





For Roger
- Best Wishes
- Michael







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VOLUME FOURTEEN

MICHIGAN PAPHYRI

(P. MICH. XII)

GERALD M. BROWNE

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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 graphaeon, 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 Professor John Oates is currently working on the unpublished pieces from Cornell, and I hope to have the opportunity to publish the remaining Michigan texts from this collection.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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Faint, illegible text, likely an index or list of contents, spanning the middle of the page.

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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.



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[είου κηρσίτορος κώμης Καρανίδος]

Ἄτισιος Ἄτρῃ ἀπὸ κ[ώμης Καρανίδος]

δ/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Στῶ [λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς) σπορ(ᾶς) ἐγ (ἔτους)
(ἀρούρης) γ' ιε λβ ξδ]

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

5 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἀπ[ὸ κοινωνίας Ἡρωνος ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορ(ᾶς) ἐγ
(ἔτους) (ἀρουραι) δ δ η ξδ]

ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμ(ῶν) Ἡρωνος κτήσις]

ε// σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Ἰμου[εἰταλή λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου)
(ἄρ.) η δ η ιε]

ἀνατολῶν Λεωνίδου [δυσμ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγός 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(ένω) β(ασιλικῆς) σπο(ρίμης)
(ἄρ.) γ β ις ξδ]
- 10 και ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ [ιδιω(τικῆς) σπο(ράς) φου(ικῶνος) ιβ (ἔτους) (ἄρ.) ε|
ἀνατολ(ών) ὑδραγωγ(ός) μεθ' (ὄν) ἀ[βροχ(ος) ἀδέσποτ(ος) διόλου,
δυσμ(ών) Ἡρακλέου]
- ια/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πέλ[ουα λεγομ(ένω) ιδιω(τικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου)
(ἄρ.) γ η']
ἀνατολ(ών) γῆ ἀβροχ(ος) ἀδέ[σποτ(ος) διόλου, δυσμ(ών) γῆ χέρσο(ς)
ξυλίτις διόλου]
- εγ^β σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Π[ασόκμην λεγομ(ένω) ιδιω(τικῆς) σπορ(ίμης)
(ἄρ.) ε λ η ις ξδ]
- 15 ἀνατολ(ών) Ἀβοίκεως [κῆσις, δυσμ(ών) Πασιίου κῆσις]
ιδ/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τό[π(ω) ιδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) ιδ δ ις|
και ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ [ιδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου (ἄρ.) γ η']
ἀνατολ(ών) ὑδραγωγ(ός) [μεθ' (ὄν) Ἀβοίκεως κῆσις, δυσμ(ών) ± 4]
- 17/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πα[λάμα λεγομ(ένω) ἀπό κουωνίας]
- 20 Ἰσιδώρου και Ἡρω[νος και Ἐλένης ιδιω(τικῆς) σποράς ιδ (ἔτους)
(ἀρούρης) λ η ις λβ ξδ|
ἀνατολ(ών) Ἰσιδώρ[ου κῆσις, δυσμ(ών) χέρσο(ς) ξυλίτις] διόλου|
(γίνονται) ἁμοῦ 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. ἰσιδώρου

Excerpt from declarations for Sabinus *ensitor*: 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. βασιλικῆς: 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) ἐγ (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 ἄβροχου.

10. ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορ(ᾶς) φοι(κίων) φ (ἔτους): the position of φοι(κίων) is awkward. It is probably a subheading of the title σπορ(ᾶς) φ (ἔτους), in which the land was classified, Year 12 = 295/6. Professor Youtie suggests that the sowing of year 12 converted the φοικίων into a φοικίων ἱποσπειρόμενος, i.e. a palm grove under the trees of which other crops were planted (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 295 f.; *P. Köln Papiro*, 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.

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

15. The estate of Paesios also appears in 636.10.

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

19. ἐν τόπῳ Παλάμα: 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 (μή 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. Osf.* 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 βιβλιοθηλαίων. διό [ἐπιθέτωμι]
[εἰς τὸ τῶν] παράθε [σιν] γινέσθαι δι[αλοῦμαι]
5 [τῶ] ἀντιγράψω[ι] τῶ[υ] χρηματισμο[ῦ] ἀπόστα[σιν]
[τῶ] τῆ[ς] ἀπογρα[φῆ]ς αἰσθ[ῆ]σιν ποιῶ[μι], ἀποδεί[ξω]
[τῶ] ὡς ἐστ[ίν] κ[α]ταρ[α]θέν. εἰ δέ σ[υ]γγίη [ἐτέρω]
[προσ]ῆ[ρη] [εἰ] δὲ τοῦ βιβλιοθηλαίου

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(ευτῆ) βιβλ(ιοφύλακι) ἐγκτήσ(εων)
 Ἀ[ρσ]ινοίτου
 (2nd hd.) π[αρά] A[ύρη]λιας Ταπαίτου Παπνούθ[ι]ος μητρός Θαισάτ[ος] ἀπό
 [κώμης Φι]λαδελφίας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερ[ί]δος χωρὶς κυρίου
 χρη[μα]τίζουσα)]
 κ[ατὰ] τὰ Ῥωμίων ἔτη τέκνων δι[κ]αίω. ἠγόρασα .[± 6]
 5 .[.] ± 4 .ν γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ τῇ ἐν[ε]σ[τ]ρω[σ]ῃ
 ἡ[μέρα] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ Φιλαδελφία οἰκίδιον μο[ν]όστεγον
 [μετὰ τοῦ] ἑνότου μυλίου ἐν ᾧ ὑπαυλις καταπεπ[τω]κυία
 [τιμῆς] ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν τρισχιλίων γίνονται [(δρ.) τρισχιλίας]
 10 παρὰ Aύρηλιου Τίτου Οὐαλερίου Γαιανοῦ Τίτου Οὐαλερίου Σατριάνου
 τοῦ καὶ Σερήνου μητρός Ἰουλίας Αντινόου καὶ ὡς χρη[μα]τίζει
 μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένου. διό ἐπιδίδωμι εἰς τὸ τὴν [π]αρά[θεω]
 γενέσθαι ἀκολούθως ᾧ παρεθέμην εἰσω τοῦ χ[ρη]ματισ-
 15 μου τῆς πράσεως. ὅπου γὰρ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν αὐτ[οῦ] ποιῶ[μαι].
 ἀποδείξω ὡς ὑπάρχει καὶ ἐστὶ καθαρὸν μηδενὶ κρατούμενον].
 εἰ δὲ φανή ἕτέρω προσήκω ἢ προκατεσχημένον τὸ οἰκίδιον
 διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου, μὴ ἐσ[σ]εσθαι ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῆ[σδε] τῆ[ς]
 παραθέσεως. (1st hd.) Aύρηλ(ίω) Ὠρίων βουλ(ευτῆς) βιβλ(ιοφύλαξ)
 ἐγκτήσ(εων) Ἀρσινοίτου ± 7

2. Pap. θάισατ[ος] (read by O. M. Pearl) 5. Pap. αρσινοίτη 7. Pap. υπαυλις 8. δραχμῶν: ὡν corrected from ας 9. Pap. γαιανου 10. Pap. ωυλις: Αντινόου 11. ἐπιδίδωμι 12. ὡς 14. υποδείξω 15. φανείη, προσήκω: προκατεσχημένον; or perhaps corrected from ω 17. ἐγκτήσ(εων) Ἀρσινοίτου 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 Αἰσ. Ταπάειε Πατέρος. The present text shows that the father's name is Papnouthis; see also P. Wisc. inv. 66a (Boswinkel-Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri* 32), line 5: Αἰσρηλία Ταπάειε Παπ[υ]νούθιος.
- 4-5. Possibly εἰσὶ γρη-μ[ατισ]μῶν: cf. e.g. BGU 2031.9-10, SB 9625.7-8. It would then be necessary to alter γεωνότος to γεωνότα.
5. In the *editio princeps* I translated ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ 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. τῆ ἐν[ε]σ[τ]ῶ[σ]τῆ ἡμέρᾳ: after τῆ 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[υ]ῶσ[τ]ερον: see F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten*, p. 38.
7. ἔπαυλις: ἔπαυλις could also be read, but there is a diaeresis over the first letter. Since diaeresis is expected over υ and not over ε, ἔπαυλις 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 ἔπαυλις."

The word ἔπαυλις has not previously appeared. It is true that *LSJ* cites it from the docket of P. Lond. I 113.5a (p. 211): μίσθ(ωσις) ἔπαυλεως, but Bell showed that the correct reading there is ἐπαυλεως (*BL* I, p. 237). (I have examined the London papyrus at the British Museum and have verified Bell's correction.) Possibly ἔπαυλις is a spelling variant of ἐπαυλις; 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.

καταπε[τ]ρωκῆαι: καταπε[τ]ρωκῆαι *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.) τρισχῆλαι]: [(δρ.)] τρισχ[η]λαι *ed. pr.*
11. [π]αρά[θεω]: παρά[θεω] *ed. pr.*
- 11-14. δὲ ἐπιδίδωμαι κτλ.: see Kiessling, *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 87 f.
13. ποιῶ[μαι]: ποιῶ[μαι] *ed. pr.*
- 16-17. μὴ εἰς[σ] εἶσθαι 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 ἀπογραφή 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 τῆ[οδε] τῆ[ς]; ἐκ τῆοδε τῆς *ed. pr.*

17. After Ἄρα(νοῖτου) the writing is extremely damaged. Perhaps ὅ (ἔτους?) Φαρμ(οῦθ) [it 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]ρωνίω καὶ Χαιρέα καὶ τοῖς
λοιπ(οῖς) ἐπιτηρηταῖς ὑκῆς
παρὰ Ὀνησίμου Ἀμερίμου
τ[ο]ῦ Ἀλκίμου ἀ[π]ὸ ἀμφ[ό]δου
5 Γυμνασίου. βούλομαι ἐπιχω-
ρηθῆναι παρ' ὑμῶν κρεο-
πολικὴν καὶ ταριχηρὰν κώμη
Θεαδελφείας καὶ Ἀργειάδος πρὸς
τὸ ἐνεστὸς κδ (ἔτος) θνευ ἐπὶ τῷ
10 τελέσαι ὑπὲρ φόρου τοῦ ἔτους
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) ἑξακοσίας ὧν καὶ τὴν
ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσομαι κατὰ μῆνα
τὸ αἰροῦν ἐξ ἴσου. οὐκ ἐξέσται δέ
μοι ἐτέρῳ μαγεῖρω μετα-
15 [μ]ισθοῖν, καὶ ἔξω σὺν ἐμοὶ
[χ]ωρὶς φόρου νεανίσκον ἓνα
[ἐ]άν φαίηται ἐπιχω(ρῆσαι). (2nd hd.) Ἡρωνῆος
[ἐ]σχον τοῦτο<υ> τὸ ἴσον. (3rd hd.) Δίδυμος
[δι]ὰ Ζωίλου ἔσχον τοῦτου
20 [τ]ὸ ἴσον.

(1st hd.) (ἔτος) κδ / Αἰρηλίου Κομμόδου
Ἀ[ν]τωνίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Φαῶφι ιε.

6-7. κρεοπολικήν 8. Ἀργιάδος 10. τελέσαι a corrected, perhaps from ο 18. Παρ. 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, Phiaophi 15.

2. ἐπιτηρηταῖς βουῆς: the βουῆ 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 ἐπιτηρηταῖς βουῆς appear only here. Since the tax was normally collected by the πράκτορες λαογραφίας or ἀργυρικῶν, the ἐπιτηρηταῖς 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. τὰριχτῶν: 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. τὰριχος: ἔστι . . . κρέας ἄλοι πεπασμένον.

8. Ἀργειάδος: see *P. Teb.* 872.14n.

9. θεῶν: αὐτῶν 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, *Law²*, 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 ἑμαυτῷ 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 ρεανίσκων ἕνα fits in with the other provisions in lines 9 ff., all of which are obligations incumbent upon Onesimos.

23. Φαῶφι ᾧ: 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 Ὀφελλιανῶι τῶι
 κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ
 παρὰ Μάρκου Ἀνθεστίου Γεμέλ-
 λου Νεροσιανείου τοῦ καὶ Προπα-
 5 τορείου τῶν ἐκτὸς σειτηρείου
 ἀναγορευομένων, παραγεν-
 μένου μου, κύριε, ἐνθάδε πρὸς
 [τῆ]ν τῶν γενημάτων συγκομι-
 10 [δὴν π]ρὸς τὸ [δ]μευθῆναι τὸ δη-
 [μόσιον], μέχρι δὲ τούτου μηδέ-
 [πω τι ἀ]παρτείας, ἀξιῶι, ἐάν σοι
 [δόξηι,] προσμερίσῃ μοι μετὰ
 [± 5]μενον τὸ ἀποδημεῖν
 15 [με καὶ] ἄλλας ἡμέρας τριάκον-
 [τα ἕνα] ᾧ ἐβεργετημένος, διευτύχει.

4. Pap. νεροσιανείου 5. σιτηρείου: υ above the line 8-9. συγκομιδή 11. ἀπαρτείας, ἀξιῶι
 12. προσμερίσαι

To Luceius Ofellianus, his excellency the epistrategos, from Marcus Anthesius 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. Luceius 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 σιτηρείου ἀναγορευομένων: cf. *P. Oxy.* 2903.9-11: ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τότε τῶν ὁμοίων μίση ἀναγορεῖα ἐτύχων ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ ὧν; 2913.14-16: ἀξιώ ἐνταγήσει ἐν τοῖς ἀναγορευομένοις πρὸς διάδοσιν τοῦ σιτηρείου ἀνάμασι. *P. Oxy.* 2941 and 2942 (ca. 154 A.D.) show that a σιτηρείου 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 σιτηρείου ἀναγορευομένων. The phrase perhaps refers to an age group not eligible for the dole. In Alexandria, before 261, a σιτηρείου 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 σιτηρείου 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. ἐσθάδε: i.e. Karanis, where the papyrus was found.

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

13. Possibly [τὸ ὥρισμένον (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'Égypte romaine," *Études 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 Papiro*. 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 Papiro*. 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 graphiceion 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).

Ἡρακλείδῃ Πνεφερώτος
 παρὰ Μάρωνος τοῦ Με-
 λαγκώμου καὶ Εὐκράτου
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου, βουλό-
 5 μεθα μισθώσασθαι τὸ
 δίμυρον μέρος τῶν
 ἐκπεποκίσιων εἰς τὸ
 ἐνεστὸς τρίτον ἔτος
 Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 10 Γερμανικοῦ φοινικίων καρ-
 πῶν ὧν καὶ σὺ ἔχεις ἐν μισ-
 θώσει, ὑφιστάμεθα τελέ-
 σεω φόρον τοῦ παντὸς ἀρ-
 γυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμῶν ἴκο-
 15 σι ἕξ τετριόβολον ἅς καὶ δια-
 γράψωμεν ἐν μηνί Τύβη τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθ[ω]-
 σαι ἡμεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προκείμενοις.
 (ἔτους) γ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνός

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

2-3. Μελαγκώμου 5. μισθώσασθαι 6. ἔμικρον 7. ἐκπεπωκότων 8. ἔτος 11-12. μισθῶσαι
 14-15. εἶκοσι 15. τετραῖβηλον: {τε}τριῖβηλον σε τετρα{ι}ῖβηλον 15-16. διαγράφωμεν 18. ἡμῶν.
 προκειμένους 22. Μελαγκώμου 23. τὸ προκειμένον 23-24. ἀναφόρων 24. φορμεικός 25. δρώμων
 26. φορμεικῶν.

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. ἐκπεπωκότων: 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 palmeries," pp. 50-52.

16. Τῦθ: 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]ύνατος. Also possible is μή(λω) ἀρισ(τεροῦ); cf. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 128.14: οὐλή ἀνοθεν (read ἀνωθεν) ὠπτικημῶ δεξιῶ.

23-24. ἀναφόρων: on the reduction of -ων to -ω and of -ως to -ε, see D. J. Georgacas, *CP* 43, 1948, pp. 243-260.

24. After ἀναφόρων, 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 φοινικηγῶ; cf. PSI 33.15-16: μέτρ[ω] φοινικηγῶ, P. RyI. 172.13-14: δρώμῳ φοινικηγῶ (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.

ἀπό μητρο[πόλ(εως), βουλόμε-
 θα μισθώσασθ[αι] παρ' ἑ-
 μῶν τοὺς ἐπικει[μ]ένους
 καρποὺς φοινικῶνος
 5 Πτάτον λεγομένου πρὸς τὸ ἔνεσ(τός)
 κς (ἔτος) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 Ἄντωνίου Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κυρίου, φόρου ἀργυρίου
 δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, τὴν
 10 δὲ ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ φόρου
 ποιησόμεθα ἐν μηνί
 Φαῶφι καὶ Ἄθῳρ ἐξ ἴσου
 ἐὰν φαίνητ(αι) μισθ(ῶσαι).
 Ἄρειος ὡς (ἔτων) λγ οὐλ(ή)
 15 ἀντικ(νημῖω) δεξ(ιῶ),
 Χαιρή(μων) ὡς (ἔτων) λε οὐλ(ή)
 ἀντικ(νημῖω) ἀριστ(ερῶ)
 εἰκονίσθησαν φά(μενοι) μὴ εἰδ(έναι) γρά(μματα).
 (ἔτους) κϛ Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 20 Ἄντωνίου Καίσα[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. ἐπιχει[μ]ένους: the dates have not yet reached maturity; see Hohlwein, "Palmiers et palmeraies," pp. 50-52.

5. Πράτος λεγομένου: 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 Μελελεύτῳ λεγομένῳ (which the editor needlessly alters to λεγομένη), and *P. Ryf.* 172.8-9: φουκῶνα περί κώμην Ἡρα(ιστιάδα) ἐπικαλούμενον Ἐρενῖῳ; see also 634.10. At times total confusion prevails, as in *P. Phil.* 12.9-11: ἐλ[αι]μνοσπαρδεί[σου] ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ . . . [Ἰου]λίῳ λεγόμενον.

In the present papyrus Πράτος is indeclinable, and the resolution is modeled on *BGU* 603.12-15: ἐλεῶν[ε] παραδίσ[ο]ν . . . Περμεσθῆαι καλοῦ[μ]ένου.

5-6. πρὸς τὸ ἔνεο(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 *HO* 1136.5-6: μηνός Ἀθύρ καὶ Χοιάκ κ[αί] Τύβ[ε]ι. . . Cf. also *P. Beatty Panop.* 2.217.

12. Φαῶφε: 28 September – 27 October.

Ἄθύρ: 28 October – 26 November.

18. εἰκονίσθ(ησῶν) φάμειοι: for the resolution cf. *WB* IV, s.v. εἰκονίζω.

21. The date is 19 August 185.

632-634

On pp. 75 f. 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 Ägypten*, pp. 173-362. In *ZPE* 9, 1972, pp. 111-131, D. Hennig has a valuable discussion, "Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter in Landpachtverträgen aus dem Faijūm," 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.

Harmacis 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 προδοματικῆ. 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 μηνός
 Ἰπερ[β]ερεταίου ἑπτακαιδεκάτη Μεσωρηί ἰξ' ἐν Τεβτῶνι
 τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀραιοσείτου νομοῦ, ἡμί-
 θωσ[α]ν Ἀρμάεις ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα τεσσάρων οὐλή(ῃ)
 5 ἀντικνημίωι ἀριστερῶι καὶ Πατύνις ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκο-
 σι ἐ[ν]ν[ε]α οὐλήι ἀμφοτέρων Μαρ-
 ψήμιος καὶ Ἀρνώτης Σοκέος λεσίωνις ὡς ἐτῶν
 τεισ[σ]αράκοντα τριῶν οὐλήι () τοῖς τρισὶ Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπι-
 γονῆς ἀλλήλων ἐγγυοὶ εἰς ἐκτίσω Διδύμω νεωτέ-
 10 ρω Λυσιμάχωι ὡς ἐ[τ]ῶν τριάκοντα οὐλήι ἀντικ(νη-)
 μίω[ι] δεξιῶι μεμ[ισθ]ωκέναι αὐτῶι ἀφ' ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἔχουσιν ἐμ μισθῶσι Ἡρακλήου τοῦ Ἡρακλήου
 ἐπι[κ]αλουμένου...[.] δευτου γῆς ἀρούρας δεκα-
 15 [κατ]αβρώματος προ[σ]άτων, τοῦ Διδύμου χορη-
 γούντος] ἑαυτῶ[ι] σπ[έρ]ματα, τῶν [δὲ] μεμισθω-
 μένων τοὺς ποτισμοὺς καὶ χωμ[α]τισμοὺς ποιου-
 μένων, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀπέσχηκαν οἱ [μεμισθωκότες]

20 παρ[ά τοῦ Διδύμου π]αραχρῆμα δι[ά χειρὸς ἐξ]
[οἴκου ± 10]ποχρῶν [

Papyrus unfinished

2. Μεσορή 6. οὐλή 7. Σοκέως: Pap. Leont., final ε corrected from ο 8. οὐλή οἱ τρεῖς Πέτροι
9. Ἐγγος 10. Λισιμάχου, οὐλή; ἄρτα(ρη): Pap. antec^m 12. ἐν μισθῶσι 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. Harmacis, 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. ἐμισθω[α]ρ: joined with μεμ[σ]βωκέτω in line 11. We expect ὁμολογοῦσιν, but collocations of this type are fairly common and are not restricted to prodomatic leases. See *P. Mich.* 563.12n. and 603.5-7n.: σινεθέμεθα . . . σινθεύω.

5-6. ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι ἔτη: 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 ἐπ' ὀφρὸν ἄρστρον, "below his left eyebrow."

7. λεσῶνις: also spelled λεσῶνις. 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. ὡς 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. [-]βεντῶ: very little is visible on pap. Possibly ἐπ[αρ]βεντῶ, "irrigator" (cf. *P. Teb.* 120.137). On ἐπικαλούμενος introducing a trade designation, see *P. Petous.* p. 63, and R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21, 1941, p. 236.

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

of χορταράκιον (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. κροῦν in 649.32. For χόρτος and ἀρακος see 633.4n.

15. κ[ατ]αβρώματος: see 633.4n.

16-17. μεμισθωμένων: a mistake for μεμισθωκότων. Cf. *P. Yale* 67.12-13: τοῦ Μαρσιούχου (lessee) χωρηγοῦντος αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ μισθώματα, τοῦ δὲ μεμισθωκότος τοὺς χωματισμοὺς κτλ.

18-20. ὑπὲρ ὧν κτλ.: cf. *P. Yale* 67.15-17: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπέσχηκεν ὁ Μαρσιώχης (lessor) παρὰ τοῦ Μαρσιούχου (lessee) τῶν φόρων ἐκ προδωμάτων διὰ χ[ε]μῶς ἐξ οἴκου. The reading in line 20, ἴσχυρων, was made by Professor Youtie, who suggests that it is a mistake for ἀπὸ π[ρο]σχυρῶν (= προχρεῶν). Perhaps τῶν φόρων 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 Theogonis, 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 σποράν καταβρώματος προ[βάτων ἀνευ φόρου,]
- 5 τοῦ Κρονίωνος τοῦ νος χωρηγούντος αὐτοῖς σπέρ-
ματα, τῶν δὲ (με)μισθωμένων τοὺς ποτισμοὺς καὶ χωμα-
τισμοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν χλορῶν τυομένων, τοῦ
δὲ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς μισθώσεως τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρούρας ὀκτώ
εἰς πυροῦ σποράν, ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός σὺν σπέρμασι αἰς λήμ-
10 ψονται οἱ μεμισθωμένοι πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτώ τοῦ παν-
τός πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ ἀδώλου {ἀδιώλας} ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸ(ν)
καὶ θαλλοῦ ἄρτων ἀρτάβης μιᾶς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρουρῶν
πέντε ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός καθ' ἔτος σὺν σπέρμασι αἰς λήμ-
ψονται οἱ μεμισθωμένοι πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο ἡμισσον τοῦ
15 παντός καθ' ἔτος πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ ἀδώλου ἀρταβῶν τεσσαρά-
κοντα καὶ θαλλοῦ καθ' ἔτος ἄρτων ἡμιαρτάβιον, ἅπαντα δὲ
μέτρῳ ἐκσαχυνίῳ θησαυροῦ Σατορνίνου. ἡ μίσθωσις
ἤδη ἀκίνδυνα παντός κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλῳγα παντός
ὑπολώγου, τὰ δὲ ἔργα πάντα τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοὺς καθήκοντας
20 χωματισμοὺς καὶ πωτισμοὺς καὶ βωτανισμοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
γεωργικὰ ἔργα πάντα ἀγαγέτωσαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι καθ' ἔ-
τος τοῖς δέουσι καιροῖς βλάβος μηδὲν ποιούμενοι, τὰ δὲ σημε-
νώμενα ἐκφώρια ἀποδώτωσαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι καθ' ἔτος
αἰὲ ἐν μηνί Παῦνει καθεσταμένας εἰς κώμην Θεωγωγῆ(δα).
25 καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσουσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τὸν
κλῆρον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ θρόου ἀγρώστεως πάσης δίσης, τὸν δὲ
Λιγύπτιον κάλαμον ἐξ ἐπικωπῆς καὶ τὰς διόρυγας ἀναβεβλη-
μένας, καὶ μὴ ἐκσέσω σὺν τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις ἐντός τοῦ
χρόνου ἐκγληπῶ τὴν μίσθωσιν, βεβαιῶ Κρονίων τὴν μί-
30 θωσιν ἀπὸ δημοσίων χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφίλουσι οἱ μεμισθωμέ(νοι)
κατὰ συγγραφὴν δανήων καὶ ἧς ἔχει αὐτοῦ σὺν ἑτέρῳ μίσθωσει.
ὑπογρ(αφεύς) Ἀφροδίσιος Ἡρώδου ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε οὐλή ὑπ' ἀντικνήμιον
δεξιόν.
(2nd hd.) Ὡρος Ὡρου καὶ νι εἰοί μου Ἐρμάς καὶ Ὡρος νι{ο} τρεῖς Πέρσαι
τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλήλων ἐγγυῖοι εἰς ἐκτισιν μεμισθ{ο}θώμεθα
35 τὰς προκίμενας ἀρούρας δεκατρεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ προκίμενα
ἔτι δύο χορεῖς ἄλλον ἢ ὧν ὀφίλομεν τῷ Κρονίῳνι κατὰ
συγγραφὴν δανήου καὶ ἧς ἔχει ἡμῶν σὺν ἑτέρῳ μίσ{ο}θω(σω)
καθὼς πρόκιτε. ἔγραψε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀφροδίσιος Ἡρώδου
[δε]ᾶ τὸ μὴ εἶδένε αὐτοὺς γράμματα. (3rd hd.) Κρονίων ± 8
40 [με]μίσθωκα καὶ βεβαιώσω καθὼς πρόκειται. (1st hd.) ἔτους ..

Faint traces of 1 line

5. χωρηγούντος 7. χλορῶν ποτισμένων 10. ὀκτώ 11. ἀδιώλας {ἀδιώλας} (omitted in 728): ac corrected from ων 14. ἡμισσον 15. ἀδώλου 16. ἡμιαρτάβιον 17. ἐκσαχυνίῳ 18. ἤδε, ἀκίνδυνος.

ἀνοπόλογος 19. ἰσολόγος 20. ποτισμοὺς, βοτανισμοὺς; καὶ τὰ ἄλλα {καὶ τὰ ἄλλα} 728 21. γεωργικά
 22. πλοῖμεγχι 728 22-23. σημαίνεσθαι 23. ἐκφόρια ἀποδότησαν (ἀποδότησαν 728) 24. μηδὲ
 Παῖνι καθισταμένα, Θεογονίᾳ (θεωγωνίαν 728) 26. δέσσης 27. ἐπικοπῆς, διώρυγας 28. ἐξέστω
 (ἐκείστω 728) 29. ἐκλιπέτω 30. δημοσίων, δρεδάσαι (δρέσαι 728), μεμωθωμένοι 31. συγγραφήν
 δαικίων; ἀποδόντων ἐτέρου (= ἐτέρῳ) ἐτέραν μίσθωσ[ε]ν (= μίσθωσιν 728) 32. ὑπογραφῆς τῶν μεμω-
 θωμένων (= μεμωθωμένων) 728 33. οἱ υἱοὶ (οἱ υἱοὶ [οἱ corrected from ο] 728); μου; μ corrected from ἐρ 728;
 εἶψ) (= οἱ: οἱ 728 35. προκειμένας, προκειμένα 36. ἔτη, χωρὶς ἄλλων, δρεδάμεν τῷ 37. συγ-
 γραφῆν δαικίων, ἔχει 38. πρόκειται, ἀβίων 39. εἰδέσαι; ἀποδοῦσθαι 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 ἀποράν [χόρ]του καὶ ταβρώματος προβάτων ἄνευ [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 παντός 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 ἀποράς ἀράκια (= ἀράκου?) καὶ κατάβρωμα προβάτων; *P. Mich.* 121 Recto IV 5.2: εἰς ἀράκου σποράν; *P. Saurision* 27.11-12: εἰς ξυλαμὴν χόρτου καὶ ἀράκου.

5. τοῦου: since the father's name is not expected here, this is possibly (τοῦ Κροτίωνος); cf. line 11: ἀδώλων (ἀδώλας).

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

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

8. τὰς αἰτάς ἀρούρας: τῶν αἰτῶν 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 καθ' ἔτος ἕκαστον σὲν αἰς λήψομαι σπερμάτων κριθῆς ἀρτάβας τρισὶ τρίτῳ τοῦ παντός κριθῆς ἀρτάβων 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. {ἀδώλας}: {ἀδώλων} editio princeps.

ἀρτάβων 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 θαλλοὶ 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. πάντα: same loose construction in inv. 631 (= SB 9110).12.
17. μέτρῳ ἐκοιχτικῷ (= ἐξαχονικῷ): on choenix-measures, see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 103-105 and Waszynski, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 109-113.
- Σατορνίνος: i.e. Marcus Aponius Saturninus, who is known to have owned property in the vicinity of Thegonis, Eubemeria, 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. ἀκόθενα παντός κωθένου καὶ ἀνυπόλογα παντός ὑπολόγου: such clauses are regularly inserted to protect the lessor against a reduction in the rent; see U. Wollentin, *Ὁ Κώθενος ἐν τῷ Πυρί* (Diss. Köln 1961), *passim*, especially p. 61.
- The lack of syntactic agreement between μίσθωσις and ἀκόθενα . . . ἀνυπόλογα is probably due to the fact that the ἀκόθενος-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 δεκάδου . . . ἀκόθενα παντός κωθένου κτλ.
- 20-22. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα . . . μηδὲν ποιῶμενοι: cited in *TAPA* 81, 1950, p. 75 n. 14 from "P. Mich. Inv. 734.16-19" (*sic*).
24. Παῖνε: rent in kind is regularly paid in Paumi 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 καθεσταμένω[ν εἰς] Κερκῆσω. For the opposite error, see *PSI* 1028.11-13: ἀρταβῶν . . . ἅς καὶ ἀποδόσωσαν . . . καθεσταμένα εἰς κώμην Τεφθῶν. Cf. 634.17.
- Θωγωνί(δα): see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 9, 1972, p. 87, 13-14n.
- 26-27. τὸν δὲ Αἰγύπτῳ 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 Ἰσδικός, 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. *P. Mich.* 315.27-28: χώματα ἀναβεβλημένα.
29. βεβαίῳ: for the asyndeton, cf. *P. Mich.* 312.43.
30. δημοσίῳ: δημοσίων 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. Iosid.* 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 ὀφείδῃ εἰς Παποιτῶς (one of the lessees) . . . μενόντων κυρίων ὧν ἔχει αὐτῶν ὁ Μάρκος (lessor) μισθώσεων κλήρων, and 34-37: χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφείδῃ εἰς Παποιτῶς . . . μενόντων κυρίων ὧν ἔχει ἡμεῶν μισθώσεων κλήρων καὶ ἧς ἔχει ἐμ[ο]ῦ τοῦ Αἰνήου (the other lessee) καταμωπῆς ἑτέρας μισθώσεως (N.B. καταμωπῆς may = παραμωπῆς; 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. ἀποῦ: i.e. Horos; ἀπῶν 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. ἄλλῳ (= ἀλλήλων) ἐργασίᾳ εἰς ἔκτισιν: see H. W. van Soest, *De civielrechtelijke ἐγγύη (Garantieovereenkomst) in de griekse Papyri uit het ptolemaïsche Tijdsvak* (Diss. Leiden 1963), pp. 67 ff.

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

40. After ἔτους, perhaps εἰς, 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 catocic 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 ἐκοσῆ(οντα)
 τε[σσάρων μέσ]ος μελάνχρως μακροπρόσω-
 π[ος οὐ]λήι μῆλωι ἀριστερωῖ Ὀρσεῦτι
 Φασώτος γεωργῶ Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν

- τριάκοντα πέντε [ο]ύλη γόνατι δεξιῶι μεμο-
 θωκαῖναι αὐτῶ εἰς τὸ εἰσιῶν τρισκαιδέκατον
 ἔτος Τιβηρίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τὸν ὑπάρχον-
 τα αὐτῶ Πατῖνι κληρὸν κατοικικὸν ἀρουρῶν
 10 ἑπτὰ ἐν τῶ Τκανάβι λεγομένων, γῆς ἀρουρῶν
 ἑπτὰ ἢ [δ]ῶσων ἐὰν ὦσιν [ἐ]φ' ἡμῖσι μέρσι (καθαρῶν
 ἀπὸ δημοσίων εἰς πυροῦ σπορὰν (ἐκφορίου) τοῦ παντός
 πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τεσσαράκοντα μέτρῳ τετρα-
 νίκῳ θησαυροῦ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τέκ-
 15 νων Γερμανικοῦ Καί[σ]αρος Καισάρ[ων], πάντων
 τῶν δαπανῶν πρ[ὸ]ς τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους,
 ἄς καὶ ἀποδώτωι ἐν [μη]ρί Παῦνι καθαρὰ ἀπὸ
 θρύου ἀγρώστεως πάσης δόσης, τὸν δὲ Ἑγύπτ(ων)
 20 κάλαμον ἐκς ἐπικοπῆς, οὔσης τῆς πράξεως
 τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐ-
 τῶ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης, βαίβεουμέ-
 νης τῆς μισθώσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατῖνεως
 25 ἐπὶ τοῖς προκίμένοις καὶ ἀπὸ δημοσίων,
 ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ μὲν Ὀρσεῦτος Φασῶτος

Papyrus unfinished

2. ἑξήκοντα 3. μελάγχρωσ 4. οὐλή 6. οὐλή 6-7. μεμοθωκῖναι 7. τρισ- 9. κατοικικόν
 11. ἡμῖσι μέρσι 13-14. τετραχονίκῳ 17. ἀποδώτω 18. δόσης, Αἰγύπτῳ 19. ἕξ 21. ὑπαρχόντων
 22. ἐκ 22-23. βαίβεουμένης 24. προκίμένοις 25. ὑπογραφῆς

. . . 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 catocic 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-choenix 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 μελάγχρωσ 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 με[ελά(?)]χρωσ (or με[ελάγ]χρωσ) μακροπρόσωπος εἰθύρμος οὐδὲ κτλ.; 281.3-4: μέσης μελίχρωσ μακροπρόσωπος εἰθύρμον; *PSI* 1402.9: μέσος μελάχρωσ τετα[νός]; *P. Lugd. Bat.* XIII 24.4: μέση μελίχ(ρωσ) μακ[ρ]οπ(ρόσωπος); *BGU* 2053.1: μέσος μελίχρωσ[.

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

10. ἐν τῷ Τκαμάβι λεγομένων: ...μα...αι *editio princeps*. The present reading, though doubtful, seems preferable. The participle refers to ἀρουρῶν in the previous line; see 631.5n. Cf. also *P. Mich.* 269-271.7-8: κοινῶν καὶ ἀδιε[ρ]ρέτων . . . ἐν Τεβτῆτι λεγομένων πρότερον ὕπτιος (and line 14), and 326.31: τὰς ἐν μῆ σφραγιῶν κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἀροῦρας) . . . λεγομένας κλήρου Ἀμήνις.

Since Τκαμάβις 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 λεγομένων 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' ἧμασι 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 τετραχινῶν (= τετραχο-) 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 Λιβύιας Σεβαστῆς (line 13); this granary is probably identical with the property mentioned in the present text.

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

16. ἀμφοτέροι: 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 ἀς . . . Παῖν 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. τῶν δὲ Ἐγύπτ(ιων) (= Αἰγύπτιον) κάλαμον: Mrs. Husselman (*TAPA* 81, 1950, pp. 75 f., 19-20n.) transcribes this passage as τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτ(ῶ) κάλαμον. But Ἐγύπτ(ιων), though cursively written, is supported by 633.27. The same phrase should also be read in inv. 631 (= *SB* 9110).19; *PIFAO* 1.1.25, as corrected in *ZPE* 9, 1972, pp. 193 f.; and perhaps in *P. Mich.* 310.13-14 (but see *P. Merr.* 123.6n.).

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

24. και από δημοσίων: the scribe doubtless intended to proceed with και 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 ἐνοικήσεως*, 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 ἐνοικήσεως*, 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 (*μητρικῶν τρίτον μέρος και ἀγοραστὸν ένατον μέρος*); see lines 6-7 and 27-28. This *ἀγοραστὸν ένατον 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 Λύτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανῶ Σεβαστοῦ
 μηνός(ς) Φαρμουῦθ(ι) τη ἐν Βακχιάδει τῆς Ἡ[ρακλεί.]
 δου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινουεῖτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογοῦσιν Ταῦρις ὡς ἐτῶν πενήτηκοντα
 [..][...].[± 5 και]
 Διδύμη ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα πέντε οὐλή μετώπω ἐγ δεξιῶν και Σουήρις
 ὡς (ἐτῶν) ...[± 8]
 αἱ τρεῖς Πετοῖριος Περσῖναι ἀλλήλων ἐνγοῦσι εἰς ἕκτισιν μετὰ κυρίου τῆς
 μὲν Ταῦρις και Δι-
 5 δύμης τοῦ τῆς Διδύμης ἀνδρός Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Χαιρήμωνος ὡς (ἐτῶν)
 .. οὐλή [..][..][ἀριστε-]
 ρῶ, τῆς δὲ Σουήριος τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρός Ὀυνώφριος τοῦ Ὀυνώφριος ὡς
 (ἐτῶν) .. οὐλή [..][..][± 6]
 Μάρωνι Ἐρμάτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μα οὐλή(η) μετώπω μέσῳ ὑπὸ τρίχαν ἔχιν
 παρ' αἰ[το]ῦ ἀργυρίου ἐ[πισ]ῆ[μου] νομίσ-
 ματος κεφαλαίου δραχμάς διακοσίας παραχρήμα διὰ χιρός ἐξ οἴκου, ἀντί
 δὲ τ[ῶν] τρέ[των] τόκων]

- [σ]υγκεχωρηκέαι τὰς ὁμολογούσας ὥστε ἐνοικῖν τὸν Μάρωνα καὶ τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ [κ]αί οἱς [ἐάν]
- 10 βούληται ἐφ' ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου χρόνου ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντι
 αὐταῖς [ταῖς] [ὁμο-]
 λογούσαις ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ Βακχειάδει ἐνάτω μέρει οἰκίας
 καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν
 συνκυρόντων πάντων ἐν τῇ λεγομένη Βορροανὸν λαύρα ὧν ἔστιν τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ Μάρωνος [τρι-]
 τον μέρος, βεβαιώσωσαν οὖν αἱ ὁμολογούσαι καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ
 Μάρωνι καὶ τ[οῖς] παρ' αὐ[τοῦ]
 τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν ταύτην πάση βεβαιώσι ἐπει τε τοῦ κατ' αὐτῆς
 κεφ[αλ]αίου καὶ ἐφ' [ὄν] ἐάν]
- 15 δέον ἢ ἐπενοικῖν χρόνον καὶ παρέξεσθαι τὸ δηλούμενον ἕνατον μέρος τῆς
 οἰκίας [καὶ αὐ-]
 λῆς ἀνεπαφὸν καὶ ἀνενεχύραστον καὶ ἀνεπειδάνιστον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ
 δημοσίου τε καὶ
 ἰδιωτικοῦ ὀφειλήματος, καὶ μηδένα κωλύοντα τὸν Μάρωνα μηδὲ τοὺς παρ'
 αὐτοῦ ἐνοικοῦν-]
 τας ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἑτέροις [καὶ ἑτέροις] ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἐνοίκια
 ἀποφερομέ[νους]
 καὶ χρω[σ]μένους τοῖς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι κατὰ
 κοινόν, καὶ μετὰ τ[ὸν]
- 20 χρό[ν]ον ἀποδοῦσιν αἱ ὁμολογούσαι τῷ Μάρωνι τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς διακοσίας,
 μέχρι δὲ τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὰς συγχωροῦσι ἐνοικῖν τὸν Μάρωνα καθὼς
 πρόκειται, κ[αί]
 ἐάν φανῇ ὁ Μάρων ἀνηλωκῶς δαπάνας εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ἢ καὶ ἀνοικοδομήν
 ἢ ἄλλον τ[ινός]
 ἐν τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ ἐνάτω μέρει τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς, ἐπάνακον
 τὰς ὁμολογούσας ἀπ[οδοῦναι]
 αὐτῷ Μάρωνι ἀνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας, ὑπογραφεὺς
 τῆς μὲν Διδύ[μης]
- 25 καὶ Ταύριος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἑαυτῶν κύριος καὶ ἀνὴρ
 τῆς Διδύμης, τῆς [δέ]
 Σο[υ]θήριος καὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀνδρός Εὐβίης Ίσιδώρου ὡς (ἐτῶν) κε
 οὐλή μινί μέση.

1. Βακχειάδι 3. ἐκ 4. τρεῖς, ἕγχοι 7. τρεῖς ἔχειν 8. χειρὸς 9. συγκεχωρηκέαι, ἐνοικεῖν
 11. Βακχειάδι 12. συνκυρόντων 14. βεβαιώσας ἐπί 15. ἐπενοικεῖν 16. ἀνεπειδάνιστον
 17. ὀφειλήματος 18. ἐνοικίζοντας (see note) 20. Μάρωνι 21. συγχωροῦσι ἐνοικεῖν 22. ἐπισκευήν
 23. ἐπάνακον 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. Ταῖρις: 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. Βορροαῶν: perhaps to be equated with a *laura* at Bacchias mentioned in *P. Mich.* 186.10: [ἐν] τῇ λεγομένῃ Βορροίτι λαίρῃ, and 187.8: ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Βορροίτι λαίρῃ. But it is difficult to see how the scribe, except through sheer inadvertence, could get from Βορροίτι (or -είρει) to Βορροαῶν.

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

12-13. τρι-]των: 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 τῶν κατ' αὐτῆς [χρόνων] καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἐὰν δέον ἦν ἐνοικεῖν χρόνων, and *P.*

Hamb. 30.18-19 (as corrected in *P. Mich.* 585.15-16n.): ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ αἰσθητὴν καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶν δέου ἢν ἐπεροῖ(κεῖν χρ)άτων. 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. ἐνοικεῖντας: mistake for ἐνοικίζοντας; cf. *P. Mich.* 584.27, and 585.18.

19. κατὰ κοινῶν: 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. Εὐβίος Ἰσιδώρου: Εὐβίος illustrates the common reduction of -ος to -ε; see 630.23-24n. The son of Eubios appears as a signatory in *P. Mich.* 195 (Bacchias, 121 A.D.), 17 and 26: Ἰσιδώρος 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: ἀντί 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 ἀπό 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/ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἀβρηλίου Οὐαλερίου
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καί (ἔτους) ιξ/ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Μάρκου
 Ἀβρηλίου Οὐ]αλερίου Μαξιμιανῶ Γερ[μ]ανικῶν Μ[εγίστ]ων

- Σαρμ[ατ]ικῶ[ν] Μεγίστων Περσικῶ[ν] Μεγίστων Βρετανικῶ[ν]
 [Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων Εἰσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἔτους
 ι' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου] Κω]νοστ]αντίου καὶ
 Γαλερίου Οὐα]λερίου Μαξιμιανού Π[ερ]σικῶν Μεγίστ[ων]
 Βρεταν]ικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπι]κῶν Μεγίστων (τῶν) ἐπιφανεο-
 [τάτων Καισάρων μηνός — ἐν Πτολεμαίῃ Εὐεργετίῃ τοῦ Ἀρωαίτου
 νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Λύρηλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῆ]μητρος Θαλλούτος
 [ἀπό κώμης Κα]ραϊδος ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα οὐλή κάτωθεν [γ]όνατο[ς
 .]...[.....].ω Ἀρηλίω Ἡρωι [Ἀ]πωνος μητρός
 [— ἀπό τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ὡς ἐτῶν .. οὐλή ± 5 δεξιά (?)
 παρακεχωρηκῆναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῶ Ἡρωι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦ]ν ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἅπαντα [χρόνον τὰς ὑπα]ρχούσας αὐτῶ καὶ ἀπο[γρ]αφίας ὑπὸ
 αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γενομένης παρὰ Σαβίνω κληρονομίας ἀπογραφῆς
 5 [τῶ .. ἔτει καὶ .. (ἔτει)/ καὶ . (ἔτει)/ μηνί Θῶθ κβ περι
 ὀρωδκτιάν τῆς προκειμένης κώμης Καραϊδος (τετάρτης)
 (πέμπτης) τοπαρχία]ς Ἡρακλίδου(ν) μερίδ[ος] ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς
 πρώτης σφραγίδος ἐν τόπῳ Ταλινάρτου λεγομένῳ ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς
 [σ]πορίμης ἀρούρας τρεῖς ὄγδοον τατρα-
 [καὶ ἐξηκοστὸν καὶ ἀβρόχου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ἐκκαιδέκατον, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τῆς ε' σφραγίδος ἐν τόπῳ Τκαμπάω λεγομένῳ ἰδιωτικῆ]ς γῆς
 σπορᾶ]ς ἰδ' ἔτους καὶ ἱγ' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ε' ἔ]τους ἀρούρας δύο,
 ἔτι τε καὶ ἐκκεχωρηκῆναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῶ Ἡρωι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 εὐτυχῶς
 [εἰσιόντος ἰθ' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιη' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ια' (ἔτους)/ δια-
 παντός γεωργίαν ὧν ἀπεγράψατο ὁ ὁμολογῶν Ἀτίσιος διὰ
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἐ]πὶ τῆς προκειμένης α' σφρ]αγίδος ἐν τῶ
 τ[όπῳ Ταλι]νάρτου λεγομένῳ βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρουρῶν ἐξ
 ἡμίσιου τετάρτου
 [ὄγδου καὶ ἄλλων βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς εγ' (ἔτους)/ καὶ β' (ἔτους)/
 καὶ ε' (ἔτους)/ ἀρούρης τετάρτου ὄγδου ἐκκαιδεκάτου καὶ
 ἀβρόχου] ἀρούρης ἡμῆ]σιου ἐκκαιδεκά]του ἐπὶ παντός [τοῦ]
 ἀρουρηδοῦ ἢ ὄσων ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῖον ἢ ἔλαττον, ἐπὶ ταῖς
 οὔσαι αὐτῶν ὀρίαις
 [καὶ ποτίστραις καὶ ἐκχύσει καὶ εἰσόδοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 χρήσεσι καὶ δικαίαις πάσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
 νῦν συνήθειαν.] ὧν γίτονες καθὼς ἢ προ[κειμένη] ἀπογραφῆ
 [περιέ]χι, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς α' σφραγίδος ἰδιωτικῆς τε καὶ
 βασιλικῆς γῆς πάσης οὔσης
 10 [ἐν ἐνὶ πῆγματι ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Πτολλᾶ κτήσις ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν
 διώρουξ μεθ' ἦν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ε'
 σ]φραγίδος ἀρουρῶ]ν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν]ατολῶν Ταυη]μέρας κτ]ήσις ἀπὸ
 δὲ δυσμῶν Παησίου κτήσις, ἀνευ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ καὶ

- [πάσης τινός γούν δόσεως ἀντί τῶν ὑπέρ αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων, καί βεβαιώσῃ τόν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιω]ν τῷ Ἡρωσι καί τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κ[ατά τήν παραχ[ώρησι]ν τῶν προκίμένων ἀρουρῶν πάση βαφθεώσι, ἄς καί παρέξασθαι ἀνεπάφους καί ἀνεπεχυράστους καί ἀνεπιδανείστους καί καθαρὰς ἀπό μέν τελεσμάτων πάντων, τῶν δημοσίων παντοίων σιτ[ικῶν] δε καί κριθικῶν κ[αί ἀργυρικῶν καί ἀνω[ν] καί] ἐτέρων παντοίων ἐπιβολῶν καί τῆς θίας διατυπώσεως ἀπό τῶν
- [ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ μηνός τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιη (ἔτους)/ καί ιζ' (ἔτους)/ καί ι (ἔτους)/ ὄντων πρὸς τόν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον διὰ τὸ] καί τήν [ἐ]πικιμένην ἐν τ[αῖς ἀρουρ]αῖς τῷ ἐν[εστῶτι] ἔτι σποράν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀτίσιῳ διαφαίρειν, ἀπό δαί ιδιωτικῶν καί πάσης ἐνποιήσε[ω(ς)]
- [διαπαντός, καί ἀπό τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν τόν Ἡρώνα τῶν παραχωρηθέντων καί ἐκχωρηθέντων αὐτῷ ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καί κυριεύειν κ[αί τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγεωμέ]μενα ἀπό] τοῦ ἐξῆς εἰκτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους [εἰς τὸ] ὄκον αὐτὸν ἀποφύεσθαι καί ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν δικαίῶν καί οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶ(ν)
- 15 [καί — τήν βασιλικήν γῆν ὡς ἐάν αἰρήται καί δευθένειν αὐτόν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνός τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιό]ντος ἔτους τὰ δημ[όσια] π[ά]ρα καί ἀνω[νά]ς κ[αί] ἐπιβολὰς πάσας καί τήν θίαν διατύπωσιν ἐπὶ τόν αἰ χρόνον, ἐφ' ἄς καί μὴ ἐπι-
[πορεύεσθαι αὐτόν τόν Ἀτίσιον μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ μηδένα κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀλλὰ καί τόν ἐπελευσόμενον καθ' ὄντιναοῦν] τρόπον[.....]·ν ἀποστήσῃ αὐ[τὸν] παραχρῆμα τ[ο]ῖς ἰδ[ίο]ις] αὐτοῦ δαπανήμασι, ἔτι καί προσεκτίσῃ τὰ ἀναλώματα
- [διπλά χωρὶς τοῦ μένειν κύρια καί τὰ προγεγραμμένα, καί οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῷ ἐκχωρήσαντι Ἀτίσιῳ οὔτε μὴν τῷ ἐκχωρηθέντι] Ἡρωσι ...[.....] αὐτόν ἀλλάξῃ τόν [ἕτερον] ἢ παραβῆνέ τι τῶν ἐνγεγραμμένων κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐκουσίῳ
- [καί αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ ἐπὶ τήνδε τήν παραχώρησιν καί ἐκχώρησιν αὐτοῦς ἐληλυθέναι, καί περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς καλῶ]ς γεροντέ[ναι] ἐπερωτηθέ[μ]ητες ὡμολόγησ[αν.] (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρή [ὁ]μολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ ὀροδικτίαν
- [κώμης Καρανίδος ιδιωτικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας πέντε τέταρτον ὄγδοον ἐκκαιδέκατον τετρακαιεξηκοστόν,] ἔτι τε κ[αί ἐκκεχωρηκέναι] [βασιδ]ικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρ[ούρας] ἑ[πτά] ἡμῶν τέταρτον ὄγδοον, ὧν αἰ γινύται πρόκινται, ἀντί τῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν
- 20 [πάντων καί τῆς θίας διατυπώσεως, καί βεβαιῶ καί ἔμμενῶ πᾶσι καί οὐδὲ παραβῆσθαι ὡς πρόκειται, καί ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

Αὐρήλιος — ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτων. (3rd hd.)
 [Αὐ]ρήλιος Ἡρώων Ἄπωνος γέγονεν εἰς μαι ἡ παραχώρησις
 καὶ ἐκχώρησις τῶν προ-
 [κειμένων ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ τελέσω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια πάντα
 καὶ τὴν θεῖαν διατύπωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνός τοῦ εὐτυχῶς
 εἰσιόντος ἰθ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιη (ἔτους)/ καὶ ια (ἔτους)]/
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπα[ντα] χρόνον ὡς πρόκε[ι]ται, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος
 [Θεονίου οὐετρανός 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. ἰωωτικῆς; τρεῖς, τετρα- 6. Pap. ἰωωτικῆ; Ἄρσιος inserted above the line 7. προκειμένης; βασιλικῆς; βου corrected from ἄτι 8. ἀρουρήθου; 1st ρ corrected from δ; ὄσων, αὐτῶν: ω corrected from ο; ἐάν, πλεῖον 9. γείσας, προκειμένη, περιέχει; Pap. ἰωωτικῆς 11. προκειμένων, βεβαίως; παρήτασθαι; θ corrected, perhaps from τ (cf. line 14) 12. τε, θεῖας 13. ἐπικειμένη, εἶσι, διαφέρειν, δέ, ἐμπούσσω 14. ἐξ; ξ corrected from α; περιγυόμενα; Pap. ἰωω; ἀποσπάρσθαι; θ corrected from τ; διοκεῖν 15. θεῖαν; Pap. αἰ (read ἡεῖ) 16. ἀποσπάρσω; ἰδίας; Pap. ἰθ; δαπανήσασι; π corrected from ν; προσεκρίσσω 17. ἀλλάξει, παραβῆναι, ἐγγεγραμμένων 19. γεινῶν πρόκειται 20. μ

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 Ptollos, 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 *amonae*, 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 *amonae*, 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 Μεγίστ[τ]ων Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βρετανικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, and cf. the similar, though longer, titulature in *P. Thead.* 2.2-3.

1. Βρετανικῶ(ν): Βρετανικῶ[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 Μαξιμιανού (e.g. *P. Cair. Isidor.* 1.21; 101.19; SB 6607.2).

2-3. ἐπιφανεστ[άτων]: ἐπιφανεστ[άτων] 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]ῆρατος: cf. 630.21n.

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

ἄπαντα: ἄπαντ[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]μαρ[ίδος] (τετάρτης) (πέμπτης) τοπ(αρχίας) Ἡ[ρακλείδου] κτλ. should now be read instead of the ed.'s κώμη[ς ἐ]π[ί] τῆ[ς α] σφρα(γίδος) ἐν δὲ τό(πω) Τη[μαρτυ] κτλ. For the phrase, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 5.5-6.

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

The imperial date was read in *P. New York* 21 as [δ](ἔτους) / καὶ γ (ἔτους) [/ καὶ ε (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 ἐξ ἡμισσοῦ τετάρτου [ὄγδου, but also ἄλλων . . . ἀρούρης τετάρτου ὄγδου ἑκκαίδεκάτου and ἀρούρης ἡμισσοῦ ἑκκαίδεκάτου. For the syntax, cf. PSI 1144.4-6: ἐκκεχωρηκέσθαι τὸν Ψευ(κ)ήθε]ν τῶ[ι] Παύλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κῆν δὴ παρὸς τῆς γεωργίας . . . βασιλικῆς γῆς ἀρουρῶν [πέντε κτλ.

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

διὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀπογραφῆς: *P. New York* 20.8 has ἐδαφῶν [ἐ]ν τῇ ἀπογραφῆ. But δι(ε)ὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως 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: ἀπογεγραμμένου δι' ἑτέρου ὑπομνήματος).

προκωμ(έντης α) σφραγίδος ἐν τῷ τ(όπῳ): the editor of *P. New York* 21 read προκωμ(έντης σφραγίδος) ἐν τ(όπῳ) . . . ωτ[.].

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

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

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

ἡμισσοῦ ἑκκαίδεκάτου: the editor of *P. New York* 21 read ἡμισσοῦ τέταρτον ὄγδον. 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 κῆν: cf. CPR 176.18: μέχρι τοῦ κῆν συνήθειαν, and see WB s.v. συνήθεια. Also possible is μέχρι κῆν; cf. *P. Wisc. inv.* 66a (ined.; see Boswinkel-Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri* 32) 9: κατὰ τὴν [ἐξ ἀρ]χῆς καὶ μέχρι κῆν συνήθειαν, I am grateful to Dr. Sijpesteijn for a transcript of this papyrus, which will be published in *P. Wisc.* II.

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

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

Παροῖον κτήσις: cf. 626.15.

11. ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπὲρ 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 (=δέ) ἰδιωτικῶν, line 13, requires ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων *ant. sim.* (cf. CPR 4.19-20). What cannot be paralleled is the insertion of the gen. abs., τῶν δημοσίων . . . δαίτων πρὸς τὸν . . . Ἀτίσιον . . ., between ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων πάντων and ἀπὸ δαί ἰδιωτικῶν. 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.

ἀνω[ρῶν]: ἀνω[ρῶν] HSCP, ἀνω[ρῶν] *P. New York* 21.

14. εὐδυνῶς εἰσιόντος Ἰσοῦ: see *P. New York* 21.14n.

15. At the beginning of the line perhaps read καὶ ἐκχωρεῖν *ant. 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 ἐμποησόμενον, despite its occurrence in *P. New York* 20.18. After τρόπον the ed. of *P. New*

York 21 read ἐπ' ἀσφαλῆα ...]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 τρόπων ἢ ἐμπορη[σόμε]νων and assume that the scribe, having inadvertently omitted ἢ ἐμπορησόμενων after ἐπελειούμενων, added it after τρόπων.

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

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

After Ἦρωσι perhaps περὶ [τῶν λόγων] αὐτῶν, "concerning the wording itself." For λόγος in this sense, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 82.12n., where the phrase ἀλλάξει τὸν ἕτερον is also discussed. 17-18. ἐκουσίω [καὶ αἰθαιρέτω γνώμη: same phrase in *P. Cair. Isidor.* 81.27.

18. καλῶς γεγο[ν]ῆναι ἐπερωτηθ[ῆ]τες ἀμολόγησ[αν: καλῶς γεγο[ν]ῆναι ἐπερωτηθ[ῆ] ἀμολόγησεν, *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]...σῆ[][...]...σῶ...[

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

[ὑπατίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξίμου]νοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφ[ανε]σ[τά]των [Κα]ισ[α]ρῶν τὸ δ[ι]. (4th hd.) κατεχω[ρισ]θη
τη (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιζ' (ἔτους)/ καὶ ι (ἔτους)/ month, day.]
(1st hd.) [ἔτους τη/ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γα]ίου Αὐ[ρη]λίου
Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητι[αν]οῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ιζ'/ Αὐτ[οκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανῶν Γερμανικῶν
Μεγίστων Σαρματικῶν Μεγίστων Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βρετανικῶν
Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν]

[Μεγίστων Εἰσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σ]εβ[ασ]τῶν καὶ ἔτ[ους] ι/ τῶν κυρίων
ἡμῶν Φ[λα]υβίου Οὐαλερίου Κ[ων]σταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου
Μαξιμιανῶν Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βρετανικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν
Μεγίστων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων]

[μηνός — ἐν] Π[ρ]ολεμαίδι Ε[ὐ]εργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρρηίου νομοῦ.
ὁμολογεῖ Αὐ[ρη]λίου Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρή μη[τρ]ός Θαλλοῦτος ἀπό
κώμης Καρανίδος ὡς (ἔτων) (ἑξήκοντα) οὐλή κάτωθεν
γόνατος ± 13 Αὐρηλίω Ἦρωσι Ἀπωνος μητρός —
ἀπό τῆς αὐτῆς]

5 [κώμης ὡς (ἔτων) .. οὐλή] ... δεξιᾶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὸν
Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἦρωσι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰς
ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπογραφείσας ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γενομένης
παρὰ Σαβίνω κηνοσίτορι ἀπογραφῆς]

[τῷ .. ἔτει καὶ .. (ἔτει)/ καὶ . (ἔτει)/ μην]ί Θῶθ κβ περὶ
ὀριδοκτιαν τῆς προκείμενης κώμης [Κ]αραν[ίδος] (τετάρτης)
(πέμπτης) τοπ[αρχίας] Ἡ[ρακλείδου] μερίδος ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς
α/ σφραγίδος ἐν τόπῳ Ταλιάρτυ λεγομένῳ ιδιωτικῆς

- γῆς σπορίμης ἀρούρας τρεῖς ὄγδοον τετρα-]
 και[εξηκοστὸν καὶ ἀ]βρόχου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ἑκκαιδέκατον, ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῆς ε/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τ[ό(πῳ) Τκα]μπάω λ[ε]γομένῳ
 [ιδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιδ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιγ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ς
 (ἔτους)/ ἀρούρας δύο, ἔτι τε καὶ ἔκκεχωρηκέαι τὸν Ἀτίσιον
 τῷ Ἡρωῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος]
 ιδ (ἔτους) [/ καὶ ιη (ἔτους)/ καὶ] ι[α (ἔτους)]/ διαπαντός
 γεωργίαν ὧν ἀπεγράψατο ὁ ὁμολογῶν Ἀτίσιος δ[ι]ὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀπογραφ[ῆς ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης α/ σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
 Ταλωάρτυ λεγομένῳ βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρουρῶν ἕξ ἡμίους
 τετάρ-]
 του ὁ[γδό]ου καὶ ἄλλων βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιγ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιδ
 (ἔτους)/ καὶ ε (ἔτους)/ ἀρούρης τετάρτο[υ ὄγ]δ[ό]ου
 ἕκ[κ]αιδεκάτου κ[αὶ] ἀβρόχου ἀρούρης ἡμίους ἑκκαιδέκατον ἐπὶ
 παντός τοῦ ἀρουρηδοῦ ἢ ὄσων ἐάν ὦσι ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον,
 ἐπὶ τοῖς]
 10 οὔσι αἰ[τῶν] ὀρίαι καὶ ποτί[τρ]ες καὶ ἐκχύσει καὶ ἰσόδοις
 καὶ τῆς ἄλλαις χρήσεσι καὶ δικαίαις πᾶ[σ]ι κατὰ τὴν ἕξ
 ἀρ[χῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν συνήθειαν, ὧν γείτονες καθὼς ἡ
 προκειμένη ἀπογραφή περιέχει, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς α/ σφρα(γίδος)
 ιδιωτικῆς τε καὶ βα-]
 σιλικῆς (γῆς) πάσης οὔσης ἐν ἐνὶ πῆγματι ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν
 Πτολλᾶ κτῆσ[ι]ς ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν διῶ[ρυξ μεθ' ἦν] χέρσος
 ἀδέσποτος διόλου, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ε/ σφρα(γίδος) ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ
 μὲν ἀνατολῶν Ταυημέρας κτῆσις ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν]
 Παη[σ]ο[ῖ]ο κτῆσις, ἀνευ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ καὶ πάσης τινός
 γούν δόσεως ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ [αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων,
 καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρωῖ καὶ τοῖς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν]
 παραχώρησιν τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν πάση βεβαιώσει, ἃς καὶ
 παρέξ[α]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 ἑτέρων
 π[α]ντοίων ἐπιβολῶν καὶ τ[ῆς] θείας διατυπώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ μηνός τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιη
 (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιξ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ι (ἔτους)/]
 15 ὄντ[ω]ν πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην
 ἐν ταῖς ἀ[ρο]ύραις τῷ ἐ[ν]εστῶτι ἔτι σπ[ορᾶν] αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀτισίῳ
 διαφέρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ ιδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσης ἐμποτήσεως διαπαντός,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν τὸν Ἡρωῖα τῶν πα-]
 [ρα]χωρηθέντων καὶ ἐκ[[κε]χωρηθέντων αὐτῷ ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ
 κυριεύειν καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγυμῶ[μενα] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξῆς εὐτυχῶς

- εισιόντος ἔτους εἰς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι καὶ ἐξουσίαν
 ἔχειν διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ — τὴν βασι-]
- [λ]εικὴν γῆν ὡς ἐὰν ἐρῆται καὶ διευθύνω αὐτὸν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνός τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἰ[σ]μήντος ἔτους τὰ δημόσια
 πάντα καὶ ἀνώνυμα καὶ ἐπιβολὰς πάσας καὶ τὴν θεῖαν διατύπωσιν
 ἐπὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, ἐφ' ἃς καὶ μὴ ἐπιπορευέσθαι αὐτὸν]
- τὸν Ἀτίσιον μὴδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μηδένα κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμπο[ι]ησόμενον καθ' ὀντιναοῦν
 τρόπον ἀποστήσῃ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ
 δαπανήμασι, ἔτι καὶ προσεκτίσῃ τὰ ἀναλώματα διπλά χωρὶς
 τοῦ μένεω]
- κύρια καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, καὶ οὐκ οὐσῆς ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῷ
 ἐκχωρήσαντι Ἀτισίῳ οὔτε μήνῳ τῷ ἐκχωρηθῆντι Ἡρωῖ ± 10
 αὐτὸν ἀλλάξαι τὸν ἕτερον ἢ παραβῆναι τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων
 κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐκουσίῳ καὶ ἀθαιρέτῳ]
- 20 [γ]νώμη ἐπὶ τῆνδε τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ ἐκχώρησιν αὐτοῦς
 ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς 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 τετρακαὶεξηκοστόν, ἔτι τε καὶ
 ἐκκεχω[ρ]ηκέναι βασιλικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ
 τέταρτον ὄγδοον, ὧν αἱ γειννῖαι πρόκειται, ἀντὶ τῶν
 δημοσίων]
- τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν πάντων καὶ τῆς θείας διατυπώσεως, καὶ βεβαιῶ
 καὶ ἐμμενῶ πᾶσι καὶ οὐδὲ παραβῆσομαι ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ
 ἐπερω[τ]ηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος — ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 ἀγραμμάτων. (3rd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρῶν Ἀπῶνος γέγονεν εἰς με]
- [η] παραχώρησις καὶ ἐκχώρησις τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ
 τελέσω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια π[άν]τα καὶ τὴν θεῖαν διατύπωσιν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνός τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἰθ (ἔτους)/ καὶ ιη
 (ἔτους)/ καὶ ια (ἔτους)/ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὡς πρόκειται,
 καὶ ἐπερωτη-]
- [θ]εὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Θεονίου οὐετρανός ἔγραψα
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτων.

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 δεξιῶ (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 *Κασιάρων* 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. α/: 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 εἰσιώτους ἔτους: if we read *ἐκχωρεῖν* before *τῆς βασιλικῆς* (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 εἰσιώτους 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 *κατ' ἰσχυρισμὸν τρόπον*. In 636.16, the corresponding passage, *ἐμπορησόμενον* 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 Ägyptens unter römischer 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(υρία)ς Γάλλου
Τιτιδίου.
- 15 Γάιο[ς] Λιβλήμιος Γαίου υἱὸς
φυλ(ῆ)ς Παλατίνα κεντ(υρία)ς
Κο.ου Ὀφελλίου.
- Γάιος Ἀτθίος Γαίου υἱὸς Πολλία
κεντυρ[ί]α(ς) Τερτίου Ὀφελλίου.
- 20 Πόπλιος Ἰγνάτιος Ποπλ(ίου) υἱὸς
φυλ(ῆ)ς Σεργία [[κεντυ]] κεντυ(ρία)ς Σάλβανου.

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. Ὀρρώνης[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 Κόμπος; for the cognomen Comtus, see *CIL* VI, 16035.5 and n.

19. Ἐγνάτιος: probably Egnatius. Latin e is often represented by iota in Greek; see *P. Oxy.* 2951.19n. Cf. Σαμβρονία (= Sempronius) 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 Νεμεσίωμος τ[ο]ῦ Ζωΐδου instead of ...ωμος τ[ο]ῦ θ[ε]οῦ. 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 Νεμεσίωμος τοῦ Ζωΐδου πράκτορος λαογραφίας [Φιλὰδ]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:

Ἔτος ἐν Τετάρτῳ Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπέφθ[η] ἀργύρου[ων] (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 Περεισοῦχος, 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. ined.*⁷ The second scribe helped the first in composing 640 and 641 (for the

that Καίσαρος is inevitable, especially since in *P. Corn. 21* introd. the papyrus is reported to read Καίσαρος. 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'Édit 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 Ἡρακλῆος 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 ὁ καὶ Πανσεύως πρόγονος Χαϊρέμιανος, 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 *BFAO 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, *Ibrahīm 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)
 Ἄγρων Πουώρεω(ς)
 Ἀπολλω() Μύσθ(ου) (δραχμαί) η
 5 Πασίω(ν) Ἀπολλω()
 Ἑλλη(ν) Σαμβ(ᾶ)τος
 Ἑλλην Ἀρφαή(σεως)
 Ἄλκιμο(ς) Ἀρφαή(σεως)
 Πανετβ(ύς) ἄλλο(ς)
 10 Νεκφερω(ς) Πετσοσύχ(ου)
 Χαιρή(μων) Ἀρφαή(σεως)
 Σαμβ(ᾶς) Φαώτο(ς)
 Ἐκτω(ρ) ἀδελφός(ς)
 Ἐκτωρ Πανετβ(ύιος)
 15 Σαμβ(ᾶς) Ἐκτωρο(ς)
 Ὦρος Ὠρίωνο(ς)
 Μύσθ(ας) ἄλλο(ς)
 Ἡρακλ() (ὁμοίως) Ἴβις
 Ἀτρῆ(ς) ὄς κ(αί) Διδυμάτ(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 Ἀπολλῶνας 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 Ἄλκιμ[ος] should be read instead of the editors' Ἄλκιμ[ακος].

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

ἄλλο(ς): so also in line 17. For the resolution, see 642.158n. and *P. Petous* 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. Περεσοῦχ(ου): written very fast, as it usually is in these Philadelphian texts. I prefer to interpret such pieces of writing as Περεσοῦχος. The editors of *P. Corn.* and *P. Princ.*, however, frequently transcribed them as Πρεῦχος or Περεῦχος. I have elsewhere shown that Περεσοῦχος is often written with extreme *Verschleifung* (*P. Mich.* 582 1.8n., 584.33n.), but I am not prepared to say that every occurrence of Πρεῦχος or Περεῦχος should be corrected. Certainty is possible only where a clearly written Περεσοῦχος alternates with a form transcribed as Περεῦχος (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 Περεῖ(χου)).

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

Πανετρί(ου): 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.* 1, name index.

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

(ὁμοίως): "Dies öfters steht häufig hinter Eigennamen, um die Wiederholung des Namens im Genetiv anzudeuten" – *WZ* 1 819, n. 2. Throughout 638-642 ὁμοίως is represented as a horizontal stroke, as it is in *P. Princ.* 1 and *P. Corn.* 21; see *P. Corn.* 21.15n.

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

19. ὄς κ(αι): Pap. ὄς^κ.

Διδεμάτ(ος): probably a mistake for Διδεμάς.

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

	κα	ξ
	κβ	γβ
	κγ	οβ
	κδ	ρ
5	κε	ρμδ
	κζ	ρπδ
ἀλ(λαι)	κξ	ρπς
	κθ	κη
	λ	ξη
10	α ἔω(ς) γ	μη
	δ	μδ
	ε	ξη
	η	ις
	θ	οβ
15	ι	σπδ
		..κ.
	(γίν.) (δρ.)	βτγβ
	[Ἐπ]είφ	
	ια	ρη

Col. 2

20	(γίν.) (δρ.) ..	
	Μεσορή	
	ζ	πη
	ι	οβ
	κβ	σ
25	εγ	ξδ
	εζ	ρπη
	εξ	κη
	εη	νη
	εθ	δ
30	κβ	κδ
	κδ	ρμδ
	κζ	ρκβ
ἀλ(λαι)	κξ	μδ
	κη	λβ
35	κθ	κη

	λ	κδ
	ᾱ ε̄ω(ς) β̄	νβ
	γ̄	τοβ
	δ̄	τιδ
40	ξ̄	μδ
	[(γών.)] (δρ.) β̄λβ	

Col. 3		

		μδ
	κ̄ε̄	φβ
45	κ̄ε̄	δ
	κ̄η̄	κ
	κ̄θ̄	ις
	λ̄ ε̄ω(ς) γ̄	λς
	δ̄	η
	ε̄	ξη
50	(γών.) (δρ.) ωμς	

7. ὄλ(λαι): sc. δραχμαί, so also in 33 and 44. But the scribe may have intended ὄλ(λο), 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. [Ἐπιείφ: 25 June-24 July.

19. ρη: η corrected from δ (L. C. Youtie).

21. Μεσορή: 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.* 1 and *P. Corn.* 21 (see *P. Princ.* 1 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(ά) Ἀντιφίλο(υ) χειρῆστροῦ		
(2nd hd.)	Χοιάχ		
	Παποντώς	Ἄρωτου	ε
	Σαμβᾶς	Σισότο(ς)	ε
5	[Πανετβ]ῶς (γίν.) (δρ.) μη	Πτόλλειδο(ς)	ε
	[Τῦβι]		
	[Σαμ]βᾶς (γίν.) (δρ.) λβ	Πτόλλειδος	λβ
10	[Μεχείρ]		
	Παποντώς	Ἄρωτου	η
	Σαμβᾶς	Σισότο(ς)	ιβ (δέχαλκον) α (όβολός)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) κ (δέχαλκον) α (όβολός)		
	Φαμενωθ		
15	Ἐρίων	Ἄσκληπιάδ(ου)	ιβ

Col. 2

(1st hd.)	τρ(απεξ) Κερκεσοῦχ(ων) δι(ά) Μάρωνος πρε(σ)β(υτέρου)		
(2nd hd.)	μηνοῦ Νέου Σεβαστοῦ		
	Ψοανεῦς	Ἐρου	η
(1st hd.)	(γίν.) (δρ.) η		
(2nd hd.)	Χοιάχ		
21	Πετσοῦχ(ος)	Φανομγέ(ως)	η
	Ἡρακλῆς	Ἐρου	κ
	Ἄντις	Ἄπολλω()	κ
	(1st hd.) χωματικ(οῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)		
(2nd hd.)	Νεκφερω(ς)	Ἐσοῦρεος	κ
26	Φάσεις	Ἄνουβᾶτ(ος)	ιβ
	Πετερμώτ(ης)	Ἄνουβᾶτ(ος)	κ
	(γίν.) (δρ.) [[ϛβ]] συνερέ(ματος) (δρ.) ρ		
	Τῦβι		
30	Νεκφερω(ς)	Ἐσοῦρεος	η
(1st hd.)	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Ἄνουβ()	ς (τετρώβολον)

(2nd hd.)	Ἐρίων	Διονυσίου	κ
(1st hd.)	(γίν.) (δρ.) κη, χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)		
(2nd hd.)	Μεχείρ		
35	Ἄτρης	Ἄτρηος	ις
Col. 3			
	Ψοσνεῦς	Ἔρου	ις
	(γίν.) (δρ.) λβ		
	Φαμενώθ		
	Πετσοῦχ(ος)	Φανομγέ(ως)	η
40	Ἡρακλῆς	Ἔρου	ιβ
	Νεκφερῶς	Ἐσοῦρε(ως)	η
	Πεσίρις	Πεσίρει(ως)	ις (δέχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) μδ (δέχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)		
	Φαρμούθι		
45	Πετσοῦχ(ος)	Φανομγέ(ως)	δ
	(γίν.) (δρ.) δ		
	Παχών		
	Πετσοῦχ(ος)	Φανομγέ(ος)	ιβ
	Ἐρμίας	Πεσίρει(ος)	κ
50	Πανερβ(ύς)	Ἄρουβάτ(ος)	κ
(1st hd.)	Ἐριεύς	Σαμβάτο(ς)	ις
	Φαῆσις	(ὁμοίως)	δ
	Ἄντις	Ἄπολλω()	ιβ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δέχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) πδ (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δέχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)		
55	Παῖνι		
	Νεκφ(ερῶς)	Ἐσοῦρεως	η (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δέχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)

(In the space between cols. 2 and 3)

(1st hd.)	ποιμένες Κέλερος		
	ι		
	Πασίων Ἡρακλή(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)		
60	χωματικ(οῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)		
	Ἰσχυρίων (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)		
	χωμα(τικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)		
	Ἄπολλῶνις Διδύμο(υ) (δρ.) νβ		
	Ψενοβάστεις Ἄκουσιλ(άου) (δρ.) νβ		
65	Ἄτομεῦς Ἄγρωνο(ς) (δρ.) νβ		
	Ψομτισνε(ύς) Πετερμούθ(εως) (δρ.) κθ (διώβολον)		
	χωμα(τικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)		

- Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ὀρίων(ος) (δρ.) ιζ (διώβολον)
(γίν.) (δρ.) σογ (διώβολον) χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) μ
- 70 [[πο]]
ἐν ἐποικί(ω) Βασιλίδο(ς)
8(ιά) Σωτηρί(ου)
Ἄγχορίμφοι Ἰσχι() (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
χω(ματικοῦ) β (ἔτους) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
- 75 Ἰσχεῖς υἱός ἀφῆ(λιξ) [[(δρ.)]]
πρός γ (ἔτη) (δρ.) ρλς
Πεπεσοῦχ(ος) Ἰσχυρίων(ος) (δρ.) με (διώβολον) (2nd hd.) [[(γίν.)?
συναίρεμα(τος) (γίν.) (δρ.) ρνβ, χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) εγ (διώβολον)
ἰκῆ(ς) (δρ.) γ (τριώβολον)]]
- (78) (1st hd.) β (ἔτους) χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
Ἀπύγχις Μύσθ(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
- 80 χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
Πτόλλεις Μύσθ(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
- Ἀρβαίθη(ς) Ὀρίων(ος)
χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς (τετρώβολον)
- 85 γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) τιζ (διώβολον) χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) μ

1. τρ(απεζ): 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(απέζη) or τρ(απεζίτη) 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 ἰδία; 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. [Μεχέω]: 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. (δέχαλκον): Pap. $\frac{\rho}{\chi}$. In this text the chalci are paid with the pig tax, as they are in *P. Princ. 1*, *P. Corn. 21* (see introd. to *P. Princ. 1*, 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 Ἀσκλάς.

16. πρε(σ)β(υτέρω): 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)ῦ(ότερος)
Ἰσχυρίων	(ὁμοίως)	ρε(ώτερος)

Abbreviation by contraction is rare in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, except in compounds (e.g. κ(ἀρ)ου(κος)). See H. I. Bell, "Abbreviation in Documentary Papyri," *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* 1, pp. 424-433.

17. Νέου Σεβαστοῦ: i.e. Ἰσῆρ, 28 Oct.-26 Nov.
21. Cf. *P. Princ.* 8 2.25, where the editors read Περτέυχ(ος); see 638.10n.
25. Read Ἐσοῦρεως, 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 ῥβ 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.
- συναρρέ(ματος): i.e. συναρρέματος. 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. Ἄουρι(): Ἄουρίατος or Ἄουρίωνος.
32. Cf. 642.51 and *P. Princ.* 8 1.5; 11 1.14.
43. The total is correct.
44. Φαρμούθι: 27 March-25 April.
47. Παχίων: 26 April-25 May.
48. Read Φανομγέως.
49. Read Πεσοῦρεως.
50. The same person appears in *P. Princ.* 14 2.18, where the editors resolved Ἀουρι(ώνος). See also 642.86.
51. Cf. 642.44, and *P. RyI.* 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. Παῖον: 26 May-24 June.
57. Ποιμένες appear individually in *P. Corn.* 21 and *P. Princ.* 1 (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. ἰ: read by L. C. Youtie, who suggests that it designates the day of the month.
60. The scribe first wrote χωματικ(ῶ)ς and started to write (τετρωβόλων); he then corrected ς to (δρ.) and altered (τετρωβόλων) to ς. After the corrected ς he continued anew with (τετρωβόλων).
63. Read Ἀπολλώνιος.
- ῥβ = 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 Ἀρομεῦς is not otherwise attested.
66. Ψομισσι(ῶς): 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]μῶς Ἰσχι(). Probably Ἰσχι() should be resolved Ἰσχειῖος, since the grandson's name is Ἰσχεῖς (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. ἀφ(λιξ): the scribe began to make a *phi*, then corrected it to *alpha*. He canceled (δρ.) by two horizontal strokes.

75 ε. This entry may be translated "Ischeis, his son, a minor, 136 dr. for 3 years," i.e. 45 dr. 2 ob. per annum. Ἀφελίκες are not subject to poll tax, and the designation ἀφ(λιξ) 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 L
λαογραφίας ἐτῶν τόσων
δραχμαὶ αἶδε.

In the introduction to 577 I argued that we should read ἀφελίκων παραγεγραμμένων πρὸς (τῶ) 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 L (=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 L 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 (τετρῶβολων), 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 αἰμορροῦσα δώδεκα ἔτη

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

See also *P. Petasus* 17.29-30: ἔξω . . . ἀτέλει(αὶ) ἔτη τρεῖς (read τρία); 18.29: ἔξω . . . ἀτέλ(εων) [(ἔτη)] γ; 23.24: [ἔξω . . . ἀτ(εων) 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 Περειῦχο(ς) and Περειῦχ(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 *βοφ(ορβός)*, and *P. Corn.* 21.272, 292.

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

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 (έτους) δι(ά) Θέωνος
 Φαρμοῦθ(ι)
 Πεπερμοῦθ(ις) (ὁμοίως) κη
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κη

(2nd hd.)	Παῦνι			
6	Ἵρος	Ἄρφαήσε(ως) μδ (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)		
	Νεκφερω(ς)	Ἵρου	λβ	
	Ἄπύγγ(ις)	Ἄπύγγ(εως) ις (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον) α (ὀβολός)		
(1st hd.)	Παβῶνη(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. Παβῶνη(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()⁶Παρε]τβ(ύιος) ⁷Παν]ετβ(ύιος) ⁸Ἀσκλη]πιιά(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 Theogonis and Tebtanis 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 *prodiagraphomena*, 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 *prodiagraphomena* 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 Πανερβ(ύιος)
 Πανερβ(ύς) Πανερβ(ύιος)
 Αἰνῆς Α..ω()
 5 Παμένη(ς) Πανω(ύθεως)
 Χ..κ() Π.....
 Ὀρος [.].
 Ἀπελ(λῆς)
 Πεμῆς Πουώρεω(ς)
 10 Σαμβ(ᾶς) Ἀπλωνί(ο)
 Πανουθ(ις) (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) θ, (δρ.) ρπ, (γίν.) (δρ.) σκδ
- Βακχ(ιάδος)
 Λου(σω)ρ Π...
 15 Ὀνωφρ(ις) ..]
 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) β, [(δρ.)] μ
- Ἰερᾶς Νικολάου
 Κάλλις Ἀρφαῆ(σεως)
 .ε...ις Ἀπύγχ(εως)
 20 Ἀρ[...] Ἀπύγχ(εως)
() Ἀνουβ() με (διώβολον)
 [(γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) γ,] (δρ) ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρε (διώβολον)
 [....]...ς
 [± 7]..τος
 25 [± 7]...ω()
 [± 7]...

Col. 2

- Ἀρωσῆς
 Παχουβ(ις) (ὁμοίως)
 30 Ἀρουτ(ώτης) Ψευδοβάστω(ς)
 Νεκφερω̄(ς)
 traces of 3 lines
 Φᾶσις Ἡρακλή(ου)

2. Braunsert, *Binnenwanderung*, pp. 150-152, has a valuable discussion, based on *P. Princ.* 1, 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.) ἀνδ(ρες) ζ, (δρ.) ρμ
 ἐποικίω(υ)
 Μύσθ(ας) ...ω()
ε Ὀρίωνο(ς)
 (δρ.?) με (διώβολον?)
 40 Ἀσκληπιά(δος) Σαμβ(ἄτος)
 [(γίν.)] ἀνδ(ρες) γ, (δρ.?) [ξ], (γίν.) (δρ.) ρε (διώβολον)
 ἐποικίω(υ) Ἥρωνος
 Ἡρακλή(ς) Σαμβ(ἄτος)
 Ἐριεύς Σαμβ(ἄτος)
 45 Σισίος Σαμβ(ἄτος)
 Φαῆσις Φαῆσεω(ς)
 (γίν.) δ, (δρ.) π
 [Κερκ]εσούχ(ων)
 Πτόλλις Βησαῖτος
 50ε Βησαῖτος
 Ὀρ[ί]ων] Διονυσί(υ)
 [...] Ὀρίωνο(ς)
 [...] Ὀρίωνος
].....()

Col. 3

- 55 Νεκφερώς Ἐσούρεως
 [Σα]μβ(ἄς) Φάσιτο(ς)
 [Φά]σις Ἀνουβᾶθο(ς)
 Νεκφερώς Φανομγ(έως)
 Πανετβ(ύς) Ἀτρήους
 60 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) ι, (δρ.) σ
 Κα[ρ]ανίδ(ος)
 Ζωδι(ος) Σ[α]μβᾶ(τος) (δρ.) με [(διώβολον)]
 Πανετβ(ύς) Σ.....α()
 Πα.....[
 65 [...] ἀφῆλ(ιξ) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) . (δρ.?) [
 Στράτωρο(ς) ἐποικίου
 Ἐριεύς Πετεσούχ(ου)
 Ἀρφαῆσις Ἀνουβ()
 70 Φάσις Ἀρμύσεω(ς)
 Φάσις Ἡρακλή(ου)
 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) δ, (δρ.) π
 ἐποικίω(υ) Εἰσεβοῦς
 Ὀινώφρις Πεμεω()
 75 Ἰσᾶς Πετεσούχ(ου)

Πετσοῦχος) Ἀρυώτ(ου)
 Σαμβ(ᾶς) Μαρρή(ους) μη() [(δρ.)] τγ (διώβολον)
 θ (ἔτους) (δρ.) . (τετρώβολον)
 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) ε, (δρ.) ργ (διώβολον)

Col. 4

- 80 ἐποικίου Δημητρίου
 Νεκφερωῶς Νεκφερωῶ(τος)
ς Πομο[άι]τ(ος)
 [±6] Σρήρε(ως)
 [±6] Ξρου
- 85 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ξρου
 Πανετβ(ῦς) Ἀν[ο]υβ(ᾶτος)
 (γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) ς, (δρ.) ρκ
 Σεβεννύτου
 Μύσθ(ας) Πετεχ(ώντος)
- 90 Ἀρφαῆ(σις) Πετσοῦχ(ου)
 Ἰβίων Μαρρή(ους)
 Φίλων Μεσφρη() (δρ.) κθ (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) γ, (δρ.) ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) πθ (διώβολον)
- Βουβάστο(υ)
 95 Πετσοῦχος) Μύσθ(ου)
 Ὀννώφρ(ις) Ὀννώφρε(ως)
 Θεοκλῆ(ς) ...λ()
 Πασείω(υ) Ἀκοί()
 Ἀκουσιδ(ας) ..ιο()
- 100 (γίν.) ε, (δρ.) ρ
 ἐποικίου(υ) Βήλου
 Κόμων Ἀρυώτ(ου)
 Πουῶρις Ἀτρή(ους)
 Θίμβρω(υ) Ἀρψή(μιος)
- 105 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ἡρακλή(ου)
 (γίν.) δ, (δρ.) π
 Βερνικίδ(ος)
 Πετσοῦχος) Πετσοῦχ(ου)
 Πατῦνις Παρα(ῦτος) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
- 110 Παραῦς υἱός
 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ξρου
 (γίν.) γ, (δρ.) ξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρε (διώβολον)

Col. 5

- Ἄργιάδ(ος)
 Παῖσι(ς) (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 115 (γίν.) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Μένδη(ητος) [±5]. Σαμβ(ᾶτος)
 (γίν.) [α (δρ.) κ]
 Μητροδ(ώρου) Σαμβ(ᾶς) Ἡράτ(ος)
 (γίν.) α (δρ.) κ
 120 Φιλω[τ]ερίδ(ος)
 Ἡ[ρ]ᾶς Μύσθ[ο]υ
 Μελέαγρος Ἄνουβ(ίωνος)
 (γίν.) (δρ.) μ
 Μα[γ]δάλων
 125 Κάστωρ Ὀνωφρεο(ς)
 Ἡρων Ὀνωφρεο(ς)
 Φᾶσις Φαή(σεως) (δρ.) με [(διώβολον)]
 Χαιρή(μων) Εἰρηναί(ου)
 Ὀρίων Ὀν[υ]φρε(ος)
 130 (γίν.) δ, [(δρ.)] π, (γίν.) [(δρ.) ρκε (διώβολον)]
 ἐποικί(ου) Ἀμφίλοχ()
 Πανσενεὺς Μύσθ[θ]ου (δρ.) με (διώβολον)]
 Νεκφερῶς Τεῶτ(ος) (δρ.) μ[ε] (διώβολον)
 (γίν.) (δρ.) Ϛ (τετρώβολον)
 135 ἐποικίου Σεουήρου
 Ἀπύγχι(ς) (ὁμοίως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Πετεσοῦχ(ου) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Ἀριέντις Ὀνωφρεως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 Ὀνωφρις Πουώ(ρεως) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)
 140 ((γίν.) (δρ.) ρπα (διώβολον))
 ενδη() ... [
 Ν[ε]κ[φ]ε[ρ]ῶ(ς).[...]
 [(γίν.)] (δρ.) με (διώβολον) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)

Col. 6

- Μητροπόλ(εως)
 145 Χαιρήμω(ν) Πυλάδο(ν)
 Ἰσχυρίω(ν) ἀδελφό(ς)
 Μελαγκ(όμας) Ἰσχυρίω(νος)
 Ἰσχυ[ρ]ίω(ν) [...].()
 Ἡρακλ[]() ...].()
 150 Νίκανδ(ρος) Ἄρχι(εδήμου)
 Χαιρή(μων) Ἄρχεδή(μου)

	Παμένη(ς) Σαμβ(ᾶτος)	
	(γίν.) ἀνδ(ρες) η, (δρ.) ρξ	
	Ψύων	
155	Σαμουήρις Ψρου	
	Νεκφερῶ(ς) Ψρου	
	Ψρος Ἄρφατή(σεως)	
	Ψρος ἄλλο(ς) Ἄρφατή(σεως)	
	(γίν.) ἀνδ(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 Ἰση(υ)	
	Περεσοῦχ(ος) Νεκφερῶ(τος)	με (διώβολον)
	Νεκφερῶ(ς) υἰό(ς)	με (διώβολον)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (τετρῶβολον)	
	Κερκεθ(σῆριος) Πουῶρις Ἄρβαίθ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
170	Ἄκανθ(ῶνος) Ἐσόνις Μύσθ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
	Ἡρακλή(ς) ἀδελφό(ς)	[(δρ.)] με (διώβολον)
	(γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (τετρῶβολον)	
	Σμῆρεω(υ)	
	Ἄγχο[ρ]ίμφ(ις) Ἰσχ()	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
175	(γίν.) (δρ.) με (διώβολον)	
	Ἰση(υ)	
	Ἄρφατή(σις) Ὀνωφρεω(ς)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)

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

4. Α..ω(): Possibly Ἄπλω(μος); cf. *P. Princ.* 14 3.25: Αἰνής Ἄπλωης. But the third letter looks more like a mu than a lambda; contrast Ἄπλωνί(υ) in line 10.

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

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

10. Ἄπλωνί(υ): read by H. C. Youtie.

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

14. Λοῖ[σω]ρ: read by L. C. Youtie, who suggests that the father's name might be Πάρος; cf. *P. Princ.* 13 18.14 f. (also under Bacchias):

Ἄρεος Πάρου

Λούρων

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

18. Cf. *P. Com.* 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, *Binnenevanderung*, 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:

Παχρούβ(ε) Παχρούβ(εως) and 24: Ἀρουσώτη(ς) Ψευβάστ(εως).

42. This epokion is not known to me elsewhere. The ἐποικίω Ἡρώως 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 ἐποικίω Ἡρώως is mentioned with Βορρατή; 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 Κερκευ() 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. Φάτρο(ε): read by L. C. Youtie.

57. [Φά]τρο(ε): 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.

Ἀουεβάθ(ε): read Ἀουεβάτος.

63. Παυρή(ε): also possible is Παυρή(ε). The father's name may be Σαμβάρο(ε) (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. Στράτων(ε) ἐποικίω: located in the northeastern part of the Herakleides division, near Sebennytos (line 88). It appears as an ἐποικίω 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. Petous* 40.22: Στράτωνος Σεβεννίτου.

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

69. Perhaps to be identified with the Ἀρφαῖος Ἀουεβ(ίω)τος, in *P. Princ.* 8 3.7, where he is listed as residing at Straton (line 8); cf. also *P. RyI.* 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 Ηεμέω(ε), gen. of Ηεμή(ε) (line 9).

77. A Sambas son of Marres appears in *P. RyI.* 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 (epokion Eusebos). 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 κε immediately preceded; but the space seems sufficient for only one letter, possibly κερρα.

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

79. ἀδ(ρα)ε: one expects ἀδ(ρα)ε δ.

- μεγ (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. Sebennytos is in the southern part of the Herakleides division; see *P. Petous*, p. 33, n. 36.

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

Μυσθᾶς Πετεχωῶ(ντος) (δρ.) με = χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς f
 Ἰβίων Μαρρή(ος) (δρ.) με = χω(ματικοῦ) (δρ.) ς f
 Φύλων Παμφρή(μμος) (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 *Μαρρή(ος)* should be read in line 92. The patronymic in 93 matches that in 642.92, but in neither is the reading certain. *Μεσοφρή()* is possible. For *Μεσοφρή(ς)* cf. *P. Teb.* 1026.13: *Μεσοφρή(ς)* (gen.), and *BGU* 906.23: *Μεσοφρή(ος)* (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 *Μαρρή(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: (γν.) (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 *Πρό(λιδος)*; cf. *P. Princ.* 8 2.7; 9 4.26.

98. Πασιώ(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. Com.* 21.399.

104. Cf. *P. Princ.* 9 4.15 (Θύρων Ἀρήμμος); and 13 12.16.

107. Βεραικῶ(ς): a common spelling variant of *Βεραεικῶ(ς)* (e.g. *BGU* 1893.29 and *passim*; 2075.4; *P. Lond.* II 266 (p. 233).129). Two villages of this name are known: *Βεραεικῶ* in *Themistes*, near *Euhemeria* and *Theadelphia*; and *Βεραεικῶ* *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 *Παριῶ(ς) 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 *Παραῶ(ς)* is strongly suggested by the name of the grandson, *Παραῶ(ς)*, in the following line.

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

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

118. *Μητροδ(ώρου)*, 120. *Φύλω(ν) Χρηίδ(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 Braucet, *Bismensuanderung*, p. 152, n. 191). Both epoikia are in *Herakleides*. There was another *Μητροδ(ώρου)* in *Polemon*, and another *Φύλω(ν) Χρηίδ(ος)* in *Themistes* (see *P. Teb.* II, pp. 389 and 408).

121. Ἡ[ρ]ᾶς: 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:

Φᾶσις Φαρήσεως μη(τρὸς) Θαισιόβιο(ς)	L λγ
Ἦρων δε καὶ Τηρημαί(ς) Ὀνωφρέως	L λθ
Κάστωρ Ὀνωφρέο(ς)	L μξ
Ἐρίων Ὀνωφρέο(ς)	L με
Σισόες δε καὶ Χαρήμων Εὐρίωνος	L κξ

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 Φᾶσις is inevitable in 24; in 642.127 the name superficially resembles Φάσις. The name Τηρημαί(ς) is very insecure; according to Mrs. Hanson nothing is clear before ημαί(ς).

For Ὀνωφρέος in lines 125, 126, 129 read Ὀνωφρέως.

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

Ἐποικίου Ἀνω(νίου) θυγατρὸς ᾤ	
Παμφίλου περὶ Βουβάστο(υ) ¹	
Νεκφερώς Τεῶστο(ς)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Πασσηεύς Μίσθ(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)αμφίλοχ(ου); Ἀμφίλοχος is found as a personal name in *P. Hib.* 111.21.

132. Πασσηεύς: 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 Περασεῶ(υ) ²	
Ὀνωφρίς Πουώρεως	(δρ.) με(ε (διώβολον))
Ἀριέντις Ὀνωφρέ(ως)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἡρακλῆ(ς) ἀδελφός	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἀπίγχις Ἀπίγχι(εως)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)
Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Περεύχ(ου)	(δρ.) με (διώβολον)

The same taxpayers, with the exception of Herakles brother of Harienis, appear in 642. Onnophris son of Pouoeris is also found in *P. Ryf.* 595.27. Examining the Princeton papyrus, I saw that line 1 should read ἐποικίου Σεουήρου, and that Περεσοῦχ(ου) is probably to be read in line 6 (see 638.10n.).

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

146 and 152. Ischyriion son of Pylades and Pamenes son of Sambas appear also in *P. Com.* 23a.43 f., where the latter's name is given as Παμμέντις (the plate on p. 185 of *P. Com.* 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) Ψευατίμε(ως) in *P. Princ.* 8 5.16.

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

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

Φαμουρη(ως) ὄς καὶ Ἀππῶνις Ὀρο(υ)	⊥ μη
Νεκφερῶ(ς) Ὀρω	⊥ λθ
Ὀρος Ἀρφαί(σεως) τ(οῦ) καὶ Ἀπάθ(ου) μη(τρός) Ταύρε(ως)	⊥ κε
Ὀρος Ἀρφαί(σεως) μη(τρός) Ταύρε(ως)	⊥ κ

The same people are involved in 642, but the first name in both texts causes difficulties. The Michigan papyrus has $\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\zeta\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, which I interpret as Σαμουήρις, a spelling variant of Σαμουήλες. About the name in the Princeton text Mrs. Hanson writes as follows (letter of 16 February 1972): "The initial phi of the name Phamouēris seems absolutely certain: $\phi\alpha\mu\gamma\epsilon\zeta\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$. 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 omega [in Παπουτῶ(ς) line 17, and Νεκφερῶ(ς) line 19]." These remarks suggest that Φαμουήρεω(ς) would be a better reading than Φαμουρη(ως), but the discrepancy with Σαμουήρις cannot yet be resolved. Perhaps Φαμ- was inadvertently written for Φαμ-, i.e. Σαμ- preceded by the Egyptian masculine article II.

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

160. Βουσίρω(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 Ἰσῆ(υ): Ἰσῆον is a later spelling of Ἰουεῖον, Ἰουῆον (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: Μαΐας (see note *ad loc.*); SB 6751.4: ἐν Μῆας; *P. Ryl.* 562.7: ἐν Μεΐα[ι]. Cf. *O. Osl.*, p. 51.

167. See 638.10 and n.

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

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

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

173. Σαμείρω(υ): for the locality see *P. Athen.* 17.2: ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Σαμοίρω, *P. Lond.* I 99 (p. 159). 37: Σαμρωων; PCZen. 59475.9: ἀπὸ Σαμρά. Cf. *BL* III, p. 216.

176. Ἰσῆ(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 *τιμή 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 *τιμή 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 *WÖ* 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:

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

1. For instances of *τιμή 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 Wülfen, 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 *τιμή* 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 *τιμή 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 Lallemand, *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

ἔτους θ/ και ι[η]S/ και ιαS/ των κυριων ημω[ν]
 Διοκλητιανοῦ και Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστων και
 Κωνσταντιου και Μαξιμιανοῦ των επιφανεστων
 5 Καισαρων Τυβι ιε'. δεγρ(αψαν) Κορνηλιος και Απυγχις
 και οι κουωνοι σιτολογ[ο]ι τιμης πυροῦ ιξS/ και ιςS/ και
 [ενα]του
 ετους Φιλαδελφειας τάλαντα οκτω και (δραχμας) χειλ[ι]ας, (γιν.)
 (τάλ.) η (δρ.) ε
 και τη αυτη ημερα ομοιος τάλαν[ον ε]ν και (δραχμας)
 τρι [σχ]ειλιας, (γιν.) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) γ
 [και] τη ι[.] δεγρ(αψαν) οι αυτοι ομοιος τ[]
].....[

2. See note to line 24.

Col. 2

- 10 (2nd hd.) καὶ τῆ κγ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τμη̄ς πυροῦ
 ιςS/ καὶ ιςS/ καὶ ἐνάτου Τάνεως τάλαντα
 δώδεκα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιβ (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιβ (δρ.) φλβ
 καὶ τῆ κζ̄ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Τάνεως τάλαντα
 δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
- 15 καὶ τῆ κζ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) Τάνεως τάλαντα δύο
 καὶ (δρ.) χειλίας ἑπτακοσίας εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.)
 β (δρ.) ἀψκ
 καὶ ὁμοίως τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 καὶ τῆ κη/ ὁμοίως Φιλαδελφ(ίας) (δρ.) τετρακισχιλείας
 διακοσίας, (γίν.) (δρ.) δσ
 καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως Τάνεως
 [τάλαν]τα δύο καὶ (δρ.) χιλί[α]ς ὀκτακοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.)
 β (δρ.) [ἀ]ω
- 20 [] Τά[ν]εως .[.].[...].[.].
 (Several lines lost)
 [] (τάλ.) [(δρ.)] βω
 [] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως)
 [(δρ.)] χιλίας ἑξακοσίας, (γίν.) (δρ.) ἀχ
 [καὶ] τῆ κ[α] δ[ι]έγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Τά[ν]εως
 25 τάλαντα πέντ[ε], (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
 καὶ τῆ κβ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Τάνεως τάλαντα] δύο, (γίν.)
 (τάλ.) β
 καὶ τῆ κδ// διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως Τάνεως
 τάλαντα δύο καὶ (δρ.) τ[ρι]σχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) γ
 καὶ τῆ κς/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τ[ε]μῆς πυροῦ ιςS καὶ ιςS
 καὶ ἐνάτου S/
 30 Τάνεως (δρ.) τρισχιλία[ς] ἑ[ν]νακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο, (γίν.)
 (δρ.) γθσβ
 καὶ τῆ κζ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τ[ε]μῆς πυροῦ ιςS καὶ {καὶ}
 ιςS καὶ ἐνάτου S/
 Τάνεως (δρ.) τρισχιλίας ἑννακοσίας ἑξήκοντα, (γίν.) (δρ.) γθξ
 μς (δρ.) δ[θ]ωμ

Col. 3

- 35 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ κβ/ τοῦ [αὐ]τοῦ μην(ός) Φαμενώθ διέγρ(αψαν)
 οἱ αὐτοὶ δα(ά) ... () Διογένους Τάνεως τάλαντων ἑν,
 (γίν.) (τάλ.) α

- καὶ Φαρμουῦθη ιη/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τάλαντα
τέσσαρα καὶ (δρ.) δισχειλίας ὀκτακοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ
[(δρ.) βω]
- καὶ τῆ ις/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Φιλαδελφία[ς]
τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ
- 40 καὶ τῆ κζ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ [
τάλαν[τα δώδε]κα, (γίν.) [(τάλ.) ιβ]
- (3rd hd.) καὶ τῆ λ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ
καὶ []...[]
(Several lines lost)
- καὶ Παχῶν [. διέγρ](αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς [πυροῦ]
ιςS καὶ ιςS [καὶ θS/ Φι]λαδελφείας
45 τάλαντα [δεκ]ατέσσαρα καὶ (δρ.) πε[ντ
καὶ οἱ αὐτ(οὶ) ὁμοίως] τάλαντων] ἕν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α
καὶ τ[ῆ] η διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως [τάλαντα]
δεκαπέ[ν]τε καὶ (δρ.) τετρακισχι[λί]ας
50 πε[ν]τακ[οσίας], (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιε (δρ.) δφ
καὶ τ[ῆ] λ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ Φ[ι]λαδελφείας]
τ[άλαντ]α δεκατ[ρ]ία καὶ (δρ.) [χιλίας]
[...κοσίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιγ (δρ.) ἀ]
κ[αὶ οἱ αὐτ(οῖ)] ὁμοίως] (δρ.) χειλίας, (γίν.) [(δρ.) ἀ]
55 ρκ (δρ.) δτ

4. Ἀπόγχοι: 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. ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας inserted above the line; Τάνως inserted above the line, likewise in lines 14, 20, 26. 14. τάλαντα corrected from τάλαντων. 15. Before χειλίας (ἡχιλίας) is a space for ca. 3 letters, possibly containing an erasure; ὀκτακοσίας crowded in later, under the extension of sigma in χειλίας. 17. τετρακισχιλίας 28. τρισχιλίας 30. τρισχιλίας ὀκτακοσίας 32. ὀκτακοσίας 34. Read by H. C. Youtie 37. δισχειλίας 44. διέγρ(αψαν): only the stroke of abbreviation remains 54. κ[αὶ οἱ αὐτ(οῖ)] (οἱ): read by L. C. Youtie (of ἀπὸ(οῖ) 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. 1700 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[η]: τ[μη]ς προῦ (cf. line 10), Τ[ά]ραως (cf. line 14), or τ[ά]λατρα (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. Τῶντων: 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) . . . () Διαγόσιος: though written very rapidly, this does not appear to refer to the Sarapion son of Diogenes mentioned in 644.10. The writing suggests Πηρο().

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

54. ὄμοι(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: ⁵¹Φιλαδελ]φίας 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

ἐκλημψίς ἀπό ἐπιστάλματος ἀ-
φ[εθέ]ντος τῷ στρατηγῷ
Φα[ῶ]φι κζ' Σαραπάμμωνος
Φιλαδελφίας τιμῆς πυροῦ
5 τη S/ καὶ εἰς S/ καὶ εἰς (τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ἐψξ
(2nd hd.) κθ' ὀ[ν]όματος Μητερίου δα(ά) Γεροντίου

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/ και ιζ S/ και ι S/	(δρ.) ἐρ
(3rd hd.)	Ἄθῦρ β' Κυριλλοῦς θυγ(άτηρ) Ἡρωνος γυν(ῆ)	
10	[Σα]ραπίωνος Διογένους διὰ Λο[υ]κκελλείωρ και Πάνος ιη S/ Ἄθῦρ ι[. ὁ]μοί(ως) οἱ αὐτοί	(τάλ.) α (δρ.) ὄρπ (δρ.) δ (δρ.) βφ
(4th hd.)	ιδ ^τ ...ος σπεκουλάτωρ δε(ά) Ἄπολ- λωνίου προνοσητοῦ τιμῆς	
15	πυροῦ ιη S/ Φιλαδελφίας	(τάλ.) α (δρ.) ἐρ
(5th hd.)	(γίν.) δ (δρ.) βπ	

Col. 2

(6th hd.)	ἔτους ιθ S/ και ιη S/ και ια S/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ και Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν και Κωνσταντῶν και Μαξιμιανοῦ Καισάρων	
20	Μεσορή ἐπαγο(μένων) ς ^τ . Ἄφον και Πᾶσις και οἱ κοινωνοὶ σιτολόγοι τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ και ιζ S/ και ι S/ Φιλαδελφίας τάλαντα τριάκοντα ὀκτώ και (δρ.) τετρακισχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) λη (δρ.) δ	
25	και τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοίως τάλ(αντον) ἔν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α και κ S/ και ιθ S/ και ιβ S/ Θῶθ και διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοί ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ και ιζ S/ και ι S/ Φιλαδελφίας τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ	
30	και τῆ και / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ και ιζ S/ και ι S/ τάλαντα δύο και (δρ.) πεντακισχιλείας ὀκτακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) ἔωπ και τῆ κβ / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/ και ιζ S/ και ι S/ (δρ.) πεντακισχιλείας ἑννακοσίας ἑξήκοντα, (γίν.) (δρ.) ἐξξ	
35	και τῆ κθ ^τ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τάλαντα εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ	

Col. 3

(7th hd.)	και τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιη και ιζ και ι S/ τάλαντα ἑπτὰ και (δρ.) πεντακισχιλίας ἑξακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ζ (δρ.) ἐχπ και τῆ λ / διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τάλαντα δύο και	
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- 40 (δρ.) τετρακισχιλίας τριακοσίας εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) δτκ
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοίως τάλαντα δεκαπέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιε
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁμοίως) τιμῆς) πυροῦ ιζ S/ καὶ ις S/
καὶ ἐνάτου (τάλαντα) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (τάλ.) η /
- (44) (6th hd.) καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) τιμῆς) πυροῦ)
[δ]μοίως) ιζ S/ καὶ ις S/ καὶ ἐνάτου (S/) (δρ.)
τετρακ(ισχιλίας) ὀκτακ(οσίας), (γίν.) (δρ.) δω
- 45 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐ(τοί) τιμῆς) πυρο[ῦ]
ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/
καὶ ι S/ τάλαντα τέσσαρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτ[ο]ί ὁμοί(ως)
τάλαντα πέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς)
50 πυροῦ ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ τάλαντα
εἴκοσι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) κ
καὶ Φαῶφι ιθ^τ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς) πυροῦ
ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ Φιλαδελφ(είας) τάλ(αντα) δύο, (γίν.)
(τάλ.) β
καὶ τῇ κα^τ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τιμῆς) πυροῦ ιη S/
55 καὶ ιζ 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.) Ἄθῶρ κς^τ
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]ῦτοὶ τιμῆς) πυροῦ
ιη S/ καὶ ιζ 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) πυροῦ)
ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/ καὶ ι S/ Τάνεως τάλαντα δύο
καὶ (δρ.) διοχειλίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β (δρ.) β
καὶ τῇ λ/ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς) πυροῦ) ιη S/ καὶ ιζ S/
καὶ ι S/
Τάνεως τάλαντα δεκατέσσαρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιδ

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

Verso

- (10th hd.) Μεσο(ρή) (τάλ.) λ[θ (δρ.)] δ̄
Θῶθ (τάλ.) ῖη (δρ.) γψ
85 Φαῶφι (τάλ.) μζ̄ (δρ.) σ
Ἄθῶρ (τάλ.) λθ (δρ.) ἀρ (τάλ.) γ
Χοι(άκ) (τάλ.) η

3. κς⁻: κ corrected from ζ 7. ζή(ρε) in different hd. 8. εζ̄: ζ corrected from ε 11. Λοῦκκιλλείων read by H. C. Youtie 14. After τιμή an abandoned start on (τάλ.) 23. τετρακισχιλίας 29. δύο, πεντακισχιλίας 32. πεντακισχιλίας ἑξακοσίας 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. ἑξακισχιλίας 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. *ἀνάματος*. *Sarapammon* is probably to be identified with the *ex-pretanis* in 645.4: *ἀνάματος* *Σαραπάμμωνος* *πρωτ(αγεύσαντος)*.

7. *ζή(ρει)*: "(oder *ζητεῖς*, *ζητητέον* usw) als Randvermerk des nachprüfenden Beamten" – *WB I*, s.v. 9.

11. *Λο[υ]κελλείων, Πίνος*: 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*, *kephaliotes*, 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 ξ .

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 χρυσός τελωνικός in *P. Köln Panop.* II 19 (cf. also 15.14, and see the editors' discussion, p. 217).

καὶ τῆ κα' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αἰτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ εἰς καὶ ις καὶ ἐνάτου
 Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 καὶ ἀπὸ διαστολῆς χρυσοῦ τοῦ Παῦνι μηνί
 ὄν(όματος) Σαραπάμμωνος πρυτ(ανεύσαντος) α (δραχμάς) ρ'
 5 ἰπ(έρ) ἐπιμεμήσεως
 καὶ τῆ κη' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αἰτοὶ τιμῆς πυροῦ εἰς καὶ ις καὶ ἐνάτου S/
 Φιλαδελφείας τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 (2nd hd.) καὶ Παῦνι δ' διέγρ(αψαν) Ἄφρον καὶ Πτο-
 λεμαῖος καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) σ(υ)τολόγοι τιμῆς πυροῦ εἰς 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.) ἡ
καὶ τῆ ζ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως τιμῆς
πυροῦ ιςS/ καὶ ιςS/ καὶ ἐνάτου ἔτους
Φιλαδελφίας τάλαντα ἕξ καὶ (δρ.) τρισχιλείας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ς (δρ.) ἡ
15 (3rd hd.) (γίν.) (τάλ.) μϰαϰς (δρ.) ἀφ

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

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

Col. 2

- (5th hd.) ἔτους κ' καὶ ψ S/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
20 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Ἐπειὶ β/
διέγρ(αψαν) Ἄφον καὶ Πᾶσις τιμῆς πυροῦ)
ιςS καὶ ιςS καὶ ἐνάτου ἔτους ἀμίψ(εως) Φι-
λαδελφείας τάλαντα δεκαπέντε καὶ (δρ.) τρισ-
25 χιλίας, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιε (δρ.) ἡ
(2nd hd.) καὶ τῆ δ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως
τιμῆς πυροῦ ιςS καὶ ιςS/ καὶ ἐνάτου
ἔτους ἀμίψ(εως) 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.) ἡ

3. ἀφός 8. Above καὶ is a marginal note, possibly .. (δρ.) ἕξ; it is written in a different hd. and may have belonged with the lost column 11, 14, 24-25. τρισχιλείας 15. με: ε added above the line 22. Πᾶσις: "The scribe first wrote Πᾶσις with the σσι 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. ἀμείψ(εως) 29. τέσσαρα 29-30. τετρακισχιλείας 31. διςχιλείας

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. τῆ 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. ἐπιμερήσιως: epimeresis 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 *δαπάνησις* (see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 42 introd.) ἐπιμερήσεων τῶν ἀπὸ ἰδ (ἔτους) ἕως ες (ἔτους).

8. Ἄφω: 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. ἀσφάλτου, as in line 4.

22. Πᾶσις: see 644.20.

23. ἀμείψ(εως): "commutation," i.e. a money payment substitutes for a payment in grain. For the word ἀμείψτε, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 47.44n. The variant spelling, ἀμείψεως, 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

- ἔτους κ/) καὶ ιβS/ τῶν κυρίων] Δ[ιοκλη]τιανοῦ
 [καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστῶ]τάτω]ν Καισάρων ἐπαγ[ομένων] . διέγρ[αψαν]
 Ἀπύγ[χισ] καὶ
 Ἀβ[ροεῖς καὶ οἱ] κοί[νωνοὶ] [σ]μ[τολόγοι] τιμῆς πυροῦ ηS
 καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS Φι[λαδελφίας]
- 5 τάλ[αντων] ἔν, γίν[εται] [(τάλ.)] α
 καὶ τῇ α[ὐτῇ] διέγρ[αψαν] οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί[ως] τιμῆς πυροῦ
 ιβS[καὶ] ιηS καὶ ιαS/
 / Φι[λαδελφίας] τάλαντα πέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
 καὶ ὁμοί[ως] τιμῆς πυροῦ ηS καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS Φιλαδελφίας
 τάλαντα
 δεκατ[έσσα]ρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιδ
- 10 κ[αὶ] ὁμοί[ως] τ[ῆ] αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τιμῆς πυροῦ ηS καὶ ιζS
 καὶ ιS
 [Φιλα]δ[ελφία]ς τάλαντων [ἔ]ν, [γίν]εται (τάλ.) α
 καὶ ἔτους κα/ καὶ] ιγS/ Θῶθ η' διέγρ[αψαν] οἱ αὐτοὶ
 ὁμοί[ως]

- [τιμῆς) πυροῦ ιηS κα]ι ιζ[S] και ιS/ Φιλα[δελ]φ(ίας)
 τάλ[αντα ἐπτά,] (γίν.) (τάλ.) ζ
 [± 13] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ α[ἔτ]οῖ ὁ[μοί]ως) τιμῆς)
 πυρο]ῦ
 15 [ιηS και ιζS κα]ι ι[S]/ Φιλ[αδε]λφ(ίας τάλαντο]ν ἔν, (γίν.)
 (τάλ.) α
 [± 9] οἱ αὐτοῖ ὁ[μοί]ως) τιμῆς) [πυ]ροῦ. [± 12]/
 [Φιλαδελφία]ς τάλαντα [δύο,] (γίν.) (τάλ.) β
 και τῆ ι. διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοῖ [τιμῆς) πυρ]οῦ ιηS και
 ιζS και ιS/
 Φιλαδελφ(ίας) τάλαντα [τέσσα]ρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ
 20 και τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα ὁμοίως) Ἄφω]ν τιμῆς) πυ[ρο]ῦ ιηS
 και ιζS και ιS/
 Φιλαδελφ(ίας) τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β

Col. 2

- (2nd hd.) και Ἄθῶρ κη' διέγρ(αψαν) Ἀπύγ]χις
 και Ἄβοεῖς και οἱ κοινω]νοὶ σι(τολόγοι) τιμῆς) πυροῦ
 ιθS και ιηS κ[αί] ιαS/Φι[ι]λαδελφίας
 25 τάλαντα πέν]τα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε
 και τῆ λ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοῖ τιμῆς)
 πυροῦ ιηS και ιζS και ιS/ Φιλα-
 δελφίας, ἐτέρου συμβόλου
 μὴ ἐπιφερομένου, τάλαντον ἔν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α
 30 (3rd hd.) και τῆ αὐτῆ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοῖ
 ὁμοίως) τιμῆς) πυροῦ ιηS/ και ιζS/
 και ιS/ Φιλ[αδ]ελ[φ]ίας ἄλλο τάλαν]τον ἔν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α

3. διέγρ(αψαν): only the stroke of abbreviation is left 20. Ἄφω (read by H. C. Youtie) inserted above the line 25. πέν]τα (= 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 Φ[λαδέλφ]ος is a check mark of some kind.

12. In the *ed. pr.* I read κα[ὶ] κα[ὶ] κα[ὶ] κα[ὶ] κα[ὶ] κα[ὶ]. 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 . . . δέγρ(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. Hagedoorn, *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]εθ 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 Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, p. 194.

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

Αὐρήλιοι Αἰνῆς καὶ Ἀπολιῶρ[ιος καὶ] οἱ κοινῶνοί καὶ Ἄης
 καὶ [Ἰ]σίδωρος
 καὶ οἱ κοινῶνοί καὶ Κοπρῆς καὶ Πανισάτης καὶ Κανολῆς
 καὶ Πατᾶς
 ἀμφότεροι ἀποδέκται ὄρου Λευκογίου Αὐρηλίου Ἀκάς
 καὶ Πεκύσεως καὶ Πτολεμαίου[ς] καὶ οἱ κοινῶνοί πράκτωρες
 κώ(μης)
 5 Φιλαδελφίας χαιρεῶ. παρελάβαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐν τῷ αἰ[τ]ῷ ὄρου κριθῆς ἀρτ(άβας)
 []....[]τα .[] .[] —

1. οἱ κοινῶνοί: read by H. C. Youtie 3-4. Ἀκῆτι καὶ Πεκῆσι καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τοῖς κοινῶνοις πράκτοροι

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 Καπατᾶς might be read (for Κανὸλ, see *P. Cair. Isidor.* 85.6n.; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, s.v. KOTI 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 Ἀντιούριος Ἀβού ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
 5 ἀρτάβας δύο ἡμισι τρίτον δωδέκατον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) β $\bar{\zeta}$ γ $\bar{\alpha}\beta$. Ἀμμώνιος σέση(μείωμαι).
- Χοιάκ ι/ κατέβαλεν Ἀντιούριος ὑπὲρ κωμητῶν Κενοῦ Καρανίδος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο δωδέκατον, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) β $\bar{\alpha}\beta$. Ἀμμώνιος σέση(μείωμαι).
 10 καὶ τῆ κβ/ ὁ αὐτός Ἀντιούριος ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
 15 ἀρτάβην μίαν ἡμισι τρίτον δωδέκατον, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) α $\bar{\zeta}$ γ $\bar{\alpha}\beta$. Ἀμμώνιος σέση(μείωμαι).

9, Καινοῦ 14, *incho*: *v* corrected from *a*

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. 1. 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. 1. 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. Χοιάκ ιζ': 12 December.

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

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

9. Κειού (=Καιού): 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. καί τῆ 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.

- 5
(2nd hd.) Ἐπ[.....] παρήνεγκεν Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης θς ἰνδικτίωνος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαεπτὰ
ἡμιον τρίτον. (ἀρτάβας) ἰζ' L γ//μόνας.
- (3rd hd.) Ἡρώδης δε' ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ Χρήστου
σεσημείωμαι (ἀρτάβας) ἰζ' L γ//.
- 10
Θῶθ εγ παρήνεγκεν
Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος ὑπ(ἐρ)
θς ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμητῶν
Καρανίδος πυροῦ κα-
θαροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσ-
σαρες δίμοιρον.
(ἀρτ.) δ β' μόνας.
- 15 Ἀρτεμίδωρος σεσημ(είωμαι).

evidence?

Verso

- (4th hd.) Ἐπειὸς παρήνεγκεν
 Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
 ὑπὲρ ὀγδώης ἰνδικ(τίονος)
 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
 20 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτά-
 βας δεκ[α]εξ ἡμισοι
 τρίτον, (ἀρτ.) ις λ γ// μ(όνας). (5th hd.) Κασιανὸς σεσημ(είωμαι)
 ἀρτ(άβας) δεκ[α]εξ ἡμι|σρον 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.) Μεσορῆ εγ// παρήνεγκεν Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
 31 ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν
 Καρανίδος κριθῶν ἀρτάβας δύο, (ἀρτ.) β μ(όνας).
 (8th hd.) Σαραπίων σεσημ(είωμαι).

8. Παρ. παρήνεγκεν 12-13. τέσσαρας 16. Παρ. παρήνεγκεν 18. ὀγδῶης 21. ἡμιον
 23. ἡμισοι

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 5/6 art. only. (2nd hd.) I, Herodes (through me, his son Chrestos), have signed for 17 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 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 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[εί] or Ἐπ[αγο(μείωσ)]. With the latter, the receipt, read from verso to recto, observes chronological sequence, and also records the arrears first.

6. Herodes appears as hypodectes 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 εγ: 10 September.

16. Ἐπειὸς: 30 June.

30. Μεσορῆ εγ: 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 *σισιονα* of the *τιμή ούου*. The second text, which was drafted several years later, on 21 January 293, concerns commutation for the *τιμή ούου καὶ ἐλαίου* in lines 14-25, while lines 26-29 involve a payment, *in natura*, directed toward the *τιμή χορταχόρου*. Both payments are made by Aion and his brothers, and the former is explicitly said to be for the sixth *epigraphē*, 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).

- ἔτους γS// καὶ βS//
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 5 Μεσορῆ ιε' διέγρα(ψαν)
 Ἡρων καὶ Σαταβοῦς
 εἰς λόγ(ον) τιμῆς οὔου
 ἀνω(ν)ης τετάρτης
 10 ἕξαμ(ήνου) ὀνό(ματος) Κλαυδίου
 Συρίω(νος) ... νομαχο()
 (δραχμάς) τετρακοσίας δεκαέξ,
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) υς.
 (2nd hd.) Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Διοσκορ ... ιε'.
 15 ἔτους θS καὶ ηS τῶν
 κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 Τῦβι κς. διέγρα(ψαν)
 20 Ἰλιῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελ(φοί)
 εἰς τιμῆν οὔου καὶ ἐ-
 λαίου ἕκτης ἐπιγρα(φῆς)
 δραχμάς τετρα-
 κοσίας,(γίν.) (δρ.) υ.
 25 δε' ἐμοῦ Κυρδλλου
 βοηθοῦ.
 (3rd hd.) ὁμοί(ως) καὶ δε' ἐμοῦ

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

15. κριών and ημών are separated by a hole; the spacing shows that the papyrus was already damaged
 19. ἄνω and καί are separated by a damaged area 27. χ(ό)ρτ(α-): Pap. χρτ 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 *omonia* of wine for the fourth six-month period, in the name of Claudius Syrion . . . 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 *epigraphie*, 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. ἀνω(της): for the resolution, cf. *P. Cair. Preis.* 13.9: εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἀφ[ακο]μότην οἴνου ἀνω(της), also *P. Teb.* 404.7-12. The resolutions ἀνω(τικοῦ) in *O. Mich.* 16.3, and ἀνω(τικοῦ) in *P. Oxy.* 2142.3 (see *O. Osl.*, p. 64) are unjustified.

8-9. τετάρτης εξαμήνου): the resolution is modeled on *P. Oxy.* 1192.3-4: ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀνω(της) τετάρτης εξαμήνου. In 650 the payment was made during the fourth semester of a term of office of ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀνω(των).

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

13. Διοσκορ. . . ἑ: perhaps Διόσκορος Με(σορή) ἑ (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. ἕκτης ἐπιγρα(φῆς): before the 15-year indiction system began, there were two lustra, each composed of five *epigraphia*. The first began in 286, the second in 291. See J. Schwartz, *Chronique* 38, 1963, pp. 149-155. The *epigraphie* in the present papyrus falls in 291/2. The scribe here wrote ἕκτης 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(ό)ρτ(α)χύρου: i.e. hay and chaff; see 632.14n. The tax appears also in *PSI* 820.5: τύμης χορτ/ἀχύρου (see note *ad loc.*: "da intendere, sembra, χόρτου ἀκαθ' ἀχύρου. Ma nella fotografia vediamo piuttosto χορταχύρου").

Contributed by
 652. 2a. (Corinth)

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) μυριάδες ς, ερ
	Ἀιῶν Σερήνου	(ταλ.) μυριάς α γφ
	Ἀ[ιῶν] διάκων	(ταλ.) μυριάς α αφ
5	Σωκράτης	(ταλ.) μυριάδες γ, ευ
	Ἀιῶν Μέλα	(τάλαντα) ζψ
	Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίων(ος)	(ταλ.) μυριάς α ἄ
	Νιλάμων Σαβίνου	(ταλ.) μυριάδες ε φ
	Ὅλ ὑπέρ Θερμοῦθιου	(ταλ.) μυριάς α, θ
10	Σιμβρονία	(τάλ.) ἄσ
	Θαισιᾶς	(τάλ.) γφ
	Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)	(τάλ.) βφ
	Νῆλος κοφός	(τάλ.) ἄ ϑ
	Ἀιῶν Σερήνου	(τάλ.) βφ
15		(ταλ.) μυριάδες κβ, ετ

Verso

Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)
λοι(παί) (ταλ.) μυριάδες ι ετ

9. Παρ. αλ' 10. Συμπρωσία 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. δάκων: equivalent of δάκωτος, 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 *W.O.* 1, 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 Ὀργένου Ἀρποκρατίωνος ὦν ἰνδικτίωνος ηS εS δS ξ(έσται)[311/12	—
ηS εS ξ(έσ.) δξδ' .]	309/10	4,960 1/4
5 διὰ Δίου Ὀρεῖ ἀρξ(αντος) καὶ Κάστορος Ὀρεῖ. Διοσκόρου Λύκωνος ἀρξ(αντος) .] Λυκαπόλλωνος Ἐρμανουβέλιωνος		

	καὶ κοι(νωνῶν) ἰνδικτίονος [
	ἰθS ζS ξ(εστῶν) μ(υριάς) α ἡϑ λε	310/11	18,935
	8(ι)ὰ Ὀρίωνος Ἀρποκρατίωνος[
10	ξ(εσ.) μ(υριάς) α σμβ ηS εS ξ(έσ.) η[309/10	10,242, 8[...
	ἐν οἷς μετεβλήθη πανθ...[
	γ(ίνεται) τοῦ μηνός ξ(έσ.)]		—
	[...Φαρμοῦθι διὰ Ὀριγένους[
	ὦν ἰνδικτίονος ἰθS ζS ξ(έσ.) ..]	310/11	—
15]διὰ Σαρμάτου Ζωσίμου [
	ὦν ἰθS ζS ξ(έσ.) ἔωμδ .]	310/11	6,844
	Πα]ῦνι διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου Σαραπίωνος καὶ .]		
	Βαβυλῶνα		
	Πα]ῦνι διὰ Λυκαπόλλωνος καὶ Ἐρμαγ[

2 and *passim*. ξ(έστω) read by H. C. Youtie 10. σμβ: σ read by H. C. Youtie

2. ὦν: 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 (έστω) ζ (έστω) ἰνδικτίονος, 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. Ὀρεῖ: late short genitive of Ὀρεῖς.

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

πανθ . . . [: perhaps πάνθ' ἄ.]

19. Ἐρμαγ[: perhaps Ἐρμαγ(αβίωνος, 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 Ϟβ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίου
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Παῖνι ε̄ εἰς
 ἀρῆ(μῆσιν) Παχῶν, διέγρα(ψεν) Ἀντωνίος 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) ἑνδεκάτου (ἔτους) ((δραχμάς))
 διακοσίας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαῖ) σ.

Year 12 of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pauni 5, for the *arithmesis* 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. Παῖνι ε̄: 30 May 149 A.D.

3-4. εἰς ἀρῆ(μῆσιν) Παχῶν: a payment made in the early part of a month is often designated as belonging to the *arithmesis* of the preceding month. The *arithmesis* 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: ὑπερ ἀργύριον ἐχώρησεν εἰς συνωνήν χρ(οῦ) καὶ ἀσημέ(ω), "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-corrée 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*.)

1 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 μηνί πλωρ(ῆ) δούλων be read in the same line for ἐν μηνί πλωρ(ῆ) (*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 Κωνσταντίου ἢ ἐν κληρ(ῶ) 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 Κωνσταντίου, 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 Κερει() in line 2 be resolved Κερει(ἡμερας) (*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 Κερει() can be resolved as Κερει(ἡμερας).

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 χωμέτω(θ), not χωματω(θ) (cf. 655.3); lines 3-4, read Αλφ(ε) [c] 'Αρθ(ω) for ed.'s Αλφα(ε) [c] 'Αρθ(ω) (cf. *Chronique* 45, 1970, p. 139, n. 2; the name 'Αρθ(ω) is secure); line 6, read Δίδω(ος) γραμματε(ε)ς βασιλε(ως) γραμματε(ως) οση(με)ω(με), not Δίδω(ος) γραμματε(ως) (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: 'Αρσοροθ(ε) Αλφ(ε)ς η(α)γ(α)σ(α)με(η) η(α)ρ(ε) (ε)ω(ε) [δ]. 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 η(α)ρ(ε) 'Ιουρι(ω)ς(ος) (ε)ν τ(η) α(λ)φ(α)τ(η) 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 (ε)ν τ(η) α(λ)φ(α)τ(η).

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.* 1 3-12; *P. Osl.* 32; *SB* 7376; *P. Mert.* 8 + *P. Med.* 1 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.* 1, p. 18.



- [ἔτους τε]τάρτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
 [Καίσαρος Σε]βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 [Αὐτοκράτορος] εἰργάσατο τὴν
 4 [πενθήμερον] χωμάτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
 (2nd hd.) [ἐν τῇ Φο]λῆμιν δώρυγι Θεαδελφίας
 [Ἄρπατο]τοῆς Αἰνήου
 (7) [Ἀρθώτου.] (3rd hd.) Ἄρπατοτοῆς Αἰνή(ου) ἡργ(ασάμην)
 ἀπὸ εἰ (ἕως)
 (8) [εἰδ ± 6]
 (4th hd.) [± 6]ων ἀντιγρ(αφεύς) χω(μάτων) βασιλικῶν
 γρ(αμματέως) ἔση(μειωσάμην).

5. δώρυγι 7. Ἄρπατοτοῆς: ε 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 Φολήμῳ διόρυγι: according to Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 80, this canal is mentioned four times in connection with Tebrunis, 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.

Φολήμῳ: i.e. Φολήμιος. See D. J. Georgacas, *CP* 43, 1948, pp. 243 ff.

7. ἡργ(ασατο): 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 Σουχίων, since the line is not in the same hand as Souchion's signature in 655.7.

β(ασιλικού) γραμματέως: for the resolution, cf. *SB* 9567.7: γραμματεὺς βασιλ(ικου) γραμματέως. 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.
ἡργ(ασατο) τή(ν) πενθ[ή]μερο(ν) ἰπέ(ρ) χωμάτω(ν) τοῦ
αὐτοῦ(δ) (ἔτους) (2nd hd.) ἐν τ(ῇ) ὄρει(ῃ) Πολ(έ)μωνος)
5 Θεαδελφίας Αἰνῆς
Ἄρθωτου.

(7) (3rd hd.) Σουχίων ἀντιγραφεὺς χωμάτων βασιλικού
γραμματέως σεσημείωμαι).

(8) (4th hd.) Φιλώτας ἀντιγραφεὺς χωμάτων στρατηγοῦ σεσημείωμαι).

6. Ἄρθωτου and 8 στρατηγοῦ 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 τῷ ὄρει(ῳ) Πολλέμωνος: this canal, the modern Bahr Gharaq, passes Kerkeosiris, Theogonis and Tebtunis; see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 79.

7. Σουχίων: cf. SB 9567.7: Σουχ() γραμματεὺς βασιλικῶν γραμματέως; the name may now be resolved as Σουχ(ίον).

ἀντ(εγραφεὺς) χω(μάτων) βασιλικῶν γραμματέως: see 654.9n.

8. ἀντ(εγραφεὺς) χω(μάτων) στρατηγῶν: cf. PFAO 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.

Νεμεσίων Τρύφωνι
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρω.
 ἐρωτῶ σε ἀπελθῶν πρὸς
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ὑποδέξε
 5 αὐτοῖς ὅτι || Παπεῖ χάρω
 τοῦ ἀρχιμαχηροφόρου ἀνά-
 στατόν με ποιεῖ ἐφ[όδ]οις
 κοπῶν με. δεῖ ἔδει αὐ-
 10 τοὺς τῷ στρατηγῷ μη-
 σθῆναι. οὐδέν ὀφίλωι οὔτε
 ἐκθεσῶ οὔτε ὑποκείμενο(ν).
 ἐὰν αὐτὸν μὴ ποίσηρ κρου-
 σθῆναι, οὐ μέλλωι εὐσταθεῖν.
 ἔρρω(σο).

2. χαίρω 3. ἐρωτῶ, ἀπελθῶ 4. ὑποδέξαι 6. ἀρχιμαχηροφόρου 7. ἐφ[όδ]οις read by H. C. Youtie 8. δεῖ ἔδει; read by H. C. Youtie 10. ὀφίλωι 12. ποίσηρ (Mayser, *Grammatik* I, p. 83)
 13. μέλλωι; 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 seems to have been used to cancel a letter.

Παπεῖ: see Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, for Παπεῖ and Παπέει, short forms of the common Παπέεις (Παπέεις).

χάρω: 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. ἐκθεσῶ: "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 λόγῳ 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 εἰς] Ἀλεξάν[δ]ρειαν
 ἔχω καταπλεῦσαι με-
 θ' ἡμ[έρα]ς ἰε'. 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) β' τοῖς λοιποῖς
 παιδίοις. [ο]ὐ δὲ τῶ ἀσα-
 λέστερον φέροντι τὰ
 φοινίκια [δ]ώσεις ἵνα
 15 μὴ κακ[ο]υργηθῆ. τὰ
 γὰρ κεράμια τῶν ἐλαι-
 ῶν οἶμαι σε ἀσφαλῶς
 πάλιν γυψεῖν. γράψεις
 20 δέ μοι [[εἰ]] πότερον βούλει τῶ χειρισ-
 τῆ τὴν τεμὴν ὧν πέμ-
 πεις δοθῆναι ἵνα σοι παρα-
 δεχθῆ εἰς τὸν λόγον ἢ δι-
 ἀ Πανίσκου σοι πεμφθῆ-
 ναι θέλεις. περὶ ὧν βούλει
 25 [σο]ι γ[ρά]ψον[.].....
 [.....].[.....].

9. κ[α]λοῦ written above the line 18. πότερον written above the line; βούλει: ex corrected from ε
 19. τμῆς; 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" (*HB* 1, s.v. 23).

7-8. φοίνικ[ος] πατηρού: an especially juicy variety of dates; see Hohlwein, *Études de Papyrologie* 5, 1939, pp. 18 ff.; *BGU* 2105.4n.

9. Σύριον κ[α]λόν: sc. φοίνικος. For Syrian dates, see Hohlwein, 18 and n. 5, and cf. *P. Aberd.* 57.19n. See also 630.24.

17. γυψιεύ: see Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten*, pp. 34 f.

20-21. παραδεχθῆναι: "in later writers the aor. παραδέχθη takes also a pass. sense" — *LSJ*, s.v. Cf. *BGU* 831.15-16: παραδεχθ(ῆναι) μοι τ[ὸ . . .] ἱ[κφ]όριον.

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[.] τ[.] ρ[.] ο[.] υ[.] ς) 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 (= *HCbr.* 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. Boreth, *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(νασιαρχος), and Athenodoros, ἑναρχος γυμ(νασιαρχος), certifying that they have received payment for taxes, ὁ μὲν Ἡλιόδωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χοιάκ καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὲρ Τέβι 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.

Σαβίνος Εὐτύχη χαίρειω.
 γινώσκω σε θέλω
 ὅτι σήμερον ἦτις ἐσ-
 τίν κῆ ἐκληρώθη
 5 Ἡρων ὁ μικρός
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγ[ο]υ
 διμήνιος δαπανη-
 τῆς (τῆς) γυμνασιαρχίας,
 ὃς ἐστὼ τέταρτος, Φα-
 10 μενώθ καὶ Φαρμοῦ-
 θι τ[οῦ] ἐσιώντος κ[.]—
 ξ[τους]

5. Ἡρων ὁ μικρός: interlinear addition 11. ἐσιώντος

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 μικρός: 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 διμηναιός; see L. R. Palmer, *CQ* 33, 1939, pp. 31-33. *P. Oxy.* 1418.18 (247 A.D.) uses τετραμήνιος in a similar context: ἠγαδέξομαι τῶ 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 ὡς was intended.

9-10. Φαμενώθ: i.e. 25 February-26 March.

10-11. Φαρμοῦθι: 27 March-25 April.

The first part of the paper discusses the historical context of the study, including the role of the university in the development of the nation. It then moves on to a detailed analysis of the data, which shows a clear trend of increasing enrollment over the years. This is followed by a discussion of the implications of these findings for the future of higher education.

The second part of the paper focuses on the social and economic factors that have influenced the growth of the university. It examines the impact of government funding, private donations, and the changing needs of the workforce. The author argues that these factors have all played a significant role in shaping the university's development.

In the final part of the paper, the author offers some thoughts on the challenges facing higher education today. He suggests that the university must continue to evolve in order to remain relevant in a rapidly changing world. This may involve a greater focus on research and innovation, as well as a commitment to social responsibility.

The paper concludes with a call to action for the university community. The author urges us to work together to address the challenges ahead and to ensure that the university remains a place of learning and discovery for generations to come.

The author would like to thank the following individuals for their assistance in the preparation of this paper: [Name], [Name], and [Name]. He also wishes to express his appreciation to the [Organization] for their generous support of this research.

This paper is based on data collected from [Source] and [Source]. The author is grateful to the [Organization] for providing access to these resources. He also wishes to thank the [Organization] for their support of this research.

The author is currently a [Position] at [Institution]. He can be reached at [Address] or [Phone Number]. His research interests include [Topic] and [Topic].

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... ..
 κρεττωι ...

P. Mich. 629. Petition to Epistrategos



Fragment of a papyrus scroll with handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Demotic or Hieroglyphic. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though the fragment is irregularly shaped and partially obscured by a vertical crease or tear. The ink is dark, and the background is a light, fibrous material. The script is dense and difficult to decipher without specialized knowledge of the language.

P. Mich. 632. Sublease of Land

ἄρ' ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
κατασκευασθέντες

φορτῆς ὠρὸς τε

19

χολαχ

τετρακοῦς φάραγγος τε

κεραυτῆς ὠρὸς τε

κίτις δροῦς τε

κίτις ἄλλοις τε

φίλις δροῦς τε

τετρακοῦς ἀποβῶς τε

ἄλλοις τε

ἄλλοις

κίτις ἄλλοις τε

ὠρὸς τε

κίτις ἄλλοις τε

κίτις

ἀποβῶς τε

πολιτικῶν κίτις φορτῆς ὠρὸς τε

τετρακοῦς φάραγγος τε

κίτις ἄλλοις τε

κίτις ἄλλοις τε

κίτις ἄλλοις τε

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κίτις ἄλλοις τε

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 19-100

Handwritten text on a fragment of papyrus, likely a certificate or document. The text is written in a cursive script, possibly Greek or Latin, and is arranged in several lines. The fragment is rectangular with irregular, torn edges and is mounted on a larger, plain white page.

P. Mich. 655. Penthemeros Certificate

Handwritten text on a fragment of papyrus, likely a list of names. The script is cursive and difficult to decipher, but appears to be organized in a list format. The text is written in dark ink on a light-colored, textured background.

P. Mich. 638. List of Names

Handwritten text on a fragment of papyrus, likely an account of deliveries. The script is cursive and difficult to decipher, but appears to be organized in a list format. The text is written in dark ink on a light-colored, textured background.

P. Mich. 652. Account of Deliveries

1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900

Fragment of a papyrus scroll containing Greek text, likely a letter from Nemesion to Tryphon. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a large, irregular tear or hole in the center of the fragment.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll containing Greek text, likely a letter from Nemesion to Tryphon. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a large, irregular tear or hole in the center of the fragment.

P. Mich. 656. Letter from Nemesion to Tryphon





