρίων Διονυσίου κ
 (1st hd.) (γίν.) (δρ.) κη, χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)

(2nd hd.) Μεχείρ

35 Ἀτρήης Ἀτρήους ις

Col. 3

Ψοσνεῦς Ὠρου ις
 (γίν.) (δρ.) λβ

Φαμενώθ

40 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Φανομγέ(ως) η

Ἡρακλῆς Ὠρου ιβ

Νεκφερῶς Ἐσούρε(ως) η

Πετσίρις Πετσίρε(ως) ις (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)

(γίν.) (δρ.) μδ (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)

Φαρμουῖθι

45 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Φανομγέ(ως) δ

(γίν.) (δρ.) δ

Παχών

Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Φανομγέ(ος) ιβ

Ἑρμίας Πετσίρεο(ς) κ

50 Πανετβ(ῦς) Ἀνουβᾶτ(ος) κ

(1st hd.) Ἐριεῦς Σαμβᾶτο(ς) ις

Φαῖσις (ὁμοίως) δ

Ἄντις Ἀπολλω() ιβ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον)

α (ὀβολός)

(γίν.) (δρ.) πδ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)

55 Παῦνι

Νεκφ(ερῶς) Ἐσούρεως η (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον)

α (ὀβολός)

(In the space between cols. 2 and 3)

(1st hd.) ποιμένες Κέλερος

ί

Πασίων Ἡρακλή(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)

60 χωματικ(οῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)

Ἰσχυρίων (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)

χωμα(τικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)

Ἀπολλῶνις Διδύμο(ν) (δρ.) νβ

Ψενοβάστεις Ἀκουσιλ(άου) (δρ.) νβ

65 Ἀτομεῦς Ἀγρωνο(ς) (δρ.) νβ

Ψομτισνε(ῦς) Πετερμούθ(εως) (δρ.) κθ (διώβολον)

χωμα(τικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)

- Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ὠρίων(ος) (δρ.) ιζ (διώβολον)
(γίν.) (δρ.) σογ (διώβολον) χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) μ
- 70 [[πο]]
ἐν ἐποικί(ω) Βασιλίδο(ς)
δ(ιὰ) Σωτηρίχ(ου)
Ἀγχορίμφις Ἰσχ() (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
χω(ματικοῦ) β (ἔτους) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
- 75 Ἰσχεῖς υἱὸς ἀφῆ(λιξ) [[[δρ.)]]
πρὸς γ (ἔτη) (δρ.) ρλς
Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Ἰσχυρίων(ος) (δρ.) με (διώβολον) (2nd hd.) [[(γίν.)?
συναιρέματ(ος) (γίν.) (δρ.) ρνβ, χωμ(ατικοῦ) (δρ.) ιγ (διώβολον)
υἱκῆ(ς) (δρ.) γ (τριώβολον)]]
- (78) (1st hd.) β (ἔτους) χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
Ἀπύγχις Μύσθ(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
- 80 χωμα(τικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
Πτόλλεις Μύσθ(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
χωμα(τικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
Ἀρβαίθη(ς) Ὠρίωνο(ς)
χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
- 85 γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) τιζ (διώβολον) χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) μ

1. *τρ(απεξ)*: restored from line 16, where the papyrus has *τρ*⁻; cf. also 641.1. The notation probably means that the money was deposited in the local bank through the *χειριστής* (for whom, see next note). Either *τρ(απέξη)* or *τρ(απέξητη)* is a likely resolution; cf. *P. Col.* V, p. 114.

χειριστοῦ: read *χειριστοῦ*. For this official, who was the agent of the *πράκτωρ*, see *P. Col.* V, p. 112, and Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 310 f. Cf. *SB* 9237, records of tax payments collected by the *πράκτορες* of Kainopolis through *χειρισταί*. They were especially concerned with collecting dues from villagers resident outside their *ιδία*; see Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 152, and *P. Princ.* 8 introd., pp. 27-29.

2. *Χοιάχ*: 27 Nov.-26 Dec.

4. Cf. *P. Princ.* 2 4.20.

5. Read *Πτόλλιδος*, so also in line 8.

7. [Τῦβι], 10. [Μεχείρ]: restored from lines 29 and 34. The months run from 27 Dec.-25 Jan. and from 26 Jan.-24 Feb., respectively.

8. [Σαμ]βᾶς: read by H. C. Youtie.

λβ: λ corrected from ις by 2nd hd.

12. (δίχαλκον): Pap. β . In this text the chalci are paid with the pig tax, as they are in *P. Princ.* I, *P. Corn.* 21 (see introd. to *P. Princ.* I, pp. xiii f.), and in 641.

13. Note that the chalci and the pig tax are included in the totals; cf. *P. Princ.* 4.

14. *Φαμενώθ*: 25 Feb.-26 March.

15. Cf. *P. Princ.* 13 7.5. Here the editors read Ἀσκλ(), but in their index they incorrectly record the patronymic as Ἀσκληᾶς.

16. *πρε(σ)β(υτέρου)*: the same form of abbreviation occurs in *P. Corn.* 21 (see editors' note to line 9) and in *P. Princ.* 2 4.16, 6.15; 10 1.8, 7.16; 13 14.21, 26. *P. Corn.* 21.280-281 shows that the resolution is correct:

Ἰσχυρίων	(ὁμοίως)	πρε(σ)β(ύτερος)
Ἰσχυρίων	(ὁμοίως)	νε(ώτερος)

Abbreviation by contraction is rare in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, except in compounds (e.g. κ(άτ)ου(κοι)). See H. I. Bell, "Abbreviation in Documentary Papyri," *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* I, pp. 424-433.

17. Νέου Σεβαστοῦ: i.e. Ἀθύρ, 28 Oct.-26 Nov.

21. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 2.25, where the editors read Πετεῦχ(ος); see 638.10n.

25. Read Ἐσούρεως, so also in 30.

26. Cf. 642.57 and n.

28. The scribe first added up the payments but omitted the 8 dr. in line 21. Subsequently he crossed out ρβ with light, oblique strokes of the pen and added the correct total. The dike tax in line 24 was not included, presumably because it was not inserted until later.

συνερέ(ματος): i.e. συναιρέματος. For the resolution, see line 77 and *WB*, s.v. The word means "total" and is especially used to refer to a monthly total; cf. *BGU* 1626.2n.

31. Ἀνουβ(): Ἀνουβάτος or Ἀνουβίωνος.

32. Cf. 642.51 and *P. Princ.* 8 1.5; 11 1.14.

43. The total is correct.

44. Φαρμοῦθι: 27 March-25 April.

47. Παχών: 26 April-25 May.

48. Read Φανομγέως.

49. Read Πεσίρεως.

50. The same person appears in *P. Princ.* 14 2.18, where the editors resolved Ἀνουβ(ίωνος). See also 642.86.

51. Cf. 642.44, and *P. Ryl.* 595.68.

52. Cf. *P. Princ.* 6 2.16; 14 4.26; 642.46.

53. In this hand the 1/2-obol sign is generally a slightly curved stroke attached to (δίχαλκον). Here it has blended with the last stroke of the preceding *beta*. It is more clearly made in lines 54 and 56.

54. The total is correct.

55. Παῦνι: 26 May-24 June.

57. Ποιμένες appear individually in *P. Corn.* 21 and *P. Princ.* I (see indexes for references). In the present papyrus they are grouped together, probably because they all pastured their flocks on the estate of Celer.

58. ι: read by L. C. Youtie, who suggests that it designates the day of the month.

60. The scribe first wrote χωματικ(οῦ) ς and started to write (τετρώβολον); he then corrected ς to (δρ.) and altered (τετρώβολον) to ς. After the corrected ς he continued anew with (τετρώβολον).

63. Read Ἀπολλώνιος.

νβ = 45 dr. 2 ob. for syntaximon + 6 dr. 4 ob. for dike tax. In the total (line 69) the taxes are computed separately.

64. Read Ψενοβάστις.

65. Also in *P. Princ.* 1.1.14. The name Ἀτομεῦς is not otherwise attested.

66. Ψομπισνε(ῦς): not in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

68. Also in *P. Corn.* 21.377 and *P. Princ.* 10 4.15. In the latter he is designated ποι(μήν).

69. The total is correct (cf. 63n.).

70. The scribe started to write ποιμένες, then canceled it with two horizontal strokes.

71. Read Βασιλίδος. This *epoikion* appears also in *P. Mich. inv.* 880v.179 (ined.).

73. Cf. 642.174 Ἀγχο[ρ]ίμφις Ἴσχ(). Probably Ἴσχ() should be resolved Ἴσχεῖτος, since the grandson's name is Ἴσχεῖς (line 75).

74. β corrected from (δρ.).

β (ἔτους): here and in line 78. It refers either to Caligula (37/8), Claudius (41/2), or Nero (55/6); see above, p. 44.

75. ἀφῆ(λιξ): the scribe began to make a *phi*, then corrected it to *alpha*. He canceled (δρ.) by two horizontal strokes.

75 f. This entry may be translated "Ischeis, his son, a minor, 136 dr. for 3 years," i.e. 45 dr. 2 ob. per annum. Ἀφῆλικες are not subject to poll tax, and the designation ἀφῆλιξ is here used to show that the name has been transferred from the list of minors to the poll-tax register (see *P. Mich.* 577 introd.).

The unambiguous language of line 76, πρὸς γ (ἔτη) (δρ.) ρλς, forces us to reconsider the meaning of *P. Mich.* 577.3-6, an official form inserted in a letter. The form reads:

ἀφελίκων παραγεγραμμένων
πρὸς ἔτη η Λ
λαογραφίας ἐτῶν τόσων
δραχμαὶ αἶδε.

In the introduction to 577 I argued that we should read ἀφελίκων παραγεγραμμένων πρὸς τὰ ἔτη η (ἔτους) . . . ἐτῶν τόσων δραχμαὶ αἶδε, "*aphelikes* registered in virtue of their majority in the registers of year 8, for x years, x drachmas." I had dismissed the notion that the phrase should be interpreted as παραγ. πρὸς ἔτη η (ἔτη), "registered for debt for 8 years," since this interpretation made Λ (=ἔτη) redundant and also involved a contradiction with ἐτῶν τόσων, "a phrase which implies variation in the length of the period of indebtedness" (p. 2). This view may be right, but I now feel that the new evidence of 640.75 f. makes the second interpretation less objectionable. Deleting Λ we could translate the entire phrase: "*aphelikes* registered for debt in poll tax for 8 years: x drachmas for x years." The scribe should have written λαογραφίας ἐτῶν η, δραχμαὶ τξβ (τετρώβολον), or τξγ, but he may have copied a model *verbatim* without making the necessary adjustments.

640.76 has πρὸς γ (ἔτη). More normal would be πρὸς (ἔτη) γ, since the number regularly comes after the noun in such indications of time; cf. e.g. *P. Mich.* 577.4 (cited above) and also 635.10: ἐφ' ἔτη πέντε; and see G. Cuendet, *L'Ordre des mots dans le texte grec . . . des évangiles*, Paris, 1929, pp. 139-142. But there are numerous exceptions. Cuendet notes the following from the NT:

Matt. 9.20 καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνὴ αἰμορροοῦσα δώδεκα ἔτη

Marc. 5.25 καὶ γυνὴ τις οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος δώδεκα ἔτη (some MSS read ἔτη δώδεκα)

See also *P. Petaus* 17.29-30: ἔξω . . . ἀτέλεια(ν) ἔτη τρεῖα (read τρία); 18.29: ἔξω . . . ἀτέλεια(ν) [(ἔτη)] γ; 23.24: [ἔξω . . . ἀ]τέλεια(ν) γ (ἔτη) (not γ (ἐτῶν), as in the edition; cf. *Matt.* 9.20 and *Marc.* 5.25 quoted above).

77. Cf. *P. Princ.* 2 5.13; 10 8.26; *P. Corn.* 21.73, 288. The Princeton texts were read as Περεῦχο(ς) and Περεῦχ(ος) respectively; see 638.10n.

The line which projects into col. 3, between lines 50 and 51, is to be read in conjunction with lines 75-76. It was added to the right of 77 because of lack of space next to 76. To the total of syntaximon there recorded (136 dr., a 3-year payment at 45 dr. 2 ob. per year), are added 13 dr. 2 ob. for dike tax (a 2-year payment) and 3 dr. 3 ob. for pig tax (a 3-year payment), total 152 dr. 5 ob. This is recorded as 152 dr. The entry was canceled by a single horizontal stroke.

79. Cf. *P. Princ.* 10 4.25, where the taxpayer is designated ὑφ(ορβός), and *P. Corn.* 21.272, 292.

81. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 9.3; 14 3.3. Read Πόλλις.

85. The total is correct for syntaximon, but not for dike tax. The latter should be 33 dr. 2 ob. The scribe may have multiplied 6 dr. 4 ob. by 6, the number of payers involved, without realizing that for one of them, Ischeis, no payment was listed. The entry to the right of 77 was added later, and it played no part in the calculation.

641. Two Notes for Tax Lists

Inv. 800

11 x 17.1 cm.

First half of 1st cent. A.D.

This papyrus contains two brief notes, which were probably intended for a list similar to 640 cols. 1-3. The first scribe of 640 is responsible for lines 1-4 and for the last line. The second scribe of 640 composed the rest of the text.

Year 3 is mentioned in line 1, either that of Caligula (38/9), Claudius (42/3), or Nero (56/7); see above, p. 44.

τρ(απεξ) γ (ἔτους) δι(ὰ) Θέωνος
Φαρμοῦθ(ι)
Πετερμοῦθ(ις) (ὁμοίως) κη
(γίν.) (δρ.) κη

(2nd hd.)	Παῦνι		
6	Ἵλρος	Ἄρφαήσε(ως) μδ (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)	
	Νεκφερῶ(ς)	Ἵλρου	λβ
	Ἀπύγχ(ις)	Ἀπύγχ(εως)	ις (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)
(1st hd.)	Παβώνη(ς)	Σαμβ(ᾶτος)	κη (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)

1. τρ(απεξ): see 640. 1n.

2. Φαρμοῦθ(ι): 27 March-25 April.

3. Cf. *P. Corn.* 21.396.

5. Παῦνι: 26 May-24 June.

6. Two people named Horos son of Harphaesis appear in *P. Princ.* 8 4.20 f. and in 642. 157 f. (see 642.155-158n.). It is not clear which of the two is referred to in the present text. Horos is followed here by Nekpheros son of Horos; in the Princeton papyrus and in 642 Nekpheros precedes Horos.

7. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 4.19, 7.3; 12 1.2; 642.156, and see preceding note.

9. Παβώνη(ς): cf. Παβῶνι (dative) in *P. Princ.* 13 18.2.

642. Tax List

Inv. 873

41.3 x 31 cm.

After 48/9 or 62/3 A.D.

The present papyrus contains a list of taxpayers arranged topographically. Most of the localities mentioned are in the division of Herakleides, but, as the notes point out, some lie in Themistes and Polemon, while others are situated in the neighboring Memphite Nome.

Six columns are preserved, and to the left of the first there are remnants of a preceding column. It reads as follows (the line numbers refer to those of col. 1): 3]. 4]β() 6Πανε]τβ(ύιος) 7Παν]ετβ(ύιος) 8'Ασκλη]πιά(δου) 10]. 11]με (διώβολον). The same scribe drafted 638 and 639; he is also the first scribe of 640 and 641.

The method of calculation employed in this text requires explanation. Opposite the names of many taxpayers the sum of 45 dr. 2 ob. appears; occasionally different amounts are found (line 77: 13 dr. 2 ob., line 78: ? dr. 4 ob., line 92: 29 dr. 2 ob.). When no amount is recorded, 20 dr. payments are involved, and these are added up in the totals; e.g. lines 67-72 list four people, and the total reads: "equal 4 men, 80 dr." Sums other than 20 dr. are totaled separately; e.g. lines 107-112 list four persons, beside one of whom 45 dr. 2 ob. are recorded, and the total reads: "equal 3 men, 60 dr.; equal 105 dr. 2 ob."

The sum of 45 dr. 2 ob. indicates arrears of villagers in syntaximon (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 123). At first sight the 20 dr. payments suggest that we are dealing with metropolitans, for whom that rate was standard (*ibid.* p. 121). But some of the people credited with 20 dr. appear elsewhere owing 45 dr. 2 ob. (see especially 89-92n., also notes to 18 and 69). Obviously the same persons cannot be villagers in one text and metropolitans in another. The 20 dr. sums may represent partial payments, with the remainder, 25 dr. 2 ob., to follow later. If, however, this explanation is correct, it is surprising that the list records no payments of the balance. Perhaps the document was drafted in the first part of the year; this could account for the lack of payments of 25 dr. 2 ob. But multiplying hypotheses in this fashion is hardly satisfying. I know of no parallels that illuminate this text.¹

Except for its lack of 20 dr. payments, *P. Princ.* 14 resembles 642 very closely. Each text is written by the same scribe (see above, p. 44), each deals

1. Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 408, n. 34, refers to a few cases of poll-tax receipts for 20 dr. connected with a village, not with the metropolis (*P. Teb.* 625; 627; perhaps *Stud. Pal.* XXII 124; *P. Fay.* 196-8; 282; 284; 350-3; 356-8). But these texts offer nothing comparable to the situation in 642. *P. Teb.* 625 and 627, which are only described and are not published in full, are said by the editors to involve 20 dr. payments made on behalf of Thegonis and Tebtunis respectively. But Professor John Shelton informs me (letter of 11 July 1972) that 625 is clearly for 40 dr., and that 627 is so badly damaged that it originally may have had more than the two payments still preserved (12 dr. & 8 dr.). All the other papyri cited by Wallace include 10 ob. for *prodiagrophomena*, as one expects in receipts issued to metropolitans (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 121). Of these, *Stud. Pal.* XXII 124 mentions no locality, and concerning the Fayum texts, which were only described in the edition, Wallace says: "until [they] are fully published it will be impossible to know whether they ever bore local place names." In those that have thus far been published (197: *ZPE* 5, 1970, pp. 285 f; 350: *ibid.* 20 f; 351: *P. Yale* 73), the topographical designation is either lost or badly damaged. The 10 ob. for *prodiagrophomena* probably means that the metropolis is involved.

with Philadelphians resident outside of the village,² and each has the same topographical arrangement. The Princeton list is clearly contemporary with 642,³ but it is unlikely that either text is a continuation of the other, since the same individuals appear in both (see notes to 28 f., 89-92 *sub fin.*, 131-133, 135-139).

Col. 1

Ἡφαιστιάδο(ς)

Ἄντις Πανετβ(ύιος)

Πανετβ(ῦς) Πανετβ(ύιος)

Αὐνῆς Α..ω()

5 Παμένη(ς) Πανωο(ύθεως)

Χ..κ() Π.....

Ἔλρος .[.].

Ἄπελ(λῆς)

Πεμῆς Πονώρεω(ς)

10 Σαμβ(ᾶς) Ἄπλωνίο(υ)

Πανωοῦθ(ις) (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)

(γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) θ, (δρ.) ρπ, (γίν.) (δρ.) σκδ

Βακχ(ιάδος)

Λοῦ[σω]ρ Π....

15 Ὀννῶφρ[ις ..]...

(γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) β, [(δρ.)] μ

Ἱερᾶς Νικολάου

Κάλλις Ἀρφαή(σεως)

.ε...ις Ἀπύγχ(εως)

20 Ἀν[...] Ἀπύγχ(εως)

....() Ἀνουβ() με (διώβολον)

[(γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) γ,] (δρ.) ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρε (διώβολον)

[.....]....ς

[± 7]..τος

25 [± 7]...ω()

[± 7]...

Col. 2

Ἀρσινόης

Παχνοῦβ(ις) (ὁμοίως)

Ἀρογ(ώτης) Ψενοβάστιω(ς)

30 Νεκφερω(ς)[

traces of 3 lines

Φᾶσις Ἡρακλή(ου)

2. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, pp. 150-152, has a valuable discussion, based on *P. Princ.* I, of the large number of Philadelphians residing abroad; his remarks are applicable to the present papyrus.

3. For the date of *P. Princ.* 14, see above, p. 44.

- 35 (γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) ζ, (δρ.) ρμ
 ἐποικί(υ)
 Μύσθ(ας) ...ω()
ς Ὀρίωνο(ς)
 (δρ.?) με (διώβολον?)
 40 Ἀσκληπιά(δης) Σαμβ(ᾱτος)
 [(γίν.)] ἄνδ(ρες) γ, (δρ.?) [ξ], (γίν.) (δρ.) ρε (διώβολον)
 ἐποικί(υ) Ἡρώνος
 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Σαμβ(ᾱτος)
 Ἐριεῦς Σαμβ(ᾱτος)
 45 Σισόις Σαμβ(ᾱτος)
 Φαῆσις Φαήσεω(ς)
 (γίν.) δ, (δρ.) π
 [Κερκ]εσούχ(ων)
 Πτόλλις Βησᾱτος
 50ς Βησᾱτος
 Ὀρί[ων] Διονυσί(υ)
 [...] Ὀρίωνο(ς)
 [...] Ὀρίω(νος)
].....()

Col. 3

- 55 Νεκφερῶς Ἐσούρεως
 [Σα]μβ(ᾱς) Φάσιτο(ς)
 [Φά]σις Ἀνουβᾱθο(ς)
 Νεκφερῶς Φανομγ(έως)
 Πανετβ(ῦς) Ἀτρήους
 60 (γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) ι, (δρ.) σ
 Κα[ρ]ανίδ(ος)
 Ζωίλο(ς) Σ[α]μβᾱ(τος) (δρ.) με [(διώβολον)]
 Πανετβ(ῦς) Σ....ο()
 Πα....[
 65 [...]... ἀφῆλ(ιξ) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) . (δρ.?) [
 Στράτωνο(ς) ἐποικίου
 Ἐριεῦς Πετεσούχ(ου)
 Ἀρφαῆσις Ἀνουβ()
 70 Φάσις Ἀρμύσεω(ς)
 Φᾱσις Ἡρακλή(ου)
 (γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) δ, (δρ.) π
 ἐποικί(υ) Εὔσεβοῦς
 Ὀννῶφρις Πεμεω()
 75 Ἰσᾱς Πετεσούχ(ου)

Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Ἀρνώτ(ου)
 Σαμβ(ᾱς) Μαρρή(ους) μη() [(δρ.)] ιγ (διώβολον)
 θ (ἔτους) (δρ.) . (τετρώβολον)
 (γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) ε, (δρ.) ριγ (διώβολον)

Col. 4

- 80 ἐποικίου Δημητρίου
 Νεκφερῶς Νεκφερῶ(τος)
ς Πομσ[άι]τ(ος)
 [±6] Σοήρε(ως)
 [±6] Ὡρου
- 85 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ὡρου
 Πανετβ(ῦς) Ἀν[ο]υβ(ᾱτος)
 (γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) ς, (δρ.) ρκ
- Σεβεννύτου
 Μύσθ(ας) Πετεχ(ῶντος)
 90 Ἀρφαῆ(σις) Πετεσοῦχ(ου)
 Ἰβίων Μαρρή(ους)
 Φίλων Μεσοφρη() (δρ.) κθ (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) γ, (δρ.) ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) πθ (διώβολον)
- Βουβάστο(υ)
 95 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Μύσθ(ου)
 Ὀννῶφρ(ις) Ὀννῶ(φρεως)
 Θεοκλῆ(ς) ...λ()
 Πασείω(ν) Ἀκο()
 Ἀκουσίλ(αος) ..ιο()
 100 (γίν.) ε, (δρ.) ρ
- ἐποικίου(υ) Βήλου
 Κόμων Ἀρνώτ(ου)
 Πουῶρις Ἀτρή(ους)
 Θίμβρω(ν) Ἀρψή(μιος)
 105 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ἡρακλή(ου)
 (γίν.) δ, (δρ.) π
- Βερνικίδ(ος)
 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Πετεσοῦχ(ου)
 Πατῦνις Παρα(ῦτος) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 110 Παραῦς υἱός
 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ὡρου
 (γίν.) γ, (δρ.) ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρε (διώβολον)

Col. 5

- Ἀργιάδ(ος)
 Παῖσι(ς) (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 115 (γίν.) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Μένδ(ητος) [±5]. Σαμβ(ᾱτος)
 (γίν.) [α (δρ.) κ]
 Μητροδ(ώρου) Σαμβ(ᾱς) Ἡρᾱτ(ος)
 (γίν.) α (δρ.) κ
 120 Φιλω[τ]ερίδ(ος)
 Ἡ[ρ]ᾱς Μύσθ[ο]υ
 Μελέαγρος Ἀνουβ(ίωνος)
 (γίν.) (δρ.) μ
 Μα[γ]δόλων
 125 Κάστωρ Ὀννώφρεο(ς)
 Ἡρων Ὀννώφρεο(ς)
 Φᾱσις Φαή(σεως) (δρ.) με [(διώβολον)]
 Χαιρή(μων) Εἰρηναίο(υ)
 Ὠρίων Ὀν[ν]ώφρε(ος)
 130 (γίν.) δ, [(δρ.)] π, (γίν.) [(δρ.) ρκε (διώβολον)]
 ἐποικί(υ) Ἀμφιλοχ()
 Πανεσνεῦς Μύσ[θ]ου(δρ.) με (διώβολον)]
 Νεκφερῶς Τεῶτ(ος) (δρ.) μ[ε] (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (τετρώβολον)
 135 ἐποικίου Σεονήρου
 Ἀπύγχ(ις) (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Πετεσούχ(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Ἀριένις Ὀννώ(φρεως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Ὀννώφρις Πουώ(ρεως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 140 ((γίν.) (δρ.) ρπα (διώβολον))
 ενδη() ... [
 Ν[εκ]φ[ε]ρῶ(ς).[...]
 [(γίν.)] (δρ.) με (διώβολον)

Col. 6

- Μητροπόλ(εως)
 145 Χαιρήμω(υ) Πυλάδο(υ)
 Ἰσχυρίω(υ) ἀδελφό(ς)
 Μελαγκ(όμας) Ἰσχυρίω(νος)
 Ἰσχυ[ρί]ω(υ) [...].()
 Ἡρακλ[() ...].()
 150 Νίκανδ(ρος) Ἀρχ(εδήμου)
 Χαιρή(μων) Ἀρχεδή(μου)

	Παμένη(ς) Σαμβ(ᾱτος)	
	(γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) η, (δρ.) ρξ	
	Ψύων	
155	Σαμουήρις Ώρου	
	Νεκφερῶ(ς) Ώρου	
	Ώρος Ἀρφαή(σεως)	
	Ώρος ἄλλο(ς) Ἀρφαή(σεως)	
	(γίν.) ἄνδ(ρες) δ, (δρ.) π	
160	Βουσίρεο(ς)	
	Προτίων Πραξίου	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
	Ἐριεῦς ..[..]λ()	με (διώβολον)
	Ψοσνεῦς Πραξί(ου)	με (διώβολον)
	(δρ.) ρλς	
165	Μέας Ἰσήο(υ)	
	Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Νεκφερῶ(τος)	με (διώβολον)
	Νεκφερῶ(ς) υἱό(ς)	με (διώβολον)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (τετρώβολον)	
	Κερκεθ(οήριος) Πουῶρις Ἀρβαίθ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
170	Ἀκανθ(ῶνος) Ἐσόνις Μύσθ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
	Ἡρακλῆ(ς) ἀδελφό(ς)	[(δρ.)] μ[ε (διώβολον)]
	(γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (τετρώβολον)	
	Σιμῶρεω(ν)	
	Ἀγχο[ρ]ίμφις Ἰσχ()	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
175	(γίν.) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)	
	Ἰσήο(υ)	
	Ἀρφαῆ(σις) Ὀννώφρεω(ς)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)

1. Hephaistias and Bacchias (line 13) formed an administrative unity; see *P. Petaus* 40.10n.; *P. Mich.* 583.37: *πρ[ό]ς τῷ γραφίῳ Βακχιάδος καὶ Ἡφαιστιάδος*.

4. Α..ω(): Possibly Ἀπλω(νος); cf. *P. Princ.* 14 3.25: *Ἀννῆς Ἀπλωνος*. But the third letter looks more like a *mu* than a *lambda*; contrast Ἀπλωνί(ο) in line 10.

8. Possibly Ἀπελ(λῆς) Ἰωσήπο(υ), as in 638.2, but the writing is almost invisible.

9. Πεμῆς: for the name see *O. Mich.* 55.1 and *P. Mich.* 224.2911.

10. Ἀπλωνί(ο): read by H. C. Youtie.

12. The correct total would be 225 dr. 2 ob.

14. Λού[σ]ω[ν]: read by L. C. Youtie, who suggests that the father's name might be Πάνος; cf. *P. Princ.* 13 18.14 f. (also under Bacchias):

Ἀρεοῦς Πάνου

Λούσων

17. Ἱερᾶς Νικολάου: see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 34.18n.; the locality is often mentioned with Karanis.

18. Cf. *P. Corn.* 24.25 f., *P. Ryl.* 595.35 f. (45 dr. 2 ob. in the latter).

27. Here the village in the Herakleides division is meant; see *P. Teb.* II, pp. 369 f. For designating the nome capital, Arsinoe, the scribe uses *μητρόπολις* (see line 144). Cf. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, pp. 150, n. 185, and 152, n. 192.

28 f. These lines were read by H. C. Youtie, who compares *P. Princ.* 14 1.26:

Παχνοῦβ(ις) Παχνούβ(εως) and 24: Ἀροντώτη(ς) Ψενοβάστ[εως].

42. This epoikion is not known to me elsewhere. The ἐποίκιον Ἡρωνος which appears on mummy tickets published in *SB I* (4283, 5439, 5464, 5470, 5999) is located in the Panopolite Nome; cf. *SB* 5999, where the ἐποίκιον Ἡρωνος is mentioned with Βομπαή; the latter is known to be Panopolite (J. Seyfarth, *Archiv* 16, 1958, p. 168).

44. Cf. 640.51 and n.

46. Cf. 650.52 and n.

48. The same locality appears in *P. Princ.* 13 8.11, where the editors read Κερκευχ() and in their note suggest Κερκε(σο)ῦχα. See Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 150, n. 185.

51. Cf. 640.32 and n.

54. Unless an error is involved, this line does not record a name. The five names in this column lead directly to the first five in the next, since the scribe in line 60 records 10 men.

55. Cf. 640.25, 30, 41, 56; see also below, note to 57.

56. Φάσιτο(ς): read by L. C. Youtie.

57. [Φά]σεις: restored on the basis of 640.26. In the preceding line of 640 Nekpheros son of Esouris is mentioned. Here a person of this name appears in line 55. The proximity of the two names strongly suggests that the same individuals are involved in both texts.

Ἀνουβᾶθο(ς): read Ἀνουβᾶτος.

63. Πανετβ(ῦς): also possible is Πανοῦβ(ις). The father's name may be Σαμβᾶτο(ς) (L. C. Youtie).

65. For the reference to an *aphelix*, see note to 640.75 f.

66. The total is uncertain because of the damage in line 64.

67. Στράτωνο(ς) ἐποικίον: located in the northeastern part of the Herakleides division, near Sebennytyos (line 88). It appears as an ἐποίκιον in *P. Princ.* 13 8.29, 19.1; and in 8 3.4, 8, 10, 12 (see Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 150, n. 185). Later it grew in size and was called a κώμη. See *P. Teb.* II, p. 402, and *P. Mert.* 100.1n. Cf. *P. Petaus* 40.22: Στράτωνος Σεβεννύτου.

68. Cf. *P. Princ.* 13 8.31, where the editors read Πτεύχ(ου). See 638.10n. The Princeton entry is also listed under Straton (see line 29).

69. Perhaps to be identified with the Ἀρφαῖσις Ἀνουβί(ωνος), in *P. Princ.* 8 3.7, where he is listed as residing at Straton (line 8); cf. also *P. Ryl.* 595.20 (there with 45 dr. 2 ob.).

71. Perhaps this is the Phasis son of Herakles who is residing in Straton in *P. Princ.* 8 3.3. Individuals of the same name appear also in *P. Princ.* 8 2.4; *P. Corn.* 21.343; 22.86.

73. This locality appears also in *P. Princ.* 13 8.32, 19.2 (in the latter the genitive is Εἰσεβέως). In the Princeton and Michigan texts it is mentioned with Straton and may have been located near it.

74. Perhaps Πεμέω(ς), gen. of Πεμήης (line 9).

77. A Sambas son of Marres appears in *P. Ryl.* 595.88. If he is to be identified with the present Sambas, μη() cannot be resolved μη(τροπολίτης); in the Rylands text Sambas owes 45 dr. 2 ob. for poll tax, but if he were a metropolitan, he would have to pay only 20 dr. (Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 121). Perhaps μη(τροπόλεως): i.e. this line indicates one domicile (Arsinoe), the next line another (epoikion Eusebous). Cf. below, note to 146 and 152 for the resolution of μη(τροπόλεως).

The payment of 13 dr. 2 ob. is one-third of the 40 dr. due for laographia. The mention of (τετρώβολον) in the next line suggests that κς immediately preceded; but the space seems sufficient for only one letter, possibly *kappa*.

78. θ (ἔτους): Claudius (48/9) or Nero (62/3).

79. ἀνδ(ρες) €: one expects ἀνδ(ρες) δ.

ργ (διώβολον): if this were correct, then 40 dr. 0 ob. should have appeared in line 78.

80. This locality is not to be identified with the ἐποίκιον Δημητρίου in *WB III*, Abschnitt 16a; the latter is in the Hermopolite Nome.

86. Cf. 640.50 and n.

88. Sebennytyos is in the southern part of the Herakleides division; see *P. Petaus*, p. 33, n. 36.

89-92. Cf. *P. Ryl.* 595.91-93:

Μυσθᾶς Πετεχῶ(ντος) (δρ.) με = χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς f

Ἰβίων Μυρή(ος) (δρ.) με = χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς f

Φίλων Παμφρή(μμιος) (δρ.) με = χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς f

From a photograph generously provided by Dr. F. Taylor, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, it is clear that Μαυρή(ος) should be read in line 92. The patronymic in 93 matches that in 642.92, but in neither is the reading certain. Μεσοφρη() is possible. For Μεσοφρῆς cf. *P. Teb.* 1026.13: Μεσοφρῆτο[ς] (gen.), and *BGU* 906.23: Μεσωφρήους (gen.). The Rylands papyrus has three of the four persons mentioned in the present passage. Mysthas son of Petechon appears also in *P. Princ.* 10 1.6, and Ibion son of Marres in *P. Princ.* 13 5.17 and 14 3.12 (in the last read Μαυρή(ος), not Μερρή(ος)).

92 is crowded in between 91 and 93 and may have been added later. This view derives support from the final total in 93: (γίν.) (δρ.) πθ (διώβολον); this total includes the 29 dr. 2 ob. in line 92, and it is distinctly lighter than what immediately precedes.

94. Βουβάστο(ν): "it probably lay between the southeast corner of lake Moeris and Philadelphia" — *P. Teb.* II, p. 373.

97. Θεοκλή(ς): read by L. C. Youtie, who suggests that the patronymic is Πτόλλ(λιδος); cf. *P. Princ.* 8 2.7; 9 4.26.

98. Πασείω(ν): read by L. C. Youtie.

101. For this epoikion see *P. Teb.* II, p. 373.

102. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 4.12.

103. Cf. *P. Corn.* 21.399.

104. Cf. *P. Princ.* 9 4.15 (Θίβρων Ἀρφήμιος); and 13 12.16.

107. Βερνικῶ(ς): a common spelling variant of Βερενκίδος (e.g. *BGU* 1893.29 and *passim*; 2075.4; *P. Lond.* II 266 (p. 233).129). Two villages of this name are known: Βερενκίς Αἰγιαλοῦ in Themistes, near Euhemeria and Theadelphia; and Βερενκίς Θεομοφόρου in Polemon, west of Kerkeosiris (see *P. Teb.* II, p. 373; *BGU* 2075.4n.). The present passage most probably refers to B. Αἰγιαλοῦ, since the latter is elsewhere associated with Boubastos (line 94; see *P. Teb. loc. cit.*). The reference in line 113 to Argias, near Theadelphia, also suggests that we are dealing with B. Αἰγιαλοῦ.

109. Cf. *P. Princ.* 13 19.12, where the editors read Πατῦνις Παρ(). In their index they have Πάρω(ν). The present papyrus has a mark of abbreviation after the rho, and when I examined the Princeton text, I found a similar formation. This mark is much more like a stylized alpha than an omega. That the name is Παραῦς is strongly suggested by the name of the grandson, Παραῦς, in the following line.

113. Argias is in Themistes, near Theadelphia; see *P. Teb.* 872.14n., and 628.8.

116. Μένδ(ητος): located in Herakleides (*P. Teb.* II, p. 389).

118. Μητροδ(ώρου), 120. Φίλω[τ]ερίδ(ος): the two localities are also joined in *P. Princ.* 13 7.23 f., where Sambas son of Heras likewise appears, but under the latter epoikion (for a corrected text of these lines, see Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, p. 152, n. 191). Both epoikia are in Herakleides. There was another Μητροδώρου in Polemon, and another Φίλωτερίδος in Themistes (see *P. Teb.* II, pp. 389 and 408).

121. Ἡ[ρ]ᾱς: read by L. C. Youtie.
 122. Μελέαγρος: the final ος written above the line. The name was read by L. C. Youtie, who compares *P. Princ.* 10 1.31.
 124. Μα[γ]δόλων: read Μαγδώλων. The village is located in Polemon and is to be identified with the modern Medīnet Nehās (see *P. Teb.* II, p. 388).
 125-129. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 6.24-28:

Φᾱσις Φαήσεως μη(τρὸς) Θανούβιο(ς)	└ λγ
Ἡρών δς καὶ Τυρρηναίο(ς) Ὀννώ(φρεως)	└ λθ
Κάστωρ Ὀννώφρεο(ς)	└ μζ
Ὠρίων Ὀννώφρεο(ς)	└ με
Σισόις δς καὶ Χαιρήμων Εὐρίωνος	└ κζ

The same persons are involved in the present Michigan papyrus, and in line 28 of *P. Princ.*, Εἰρηναί(ο) should be read instead of Εὐρίωνος. Mrs. Ann Hanson kindly confirmed this reading on the original (letter of 16 February 1972). Mrs. Hanson also informed me that Φᾱσις is inevitable in 24; in 642.127 the name superficially resembles Φᾱεις. The name Τυρρηναίο(ς) is very insecure; according to Mrs. Hanson nothing is clear before ηναίο(ς).

For Ὀννώφρεος in lines 125, 126, 129 read Ὀννώφρεως.

131-133. This entry should be compared with *P. Princ.* 14 1.8-11, where the same individuals appear:

Ἐποικίου Ἀντωνίου θυγατρὸς ᾱ	
Παμφίλου περὶ Βουβάστο(υ) ¹	
Νεκφερῶς Τεῶστο(ς)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Πανερνεῦς Μύσθ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)

The same locality is referred to in both papyri, the one having the Egyptian masculine article Π-, the other not. The Princeton text should read Παμφίλοχ(). The name is perhaps to be resolved as (Π)αμφιλόχ(ου); Ἀμφίλοχος is found as a personal name in *P. Hib.* 111.21.

132. Πανερνεῦς: the name is written with *Verschleifung*, and the first sigma has melted into the nu. The name is not doubtful in the Princeton text, and the dot should be removed.

135-139. With this entry, cf. *P. Princ.* 14 1.1-6:

Ἐποικίου Εὐ..φοροῦ περὶ Περσέω(υ) ²	
Ὀννώφρις Πουώρεως	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἀριένις Ὀννώφρε(ως)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἡρακλῆ(ς) ἀδελφός	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἀπύγχις Ἀπύγχ(εως)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Πετεύχ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)

The same taxpayers, with the exception of Herakles brother of Harienis, appear in 642. Onnophris son of Pouoris is also found in *P. Ryl.* 595.27. Examining the Princeton papyrus, I saw that line 1 should read Ἐποικίου Σεουήρου, and that Πετεσοῦχ(ου) is probably to be read in line 6 (see 638.1On.).

141. Possibly ἐνδη(μῶν) ἐν κ[ώμη]; the entry would then record a villager still domiciled in Philadelphia. For the phrase cf. *P. Corn.* 22.1-2: καταγινωμένου ἐν τῇ κώμῃ.

146 and 152. Ischyriion son of Pylades and Pamenes son of Sambas appear also in *P. Corn.* 23a.43 f., where the latter's name is given as Παμμένις (the plate on p. 185 of *P. Corn.* shows that this is the correct reading). In this section of the Cornell text every entry is preceded by μη(). This is to be resolved μη(τροπόλεως); see line 144 above.

1. The accusative is expected, but see *P. Princ.* 14 1.1 quoted below, lines 135-139n.
 2. The genitive is clear on the papyrus.

150 f. The same individuals appear in *P. Princ.* 8 5.17 and 19. It is possible that the Herakl[in line 149 is to be identified as the Ἡρακλ(ῆς) Ψενατύμε(ως) in *P. Princ.* 8 5.16.

154. Ψύων: in the Herakleides division; see *P. Teb.* II, p. 412.

155-158. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 4.18-21:

Φαμουηρε(υς) ὃς καὶ Ἀππῶνις Ὡρο(υ)	⊥ μη
Νεκφερῶ(ς) Ὡρου	⊥ λθ
Ὡρος Ἀρφαή(σεως) τ(οῦ) καὶ Ἀπάθ(ου) μη(τρὸς) Ταύρε(ως)	⊥ κε
Ὡρος Ἀρφαή(σεως) μη(τρὸς) Ταύρε(ως)	⊥ κ

The same people are involved in 642, but the first name in both texts causes difficulties. The Michigan papyrus has *ϣωμυγρις*, which I interpret as Σαμουήρις, a spelling variant of Σαμουήλις. About the name in the Princeton text Mrs. Hanson writes as follows (letter of 16 February 1972): "The initial *phi* of the name Phamouêris seems absolutely certain: *ϣανϣηρις*. The two edges seem to fit together, and nothing seems lost. The only part of this name which seems at all paleographically difficult is the high and raised abbreviated close, which resembles the little *omegas* [in Παποντῶ(ς) line 17, and Νεκφερῶ(ς) line 19]." These remarks suggest that Φαμουήρεω(ς) would be a better reading than Φαμουηρε(υς), but the discrepancy with Σαμουήρις cannot yet be resolved. Perhaps Φαμ- was inadvertently written for Ψαμ-, i.e. Σαμ- preceded by the Egyptian masculine article Π-.

158. ἄλλο(ς) sc. υἱός. See lines 20-21 of the Princeton text cited in the preceding note.

160. Βουσίρεο(ς): read Βουσίρεως. The village is located in the division of Polemon, perhaps at Miniet el Hêtân; see *P. Teb.* II, p. 374.

161. Protion son of Praxias appears also in *P. Corn.* 24.49, and in *P. Ryl.* 595.112. Προτίων is a variant spelling of Πρωτίων.

165. Μέας Ἰσῆο(υ): Ἰσῆον is a later spelling of Ἰσιεῖον, Ἰσιῆον (cf. *O. Osl.*, p. 50). This locality is perhaps to be connected with the Memphite village mentioned in *WO* 1102.3: Μεμφίτου Μέας; *BGU* 1223.11: ἀπὸ Μῆας; 1620 8.20: Μαίας (see note *ad loc.*); *SB* 6751.4: ἐγ Μῆας; *P. Ryl.* 562.7: ἐν Μεῖα[ι]. Cf. *O. Osl.*, p. 51.

167. See 638.10 and n.

169. Κερκεθ(οήριος): in Polemon and perhaps to be identified with Khamsîn, west of Talît; *P. Teb.* II, p. 383.

For Pouoris son of Harbaithes cf. *P. Princ.* 8 8.19.

170. Ἀκανθ(ῶνος): this locality is in the Memphite Nome and lies south of Memphis. See *P. Cair. Isidor.* 13.22n. and J. Shelton, *Chronique d'Eg.* 45, 1970, pp. 349 f.

173. Σμιύρεω(υ): for the locality see *P. Athen.* 17.2: ἀπὸ ἐποι[κίου] Σμιουρωγ, *P. Lond.* I 99 (p. 159). 37: Σμιυρωων; *PCZen.* 59475.9: ἀπὸ] Σμιυρά. Cf. *BL* III, p. 216.

176. Ἰσῆο(υ): For numerous localities of this name, both in the Fayum and elsewhere, see *O. Osl.*, pp. 50-52. Here, as in line 165, the later spelling is used.

177. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 2.15; *P. Corn.* 21.186, 404; 23a.26.

The following four papyri contain mainly receipts issued to sitologoi for payments of *τιμὴ πυροῦ*; these payments were to be credited to Philadelphia and its dependency Tanis. The texts were drawn up in the early fourth century of our era; they belong to a small archive, some pieces of which have already been

published: inv. 399, a receipt for *τιμὴ πυροῦ*, appeared as *P. Mich.* 600; inv. 393, which is 646 in the present collection, was first edited as No. 3 in my article, "Late Roman Papyri from the Michigan Collection," *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 184-187; and inv. 402, a receipt for barley, appeared as No. 4 in the same article (pp. 187 f.) and is here republished as 647.

The expression *τιμὴ πυροῦ*, which occurs throughout 643-646, refers to arrears in the land tax; this is its regular use at this period.¹ The impost was levied *in natura*, but the arrears were often commuted to money, as they are in the present papyri; see *WO* I, pp. 290 f. and cf. R. MacMullen, *Aegyptus* 42, 1962, p. 100. In the Byzantine period proceeds from the land tax not only furnished grain for the principal cities of the Empire but also maintained the governmental and military bureaucracies. In the latter case the tax was called the *annona militaris*, in the former the *annona civica*.² The sitologoi collected the impost, whether paid in kind or discharged through a money payment.³

Several groups of sitologoi appear in these texts, as may be seen from the following table:

	Τιμὴ Πυροῦ	Locality
643 (January/May 303) Lines 4-5: Cornelius, Apynchis, and the associate sitologoi ⁴	300/1	Phil. and Tanis
644 (August/November 303) Lines 20-21: Aphon, ⁵ Pasis, and the associate sitologoi	300/1 and 301/2	Phil. and Tanis
645 (May/June 304) Lines 8-9: Aphon, Ptolemaios, and the associate sitologoi Line 22: Aphon and Pasis	300/1 "	Phil. "
646 (August/November 304) Lines 3-4 & 22-23: Apynchis, Aboeis, and the associate sitologoi Line 20: Aphon	301/2 and 302/3 301/2	" " "

1. For instances of *τιμὴ πυροῦ* see Lallemand, *Administration civile*, p. 200, to which add *P. Cair. Isidor.* 33 and *P. Mich.* 600. Of these only *P. Cair. Isidor.* 59.19-26, and 146 refer to commutation of the current year's taxes.

2. See J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*, pp. 106 f. Cf. also my comments in *HSCP* 75, 1971, p. 184 n. 7: "there is a tendency, which started with Wilcken, to regard the Byzantine *annona militaris* and the land tax as separate imposts. This distinction is valid for the first three centuries A.D.; cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton 1938) 23 f. But, beginning with the early Byzantine period, as Karayannopoulos has shown, there was one general land tax, the proceeds from which were directed toward either the *annona civica* or the *annona militaris*. Consequently it is idle to speculate, as I did in the introd. to *P. Mich.* 600, whether payments designated as *τιμὴ* cover arrears in the land tax or a requisition for the military *annona*."

3. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 326 and 329, and Lallemand, *Administration civile*, p. 207, and nn. 3-4. The apaitetai regularly collected the *annona militaris* (Lallemand, p. 208, *P. Cair. Isidor.* 41 introd.). But the fact that one person could simultaneously hold the offices of sitologos and apaitetes (*P. New York* 3, *P. Thead.* 50) shows that the two *annona*e were closely connected.

4. The damaged condition of the papyrus makes it impossible to say whether the same officials are involved throughout.

5. Aphon appears also in *P. Mich.* 600, a receipt for *τιμὴ πυροῦ* of 301/2. The text was drawn up on 30 June 304.

As this tabulation shows, two of the sitologoi, Aphon and Apynchis, were in office for more than a year. At this period it was not unusual for the sitologos' year of office to be renewed; see Lallemant, *Administration civile*, p. 209 and n. 4. *P. Cair. Isidor.* offers comparable cases; beside Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, who was sitologos in 308/9 and 309/10 (see introd. to *P. Cair. Isidor.*, p. 13), one should also note Aurelius Kasios, sitologos from 301 to 304 (see 41.31, 35, 38-41, 52).

The officials who issued the receipts recorded in these papyri are not identified; they are probably the epimeletai or apodektai, liturgists responsible for delivering taxes to the state (see introd. to *P. Mich.* 600).

It is likely that 643-646 were originally parts of the same document. The overall format is the same, the hands are closely related, and the texts follow a chronological order (see the above table). The first column of 644 is a different type of list, but this does not necessarily mean that 643 could not have preceded it in the roll. In these texts there are two clear instances of notations placed between columns of receipts (644.56-61, 645.16-17); the first column of 644, though longer, may be a similarly intercalated account.

643. Receipts for *τιμή πυροῦ*

Inv. 394

41 x 23 cm.

Jan./May 303 A.D.

This papyrus preserves three columns, of which the first survives only in its upper half. In the second and third columns a horizontal fold has removed several lines from the center portion. The sheet is also damaged by tears and holes, which become progressively worse toward the bottom. There is a join between columns 1 and 2.

The papyrus lists receipts for *τιμή πυροῦ*. Their content may be tabulated as follows:

Reference	Date	For Year	Locality	Payment
1. 1-6	10 Jan. 303	300/1	Phil.	8 tal. 1000 dr.
7	"	"	"	1 tal. 3000 dr.
8	?	"	"	?
(Col. 1 breaks off here)				
2. 10-12	17 Feb. ¹	"	Tanis	12 tal. 532 dr.
13	"	"	"	2 tal.
14-15	21 "	"	"	2 tal. 1720 dr.
16	"	"	"	2 tal.
17	22 "	"	Phil.	4200 dr.
18-19	"	"	Tanis	2 tal. 1800 dr.

1. See note to line 10.

Reference	Date	For Year	Locality	Payment
20	?	?	"	?
(Several lines lost)				
21	?	?	?	? tal. 2800 dr.
22-23	?	?	?	1600 dr.
24-25	17 March ²	?	Tanis	5 tal.
26	18 "	?	"	2 tal.
27-28	20 "	?	"	2 tal. 3000 dr.
29-30	22 "	300/1	"	3972 dr.
31-32	23 "	"	"	3960 dr.
3. 34-35	18 "	?	?	1 tal.
36-37	13 April	?	?	4 tal. 2800 dr.
38-39	11 April	?	Phil.	20 tal.
40-41	22 "	?	?	12 tal.
42-43	25 "	?	?	?
(Several lines lost)				
44-46	? of May	300/1	Phil.	14 tal. 5[dr.
47	"	"	"	1 tal.
48-50	3 May	"	"	15 tal. 4500 dr.
51-53	25 "	"	"	13 tal. 1? 00 dr.
54	"	"	"	1000 dr.

Col. 1

5 ἔτους θ/ καὶ ι[η]S/ καὶ ιαS/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ[ν]
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καισάρων Τῦβι ιε⁻. διέγρ(αψαν) Κορνήλιος καὶ Ἀπύγχις
 καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτολόγ[ο]ι τιμῆς πυροῦ ιζS/ καὶ ιςS/ καὶ
 [ἐνά]του
 ἔτους Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα ὀκτώ καὶ (δραχμὰς) χειλ[ί]ας, (γίν.)
 (τάλ.) η (δρ.) α
 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοίως τάλαντ[ον ἔ]ν καὶ (δραχμὰς)
 τρι [σχ]ειλίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) γ
 [καὶ] τῇ ι[.] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τ[]
].....[

2. See note to line 24.

Col. 2

- 10 (2nd hd.) καὶ τῇ κγ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τιμῆς πυροῦ
 ιςS/ καὶ ιςS/ καὶ ἐνάτου Τάνεως τάλαντα
 δώδεκα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιβ (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιβ (δρ.) φλβ
 καὶ τῇ κζ̄ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Τάνεως τάλαντα
 δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 καὶ τῇ κζ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) Τάνεως τάλαντα δύο
 15 καὶ (δρ.) χειλίας ἐπτακοσίας εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.)
 β (δρ.) ἀψκ
 καὶ ὁμοίως τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 καὶ τῇ κη/ ὁμοίως Φιλαδελφ(ίας) (δρ.) τετρακισχιλείας
 διακοσίας, (γίν.) (δρ.) δσ
 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως Τάνεως
 [τάλαν]τα δύο καὶ (δρ.) χιλία[ς] ὀκτακοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.)
 β (δρ.) [α]ω
 20 [] Τά[ν]εως ..[.]...[.....]..[
 (Several lines lost)
 [] (τάλ.) [(δρ.)] βω
 [] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμ[οί]ως
 [(δρ.)] χιλίας ἑξακοσίας, (γίν.) (δρ.) ἀχ
 [καὶ] τῇ κ[α] δ]ιέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Τά[ν]εως
 25 τάλαντα πέντ[ε, (γίν.) (τάλ.)] ε
 καὶ τῇ κβ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Τάνεως τάλα[ντα] δύο, (γίν.)
 (τάλ.) β
 καὶ τῇ κδ// διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως Τάνεως
 τάλαντα δύο καὶ (δρ.) τ[ρις]χιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) γ
 καὶ τῇ κς/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τ[ιμῆς] πυροῦ ιςS καὶ ιςS
 καὶ ἐνάτου S/
 30 Τάνεως (δρ.) τρισχιλία[ς] ἐννακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο, (γίν.)
 (δρ.) γζοβ
 καὶ τῇ κζ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ ιςS καὶ {καὶ}
 ιςS καὶ ἐνάτου S/
 Τάνεως (δρ.) τρισχιλίας ἐννακοσίας ἑξήκοντα, (γίν.) (δρ.) γζξ
 μς (δρ.) δζωμ

Col. 3

- καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κβ/ τοῦ [αὐ]τοῦ μην(ός) Φαμενώθ διέγρ(αψαν)
 35 οἱ αὐτοὶ δι(ά) ... () Διογένους Τάνεως τάλαντον ἓν,
 (γίν.) (τάλ.) α

καὶ Φαρμουῖτι ιη/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τάλαντα
 τέσσαρα καὶ (δρ.) δισχειλίας ὀκτακοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ
 [(δρ.) βω]
 καὶ τῇ ις/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Φιλαδελφία[ς]
 τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ
 40 καὶ τῇ κζ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ [
 τάλαν[τα δώδε]κα, (γίν.) [(τάλ.) ιβ]
 (3rd hd.) καὶ τῇ λ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ
 καὶ []...[]
 (Several lines lost)
 καὶ Παχῶν [. διέγρ](αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τμ(μῆς) [πυροῦ]
 45 ιςS καὶ ιςS [καὶ θS/ Φι]λαδελφείας
 τάλαντα [δεκ]ατέσσαρα καὶ (δρ.) πε[ντ
 καὶ ο[ὐ] αὐτ(οὶ) ὁ[μοί]ως τάλαν[ντον] ἔν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α
 καὶ τ[ῇ] η διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως [τάλαντα]
 δεκαπέ[ν]τε καὶ (δρ.) τετρακισχι[λί]ας
 50 πεν[τακ]οσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιε (δρ.) δφ
 καὶ τ[ῇ] λ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Φ[ι]λαδελφίας]
 τ[άλαντ]α δεκατ[ρ]ία καὶ (δρ.) [χιλίας]
 [...]κοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιγ (δρ.) ἀ[
 κ[αὶ] οἱ αὐτ(οὶ) ὁ[μοί]ως (δρ.) χειλίας, (γίν.) [(δρ.) ἀ]
 55 ρκ (δρ.) δτ

4. Ἀπύγχις: ι corrected from ε; i.e. the scribe started to write -εως. 6. χιλίας 7. τρισχιλίας 8. At end of line an unidentifiable trace followed by a long space-filler 13. αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ inserted above the line; Τάνεως inserted above the line, likewise in lines 14, 20, 26 14. τάλαντα corrected from τάλαντον 15. Before χειλίας (=χιλίας) is a space for ca. 3 letters, possibly containing an erasure; ἑπτακοσίας crowded in later, under the extension of sigma in χειλίας 17. τετρακισχιλίας 28. τρισχιλίας 30. τρισχιλίας ἑνακοσίας 32. ἑνακοσίας 34. Read by H. C. Youtie 37. δισχιλίας 44. διέγρ(αψαν): only the stroke of abbreviation remains 54. κ[αὶ] οἱ αὐτ(οὶ): read by L. C. Youtie (of αὐτ(οὶ) only the stroke of abbreviation remains); χιλίας

Col. 1

Year 19-18-11 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, Tubi 15. Cornelius, Apynchis, and the associate sitologoi have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Philadelphia, eight talents and one thousand dr., equal 8 tal. 1000 dr.

And on the same day likewise, one talent and three thousand dr., equal 1 tal. 3000 dr.

And on the 1.th, the same have likewise paid. . .

Col. 2

(2nd hd.) And on the 23rd, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Tanis, twelve talents, equal 12 tal., equal 12 tal. 532 dr.

And on the same day, the same have paid, for Tanis, two talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the 27th, the same have likewise paid, for Tanis, two talents and one thousand seven hundred twenty dr., equal 2 tal. 1720 dr.

And likewise on the same day, two talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the 28th likewise, for Philadelphia, four thousand two hundred dr., equal 4200 dr.

And on the same day, the same have likewise paid, for Tanis, two talents and one thousand eight hundred dr., equal 2 tal. 1800 dr.

... for Tanis ...

... tal. 2800 dr.

... the same have likewise paid one thousand six hundred dr., equal 1600 dr.

And on the 21st, the same have paid, for Tanis, five talents, equal 5 tal.

And on the 22nd, the same have paid, for Tanis, two talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the 24th, the same have likewise paid, for Tanis, two talents and three thousand dr., equal 2 tal. 3000 dr.

And on the 26th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Tanis, three thousand nine hundred seventy-two dr., equal 3972 dr.

And on the 27th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Tanis, three thousand nine hundred sixty dr., equal 3960 dr.

(Total) 46 tal. 4840 dr.

Col. 3

And on the 22nd of the same month, Phamenoth, the same have paid through ... son of Diogenes, for Tanis, one talent, equal 1 tal.

And on Pharmouthi 18, the same have paid four talents and two thousand eight hundred dr., equal 4 tal. 2800 dr.

And on the 16th, the same have paid, for Philadelphia, twenty talents, equal 20 tal.

And on the 27th, the same have paid ... twelve talents, equal 12 tal.

(3rd hd.) And on the 20th, the same have paid ...

And on Pachon ..., the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Philadelphia, fourteen talents and five ... dr. ...

And the same have likewise paid one talent, equal 1 tal.

And on the 8th, the same have likewise paid fifteen talents and four thousand five hundred dr., equal 15 tal. 4500 dr.

And on the 30th, the same have paid, for Philadelphia, thirteen talents and one thousand ... hundred dr., equal 13 tal. 1300 dr.

And the same have likewise paid one thousand dr., equal 1000 dr.

(Total) 120 tal. 4306 dr.

4. Apynchis appears as sitologos also in 646.3 and 22.

8. τ[ιμῆς πυροῦ] (cf. line 10), T[ἀνεως] (cf. line 14), or τ[ἀλαντα] (cf. line 48).

10. From here to line 20 the payments are very probably to be assigned to Mecheir (26 Jan.-24 Feb.). Starting in line 21 the text deals with the next month, Phamenoth (25 Feb. — 26

March); see note to 24. A month-to-month arrangement is characteristic of 643-646; cf. 644.17 ff. Mesore, Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr.

11. Τάπεως: a village near Philadelphia and administratively bound to it; see *P. Princ. Roll* 1.2-3n.: H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* (Diss. Marburg 1970), pp. 55 f. Tanis is to be identified with the modern Manashinshana; see J. C. Shelton, *Chronique* 45, 1970, p. 348, introd. to 21.

12. To the right of col. 2 a new total, 12 tal. 532 dr., is added.

24. After the break the month involved is Phamenoth; see line 34, which is an addition to the total in 33.

33. Some indication of the loss which this column has suffered may be obtained by comparing the total here recorded, 46 tal. 4840 dr., with the total of the entries still preserved, 32 tal. 5584 dr.

35. δι(ἀ) . . . () Διογένους: though written very rapidly, this does not appear to refer to the Sarapion son of Diogenes mentioned in 644.10. The writing suggests Πησ().

38. ις: ι is clear. Another violation of chronological sequence in line 34 is not similar, since it was added after the monthly total. Perhaps ις is a mistake for κς.

54. ὁμο]ι(ως): for the reading, cf. 645.31.

55. Again it is instructive to compare the recorded total, 120 tal. 4300 dr. with that of the extant entries, 80 tal. 4300 dr. (This figure reckons 5000 and 1000 as the number of drachmas in lines 46 and 52-53 respectively).

644. Receipts for τιμή πυροῦ and τιμή οἴνου

Inv. 396

58.5 x 25.5 cm.

Aug./Nov. 303 A.D.

Most of this papyrus contains a listing of receipts for τιμή πυροῦ. Their content is summarized in the following table:

Reference	Date	For Year	Locality	Amount
1. 3-5	25 Oct. (303) ¹	301/2	Phil.	3 tal. 5760 dr.
6-8	27 "	"	"	5100 dr.
9-10	30 "	(not given)	(not given)	1 tal. 4180 dr.
11	8 Nov.	301/2	"	4000 dr.
12	? "	"	"	2500 dr.
13-15	11 "	"	Phil.	1 tal. 5100 dr.
2. 17-23	29 Aug. 303	301/2	Phil.	38 tal. 4000 dr.
24	"	"	"	1 tal.
25-27	19 Sept.	"	"	20 tal.
28-30	"	"	"	2 tal. 5880 dr.
31-33	20 "	"	"	5960 dr.
34-35	27 "	"	"	20 tal.
3. 36-38	"	"	"	7 tal. 5680 dr.
39-40	28 "	"	"	2 tal. 4320 dr.

1. I have assumed that the year is 303/4 since this is the year of all the dated entries in the text, with the exception of the two in lines 17-24. The latter alone fall in 302/3.

Reference	Date	For Year	Locality	Amount
41	"	"	"	15 tal.
42-43	"	300/1	"	8 tal.
44	"	"	"	4800 dr.
45-46	"	301/2	"	4 tal.
47-48	"	"	"	5 tal.
49-51	"	"	"	20 tal.
52-53	17 Oct.	"	"	2 tal.
54-55	19 "	"	"	5 tal.
4. 62-64	26 "	"	"	12 tal. 1200 dr.
65-67	27 "	"	Tanis	2 tal. 2000 dr.
68-69	28 "	"	"	14 tal.
70-71	"	"	Phil.	2 tal.
72-73	"	"	"	4 tal. 3000 dr.
74-75	"	"	"	3 tal.
76	"	"	"	2 tal.
77-78	22 Nov.	"	"	10 tal.
79-82	23 "	"	"	7 tal. 1340 dr.

The receipts in columns 2-4 record payments delivered by the sitologoi. Col. 1, though also concerned with τιμή πυροῦ, has a different arrangement, and it lists payments made by individual taxpayers. A join between this and the following column and a wide margin of 7 cm. emphasize that the nature of the text changes with col. 2.² To the left of col. 1 there are a few traces of a preceding, longer column: 51Φιλαδελφίας 52](τάλ.) δ (δρ.) γ 55]. (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) γ (The numbers refer to the line numbers of col. 3).

The verso summarizes the contents of the sitologoi receipts of the recto and shows that, when complete, the text detailed the months of Mesore through Choiak. In its present condition the papyrus breaks off in the midst of its account of Hathyr.

To the left of the last entry of col. 4 is the record of payment of 2000 dr. for τιμή οἴνου. Both payments are dated 26 Hathyr (23 November). The entry for τιμή οἴνου is followed by the sum of 260 tal. 4540 dr.; this amount may bear some relation to the sum of the totals on the verso, 235 tal. 3000 dr.

Col. 1

ἔκκλημψις ἀπὸ ἐπιστάλματος ἀ-
 φ[εθέ]ντος τῷ στρατηγῷ
 Φα[ῶ]φι κζ̄ Σαραπάμμωνος
 Φιλαδελφίας τι(μῆς) πυροῦ
 5 ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ῑ (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ἐψξ
 (2nd hd.) κθ̄ ῥ[ν]όματος Μητερίου δι(ὰ) Γερωντίου

2. On the relation of this first column to the sitologoi receipts, see above, p. 67.

	ζή(τει) κώ(μης) Φιλαδελφίας τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ (δρ.) ἐρ
(3rd hd.)	Ἀθὺρ β' Κυριλλοῦς θυγ(άτηρ) Ἡρωνος γυν(ή)
10	[Σα]ραπίωνος Διογένους (τάλ.) α (δρ.) δρπ διὰ Λο[υ]κκιλλείων καὶ Πίννος ιη S/ (δρ.) δ Ἀθὺρ ι[. δ]μοί(ως) οἱ αὐτοὶ (δρ.) βφ
(4th hd.)	ιδ ^τ ...ος σπεκουλάτωρ δι(ὰ) Ἀπολ- λωνίου π(ρ)ονοητοῦ τιμῆς
15	πυροῦ ιη S/ Φιλαδελφίας (τάλ.) α (δρ.) ἐρ
(5th hd.)	(γίν.) δ (δρ.) βτπ

Col. 2

(6th hd.)	ἔτους ιθ S/ καὶ ιη S/ καὶ ια S/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Καισάρων
20	Μεσορῇ ἐπαγο(μένων) ς ^τ . Ἄφον καὶ Πᾶσις καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτολόγοι(οι) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα τριάκοντα ὀκτώ καὶ (δρ.) τετρακισχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) λη (δρ.) δ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοίως τάλ(αντον) ἔν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α
25	καὶ κ S/ καὶ ιθ S/ καὶ ιβ S/ Θῶθ κα/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ κ[αὶ ι]ζ S/ καὶ ι S/ Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ καὶ τῇ κα / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ τάλαντα δύο καὶ (δρ.) πεντακισχιλείας
30	ὀκτακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) ἔωπ καὶ τῇ κβ / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ (δρ.) πεντακισχιλείας ἑννακοσίας ἑξήκοντα, (γίν.) (δρ.) ἐλξ
35	καὶ τῇ κθ ^τ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ

Col. 3

(7th hd.)	καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη καὶ ιζ καὶ ι S/ τάλαντα ἑπτὰ καὶ (δρ.) πεντακισχιλίας ἑξακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ζ (δρ.) ἐχπ καὶ τῇ λ / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τάλαντα δύο καὶ
-----------	---

- 40 (δρ.) τετρακισχιλίας τριακοσίας εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) δτκ
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοίως τάλαντα δεκαπέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιε
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοί(ως) τιμῆς πυροῦ ις S/ καὶ ις S/
καὶ ἐνάτου (τάλαντα) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (τάλ.) η /
- (44) (6th hd.) καὶ τῇ αὐ(τῇ) ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) τιμῆς πυρ(οῦ)
[ὀ]μ(οίως) ις S/ καὶ ις S/ καὶ ἐνάτου (S/) (δρ.)
τετρακ(ισχιλίας) ὀκτακ(οσίας), (γίν.) (δρ.) δω
- 45 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐ(τοὶ) τιμῆς πυρο[ῦ]
ιη S/ καὶ ις S/
καὶ ι S/ τάλαντα τέσσαρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτ[ο]ὶ ὁμοί(ως)
τάλαντα πέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς
- 50 πυροῦ ιη S/ καὶ ις S/ καὶ ι S/ τάλαντα
εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ
καὶ Φαῶφι ιθ⁻ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ
ιη S/ καὶ ις S/ καὶ ι S/ Φιλαδελφ(είας) τάλ(αντα) δύο, (γίν.)
(τάλ.) β
- καὶ τῇ κα[✓] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τιμῆς πυροῦ ιη S/
55 καὶ ις S/ καὶ ι S/ Φιλαδελφ(είας) τάλ(αντα) πέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε

(In the space between columns 3 and 4 near bottom of pap.)

- (3rd hd.) Ἀθὺρ κς[✓]
δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλωνίας
τῆς καὶ Κυριλλοῦ-
τος ἀπὸ (τιμῆς) οἴνου
- 60 Θῶθ (δρ.) β

(8th hd.) γ(ίν.) (τάλ.) σξ (δρ.) δφμ

Col. 4

- (6th hd.) καὶ τῇ κη / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ [α]ὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ
ιη S/ καὶ ις S/ καὶ ι S/ Φιλαδελφίας τάλαντα
δεκαδύο καὶ (δρ.) χιλίας διακοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιβ (δρ.) ἄσ
- 65 (9th hd.) καὶ τῇ κθ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυρ(οῦ)
ιη S/ καὶ ις S/ καὶ ι S/ Τάνεως τάλαντα δύο
καὶ (δρ.) δισχειλίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) β
καὶ τῇ λ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυ(ροῦ) ιη S/ καὶ ις S/
καὶ ι S/
Τάνεως τάλαντα δεκατέσσαρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιδ

- 70 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Φ[ι]λαδελφίας
τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοί(ως) Φιλαδελφίας
τάλαντα τέσσαρα καὶ (δρ.) τρισχειλίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) γ
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοί(ως) Φιλαδελφίας
75 τάλαντα τρία, (γίν.) (τάλ.) γ
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοί(ως) τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
καὶ Ἀθὺρ κε⁻ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Φιλαδελφίας
τάλαντα δέκα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ι
(6th hd.) καὶ Ἀθὺρ κς⁻ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ δι(ὰ) Διοσκόρου
80 καὶ Δημητρίου κώ(μης) Φιλαδελφίας
τάλ(αντα) ἑπτὰ καὶ (δρ.) χιλείας τ[ριακοσίας]
τεσσαρ[άκ]ωντα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ζ (δρ.) ἄτμ

Verso

- (10th hd.) Μεσο(ρῇ) (τάλ.) λ[θ (δρ.)] δ
Θώθ (τάλ.) ϣ η (δρ.) γψ
85 Φαῶφι (τάλ.) μζ (δρ.) σ
Ἀθὺρ (τάλ.) λθ (δρ.) ἄρ (τάλ.) γ
Χοι(άκ) (τάλ.) η

3. κς⁻: κ corrected from ζ 7. ζή(τει) in different hd. 8. ις: ζ corrected from ς 11. Λο[υ]κκιλλείων
read by H. C. Youtie 14. After τιμῆς an abandoned start on (τάλ.) 23. τετρακισχιλίας 29. δύο,
πεντακισχιλίας 32. πεντακισχιλίας ἑνακοσίας 40. τετρακισχιλίας: χ corrected from ι 44 crowded
in later; there is a check mark in front of 43 to mark where entry was omitted, and another below 43 to
mark where insertion should go 67. δισχιλίας 71. δύο: υ corrected from ι 73. τρισχιλίας
81. χιλίας 82. τεσσαράκοντα

Col. 1

Collection on the basis of an order released by the strategos:

Phaophi 27. (In the name) of Sarapammon, for Philadelphia, as the price of
wheat of year 18-17-10: 3 tal. 5760 dr.

(2nd hd.) 29. In the name of Meterios through Gerontios, for the village of
Philadelphia, as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10: 5100 dr. [In left margin:]
check this!

(3rd hd.) Hathyr 2. Kyrillous daughter of Heron and wife of Sarapion son of
Diogenes: 1 tal. 4180 dr.

Through Loukkilleion and Pinnos, for year 18: 4000 dr.

Hathyr 1[.] The same likewise: 2500 dr.

(4th hd.) 14. . . .os speculator through Apollonios his agent, as the price of
wheat of year 18, for Philadelphia: 1 tal. 5100 dr.

(5th hd.) 4 tal. 2380 dr.

Col. 2

(6th hd.) Year 19-18-11 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, Caesares, Mesore, epagomenal day 6. Aphon, Pasis, and the associate sitologoi have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, thirty-eight talents and four thousand dr., equal 38 tal. 4000 dr.

And on the same day likewise, one talent, equal 1 tal.

Year 20-19-12, Thoth 21. The same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, twenty talents, equal 20 tal.

And on the 21st, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, two talents and five thousand eight hundred eighty dr., equal 2 tal. 5880 dr.

And on the 22nd, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, five thousand nine hundred sixty dr., equal 5960 dr.

And on the 29th, the same have likewise paid twenty talents, equal 20 tal.

Col. 3

(7th hd.) And on the same day, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, seven talents and five thousand six hundred eighty dr., equal 7 tal. 5680 dr.

And on the 30th, the same have likewise paid two talents and four thousand three hundred twenty dr., equal 2 tal. 4320 dr.

And on the same day likewise, fifteen talents, equal 15 tal.

And on the same day likewise, as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, eight talents, equal 8 tal.

(6th hd.) And on the same day, they have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, four thousand eight hundred dr., equal 4800 dr.

And on the same day, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, four talents, equal 4 tal.

And on the same day, the same have likewise paid five talents, equal 5 tal.

And on the same day, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, twenty talents, equal 20 tal.

Phaophi 19. The same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the 21st, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, five talents, equal 5 tal.

[In the space between columns 3 and 4]

(3rd hd.) Hathyr 26. Through Apollonia also called Kyrillous, on account of the price of wine for Thoth: 2000 dr.

(8th hd.) Total: 260 tal. 4540 dr.

Col. 4

(6th hd.) And on the 28th, the same have paid, as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, twelve talents and one thousand two hundred dr., equal 12 tal. 1200 dr.

(9th hd.) And on the 29th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Tanis, two talents and two thousand dr., equal 2 tal. 2000 dr.

And on the 30th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Tanis, fourteen talents, equal 14 tal.

And on the same day, for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the same day likewise, for Philadelphia, four talents and three thousand dr., equal 4 tal. 3000 dr.

And on the same day likewise, for Philadelphia, three talents, equal 3 tal.

And on the same day likewise, two talents, equal 2 tal.

Hathyr 25. The same have paid, for Philadelphia, ten talents, equal 10 tal.

(6th hd.) Hathyr 26. The same have paid, through Dioskoros and Demetrios, for the village of Philadelphia, seven talents and one thousand three hundred forty dr., equal 7 tal. 1340 dr.

Verso

(10th hd.) Mesore: 39 tal. 4000 dr.

Thoth: 98 tal. 3700 dr.

Phaophi: 47 tal. 200 dr.

Hathyr: 39 tal. 1100 dr. 3 tal.

Choiak: 8 tal.

3. Σαραπάμμωνος: sc. ὀνόματος. Sarapammon is probably to be identified with the ex-prytanis in 645.4: ὀν(όματος) Σαραπάμμωνος πρυτ(αεύσαντος).

7. ζή(τει):“(oder ζητεῖς, ζητητέον usw) als Randvermerk des nachprüfenden Beamten” — WB I, s.v. 9.

11. Λο[υ]κκιλλείων, Πίννος: nominative for genitive.

13. On the *speculator* see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 127.1-2n.

16. This line has no obvious connection with the rest of the column; it may have been a notation to the preceding column. (τάλ.) was omitted before δ; cf. 643.33, 55.

20. The 6th epagomenal day is found only in a leap year.

The sitologos Aphon appears also in *P. Mich.* 600.4; 645.8, 22; and 646.20. Pasis occurs in 645.22 along with Aphon; he is perhaps to be identified with the Pasis who, a decade later, served as apaitetes, kephalaiotes, and probably as sitologos (see *P. Princ. Roll.* 7.2n.).

83. The restoration of the total is based on the total of the entries of lines 17-24. Although the scribe's calculations are not necessarily accurate (see the following note), it is difficult to see how he could have erred in adding 38 tal. 4000 dr. and 1 tal.

84. The total of all the entries of Thoth is 107 tal. 2640 dr. (lines 25-51). But if we subtract the payments for year 300/1 in lines 42-44, one of which (line 44) was subsequently added, the total is 98 tal. 3840 dr., a figure quite close to that on the verso, 98 tal. 3700 dr. Perhaps the scribe intended to round off the amount to 98 tal. 3900 dr. and inadvertently wrote ψ instead of ρ.

85. The total for Phaophi agrees with the sum of the entries on the recto (lines 52-55, 62-76).

86. Before the papyrus breaks off, 17 tal. 1340 dr. are recorded for Hathyr. This figure does not include the 2000 dr. in line 60.

645. Receipts for τιμή πυροῦ and other Taxes

Inv. 395

36.7 x 27 cm.

May/June 304 A.D.

This text, of which two columns survive, is mostly concerned with receipts for τιμή πυροῦ. The sheet bearing col. 2 has been pasted to the part containing col. 1, with a 6-12 cm. space between. On the left of the papyrus are meager traces of a preceding column. All that can now be read with certainty is τάλαντα, opposite line 6 of col. 1. The remnants suggest the second hand of 645.

The receipts for τιμή πυροῦ are summarized in the following table:

Reference	Date	For Year	Locality	Payment
1. 1-2	16 May (304) ¹	300/1	Phil.	2 tal.
6-7	23 May	"	"	2 tal.
8-11	29 May	"	"	13 tal. 3000 dr.
12-14	1 June	"	"	6 tal. 3000 dr.
2. 18-25	26 June 304	"	"	15 tal. 3000 dr.
26-30	28 "	"	"	4 tal. 4000 dr.
31	"	"	"	2000 dr.

Lines 3-5 of col. 1 record the payment of 1 tal. 100 dr. "on account of the payment of gold (διαστολῆς χρυσοῦ) for the month of Pauni, in the name of Sarapammon, formerly prytanis, for epinemesis;"² and between cols. 1 and 2 is a notation for two talents "on account of silver bullion" (ἀπὸ λόγου ἀ[σ]ήμου). In these two cases we may be dealing with taxes designed to provide the State with funds to purchase gold and silver. At this period the Egyptian government instituted regular collections of these metals. An official letter in *P. Beatty Panop.* 2.215-221 (300 A.D.) shows that for gold the official price was 40 tal., or 240,000 dr., per pound. In his note *ad loc.*, Skeat examines similar texts, to which should be added the eight receipts for χρυσὸς τελωνικός in *P. Köln Panop.* II 19 (cf. also 15.14, and see the editors' discussion, p. 217).

καὶ τῇ κατὰ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ ἰς καὶ ἰς καὶ ἐνάτου
 Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 καὶ ἀπὸ διαστολῆς χρυσοῦ τοῦ Παῦνι μηνὶ
 ὀν(όματος) Σαραπάμμωνος πρυτ(ανεύσαντος) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμὰς) ρ
 5 ὑπ(έρ) ἐπιμεμήσεως
 καὶ τῇ κατὰ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ ἰς καὶ ἰς καὶ ἐνάτου S/
 Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 (2nd hd.) καὶ Παῦνι δ' διέγρ(αψαν) Ἄφον καὶ Πτο-
 λεμαῖος καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) σι(τολόγοι) τιμῆς πυροῦ ἰς S/

1. See note *ad loc.*

2. For epinemesis see note to line 5.

- 10 καὶ ιςS καὶ ἐνάτου ἔτους Φιλαδελφίας
τάλαντα δεκατρία καὶ (δρ.) τρισχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιγ (δρ.) γ
καὶ τῇ ζ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τιμῆς
πυροῦ ιςS/ καὶ ιςS/ καὶ ἐνάτου ἔτους
Φιλαδελφίας τάλαντα ἕξ καὶ (δρ.) τρισχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ς (δρ.) γ
15 (3rd hd.) (γίν.) (τάλ.) μ[α]ς (δρ.) ἄφ

(At top of pap., in the space between columns 1 and 2)

(4th hd.) Μεσορὴ β' ἀπὸ λόγου ἀ[σ]ήμου
Εὐγενίου τάλ(αντα) δύο, (γίν.) (ταλ.) β

Col. 2

- (5th hd.) ἔτους κ' καὶ ιβ S/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
20 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Ἐπεὶ β/.
διέγρ(αψαν) Ἄφον καὶ Πᾶσις τι(μῆς) πυρ(οῦ)
ιςS καὶ ιςS καὶ ἐνάτου ἔτους ἀμίψ(εως) Φι-
λαδελφείας τάλαντα δεκαπέντε καὶ (δρ.) τρισ-
25 χιλίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιε (δρ.) γ
(2nd hd.) καὶ τῇ δ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως
τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιςS καὶ ιςS/ καὶ ἐνάτου
ἔτους ἀμίψεως Φιλαδελφίας
τάλαντα τέσσαρα καὶ (δρ.) τε-
30 τρακισχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) δ
ὁμοί(ως) ἄλλας (δρ.) διςχιλείας, (γίν.) (δρ.) β

(3rd hd.) (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ (δρ.) γ

3. μηνός 8. Above καί is a marginal note, possibly .. (δρ.) ἔω; it is written in a different hd. and may have belonged with the lost column 11, 14, 24-25. τρισχιλίας 15. μς: ς added above the line 22. Πᾶσις: "The scribe first wrote Πασεις with the σεις written as three successive loops. He then made the ε into an ι without doing anything about the 3rd superfluous loop." (L. C. Youtie) 23, 28. ἀμείψεως 29. τέσσαρα 29-30. τετρακισχιλίας 31. διςχιλίας

Col. 1

And on the 21st, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.; and on account of the payment of gold for the month of Pauni, in the name of Sarapammon, formerly prytanis, 1 tal. 100 dr., for epinemesis.

And on the 28th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.

(2nd hd.) And on Pauni 4, Aphon, Ptolemaios, and the associate sitologoi have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Philadelphia, thirteen talents and three thousand dr., equal 13 tal. 3000 dr.

And on the 7th, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, for Philadelphia, six talents and three thousand dr., equal 6 tal. 3000 dr.

(3rd. hd.) Total: 46 tal. 1500 dr.

[In the space between columns 1 and 2]

(4th hd.) Mesore 2. On account of silver bullion, (in the name) of Eugenios, two talents, equal 2 tal.

Col. 2

(5th hd.) Year 20-12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, Epeiph 2. Aphon and Pasis have paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, in commutation, for Philadelphia, fifteen talents and three thousand dr., equal 15 tal. 3000 dr.

(2nd hd.) And on the 4th, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 17-16-9, in commutation, for Philadelphia, four talents and four thousand dr., equal 4 tal. 4000 dr.

Likewise another two thousand dr., equal 2000 dr.

(3rd hd.) Total: 20 tal. 3000 dr.

1. *τῇ κα*⁻: since the account of Pauni begins below (line 8), this is very likely to be from the preceding month, Pachon; see 643.10n.

5. *ἐπιμεμήσεως*: epinemesis was the administrative device whereby the cultivation of ownerless land was imposed on individual landholders or on entire villages; see *P. Cair. Isidor.*, p. 102, and Poethke, *Epimerismos*, pp. 63 ff. The land so assigned was subject to certain charges; cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 41, where, in lines 45-46, a money payment is made for the *διατίπωσις* (see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 42 introd.) *ἐπιμεμήσεων τῶν ἀπὸ ἰδ (ἔτους) ἕως ἰς (ἔτους)*.

8. *Ἄφον*: see 644.20n.

8-9. *Πτολεμαῖος*: perhaps to be equated with the sitologos of the same name in *P. Princ. Roll* 6.1 and 10.14.

15. The total of col. 1 is 25 tal. 100 dr.; the recorded total, 46 tal. 1500 dr., probably takes in the preceding column.

17. *Εὐγενίου*: sc. *ὀνόματος*, as in line 4.

22. *Πᾶσις*: see 644.20.

23. *ἀμὶψ(εως)*: "commutation," i.e. a money payment substitutes for a payment in grain. For the word *ἀμειψις*, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 47.44n. The variant spelling, *ἀμὶμψεως*, occurs below, line 28.

32. The recorded total for col. 2 is correct.

646. Receipts for τιμή πυροῦ

Inv. 393

41.8 x 26.3 cm.

Aug./Nov. 304 A.D.

This text was first published in *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 184-187. The papyrus is complete only at the top, and the text, especially toward the left, is damaged by worm holes. Two columns of receipts for τιμή πυροῦ are preserved; the following table summarizes their content:

Reference	Date	For Year	Locality	Payment
1. 1-5	End of Aug. 304	301/2	Phil.	1 tal.
6-7	"	302/3	"	5 tal.
8-9	"	301/2	"	14 tal.
10-11	"	"	"	1 tal.
12-13	5 Sept.	"	"	7 tal.
14-15	?	"	"	1 tal.
16-17	?	?	"	2 tal.
18-19	?	301/2	"	4 tal.
20-21	?	"	"	2 tal.
2. 22-25	24 Nov.	302/3	"	5 tal.
26-29	26 "	301/2	"	1 tal.
30-32	"	"	"	1 tal.

Col. 1

- ἔ[τους κ/] καὶ ἰβS/ τῶν κυρίω[ν] Δ[ιοκλη]τιανοῦ
 [καὶ Μαξι]μιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 τ[ῶν ἐπιφανεσ]τά[τω]ν Kaisάρων ἐπαγ[ο(μένων)] . διέγρ[αψαν]
 Ἀπύγ[χis] καὶ
 Ἀβ[οεῖς καὶ οἱ] κοῖ(νωνοὶ) [σ]ι(τολόγοι) τιμῆς πυροῦ ιηS
 καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS Φι[λαδε]λφίας
 5 τάλ[αντον] ἔν, γ(ίνεται) [(τάλ.)] α
 καὶ τῇ α[ὐτῇ] διέγρ[αψαν] οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τιμῆς πυροῦ
 ιθS[καὶ ι]ηS καὶ ιαS/
 / Φι[λαδε]λφί[ας] τάλαντα πέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
 καὶ ὁμοί(ως) τιμῆς πυροῦ ιηS καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS Φιλαδελφίας
 τάλαντα
 δεκατ[έσσο]αρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιδ
 10 κ[αὶ] ὁμοί(ως) τ[ῇ] αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τιμῆς πυροῦ ιηS καὶ ιζS
 καὶ ιS
 [Φιλα]δ[ελφί]ας τάλαντον [ἔ]ν, [γ(ίνεται)] (τάλ.) α
 κα[ὶ] ἔτους κα/ καὶ ιγS/ Θῶθ η' διέγρ[αψαν] οἱ α[ὐτοὶ]
 ὁμοί(ως)

- [τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιηS κα]ι ις[S] καὶ ιS/ Φιλα[δε]λ[φ] (ίας)
 τάλ[αντα ἐπτά,] (γίν.) (τάλ.) ζ
 [± 13] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ α[ὐτ]οὶ ὁ[μοί(ως) τι(μῆς)
 πυρο]ῦ
 15 [ιηS καὶ ιςS κα]ι ι[S]/ Φιλ[αδε]λ[φ] (ίας τάλαντο]ν ἔν, (γίν.)
 (τάλ.) α
 [± 9] οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁ[μοί(ως)] τι(μῆς) [πυ]ροῦ.. [± 12]/
 [Φιλαδελφία]ς τάλαντα [δύο,] (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 καὶ τῇ ι. διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ [τι(μῆς) πυρ]οῦ ιηS καὶ
 ιςS καὶ ιS/
 Φιλαδελφ(ίας) τάλαντα [τέσσα]ρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ
 20 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοί(ως) Ἄφων τι(μῆς) πυ[ρο]ῦ ιηS
 καὶ ιςS καὶ ιS/
 Φιλαδελφ(ίας) τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
-

Col. 2

- (2nd hd.) καὶ Ἀθὺρ κη' διέγρ(αψαν) Ἀπύγχις
 καὶ Ἀβοεῖς καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) σι(τολόγοι) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ
 ιθS καὶ ιηS κ[αί] ιαS/Φ[ι]λαδελφίας
 25 τάλαντα πέν[τ]αι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
 καὶ τῇ λ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τι(μῆς)
 πυροῦ ιηS καὶ ιςS καὶ ιS/ Φιλα-
 δελφίας, ἑτέρου συμβόλου
 μὴ ἐπιφερομένου, τάλαντον ἔν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α
 30 (3rd hd.) καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ
 ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιηS/ καὶ ιςS/
 καὶ ιS/ Φιλ[αδ]ελ[φ] (ίας ἄλλο τάλαντον ἔν, (γίν.)) (τάλ.) α
-

3. διέγρ(αψαν): only the stroke of abbreviation is left 20. Ἄφων (read by H. C. Youtie) inserted above the line 25. πέν[τ]αι (= πέντε) read by H. C. Youtie 32. ἄλλο inserted above the line

Col. 1

Year 20-12 of the Lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, epagomenal day . . . Apynchis, Aboeis, and the associate sitologoi have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, one talent, equal 1 tal.

And on the same day, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 19-18-11, for Philadelphia, five talents, equal 5 tal.

And likewise as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, fourteen talents, equal 14 tal.

And likewise on the same day, as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, one talent, equal 1 tal.

Year 21-13, Thoth 8. The same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, seven talents, equal 7 tal.

... the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, one talent, equal 1 tal.

... the same likewise as the price of wheat ..., for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the 1.th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, four talents, equal 4 tal.

And on the same day, Aphon likewise (has paid) as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.

Col. 2

(2nd hd.) Hathyr 28. Apynchis, Aboeis, and the associate sitologoi have paid as the price of wheat of year 19-18-11, for Philadelphia, five talents, equal 5 tal.

And on the 30th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, no other receipt being produced, one talent, equal 1 tal.

(3rd hd.) And on the same day, the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, another one talent, equal 1 tal.

1. There is no room for κυρίως ἡμῶν.
3. Apynchis functions as sitologos also in 643.4.
4. Ἀβ[οεῖς]: for the restoration, see line 23. Aboeis appears as sitologos also in *P. Princ. Roll.* 8. 9 (Philadelphia, 317 A.D.).
7. The oblique stroke before Φι[λαδελεφί]ας is a check mark of some kind.
12. In the *ed. pr.* I read κα[ὶ καS καὶ κS καὶ] κτλ. But year 304/5 is regularly described as year 21-13; see J. D. Thomas, *Chronique* 46, 1971, pp. 173-179.
14. [καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ] suits the space at the beginning of the line.
16. Perhaps [καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ] or [καὶ τῇ . . διέγρ(αψαν)] filled the lacuna at the beginning of the line.
20. For Aphon, see 644.20n.
- 28-29. ἑτέρου συμβόλου μὴ ἐπιφερομένου: i.e. only one receipt was issued; see R. A. Coles, *TAPA* 97, 1966, pp. 64 f.; D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 4, 1969, p. 68.

647. Receipt for Barley

Inv. 402

29.3 x 7.5 cm.

Early 4th cent. A.D.

Two pieces of papyrus have been pasted together to form the present text. The first bears only faint remnants of writing at the top: ¹] . . [²]αθ χ. The symbol at the end may be a tax collector's monogram, for which see *P. Mich.* 401.5 and n.

The second papyrus, incomplete at the bottom, contains a receipt issued by the apodektai of the harbor of Leukogion for deliveries of barley. The recipients are praktores of Philadelphia. One of them, Aurelius Akas, appears as sitologos in *P. Princ. Roll* 4.11 (Philadelphia, 314 A.D.), and 6.13 (316 A.D.). Another bears the name Ptolemaios and is perhaps to be identified with a sitologos of the same name in *P. Princ. Roll* 6.1 (315), 10.14 (319).

For other examples of the barley tax, see Lallemant, *L'Administration civile*, p. 194.

This text was originally published in *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 187 f.

Αὐρήλιοι Αὐνῆς καὶ Ἀπολινάρ[ιος καὶ] οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) καὶ Ἀῆς
 καὶ [Ἰ]σίδωρος
 καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) καὶ Κοπρῆς καὶ Πανισάτης καὶ Κανολῆς
 καὶ Πατᾶς
 ἀμφότεροι ἀποδέκται ὄρμου Λευκογίου Αὐρηλίοις Ἀκᾶς
 καὶ Πεκύσεως καὶ Πτολεμαῖο[ς] καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) πράκτωρες
 κώ(μης)
 5 Φιλαδελφίας χαίρειν. παρελάβαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐν τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ ὄρμῳ κριθῆς ἀρτ(άβας)
 [].....[]τα .[]..[]—
 — — — — —

1. οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ): read by H. C. Youtie 3-4. Ἀκᾶτι καὶ Πεκύσι καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τοῖς κοιωνοῖς
 πράκτορσι

Aurelii Aunes, Apolinarios, and their associates, Aes, Isidoros, and their associates, and Kopres, Panisates, Kanoles, and Patas, all apodektai of the harbor of Leukogion, to Aurelii Akas, Pekysis, Ptolemaios, and the associate tax collectors of the village of Philadelphia, greetings. We have received from you, from the same village, in the same harbor, . . . artabas of barley. . . .

2. Κανολῆς: only here, unless Κανότης in *P. Bad.* IV 83.4 is incorrectly read. Instead of Κανολῆς καὶ Πατᾶς, Κανὸλ καὶ Καιπατᾶς might be read (for Κανὸλ, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 85.6n.; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, s.v. ΚΟΤΙ II B b).

3. ἀμφότεροι: here used as the equivalent of πάντες; see *P. Princ. Roll* 1.2n.

These two papyri, first published in *HSCP* 74, 1970, pp. 317-321, contain receipts issued to transporters of the taxes in kind which had been brought from the village granary to the river ports of the nome. *P. New York* 5-11a and *P. Mich. inv.* 1409, published by R. Coles in *TAPA* 97, 1966, pp. 61-66, bear a marked resemblance to the present texts. For a full discussion of this type of document,

see *P. New York* 5-11a introd. and H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 100 f.

I should like to thank Professor Albert Henrichs for providing me with a photograph of 649.

648. Receipts for Deliveries of Grain

Inv. 1385

10 x 24.5 cm.

Probably Nov./Dec. 326 or 341 A.D.

Written in the same hand throughout, this papyrus contains three receipts issued in Choiak (Nov./Dec.) for delivery of grain taxes of the fourteenth indiction (325/6 or 340/1). The receipts were probably drawn up in 326 or 341, during the collection period of the same indiction. But the deliveries may be a year or more in arrears, as they are in 649.16-23 (see also *P. New York* 5-11a introd. p. 11).

The recipient is Antiourios, son of Abous, who appears in the same capacity in *P. New York* 9 (330 or 345 A.D.).

- Χοιάκ ις/ κατέβαλεν Ἀν-
τιούριος Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσ-
καιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
5 ἀρτάβας δύο ἡμισυ τρίτον
δωδέκατον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) β $\overline{\text{L}} \gamma \text{ιβ.}$ Ἀμμώνιος
σεση(μείωμαι).
- Χοιάκ ι/ κατέβαλεν Ἀντιού-
ριος ὑπὲρ κωμ(ητῶν) Κενοῦ Καρα-
10 νίδος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδι-
κτίονος πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο δω-
δέκατον, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) β $\overline{\text{ιβ.}}$ Ἀμμώνιος σεση(μείωμαι).
καὶ τῇ κβ/ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀντιούρι[ο]ς
ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδι-
15 κτίονος κωμ(ητῶν) Καρανίδος πυροῦ
ἀρτάβην μίαν ἡμισυ τρίτον
δωδέκατον, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) α $\overline{\text{L}} \gamma \text{ιβ.}$ Ἀμμώνιος σεση(μείωμαι).

9. Καινοῦ 14. ὑπέρ: v corrected from α

Choiak 16. Antiourios, son of Abous, has delivered for the fourteenth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, two and eleven-twelfths artabas of wheat, equal $2 \frac{11}{12}$ art. I, Ammonios, have signed.

Choiak 10. Antiourios has delivered to the account of the villagers of Kainos, dependency of Karanis, for the fourteenth indiction, two and one-twelfth artabas of wheat, equal $2 \frac{1}{12}$ art. I, Ammonios, have signed.

The 22nd. The same Antiourios (has delivered) for the fourteenth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, one and eleven-twelfths artabas of wheat, equal 1 11/12 art. I, Ammonios, have signed.

1. Χοιὰκ ις': 12 December.

κατέβαλεν: παρήνεγκεν is more common in receipts of this type; see *P. New York* 6-11a introd. p. 10.

8. Χοιὰκ ι': 6 December. The deviation from chronological order indicates that these receipts are copies.

9. Κεινοῦ (=Καινοῦ): this village appears as a dependency of Karanis also in *P. New York* 8.5; 10.7 and 12. It was bound economically and administratively to Karanis in the same way as Ptolemais and Kerkesoucha (cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 22 introd.).

13. καὶ τῇ κβ': 18 December.

649. Receipts for Deliveries of Grain

Inv. 1413

16 x 24 cm.

Probably June/Sept. 321 or 336 A.D.

This papyrus comprises five receipts, one of which has been almost completely washed away. Eight hands may be distinguished. The deliveries here recorded were all made by Heras, son of Sarapion. The same person is mentioned again in *O. Mich.* 631 (dated in the 2nd decade of the 4th cent.), in *P. New York* 11a.181 (327 or 342 A.D.); 19.4 (ca. 330-340), and in 651.7 (ca. 330-340). In the present text, one receipt (lines 16-23) records arrears for the eighth indiction (319/20 or 334/5), while the others list payments for the ninth. The text was probably written during the collection period of the ninth indiction.

evidence?

- Ἐπ[.....] παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
 ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης θS ἰνδικτίωνος
 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
 καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαεπτὰ
 5 ἥμισυ τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) ιξ L γ//μόνας.
 (2nd hd.) Ἡρώδης δι' ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ Χρήστου
 σεσημέϊωμαι (ἀρτάβας) ιξ L γ//.
 (3rd hd.) Θῶθ ιγ παρήνεγκεν
 Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος ὑπ(ὲρ)
 10 θS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμητῶν
 Καρανίδος πυροῦ κα-
 θαροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσ-
 σαρες δίμοιρον,
 (ἀρτ.) δ β' μόνας.
 15 Ἀρτεμίδωρος σεσημ(είωμαι).

Verso

(4th hd.) Ἐπεὶ ς παρήνεγκεν
 Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
 ὑπὲρ ὀγδῶς ἰνδικ(τίονος)
 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
 20 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτά-
 βασ δεκ[α]ἑξ ἡμισοι
 τρίτον, (ἀρτ.) ις \angle γ// μ(όνας). (5th hd.) Κασιανὸς σεσημ(είωμαι)
 ἀρτ(άβας) δεκ[α]ἑξ ἡμι]σου τρίτον μόνας.

6 lines washed out; in a 6th hd. Σαραπίωνος can still be read in line 25, πυροῦ καθαροῦ (ἀρτ.) δέκα, (ἀρτ.) ι in 28.

(7th hd.) Μεσορῇ ιγ// παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
 31 ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν
 Καρανίδος κριθῶν ἀρτάβας δύο, (ἀρτ.) β μ(όνας).
 (8th hd.) Σαραπίων σεσημ(είωμαι).

8. Pap. παρηνεγ'κεν 12.-13. τέσσαρας 16. Pap. παρηνεγ'κεν 18. ὀγδόης 21. ἡμισυ
 23. ἡμισυ

Ep. . . Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the ninth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, seventeen and five-sixths artabas of pure wheat, 17 $\frac{5}{6}$ art. only. (2nd hd.) I, Herodes (through me, his son Chrestos), have signed for 17 $\frac{5}{6}$ art.

(3rd hd.) Thoth 13. Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the 9th indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, four and two-thirds artabas of pure wheat, 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ art. only. I, Artemidoros, have signed.

(4th hd.) Epeiph 6. Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the eighth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, sixteen and five-sixths artabas of pure wheat, 16 $\frac{5}{6}$ art. only. (5th hd.) I, Kasianos, have signed for sixteen and five-sixths artabas only.

(7th hd.) Mesore 13. Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the ninth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, two artabas of barley, 2 art. only. (8th hd.) I, Sarapion, have signed.

1. Ἐπ[. . . .]: either Ἐπ[εὶ ς . .] or Ἐπ[αγο(μένων)]. With the latter, the receipt, read from verso to recto, observes chronological sequence, and also records the arrears first.

6. Herodes appears as hypodektes in *P. New York* 11a.4, 76, 80, 85, 90, 103; in *P. Mich. inv.* 1409 (*TAPA* 97, 1966, pp. 61-66); and possibly in *O. Mich.* 1007, though the latter, dated in the late 3rd cent., is probably too early.

8. Θῶθ ιγ: 10 September.

16. Ἐπεὶ ς: 30 June.

30. Μεσορῇ ιγ// : 6 August.

33. A Sarapion also signs in *P. New York* 11a.130, 138, 141, 160.

650. Receipts for Various Taxes

Inv. 954

5.8 x 23.8 cm.

287 and 293 A.D.

This papyrus contains two receipts, each written in a different hand. The first (lines 1-13) was drawn up on 8 August 287; it records a money payment made by Heron and Satabous, who are not otherwise identified, for the *annona* of the *τιμὴ οἴνου*. The second text, which was drafted several years later, on 21 January 293, concerns commutation for the *τιμὴ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου* in lines 14-25, while lines 26-29 involve a payment, *in natura*, directed toward the *τιμὴ χορταχύρου*. Both payments are made by Aion and his brothers, and the former is explicitly said to be for the sixth *epigraphe*, i.e. 291/2 (see note to line 21).

There is no apparent connection between the two receipts, and it is possible that the second was drawn up after the first had been discarded. The texts were written on the verso of the sheet, after it was already damaged. The end of every line falls on the horizontal fibers which were exposed through surface abrasion, and the scribes avoided damaged areas in the papyrus (see apparatus on lines 15 and 19).

- 5 ἔτους γS// καὶ βS//
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 Μεσορῇ ιε' διέγρα(ψαν)
 Ἦρων καὶ Σαταβοῦς
 εἰς λόγ(ον) τι(μῆς) οἴνου
 ἀννώ(νης) τετάρτης
 10 ἑξαμ(ήνου) ὀνό(ματος) Κλαυδίου
 Συρίω(νος) ... νομαχο()
 (δραχμὰς) τετρακοσίας δεκαέξ,
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) υς.
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Διοσκορ ιε'.
 (2nd hd.) ἔτους θS καὶ ηS τῶν
 15 κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 Τῦβι κς. διέγρα(ψαν)
 Ἀιῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελ(φοί)
 20 εἰς τι(μὴν) οἴνου καὶ ἐ-
 λαίου ἑκτης ἐπιγρα(φῆς)
 δραχμὰς τετρα-
 κοσίας,(γίν.) (δρ.) υ,
 δι' ἐμοῦ Κυρίλλου
 25 βοηθοῦ.
 (3rd hd.) ὁμοί(ως) καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ

Πέτρου τιμῆς χ(ο)ρτ(α-)
 χύρου λί(τρας) τριάκο(ν-)
 τα ἕξ, (γίν.) λί(τραι) λς.

15. κυρίων and ἡμῶν are separated by a hole; the spacing shows that the papyrus was already damaged

19. Ἀιῶν and καί are separated by a damaged area 27. χ(ο)ρτ(α-): Pap. χρτ̄ 28. τριάκο(ν-): Pap. τριακῶ

Year 3-2 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, Mesore 15. Heron and Satabous have paid to the account of the price of the *annona* of wine for the fourth six-month period, in the name of Claudius Syron . . . four hundred sixteen dr., equal 416 dr. Aurelius Dioskor. . . 15.

(2nd hd.) Year 9-8 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, Tubi 26. Aion and his brothers have paid, as the price of wine and oil of the sixth *epigraphe*, four hundred drachmas, equal 400 dr., through me, Kyrillos, assistant.

(3rd hd.) Likewise, through me, Petros, as the price of hay and chaff, thirty-six lbs., equal 36 lbs.

5. The date is 8 August 287.

8. ἀννώ(νης): for the resolution, cf. *P. Cair. Preis.* 13.9: εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἀν[ακο]μιδὴν οἴνου ἀννώνης, also *P. Teb.* 404.7-12. The resolutions ἀννω(νικοῦ) in *O. Mich.* 16.3, and ἀννω(νικοῦ) in *P. Oxy.* 2142.3 (see *O. Osl.*, p. 64) are unjustified.

8-9. τετάρτης ἑξαμήνου): the resolution is modeled on *P. Oxy.* 1192.3-4: ἀπαιτηταῖς ἀννώνης τετάρτης ἑξαμήνου. In 650 the payment was made during the fourth semester of a term of office of ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀννωνῶν.

10. . . . νομαχο(): probably a patronymic; H. C. Youtie suggests, with reservation, Κλεῖνομάχο(ν).

13. Διοσκορ. . . . ιε: perhaps Διόσκορος Με(σορή) ιε (so H. C. Youtie). The final epsilon leads into a horizontal stroke, which may be a space-filler.

18. The date is 21 January 293.

21. ἑκτης ἐπιγρα(φῆς): before the 15-year indiction system began, there were two lustra, each composed of five *epigraphai*. The first began in 286, the second in 291. See J. Schwartz, *Chronique* 38, 1963, pp. 149-155. The *epigraphe* in the present papyrus falls in 291/2. The scribe here wrote ἑκτης ἐπιγρα(φῆς) instead of the expected πρώτης ἐπιγρα(φῆς). Comparable is the situation in the beginning of the indiction system, when one occasionally finds references to indictions above the 15th (Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 192; cf. *P. New York* 5.26, 34; and 23.12, where a 16th indiction is mentioned).

27-28. χ(ο)ρτ(α)χύρου: i.e. hay and chaff; see 632.14n. The tax appears also in *PSI* 820.5: τιμῆς χορτῆ/ἀχύρου (see note *ad loc.*: "da intendere, sembra, χόρτου (καὶ) ἀχύρου. Ma nella fotografia vediamo piuttosto χορταχύρου").

Contradicted by
 652.2n. (correctly)

651. Account of Tax Payments

Inv. 1386

13.8 x 21.2 cm.

Ca. 330-340 A.D.

This papyrus, which is in general well preserved, contains a *kat' andra* list of money payments. The magnitude of the amounts involved perhaps implies commutation of the land tax (see introd. to 643-646). The heading records the name of Aion, son of Sarapion, a leading figure in a Karanis archive which falls in the first and second decades after the death of Aurelius Isidoros (ca. 324 A.D.); see *P. New York*, Preface, p. ix. His position in the title of the present text and the reference to him alone on the verso suggest that he is the head of a pittakion, or agricultural firm; cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 24.1n. and 27 introd.

651 was originally published in *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 188 f.

	διὰ Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)	
	Ἀιῶν .[. .]	(ταλάντων) μ(υριάδες) ς ,ερ
	Ἀιῶν Σερήνου	(ταλ.) μ(υριάς) α γφ
	Ἀ[ι]ῶν διάκων	(ταλ.) μ(υριάς) α ἀφ
5	Σωκράτης	(ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) γ ,ευ
	Ἀιῶν Μέλα	(τάλαντα) ,ξψ
	Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίων(ος)	(ταλ.) μ(υριάς) α ἀ
	Νιλάμων Σαβίνου	(ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) ε φ
	Ὅλ ὑπὲρ Θερμοῦθιου	(ταλ.) μ(υριάς) α ,θ
10	Σιμβρονία	(τάλ.) ἀσ
	Θαισιᾶς	(τάλ.) γφ
	Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)	(τάλ.) βφ
	Νίλος κοφός	(τάλ.) ἀϝ
	Ἀιῶν Σερήνου	(τάλ.) βφ
15		(ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) κβ ,ετ

Verso

Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)
λοι(παί) (ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) ι ζτ

9. Παρ. ολ' 10. Σεμπρωνία 11. Θαισιᾶς 13. κοφός

Through Aion, son of Sarapion

Aion . . .	65,100 tal.
Aion, son of Serenus	13,500 tal.
Aion, diaconus	11,500 tal.
Sokrates	35,400 tal.
Aion, son of Melas	7,700 tal.
Heras, son of Sarapion	11,000 tal.

Nilamon, son of Sabinus	50,500 tal.
Hol on behalf of Thermouthion	19,000 tal.
Sempronia	1,200 tal.
Thaisas	3,500 tal.
Aion, son of Sarapion	2,500 tal.
Nilos, dumb	1,900 tal.
Aion, son of Serenus	2,500 tal.
	225,300 tal.

Verso

Aion, son of Sarapion
Remaining: 106,300 tal.

1, 7, 12, 16. Σαραπίων(ος): the papyrus has no mark of abbreviation; possibly the name was regarded as indeclinable. This is often the case with names in -ων.

4. διάκων: equivalent of διάκονος, see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*⁴, p. 73, and *P. Mich.* 596.5.

7. For Heras, son of Sarapion, see 649 introd.

15. The total is correct.

652. Account of Deliveries

Inv. 6453

8.7 x 25.7 cm.

Ca. 312 A.D.

This text was first published in *HSCP* 75, 1971, pp. 189 f. Although the papyrus is broken off at the right, and the loss is indeterminable, the general nature of the document is fairly clear. It is a month-by-month list of deliveries measured in ξέσται and therefore probably consisting of wine or oil (see *WO* I, pp. 762 f.). Most of the entries contain the names of persons through whom the amounts are paid, followed by the total, which is usually expressed as a series of deliveries made in different regnal years (309/10-311/12 A.D.). Line 18 may refer to the military camp at Babylon (modern Fustat); if so, then at least some of the deliveries were allocated to the army.

The papyrus belongs to the group discovered during the 1933 excavations at Karanis conducted by the University of Michigan.

	Year	Amount
διὰ Ὀριγένους Ἀρποκρατίωνος		
ὦν ἰνδικτίονος ηS ζS δS ξ(έσται)[	311/12	—
ηS ζS ξ(έσ.) δξδ' .[	309/10	4,960 1/4
5 διὰ Δίου Ὀρεῖ ἄρξ(αντος) καὶ Κάστορος Ὀρι.[
Διοσκόρου Λύκωνος ἄρξ(αντος) ..[
Λυκαπόλλωνος Ἑρμανουβίωνος		

	καὶ κοι(νωνῶν) ἰνδικτίονος [
	ἰθS ζS ξ(εστῶν) μ(υριάς) α ἡ λε	310/11	18,935
10	δ[ι]ὰ Ὁρίωνος Ἀρποκρατίωνος[
	ξ(εσ.) μ(υριάς) α συμβ ἰθS ζS ξ(έσ.) ἡ[	309/10	10,242, 8[...
	ἐν οἷς μετεβλήθη πανθ...[
	γ(ίνεται) τοῦ μηνός ξ(έσ.) .[—
	]...Φαρμουῦθι διὰ Ὁριγένους[
	ῶν ἰνδικτίονος ἰθS ζS ξ(έσ.) ..[	310/11	—
15	]διὰ Σαρμάτου Ζωσίμου [
	ῶν ἰθS ζS ξ(έσ.) ῥωμδ .[	310/11	6,844
	Πα]ῦνι διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου Σαραπίωνος καὶ .[
	Βαβυλῶνα		
	Πα]ῦνι διὰ Λυκαπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμαν[

2 and passim. ξ(έσται) read by H. C. Youtie 10. συμβ: σ read by H. C. Youtie

2. ῶν: preceded by the total, which is here itemized.

The date is given as the indiction of the 8th year of Maximinus, 6th of Constantine, and 4th of Licinius. The 15-year indiction cycle did not begin until Sept. 312 (Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 192; *P. Princ. Roll*, pp. 25-31). Earlier indictions refer to regnal years; cf. *PSI* 886.7: ἐπὶ τῆς θ (ἔτους) ζ (ἔτους) ἰνδικτί[ονος], i.e. the indiction of the 19th year of Galerius and the 7th of Maximinus (310/11). See *P. Princ. Roll*, pp. 26 f.

4. Ὁρεῖ: late short genitive of Ὁρεῖς.

11. μετεβλήθη: μεταβάλλω may mean "im Girowege Zahlung leisten" (Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.) or simply "to transport" (*P. Mich.* 466.16n.).

πανθ . . . [: perhaps πάνθ' ἅ. .]

19. Ἑρμαν[: perhaps Ἑρμαν[οβίωνος, the father of the Lykapollon mentioned in line 6.

653. Tax Receipt

Inv. 149

13.3 x 11.8 cm.

30 May 149 A.D.

This papyrus contains a receipt issued by the sitologoi of Philadelphia for 200 drachmas. The sum is to be directed toward the purchase of wheat (εἰς συνωνήν πυροῦ), lines 6-7). Possibly we are dealing with a requisition for the *annona militaris*, and the present text may be nothing more than an expanded form of a receipt for τιμὴ πυροῦ. At least in the first three centuries of our era, τιμὴ πυροῦ was often associated with the military annona; see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 23 f. The papyri published as 643-646 do not have such a restricted purpose; see above, p. 66, n. 2.

- ἔτους ιβ̄ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Παῦνι ε̄ εἰς
 ἀρίθ(μῃσιν) Παχῶν. διέγρα(ψεν) Ἀντώνιος διὰ
 5 Ἀγαθόποδος σιτολ(όγοις) Φιλαδελ(φείας) εἰς τὰ καθ(ήκοντα)
 εἰς ἐνεχύρο(υ) λόγο(υ) [δ]πως ἂν χωρήσῃ εἰς
 συνωνήν πυρο(ῦ) γενή(ματος) ἐνδεκάτου (ἔτους) <(δραχμάς)>
 διακοσίας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ.

Year 12 of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pauni 5, for the *arithmes* of Pachon. Antonius, through Agathopous, has paid to the sitologoi of Philadelphia, to the account of his pledge, two hundred dr., equal 200 dr., as dues to go toward the purchase of wheat of the crop of the 11th year.

3. Παῦνι ε̄: 30 May 149 A.D.

3-4. εἰς ἀρίθ(μῃσιν) Παχῶν: a payment made in the early part of a month is often designated as belonging to the *arithmes* of the preceding month. The *arithmes* is the report of collection, which tax collectors prepared and submitted periodically. Normally it covered a period extending from the middle of one month to the middle of the next. See V. B. Schuman, "Issuance of Tax Receipts in Roman Egypt," *Chronique* 38, 1963, p. 312, n. 3.

5. τὰ καθ(ήκοντα): designation of a variety of taxes assessed at fixed rates; see Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 271 and 447, n. 45.

6. εἰς ἐνεχύρο(υ) λόγο(υ): "I reconstruct the situation in the following way. When the time had come in the 11th year, probably in Pauni, for Antonius to pay the *kathēkonta*, he had neither the wheat nor the equivalent in money to give to the sitologoi. He therefore handed over a pledge, the nature of which we are not told. Now, a year later, he pays 200 dr. to discharge his obligation and doubtless recovers the pledge" (H. C. Youtie, letter of 3 December 1971).

χωρήσῃ κτλ.: cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 89.11-12: ὅπερ ἀργύριον ἐχώρησεν εἰς συνωνήν χρυσίου καὶ ἀσήμου, "the aforesaid money has gone into purchase of gold and silver bullion" (editors' translation).

7. <(δραχμάς)> was omitted after (ἔτους) because the signs resemble each other.

654-655

The following two papyri add to the small number of penthemeros certificates written in the first century of our era.¹ These texts exhibit a less uniform structure than that which became standardized in the early second century. F. Oertel was the first to notice the peculiarities of the early certificates (*Die Liturgie*, p. 74), but the evidence then available did not permit a definitive explanation. In *Chronique* 34, 1959, pp. 285-288, N. Lewis, on the basis of the

1. This discussion is taken, *mutatis mutandis*, from my remarks in *Chronique* 45, 1970, pp. 137-139.

larger number of texts at his disposal, proposed to classify the first-century papyri in two categories, of which the first employed τὴν πενθήμερον, and the second ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε. Each category was further broken down into two subgroups, one for texts specifying the month and day on which the corvée was performed, the other for certificates lacking this information.

Several years later, P. J. Sijpesteijn, in *Chronique* 37, 1962, pp. 342-347, sought to show that one could not speak of two different formulaic patterns in the first-century documents. Rather it seemed to him "qu'au Ier siècle après J.-C., chaque κατασπορεύς se choisit la formule qui lui paraît la mieux appropriée, de sorte que, si l'on voulait compter les types, on se verrait dans la nécessité d'en admettre autant qu'il existe de certificats" (p. 342). He compared each text with the standardized arrangement originating in the second century and observed that the only common characteristic of the early certificates was lack of uniformity. This observation is repeated in *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 7.

In an earlier fascicle of the same volume of *Chronique*, Lewis, presumably forewarned of Sijpesteijn's scepticism, wrote a postscript to his previous article (pp. 153 f.). He denied having implied "that in the first century the writers of the dike-corvée certificates were *required* to use one of two formulas." On the contrary, his main point was "that an administratively fixed, *required* formula first appeared in the reign of Trajan. Earlier, the certification was recorded in varying language, in which two principal patterns of expression are discernible."

Lewis' restatement of his position is incontrovertible. Even though the ancients may not have thought of two different formulaic types, it is still useful, for purposes of classification, to have such simple criteria as the presence of τὴν πενθήμερον or ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε. If one compares Lewis' tabulation of the certificates (*Chronique* 34, 1959, p. 287) with Sijpesteijn's (*ibid.* 37, 1962, p. 343), the advantages of the former will easily be seen. Sijpesteijn's list may be more comprehensive in the details which it offers, but Lewis, in concentrating on the salient *differentiae*, has achieved results which are more taxonomically significant. In the following up-to-date list of first-century penthemeros certificates, I adhere to Lewis' classification. (N.B.: S. = Sijpesteijn's list in *Penthemeros Certificates*.)

I Using τὴν πενθήμερον

a) with month and day

P. Princ. 40 (49 A.D., S. 56)²

P. Lond. II 165 a-c, p. 103 (49 A.D., S. 1-3)³

2. In line 2 E. P. Wegener proposed ἕως instead of ἐν μηνί (BL III, p. 149). Sijpesteijn rejects this proposal (*Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 46; BL V, p. 85), but the photograph of the papyrus shows that it is inevitable. Sijpesteijn also suggests that ἐν τ(ῇ) πλωτ(ῇ) διώρυγι be read in the same line for ἐν τ(ῇ) πλωτ(ῇ) (*Penthemeros-Certificates*, 52; BL V, p. 85), but this "correction" is simply a misuse of editorial symbols.

3. N. Lewis proposed that line 2 be read ἕως μηνός Καισαρείου ἡ, ἐν κληρο(), and his reading was confirmed by T. C. Skeat (*Chronique* 34, 1959, p. 287; BL IV, p. 43). Sijpesteijn's notion that the reading of the *editio princeps*, ἐν μηνί Καισαρείω, should be kept (*Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 46; BL V, p. 49) is based on his mistaken reading of *P. Princ.* 40 (see preceding footnote) and should be disregarded.

SB 9097 (51 A.D., S. 178)⁴

PSI Omaggio XI Congr. 6 (Reign of Claudius)

b) without month and day

SB 9560 (52/3 A.D., S. 57)⁵

654 (57/8 A.D.)⁶

655 (57/8 A.D.)

II Using ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε

a) with month and day

P. Lond. II 139b, p. 103 (51 A.D., S. 4)⁷

b) without month and day

P. Bon. 31 (44/5 A.D., S. 177)⁸

SB 9567 (51/2 A.D., S. 4a)

PSI Omaggio XI Congr. 7 (53/4 A.D.)

PSI 51 (63/4 A.D., S. 58)⁹

PIFAO I 32 (69 A.D., S. 5-6)¹⁰

It is interesting to note that documents with ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε usually do not have the month and days of the corvée. This fact may be of use in the reconstruction of damaged texts.

4. Sijpesteijn suggests that Κερκ() in line 2 be resolved Κερκ(ήσεως) (*Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 64; *BL V*, p. 108). This suggestion derives support from No. 182 on Sijpesteijn's list (see note *ad loc.*, p. 64), where Κερκη() can be resolved as Κερκή(σεως).

5. Professor N. Lewis very kindly provided me with a photograph, which has enabled me to improve the readings of this text in several places: line 3, read χωμάτω(ν), not χωματικῶ(ν) (cf. 655.3); lines 3-4, read Ἀννή[ς] 'Ἀρθώτου for ed.'s Ἀνῆ[ς] 'Ἀρθώτου (cf. *Chronique* 45, 1970, p. 139, n. 2; the name 'Ἀρθώτου is secure); line 6, read Δίδυμος γρ(αμματεὺς) βασιλικῶ γρ(αμματέως) σεση(μείωμαι), not Δίδυμος σεσημέωμαι (cf. *SB* 9567.7; 654.9; 655.7). This text can now be connected with the Harthotes archive (see 654 introd.).

6. In *Chronique* 45, 1970, p. 139, I listed 654 (inv. 970) with those certificates having month and day and was guided by lines 7-8: 'Ἀρπατοτοῦς Ἀννῆ(ους) ἡργ(ασάμην) ἀπὸ ι (ἔως) ιϛ. But this is the signature of the worker; the body of the text resembles those certificates without month and day. Hence the change in classification.

7. For textual improvements, see *BL I*, p. 252.

8. This text was corrected by H. C. Youtie on the basis of a photograph (*TAPA* 92, 1961, pp. 553-556; *BL V*, p. 18); his revision incorporated suggestions made by N. Lewis (*Chronique* 34, 1959, p. 287; *BL IV*, p. 10). Sijpesteijn's proposal, recorded in *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 64 (*BL V*, p. 18), was made without the aid of a photograph and is to be discarded.

9. See *PSI IX*, p. 79 (*BL V*, p. 122) for a revised edition. Sijpesteijn proposed that Ἰσαρίω(νος) (ἐν τῇ) πλω(τῇ) should be read in line 2; see *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 54 (*BL V*, p. 122). This may be right, although the revision should be expressed as (ἐν τῇ) πλω(τῇ).

10. Before this text (=PIFAO inv. 315) was published, Professor J. Schwartz generously furnished me with his transcription of it.

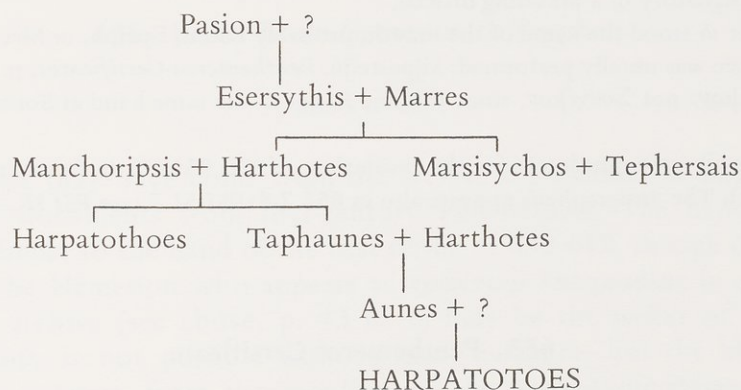
654. Penthemeros Certificate

Inv. 970

6.3 x 7.5 cm.

57/8 A.D.

This text was first published, with photograph, in *Chronique* 45, 1970, pp. 135-139. Harpatotoes, who discharges the corvée, is stated to be the son of Aunes and a resident of Theadelphia. This information, together with the fact that the text was drawn up in the fourth year of Nero (57/8 A.D.), establishes beyond reasonable doubt that he is to be connected with the Harthotes archive. The texts of this archive come from Theadelphia and were written in the early part of the first century of our era; they include *P. Med.* I 3-12; *P. Osl.* 32; *SB* 7376; *P. Mert.* 8 + *P. Med.* I 43; *P. Princ.* 23; *SB* 9560 (see above, p. 96, n. 5), as well as 655. Harpatotoes, who has not heretofore appeared, is the grandson of Taphaunes and grandnephew of Harpatothoes and was probably named after the latter. His position in the family is illustrated by the following diagram, based on that in *P. Med.* I, p. 18.



- [ἔτους τε]τάρτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
 [Καίσαρος Σε]βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 [Αὐτοκράτορο]ς. εἰργάσατο τὴν
 4 [πενθήμερο]ν χωμάτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
 (2nd hd.) [ἐν τῇ Φο]λῆμιν διώρυγι Θεαδελφίας
 [Ἀρπατο]τοῦς Αὐνήους
 (7) [Ἀρθώτου.] (3rd hd.) Ἀρπατοτοῦς Αὐνή(ους) ἡργ(ασάμην)
 ἀπὸ ι (ἔως)
 (8) [ιδ ± 6]
 (4th hd.) [± 6]ων ἀντιγρ(αφεὺς) χω(μάτων) β(ασιλικοῦ)
 γρ(αμματέως) ἔση(μειωσάμην).

5. διώρυγι 7. Ἀρπατοτοῦς: s corrected from η

The fourth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. Has performed the penthemeros on the dikes for the same year (2nd hd.) in the Pholemis canal, on behalf on Theadelphia: Harpatotoes son of Aunes and grandson of Harthotes. (3rd hd.) I, Harpatotoes son of Aunes, worked from the 10th to the 14th of . . . (4th hd.) I, . . . on, antigrapheus in charge of dikes, from the office of the basilikogrammateus, have signed.

5. [ἐν τῇ Φο]λῆμις διόρυγι: according to Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 80, this canal is mentioned four times in connection with Tebtunis, twice with Euhemeria, and once (*P. Fay.* 287) no locality is recorded. Although the present association of the canal with Theadelphia is of no help in fixing its precise location, the evidence thus far accumulated suggests that it flowed through the southwest part of the Fayum, perhaps as a branch of the Bahr Nezla. But these data must be used with caution, since the insertion of the village name merely shows where the work is to be credited and need not imply that the canal is close by. See O. M. Pearl, *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, pp. 225-227.

Φο]λῆμις: i.e. Φολήμιος. See D. J. Georgacas, *CP* 43, 1948, pp. 243 ff.

7. ἡργ(ασάμην): more likely than ἡργ(άσατο), since with the latter we would expect mention of a signatory or a presiding official.

8. After ἰδ stood the name of the month, probably Pauni, Epeiph, or Mesore, the months when the corvée was usually performed; Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 10.

9. [± 6]ων: not Σουχί]ων, since the line is not in the same hand as Souchion's signature in 655.7.

β(ασιλικού) γρ(αμματέως): for the resolution, cf. *SB* 9567.7: γρ(αμματεὺς) βασιλ(ικου) γρα(μματέως). The antigrapheus appears also in 655.7-8; *PSI* 51.7 (see *PSI* IX, p. 79); *PIFAO* I 32.7-8, 17-18.

655. Penthemeros Certificate

Inv. 3269

7.5 x 8.4 cm.

57/8 A.D.

Aunes son of Harthotes performs the corvée in the present papyrus on behalf of Theadelphia. Like 654, this text belongs to the Harthotes archive. For the position of Aunes in the family, see the stemma in the introduction to 654.

- ἔτους τετάρτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος.
 ἡργά(σατο) τή(ν) πενθ[ή]μερ(ον) ὑ(πέρ) χωμάτων(ν) τοῦ
 α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους) (2nd hd.) ἐν τ(ῇ) ὀρειν(ῇ) Πολ(έμωνος)
 5 Θεαδελφίας Αὐνῆς
 Ἀρθώτου.
 (7) (3rd hd.) Σουχίων ἀντ(ιγραφεὺς) χω(μάτων) β(ασιλικού)
 γρ(αμματέως) σεση(μείωμαι).
 (8) (4th hd.) Φιλώτας ἀντ(ιγραφεὺς) χω(μάτων) στρ(ατηγοῦ) σεση(μείωμαι).

6. Ἀρθώτου and 8 στρ(ατηγοῦ) read by H. C. Youtie.

The fourth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. Has performed the penthemeros concerning the dikes for the same year (2nd hd.) in the desert canal of Polemon, on behalf of Theadelphia: Aunes son of Harthotes.

(3rd hd.) I, Souchion, antigrapheus in charge of dikes, from the office of the basilikogrammateus, have signed.

(4th hd.) I, Philotas, antigrapheus in charge of dikes, from the office of the strategos, have signed.

4. ἐν τῇ ὁρεῶν(ῃ) Πολ(έμωνος): this canal, the modern Bahr Gharaq, passes Kerkeosiris, Thegonis and Tebtunis; see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 79.

7. Σουχίων: cf. SB 9567.7: Σουχ() γραμματεὺς βασιλ(ικοῦ) γραμματέως; the name may now be resolved as Σουχ(ίων).

ἀντ(ιγραφεὺς) χω(μάτων) β(ασιλικοῦ) γραμματέως: see 654.9n.

8. ἀντ(ιγραφεὺς) χω(μάτων) στρ(ατηγοῦ): cf. PIFAO I 32.7 and 16.

656. Letter From Nemesion to Tryphon

Inv. 1638

12.5 x 18 cm.

1st half of 1st cent. A.D.

This letter may have come from the archive represented in this volume by 638-642, tax documents from first-century Philadelphia. The hand of 656 is stylistically similar to the hand of the first scribe of 638-642, though considerably slower, and the Nemesion who appears as πράκτωρ λαογραφίας in some of the texts of this archive (see above, p. 43 n. 1) may be the writer of the present letter. Certainty is not possible without more evidence, but the identification derives some support from the mention of the ἀρχιμαχαιοφόρος in line 6. Although this official occurs here for the first time, μαχαιοφόροι are attested as assistants to πράκτορες; see *P. Mich.* 577.8n., and Chalon, *L'Edit de Ti. Julius Alexander*, p. 58 and nn. 25, 27.

Nemesion complains to his brother Tryphon that a lawsuit has been brought against him by a certain Papei, acting on behalf of the ἀρχιμαχαιοφόρος (see 5n.). Nemesion pleads innocence and maintains that he owes "nothing, either in arrears or on the current account" (10-11). The reference to these financial matters may be another indication — though it hardly constitutes proof — that Nemesion is to be identified with the πράκτωρ λαογραφίας. This official was responsible for collecting all the tax money owed to the State and had to make up any deficit; see *P. Mich.* 594 introd., p. 64 and n. 8. But the language of the letter is vague, and the writer could simply be an ordinary taxpayer, complaining of official harassment.

Νεμεσίῳ Τρύφῳ
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρω.
 ἐροτῶ σε ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ὑποδῖξε
 5 αὐτοῖς ὅτι [.] Παπεῖ χάριν
 τοῦ ἀρχιμ[α]χεροφόρου ἀνά-
 στατόν με ποιεῖ ἐφ[όδ]οις
 κοπῶν με. δει' ἔ δὲ αὐ-
 τοὺς τῷ στρατηγῷ μνη-
 10 σθῆναι. οὐδὲν ὀφίλωι οὔτε
 ἔκθεσιν οὔτε ὑποκείμενο(ν).
 ἐὰν αὐτὸν μὴ ποίσης κρου-
 σθῆναι, οὐ μέλλωι εὐσταθεῖν.
 ἔρρω(σο).

2. χαίρειν 3. ἐρωτῶ, ἀπελθεῖν 4. ὑποδεῖξαι 6. ἀρχιμαχαιοφόρου 7. ἐφ[όδ]οις read by H. C. Youtie 8. δι' ἃ δεῖ; read by H. C. Youtie 10. ὀφείλω 12. ποιήσης (Mayser, *Grammatik* I, p. 83) 13. μέλλω; εὐσταθεῖν read by H. C. Youtie

Nemesion to Tryphon, his brother, greetings. I ask you to go to the officials and inform them that Papei, on account of the chief of the armed guards, is making me disturbed, wearing me down with lawsuits; wherefore it is necessary that they appeal to the strategos. I owe nothing, either in arrears or on the current account. If you do not get rid of him, I am going to have no peace. Farewell.

5. After ὅτι there is a heavy horizontal stroke and a heavy vertical, which seem to have been used to cancel a letter.

Παπεῖ: see Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, for Παπεῖ and Παπέει, short forms of the common Παπεῖς (Παπέεις).

χάριν: this word seems to imply that Papei is an agent of the archimachairophoros and is acting on his behalf.

7. ἐφ[όδ]οις: ἔφοδος here means "lawsuit;" see *WB* I, s.v. 3.

8. ἔ (i.e. ἄ): for interchange of ε and α, see Mayser, *Grammatik* I, pp. 55 ff.

9-10. For μνησθῆναι in the meaning "appeal to" see *WB* II, s.v. 3.

11. ἔκθεσιν: "arrears;" see Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v.

ὑποκείμενο(ν): Professor Youtie writes: "for the meaning of ὑποκείμενο(ν) here see *Wörterbuch* II, s.v. 2: 'current.' Possibly we should understand λόγον with it."

12 f. κρουσθῆναι: cf. the use of διακρούω in the middle (*LSJ*, s.v. II); also ἀποκρούω (*LSJ*).

657. Private Letter

Inv. 959

21.5 x 8.5 cm.

Late 2nd or early 3rd cent. A.D.

This papyrus preserves a column from a private letter. The names of sender and addressee have been lost, and the papyrus is broken off at the bottom. The hand is of an upright, semi-uncial type which is characteristic of the late second or early third century of our era; the 1st hand of *P. Graec. Berol.* 34a, 202/3 A.D., is similar.

657 concerns private business: the writer, who is about to sail downstream to Alexandria, instructs the recipient to purchase and deliver "patetos" dates and Syrian dates (see notes to lines 7-9); jars of olives are also involved in the transaction. The formal tone and stiff style may suggest that the letter was written to a subordinate.

..ρο.[.]μ.[...]....
 ..ει εἰ[ς] Ἀλεξάν[δ]ρειαν
 ἔχω καταπλεῦσαι με-
 θ' ἡμ[έρα]ς ιε. πέμψεις
 5 μοι ἀγο[ρ]άσας ἢ διὰ
 Πανίσκου ἢ μετὰ τῶν
 ἐλαιῶν φοίνικ[ο]ς πατη-
 τοῦ ἀρτάβας δύο καὶ
 10 Συρίου κ[α]λοῦ ἀρτάβην μίαν
 ἕως (δραχμῶν) ὑβ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 παιδίοις. [σ]ὺ δὲ τῷ ἀσφα-
 λέστερ[ον] φέρουντι τὰ
 φοινίκια [δ]ώσεις ἵνα
 15 μὴ κακ[ο]υργηθῇ. τὰ
 γὰρ κεράμια τῶν ἐλαι-
 ῶν οἴμαι σε ἀσφαλῶς
 πάλιν γνψιεῖν. γράψεις
 20 δέ μοι [[εἰ]] πότερον βούλει τῷ χειρισ-
 τῇ τὴν τιμὴν ὧν πέμ-
 πεις δοθῆναι ἵνα σοι παρα-
 δεχθῇ εἰς τὸν λόγον ἢ δι-
 ἀ Πανίσκου σοι πεμφθῇ-
 ναι θέλεις. περὶ ὧν βούλει
 25 ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖας ἐνεχθῆναι
 [σο]ι γ[ρά]ψον[...].
 [.....].[.....].

9. κ[α]λοῦ written above the line 18. πότερον written above the line; βούλει: εἰ corrected from ι
 19. τιμὴν; ὧν written above the line

... I am going to sail downstream to Alexandria in 15 days. You will send to me, after purchasing them, either through Paniskos or together with the olives, two artabas of "patetos" dates and one artaba of good Syrian dates for as much as 12 dr., for the remaining slaves. And you will give the dates to someone who will transport them with utmost security, in order that they will not be mishandled. As for the jars of olives, I think you should securely seal them again. And you will write to me whether you wish the price for what you are sending to be given to the manager, in order that it may be credited to your account, or you want it to be sent to you through Paniskos. Write concerning what you wish to be brought to you from Alexandria. ...

3. ἔχω c. inf. can be interpreted as a periphrastic future (*P. Mich.* 476.12n.); also possible is "Gelegenheit haben" (*WB* I, s.v. 23).

7-8. φοίνικ[ο]ς πατητοῦ: an especially juicy variety of dates; see Hohlwein, *Etudes de Papyrologie* 5, 1939, pp. 18 ff.; *BGU* 2105.4n.

9. Συρίου κ[α]λοῦ: sc. φοίνικος. For Syrian dates, see Hohlwein, 18 and n. 5, and cf. *P. Aberd.* 57.19n. See also 630.24.

17. γυψιῶν: see Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten*, pp. 34 f.

20-21. παραδεχθῆναι: "in later writers the aor. παρεδέχθην takes also a pass. sense" — *LSJ*, s.v. Cf. *BGU* 831.15-16: παραδεχθ(ῆναι) μοι τ[ὸ] . . .] ἐ[κ]φ[ό]ριον.

658. Letter from Sabinus to Eutyches

Inv. 6630

7.3 x 7.2 cm.

Between 211 and 216 A.D.

On paleographical grounds this letter may be dated to the late second or early third century of our era. In terms of content a date in the third century is more likely; the text concerns division of the year of service amongst several liturgists, and this practice, though perhaps attested in the second century,¹ did not become prevalent until the third (see *P. Leit.* 7.3n.). The imperial date in lines 11-12 (κ[.]— ἔ[τους]) is, therefore, probably to be assigned to Caracalla, sometime between year 21² (212/3) and his last year, 25 (216/7). The text was drawn up during the preceding year.

Sabinus writes to Eutyches to inform him that Heron the Little (ὁ μικρός, line 5) was appointed to the gymnasiarchy for a two-month period. He will be the fourth to hold office in the following year, and his term will fall in Phamenoth and Pharmouthi, the seventh and eighth months of the Egyptian year.

N. Lewis referred to 658 in his *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v.

1. The practice may be implied in *BGU* 235 (= *WChr.* 399) of 164-6 A.D. (see *BL* III, p. 9), and perhaps in *BGU* 760, discussed below.

2. Caracalla's regnal years continue those of Septimius Severus (see e.g. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales*, pp. 102 ff., and P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (*P. Lugd. Bat.* XV) 111).

γυμνασιαρχία, in connection with BGU 760 (= *WChr.* 150). The latter, dated in the second century A.D., is a receipt from Heliodoros, γυμ(νασί)αρχος, and Athenodoros, ἑναρχος γυμ(νασί)αρχος, certifying that they have received payment for taxes, ὁ μὲν Ἡλιόδωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χοιὰκ καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὲρ Τῦβι κοι (here the papyrus breaks off). Preisigke deduced from this text that there were two gymnasiarchs each year, and that they alternated monthly in performing their office (see *WChr.* 150 introd.). The present papyrus indicates that one could serve as gymnasiarch for a two-month period. Since this text probably belongs to the third century, it does not necessarily contradict Preisigke's interpretation of the Berlin papyrus, but it at least suggests the possibility of monthly tenure in the latter.

Σαβῖνος Εὐτύχη χαίρειν.
 γινώσκειω σε θέλω
 ὅτι σήμερον ἦτις ἐσ-
 τὶν κῆ ἐκκληρώθη
 5 Ἡρων ὁ μικρὸς
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγ[ο]υ
 διμήνιος δαπανη-
 τῆς (τῆς) γυμνασιαρχίας,
 ὃς ἐστὶν τέταρτος, Φα-
 10 μενώθ καὶ Φαρμοῦ-
 θι τ[οῦ] λσιώντος κ[.]—
 ἔ[τους]
 — — — — —

5. Ἡρων ὁ μικρὸς: interlinear addition 11. λσιώντος

Sabinus to Eutyches, greetings. I want you to know that today, which is the 28th, Heron the Little was appointed by the epistrategos to bear the expense of the gymnasiarchy for a period of two months, viz., since he is fourth, for Phamenoth and Pharmouthi of the approaching year 2[.] . . .

5. ὁ μικρὸς: only a nickname; it would not be expected in any formal designation of a gymnasiarch. The papyrus does not provide enough information to permit identification with any Heron listed in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*.

7. διμήνιος: a variant of διμηνιαῖος; see L. R. Palmer, CQ 33, 1939, pp. 31-33. *P. Oxy.* 1418.18 (247 A.D.) uses τετραμήνιος in a similar context: ἀν[α]δέξομαι τῷ παιδί τετραμήνιον γυμνασιαρχίαν.

7-8. δαπανητής: hitherto this word was attested only in the *Etymologicum Magnum* 40.44, where it is listed, without definition, with words ending in -τής. Its meaning is "spender" or "defrayer of expenses." The definition "spendthrift" in *LSJ* is not justified by the evidence.

9. ὃς: the relative is unexpected here, and perhaps ὥς was intended.

9-10. Φαμενώθ: i.e. 25 February-26 March.

10-11. Φαρμοῦθι: 27 March-25 April.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and its history is therefore a history of rapid growth and change. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It covers a vast area of land, and its population is one of the largest in the world. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is made up of many different peoples, languages, and customs, and this has led to a rich and varied culture.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It has been built by people from many different parts of the world, and this has led to a unique blend of cultures and traditions. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. It has a long history of exploration and discovery, and this has led to a spirit of adventure and innovation. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It has a long history of fighting for the rights of its citizens, and this has led to a strong belief in individual liberty and democracy.

The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It has a long history of scientific and technological achievement, and this has led to a constant pursuit of knowledge and improvement. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It has a long history of optimism and belief in a better future, and this has led to a strong sense of purpose and direction. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity. It has a long history of working together to overcome challenges and achieve common goals, and this has led to a strong sense of national identity and pride. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It has a long history of promoting peace and understanding between nations, and this has led to a strong commitment to international cooperation and diplomacy.

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Handwritten text in Greek script, likely a legal document or lease agreement, written on a fragment of papyrus. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is cursive and characteristic of the Hellenistic or Roman periods. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly on the left and right sides, leaving only a central strip of text visible. The ink is dark, and the background of the fragment is a light, fibrous material.

P. Mich. 632. Sublease of Land

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[illegible]

P. Mich. 631. Application to Lease Date Crop

[illegible]

P. Mich. 637. List of Roman Legionaries

Flower of the year

From the
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[Faint handwritten notes, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.]

Receipts for Various Taxes

P. Mich. 643, i. Receipts for Τιμὴ Πυροῦ

P. Mich. 642, iii-v. Tax List

Εὐχὴν ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς
ἐν ἡμετέροις ἀγαθῶν
ἐργασίαις ὑμῶν
ἐν ἡμετέροις ἀγαθῶν
ἐργασίαις ὑμῶν
ἐν ἡμετέροις ἀγαθῶν
ἐργασίαις ὑμῶν
ἐν ἡμετέροις ἀγαθῶν
ἐργασίαις ὑμῶν

P. Mich. 655. Penthemeros Certificate

ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ

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