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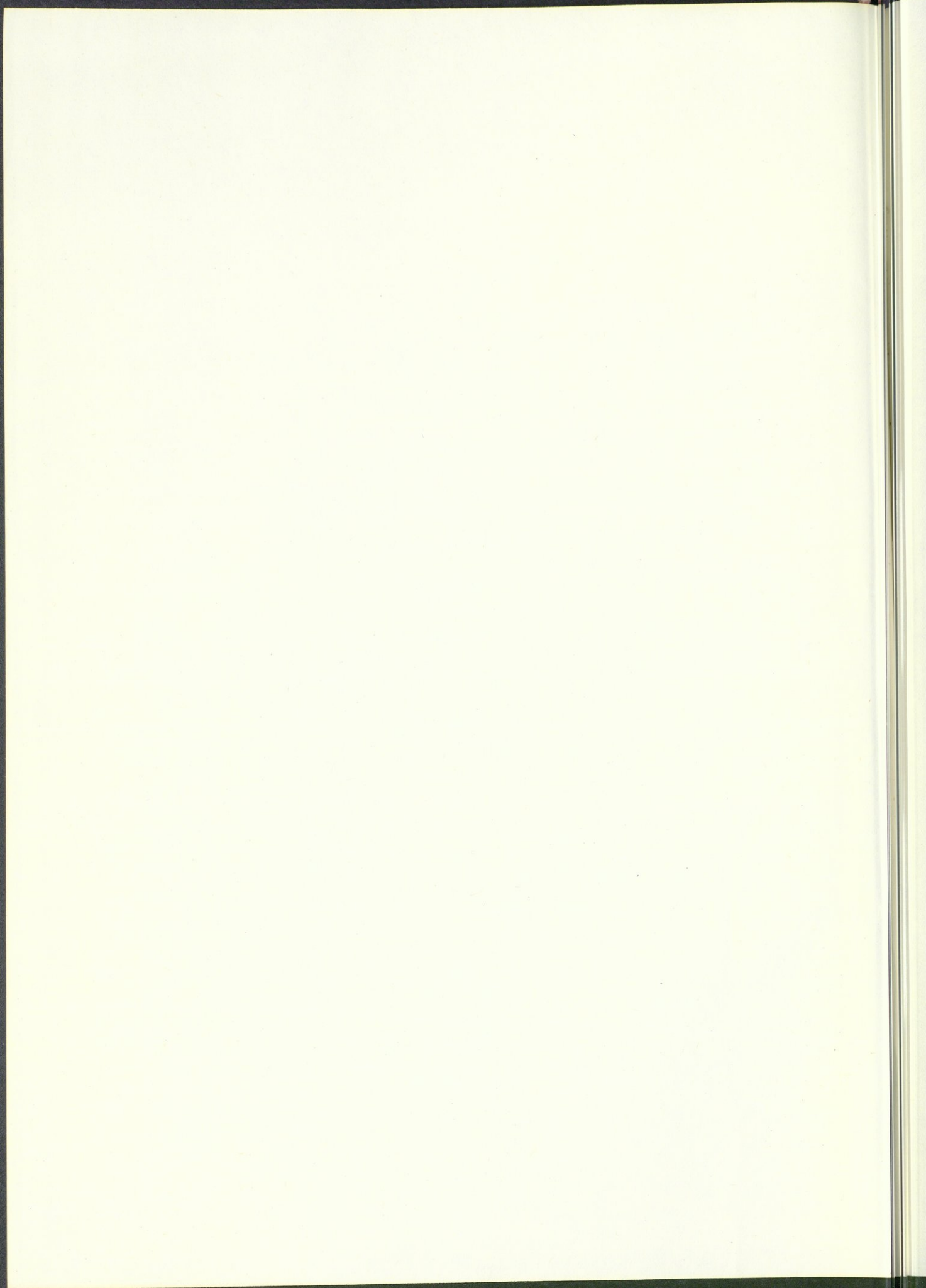


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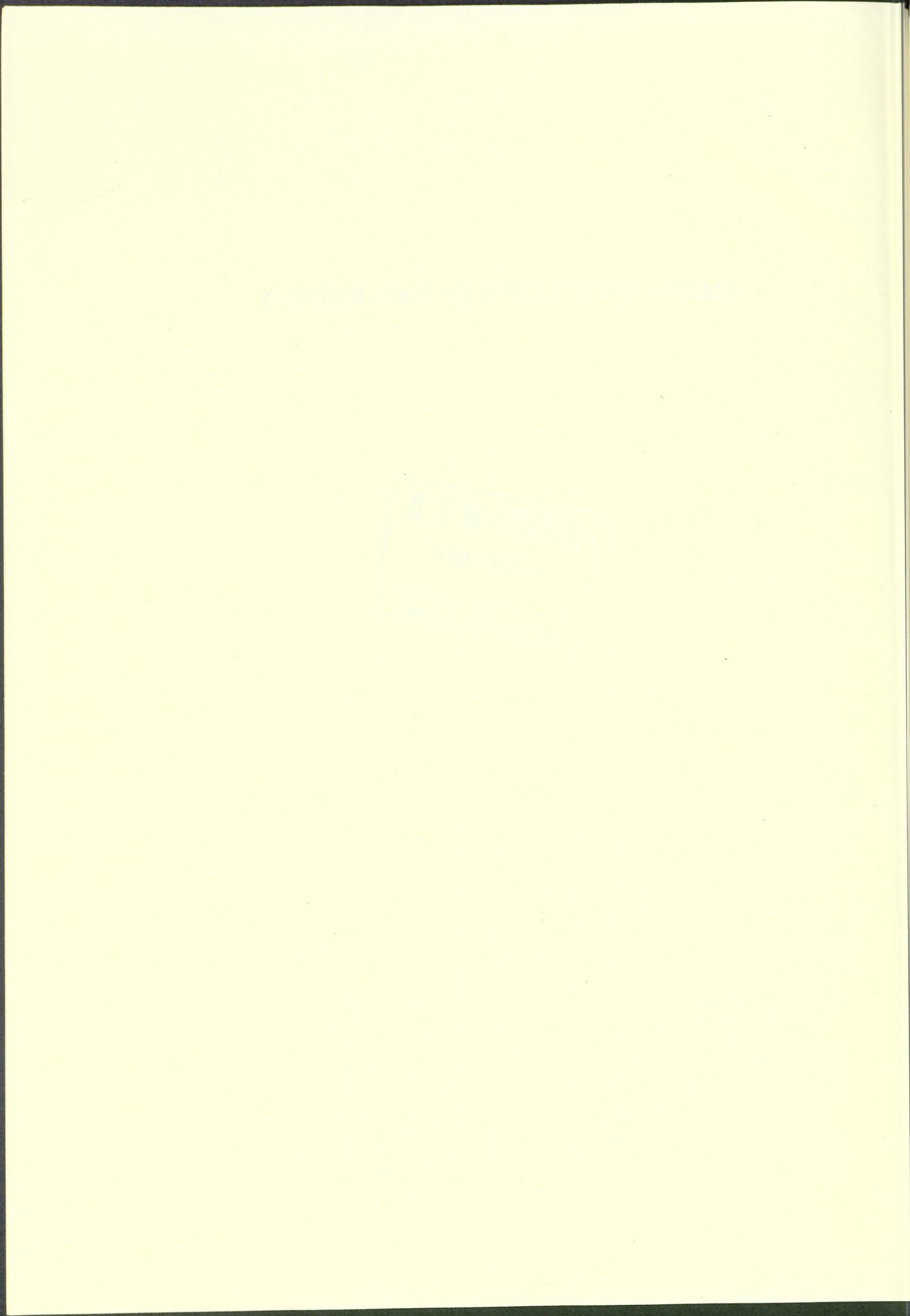
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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPHROLOGY

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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPHYROLOGY
VOLUME FIFTEEN

/ Death and taxes /
"

OSTRAKA IN THE
ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

II

ROGER S. BAGNALL
ALAN E. SAMUEL

SAMUEL STEVENS HAKKERT AND COMPANY
TORONTO MCMLXXVI

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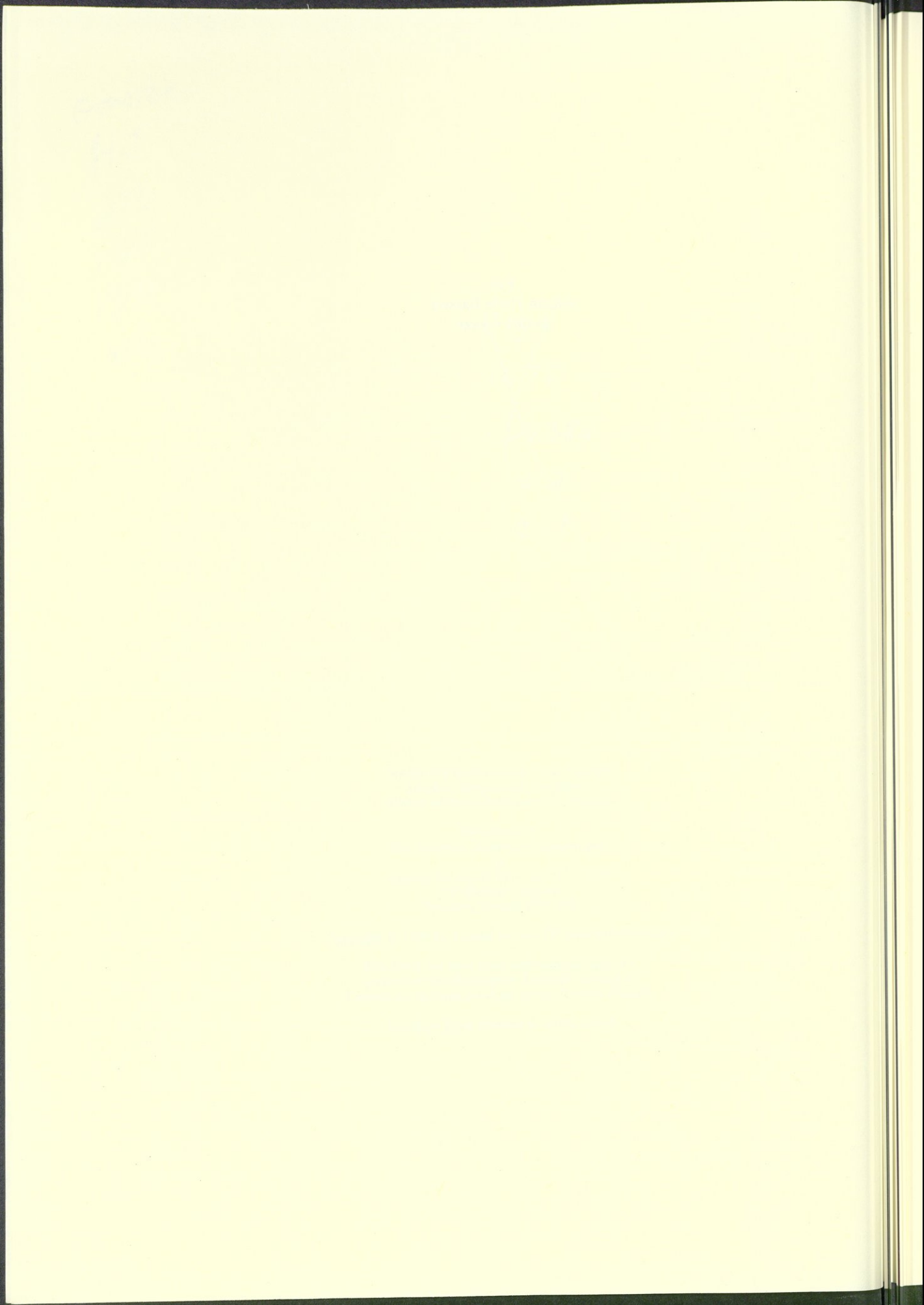
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For
Alison Harle Easson
φιλίας ἕνεκεν



Preface

With this volume the systematic publication of the ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum is complete. It is entirely possible that some of the ostraka described and listed in the Inventory could be edited, but we have not succeeded in reading them sufficiently to warrant full publication and we much doubt that they would repay effort that might be spent on them. The Inventory provides a full concordance to this publication and to *O. Theb.* for the convenience of anyone wishing to study the collection further.

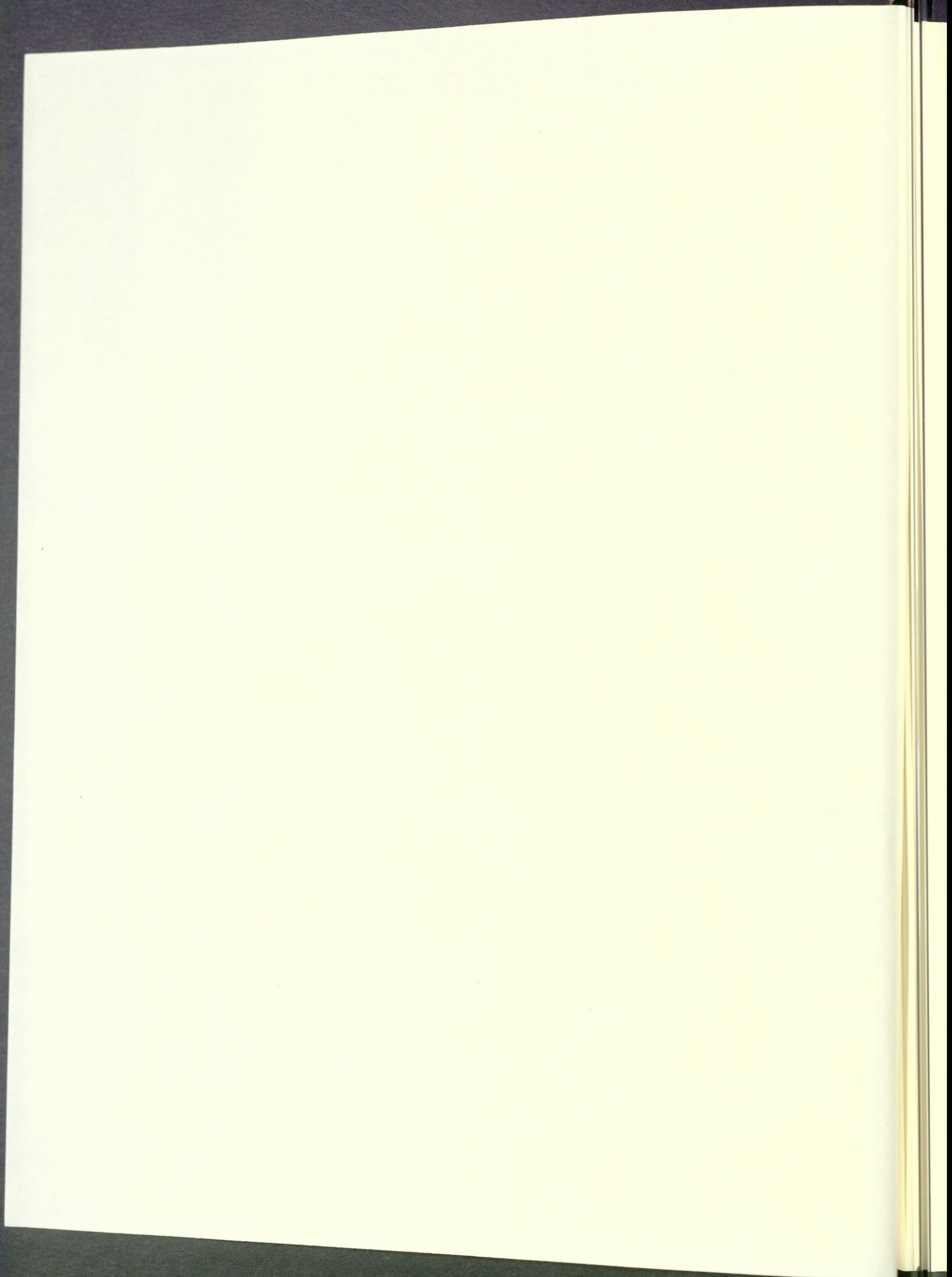
The work on this collection has continued over seven years, and we have incurred many debts of gratitude, some of which were acknowledged in the preface to *O. ROM I*. We wish to record here that some of the texts in the present volume have benefited from study at an earlier stage by our colleague in volume I, Alan K. Bowman, now of the University of Manchester; for the support of the Canada Council that enabled all of us to work together on the ostraka we remain grateful. All who have worked on ostraka will know the profit and pleasure to be taken from doing so in company rather than alone. Research support from Florida State University during 1973-74 enabled Bagnall to return to Toronto again in the concluding stages of the work and to make copies of certain essential material lacking in the library in Tallahassee. We wish to record here our thanks for this, for the final form of the manuscript is in the main Bagnall's work, and this assistance greatly facilitated its completion.

The Museum's share of the Greek ostraka from Denderah, published by J. G. Milne more than fifty years ago, is republished here. We are indebted to Herbert C. Youtie for reading the manuscript of this section and making numerous helpful suggestions. The entire manuscript was read in final form by Gerald M. Browne and J. F. Gilliam, to the considerable benefit of accuracy, consistency, and intelligibility.

Alison Harle Easson of the Greek and Roman Department of the museum has continued to collaborate with us in the preparation of these texts; her recataloguing, joining of fragments, supervision of photography, and a host of other curatorial duties have been carried out with a patience, energy, competence, and invariable good humor of which we are deeply appreciative.

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Editorial Note

The ostraka of the Royal Ontario Museum were, except for 283–287, acquired in 1906. The prefatory note to *O. Theb.* bears repetition here (the more so as that volume is difficult to obtain):

The ostraca which are published in this volume have been selected from a large collection obtained in 1906 by Mr. J. G. Milne and myself in the neighbourhood of Thebes. As we practically bought up the whole stocks of one or two native excavators, in addition to making more discriminating purchases from other dealers, a good many of the pieces are of little interest. But, after all deductions of fragmentary, illegible, and unimportant examples, there remains a considerable proportion of the collection which offers material of permanent value for students of the history or language of Egypt. After the preliminary sorting of the potsherds, we secured the assistance of Dr. Alan Gardiner and Sir Herbert Thompson for the work of editing the texts in the native language; and the University of Toronto undertook to publish the volume.

The collection has now been divided, and about half the texts included in this volume will be found in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology at Toronto, while most of the remainder will, I understand, be deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Milne noted that there were about 1500 Greek ostraka in all, of which about half went to the Royal Ontario Museum. The Bodleian's share were published in *O. Bodl.* by Tait and Préaux, although the Bodleian collection in all is as published many times the size of this lot. The Royal Ontario Museum collection contains also a share of the Hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic texts of which a sampling appeared in *O. Theb.*

Nearly all of whatever Ptolemaic texts were in the collection went to the Bodleian, and what remains in the Royal Ontario Museum is almost all of the Roman period. Except for the ostraka from Denderah (283–287), no provenance other than Thebes can be demonstrated for any piece in the collection, and we have quoted above Currelly's statement that all of them were purchased in Luxor. The bulk of the texts are of the second century A.D., but a considerable number from the first and third centuries are also found.

The document types represented are tax receipts, accounts, lists of names, and a scattering of others. The taxes represent both those in money (principally the poll-tax, bath-tax, dike-tax, and geometria, but others are found) and in kind (principally the tax on the grain crop); their variety is considerable and the problems connected with the taxes are complex. We have treated a few points in detail, but to do more would demand a rewriting of Ulrich Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien I* (München 1899); such a task would be enormous and would involve a survey of most of the areas of documentary papyrology. It is doubtful if the centering of such a task on ostraka would be so fruitful today as it was in 1899. Wilcken's remarks are still valid for many subjects and have more often to be supplemented than replaced. One such supplement is the commentaries in Cl. Préaux's *O. Wilb.*, and another is G. Mattha's *Demotic Ostraka*. A more systematic treatment is S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938). The reader is referred to these works for most topics concerning taxes. References to journals are given according to the form prescribed in *AJA* 74 (1970) 1–8; papyrological references follow the abbreviations listed in *BASP* 11 (1974) 1–35. The texts of the Royal Ontario

Museum we refer to as *O. ROM*. Numbers of persons on the list in *O. ROM* I, pp. 63-75, are cited with the abbreviation *DT*.

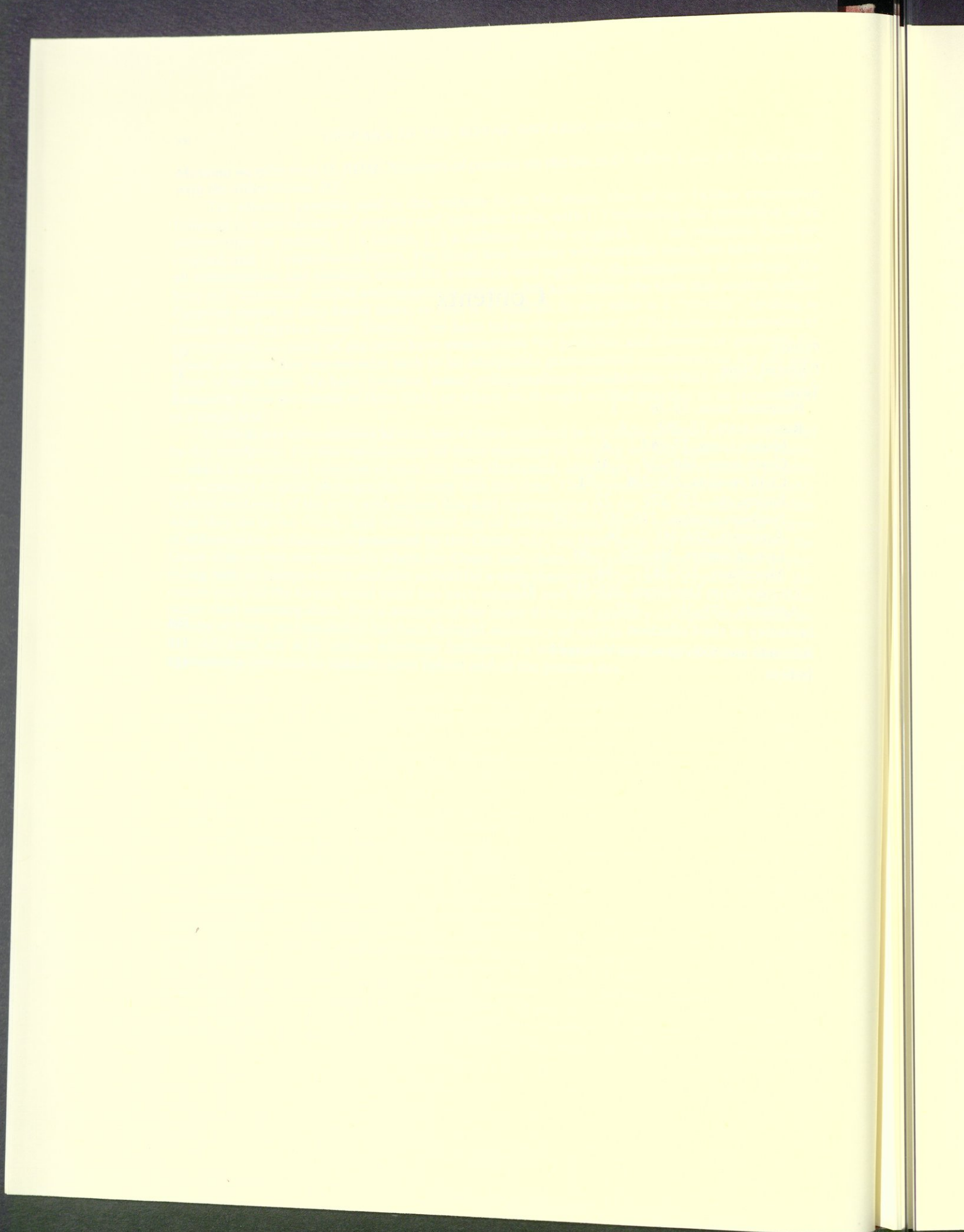
The editorial practice used in this volume is, in the main, that of the Leiden convention followed in most editions of papyrus and ostrakon texts, with () indicating the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, [] a lacuna, [] a deletion in the original, < > an omission from the original, and { } superfluous letters. For those less familiar with ostraka texts, we have resolved all abbreviations and symbols, except for numerals and signs for denominations of coinage. We have not "corrected" scribal orthography in general, but have taken the view that scribes spelled Egyptian names as they heard them, so that it is difficult to say what is a "correct" spelling in Greek of an Egyptian name. Similarly, we have taken the grammar of the names in formulas as conventional; so many of the texts have nominatives for genitives and datives or genitives for almost any case that we consider such to be acceptable grammatical constructions for the purposes of these texts. We have, however, noted orthographical peculiarities which seemed to vary noticeably from the norms of these texts, or where we thought scribal practice to be inconsistent in a single text.

Symbols and abbreviations have as before been resolved in virtually all cases and are indexed by this resolution. For the reproduction of these manners of writing we rely again on the plates, in which a substantial selection of texts has been illustrated, although it has been neither possible nor necessary to print photographs of every text this time. Our translations aim at a reasonably faithful rendering of the text, with square brackets representing (so far as is reasonably possible) what they do in the Greek, and with liberal use of abbreviations to try to indicate what degree of abbreviation or fullness is presented by the Greek text; we thus write out numerals where the Greek does so but use numerals where the Greek uses them. The translations are aimed at providing both an interpretation and also as faithful a reproduction of the Greek as possible; for this reason much of the Greek word order has been retained and we have translated Greek fractions rather than summing them. For a number of the more damaged granary receipts which offer no novelty of form, no translation has been thought necessary or useful.

All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated; *a* and *p* are used with Roman numerals representing centuries to indicate dates before and of the present era.

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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Published for the American Society of Papyrologists, 1950-1951

The American Society of Papyrologists was organized in 1947 to promote the study of ancient Egyptian papyri. The Society's primary concern is the publication of new discoveries and the advancement of the field through research and collaboration. The journal, *American Studies in Papyrology*, is the Society's official publication and provides a platform for scholars to present their findings and interpretations. The journal covers a wide range of topics, including the history of papyrology, the study of individual papyri, and the broader context of ancient Egyptian society and culture. The Society's members are drawn from various disciplines, including Egyptology, archaeology, and history, and they work together to advance the field through their shared interests and expertise.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

STATEMENT OF WORK

73-76. PTOLEMAIC TEXTS

73. Receipt for Salt Tax

Inv. 906.8.762

7 × 5.5 cm.

16 July 235 B.C.

The Ptolemaic salt tax has recently been discussed in detail by F. Uebel, *Atti XI Congr.* 325-368; some additional remarks by the same author are to be found in *Archiv* 21 (1971) 62-67, in publishing some Leipzig ostraka. In both places Uebel advances his view that in the 3rd financial year of Ptolemy III the annual payment for men in upper Egypt was lowered from one drachma to four obols. On the basis of this conclusion, he argued that one of his new texts (p. 63) with a 1-drachma payment must belong to year 33 of Philadelphos (doubtful reading), although the tax-farmer Sostratos in the text is otherwise known in years 6-27 of Euergetes (Uebel gives a complete list of these occurrences, p. 64). The present text provides us with an indisputable example of a payment of 1 drachma in year 12 of Euergetes, thus apparently offering a case not in accord with Uebel's theory. Indeed, the reading *ιγ* in Uebel's text appears to us the more likely on the plate (Taf. I) published of it, and we therefore think Uebel's text like ours is to be dated to Euergetes; the scheme proposed by Uebel apparently must be reconsidered.

(Ἔτους) ιβ Παχῶν κθ ἀλι-
κῆς διὰ Σωστράτου
Ψεναμοῦνις Ἄρσι-
4 ἥσιος (δραχμῶν) α.

2 lines of Demotic; the second begins *h3·t-sp II* . . . , "year 11 . . ." (reading is by R. J. Williams).

Year 12, Pachon 29, for salt tax through Sostratos, Psenamounis son of Harsiesis, dr. 1.

3. The taxpayer is not elsewhere attested.

74. Receipt for Pasture Tax

Inv. 906.8.619

6.2 × 6 cm.

Ptolemaic

This text is a receipt in letter form from Ptolemaios to Aggaios, acquitting the latter of the payment for the 26th year of *νομή* and *ennomion* for 3 κτήνη. In our discussion of 284 below, a receipt for payment for πρόβατα from Denderah, we have analyzed the formulas of such receipts. There is no standard format, although a majority of the *ennomion* receipts are in the standard year-month-τέτακται etc. formula of Ptolemaic money taxes. Two receipts, however, *O. Bodl.* 119 and *WO* 1510, are in the collector-to-payer, χαίρειν, form. The latter text is close in form to our receipt.

Πτολεμαῖος Ἀγγαίωι
 χαίρειν· τέτ(αξαι) νομήν
 καὶ ἐννομίου τοῦ κς (ἔτους)
 4 κτηνῶν γ (γίνεται) γ· τ(έτακται?) τέ-
 λος vacat
 (ἔτους) κς Φαρμουῖθι δ̄

Ptolemaios to Aggaios, greeting. (You have) paid for grazing and pasture-tax of the 26th year for three animals, that is, 3. ---tax. Year 26, Pharmouthi 4.

1. Ἀγγαῖος is cited by the *NB* from *CIG* III 4818c Add. An Ἀγγαίος is attested in *P.Teb.* III 882, where the editors remark that it is a transliteration of Haggai. Gilliam points out that the name is found in Semitic name collections, citing H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnamen* (Leipzig 1930) 11 (from Dura).

2. We do not know of another use of νομή as a cause for payment to the government; it may be used informally here, for the variety in *ennomion* receipts suggests that tax-collectors did not have a standard form or wording in mind for this tax.

3. Read ἐννόμιον.

4. The use of κτηνῶν in this way is remarkable, for the plural is generally used as a collective noun rather than a numbered group. Perhaps the herd of Aggaios included more than one type of animal and the general word κτήνη was therefore used instead of something more specific.

75. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.608

9.2 × 7.2 cm.

123 B.C.

This receipt is of interest in that it belongs to a very small group of texts of its kind. In *The Taxes in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Am. St. Pap. 4, 1968), Zola M. Packman divided the Theban granary receipts from this period into a number of groups; what we have here belongs to group 6, to which only *WO* 702 and 1341 had previously been assigned (pp. 32–33). The distinguishing characteristic of the group is the phrase εἰς τὸ ∟ ∞ (in line 2 of our text). Packman remarks that one would normally expect in this place the year for which taxes have been paid and that she would prefer such a reading if it were possible. But previous editors (Wilcken and Tait) agreed that it was not, and our text provides confirmation for their readings. Packman's group 5 (pp. 30–32) is similar to group 6 except that it lacks the place name *ἱερᾶς νήσου* found immediately after the symbol for artabas; there are many more of group 5. Packman suggests therefore that group 6 is a subdivision of group 5 dealing with payments from a location not normally included in the zone of the granary of Diospolis Magna. Some of the receipts of group 5 have the year for which paid (unlike the few members of group 6 surviving), making the εἰς τὸ ∟ ∞ certain not to be a mistake for the tax year.

Our text differs from the other two members of group 6 in that the names of the payers do not come until after the place name. This probably does not affect the sense of the receipt. It is not clear, however, what the phrase εἰς τὸ ∟ ∞, expanded to εἰς τὸ ἡμισυ ἀρτάβης, signifies. Packman (p. 69) suggests that it would have been a new land-tax introduced sometime before 123 (our text belongs to the earliest year in which the formula is attested).

Ἐτους μζ Παχῶν θ̄ με(μέτρηκεν) εἰς τὸν ἐν Διὸς πόλ(ει) τῆι
 με(γάλη) θη(σαυρὸν) εἰς τὸ ∟ ∞ Ἱερᾶς Νήσ(ου) Ψενήσιος
 νε(ωτέρου) καὶ Ψανσῶτος Πεσούριος (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) δέκα
 4 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ι

Απ()

Year 47, Pachon 9, Psenesis the younger and Psansnos son of Pesouris paid to the granary in Diospolis Magna toward the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax of Hiera Nesos, art. wh. ten, art. wh. 10. . . .

3. The L-shaped mark at the beginning of the line we take to be a false start on the $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ sign of the succeeding line.
4. The writing at the right is clear, but we are not certain of its meaning.

76. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.151

7.4 × 10.5 cm.

II B.C.

The basic formula of this text was clearly that of a money tax, but too much is unreadable at right to give an explicit description of the purpose of the receipt.

Ἔτους εἰ Παχών
 β τέτα(κται)
 δραχ(μὰς) εἴκ[ο]σι
 4 ἰλοκτ
 vacat

77-282. ROMAN TEXTS

MONEY TAXES

77. Receipt for Dike Tax (?)

Inv. 906.8.439

5.1 × 5.4 cm.

26 January A.D. 35

We restore the dike tax in this receipt on the basis of the amount paid, which is half of the common amount for this tax. The formula offers no irregularities.

Διαγέγγρ(αφε) Πα. [--- ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ) ?]
κ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) τρῖς δυό[β(ολον)] (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) γ = καὶ]
προσ(διαγραφόμενα). (ἔτους) κα Τιβερ[ίου Καίσαρος]
4 Σεβαστοῦ Τύβι λκα. .[signature]

Paid, Pa----- [for dike tax?] of the 20th year, dr. three, two obols, [that is, dr. 3, 2 ob. and] additional sums. Year 21 of Tiberius [Caesar] Augustus, Tybi 30-21. [I, ---, have signed.]

78. Receipt for Unspecified Tax

Inv. 906.8.11

7.5 × 8.8 cm.

A.D. 14-37 (31?)

For the general form of this receipt, see *O. Bodl.* 1049-1050, in which the same collector, Psemenophis son of Pikos, appears. It is likely, though not certain, that our text comes from the same year as the two Bodleian receipts, which are dated to the same day, March 21 (A.D. 31). The month date also is lacking here, unfortunately. The tax in question was collected for particular months, and has been supposed to be a tax on trades; but no tax name is given in any of the receipts of this sort (e.g. *O. Bodl.* 1048-1063).

Ψεμει(ῶφισ) Πικῶ(τος) κα[ὶ μέτοχ(οι) name, patronymic]
χα(ίρειν). ὁμολ(ογοῦμεν) ἀπέχ(ειν) παρὰ σ[οῦ ὑπ(έρ) month . (ἔτους) ---]
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ month, day]

Psemenophis son of Pikos, and [associates, to --- son of ---] greeting. We acknowledge that we have received from you [for ---. Year ---] of Tiberius Caesar Augustus [month and day].

2. Year 17 is probably to be restored.

79. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.405

9.9 × 7.9 cm.

16 July 42

Διαγέγρα(φε) Ἀμενώθ(ης) [---]
 [ύ]π(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ) β(έτους) (δραχμὰς) ἕξ τετρά(βολον), βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) . . . [---]
 (έτους) β Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 4 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Ἀυτοκράτ(ορος) μη(νός) Καισαρείου
 κγ . . .

Paid, Amenothos son of ---, for dike tax of the 2nd year, dr. six, four obols, for bath tax, ---. Year 2 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, month Kaisareios 23 . . .

1-2. No more than a few letters can be lost at right here, only a patronymic in 1, the amount of the bath tax and a total in line 2. The latter amounts are likely to be 4½ obols and 7 dr. 2½ ob., respectively, but the traces are not sufficient to allow us to determine whether this in fact was the reading.

80. Receipt for Poll Tax and Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.330

6.9 × 9.8 cm.

February/March 43

[Δια(γέγραφε)] Πικῶς Πικῶτ(ος) [---]
 Πετεμενώ(φιος) ὑπ(έρ) λαογρα(φίας) γ(έτους) [(δραχμὰς) δέκα, βαλ(ανευτικοῦ)]
 μίαν ς (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ια ς. (έτους) γ Τιβερίου Κλαυ-
 4 δίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι-
 κοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος Φαμ[ενώθ---]
 . [---]

[Paid], Pikos son of Pikos --- of Petemenophis for poll tax of the third year, [dr. ten, for bath tax] one, ½, total, 11½. Year 3 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phamenoth---

81. Receipt for a Tax on a Trade (?)

Inv. 906.8.149

7.1 × 6.5 cm.

43/4 (?)

In general form this receipt would seem to follow the patterns of the various taxes on trades; the peculiarity of ἕως resembles most closely *WO* 1054 and 1057, receipts for τέλος ἀμάξης. These texts, however, both come from the reign of Trajan, present a much fuller formula, and use ἕως only with Mesore 30, that is, the end of the last month of the year. The amount lost in our text cannot be exactly estimated, but it was probably small. The text is complete in lines 4 and 5 at the right, and the top is preserved. There were probably only a few letters lost at left, since we are missing in line 1 only part of one name, it seems, while line 4 lacks a month name only, and in line 3 only six letters are probably lacking.

[.]ως Ἀμμωνί[ο]υ
 [.] Πετεχεσπ(οχράτου) χ(αίρειν). ἔσχ[ον]
 [παρὰ σο]ῦ τὸ τέλος ἀπὸ μηνός[ς]
 4 [.] ἕως Φαρμοῦθι λ
 [. . . . (ἔτους)?] δ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 [.]

6. Only the tops of the letters are preserved.

82. Receipt for Poll and Dike Taxes

Inv. 906.8.62

10.4 × 7.8 cm.

A.D. 51

Διαγέγρα(φε) Πασῆμις Ψενθώτο(υ) ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας)
 Μεμνο(νείων) ι (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ις. (ἔτους) ι Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστο(ῦ) Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
 4 Ἐπειφ ᾗ. ὁμο(ίως) Μεσορῆ κθ (δραχμὰς) δ.
 ὁμοί(ως) ια (ἔτους) μηνός(ς) Σεβαστοῦ {Σεβαστοῦ} ι
 ὑπ(έρ) χωμα(τικοῦ) (δραχμὰς) γρς. (2nd hand) ὁμοί(ως) Φαῶφι ἠ
 ὑπ(έρ) () . . . () (δραχμὰς) δ.

Paid, Pasemis son of Psenthotos, for poll tax of the Memnoneia of the 10th year, dr. 16. Year 10 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 6. Likewise Mesore 29, dr. 4. Likewise 11th year, month of Augustus 10, for dike tax dr. 3, 5½ ob. Likewise Phaophi 8 for . . . , dr. 4.

4. Epeiph 6 = 30 June; Mesore 29 = 22 August.

5. Sebastos 10 = 8 September.

6. Phaophi 8 = 6 October.

7. This must be a tax name, but we cannot read it. There are certainly two words.

83. Receipt for Dike and Bath Taxes

Inv. 906.8.472

11.9 × 9 cm.

21 August 71

Διαγέγρα(φε) Ψεναμο(ῦνις) πρε(σβύτερος) Ὠρο(υ)
 ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) Νό(του) γ (ἔτους) [(δραχμὰς)] ἕξ ς [βα(λανευτικοῦ)] ς
 (γίνονται) ζ = ς κ(αὶ) προ(σδιαγραφόμενα). (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος
 4 Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 μ(η)νός(ς) Καισ[αρείου] κη—

Paid, Psenamounis the elder, son of Horos, for dike tax of Agorai South of the 3rd year, [dr.] six, 4 ob., for [bath tax], 4½ ob., total, 7, 2½ ob. and the additional sums. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, month Kaisareios 28. . .

1. Psenamounis the elder, son of Horos, is attested in 169, paying grain in A.D. 80.

84. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.486

9.4 × 7.7 cm.

74

The surface is much blotted and the writing is so faded that the beginning of line 4 and the signature in line 5 are readable only on the photograph.

Δια(γέγραφε) Ψεναμοῦν(ις) ὄμο(ίως)
 Ὀσορουή(ριος) ὑπ(έρ) χωμ(ατικοῦ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) ς (ἔτους)
 (δραχμὰς) ς ρ. (ἔτους) ς Οὐέσπασιανοῦ
 4 τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπειφ ᾠε
 Α() σεση(μείωμαι)

Paid, Psenamounis son of Psenamounis grandson of Osoroueris, for dike tax of Agorai for the 6th year, dr. 6, ob. 4. Year 6 of Vespasian the lord, Epeiph 30,5. I, Α(), have signed.

4. Wilcken suggested (*WO* I, 813–815) that these numbers consisting of 30 plus another number ranging from 1 to 30 referred to payments in the month following that mentioned but credited as of the last day of the earlier month; thus a payment on Epeiph 30,5 was made on 5 Mesore but credited (for some unrecoverable reason of internal book-keeping) to 30 Epeiph. Despite dissent, Wilcken has been followed by most authorities on ostraka (the Theban and Coptite ostraka are still the only places these numerals occur): Tait, *O. Ashm.* 26n.; Amundsen, *O. Osl.* 7 introd. (p. 26); Préaux, *O. Wilb.* 15.7n.; Mattha, *Dem. Ostr.* 13.5n., with a conclusive demonstration from Demotic texts of the correctness of Wilcken's thesis. His 123.4 actually has a date of Mesore 30, Thoth 27.

85. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.343

12.8 × 9.5 cm.

81/2

Δια(γέγραφε) Ὡρος Ὀσορουήριος ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) Χ(άρακος)
 α (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ἑπτὰ γ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ζ γ (ἔτους) α Δομιτι-
 ανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Μεσο(ρή) .(.)

Paid, Horos son of Osoroueris, for poll tax of Charax for the 1st year, dr. seven, 3 ob., that is, dr. 7, 3 ob. . . . Year 1 of Domitian the lord, . . .

1. The taxpayer is probably the same as in 88, of two years later. The writing at the end of the line is very faint.
 2. The *epsilon* of ἑπτὰ is written in part over a *delta* that was written earlier and not erased. The unread portion probably contained the remainder of the payment, but what this is cannot be ascertained. It could have been a payment for bath tax or for προσδιαγραφόμενα. The amount of 7 dr. 3 ob. is two staters less these charges, and it might be thought to suggest that what we have here is the net reckoning of 8 drachmas after deduction of the charges, but ostraka such as *O. Bodl.* 498 show that this amount is sometimes coupled with προσδιαγραφόμενα; while the fact that a totalling is carried out suggests that a second tax is not included, since the totalling would normally have been done after the second tax.

86. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.422

6.6 × 5.5 cm.

August/September 82

This ostrakon is complete at left and below, but a great deal is lost at the top. The only feature of interest is the question of the restoration of Domitian's titles. In the formula with

Αὐτοκράτορος there are examples both of the presence of Καίσαρος (e.g. *WO* 460) and of its absence (*O. Bodl.* 985); a similar ambivalence exists with Vespasian. The length of the lacuna is not decisive, for in either case the restoration is different from the lengths in lines 1 and 3 – in one case too short, in the other too long.

 . δραχμὰς [τέσσαρας (γίνονται)]
 (δραχμαὶ) δ. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκ[ράτορος]
 Δομιτιαν[οῦ τοῦ κυρίου]
 4 Θῶτ [----]

... drachmas [four, that is,] dr. 4. Year 2 of Emperor Domitian [the lord], Thot...

87. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.376

7.2 × 7.1 cm.

7 September 82

The present receipt does not follow exactly any set formula, but in outline it belongs to the group of first-century bath tax receipts of collector-payer form exemplified by *O. Bodl.* 649–664. These receipts like ours do not follow any single formula, but some are quite similar to ours, especially *O. Bodl.* 661, where the receipt is given by the τελῶναι βαλ() δΛ. Receipts in this class, however, were also given by praktors and balaneutai, as well as a number of officials who did not give themselves a title in their receipts.

Πεκύσιος καὶ μέ(τοχοι)
 τελ(ῶναι) β (ἔτους) Φθάυς χα(ίρειν). ἀπέ-
 σχ(ομεν) ὑπ(έρ) βαλανίου
 4 (δραχμὰς) δ.
 (ἔτους) β Δομιτιαν[οῦ τοῦ]
 κυρίου Θῶτ ἰ.

Pekysios and associates, telonai of the second year, to Phthaus, greeting; we have received for bath tax, drachmas 4. Year 2 of Domitian the lord, Thot 10.

1. The collector is not otherwise attested.
2. Phthaus, otherwise unattested in Theban ostraka, is cited in the *NB* from several papyri.
5. Year numeral corrected from *alpha*.

88. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.323

12.8 × 9 cm.

83/4

Διαγέγρα(φε) Ὕρος Ὁσοροῦ[ήριο(s)] ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ) γ (ἔτους)
 ῥν(παρὰς) (δραχμὰς) ς ρ καὶ προ(σδιαγραφόμενα). (ἔτους) γ Δομι-
 [τ]ιανοῦ Καίσαρος

Paid, Horos son of Osoroueris, for dike tax of the 3rd year, copper dr. 6, 4 ob., and additional sums. Year 3 of Domitian Caesar...

1. The taxpayer, if the patronymic is correctly read, is the same as in 85, two years earlier.
3. No further traces are visible, although the titlature is certainly not complete and one expects at least a date as well as probably a signature.

89. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.278

7.7 × 7.3 cm.

84

Διαγέγρα(φε) Πετο[σίρις]
 Πετοσίριος ὑπ(ἐρ) χ[ω(ματικοῦ) place, date]
 (δραχμὰς) ἕξ τετρό(βολον) καὶ προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ς [καὶ]
 4 προ(σδιαγραφόμενα). (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκρ[άτορος]
 Καίσαρος Δομετ[ιανοῦ]
 Μεσορῆ λ̄. [—]

Paid, Petosiris son of Petosiris for dike tax . . . dr. six, four obols and additional sums, total dr. 6 [4 ob. and] additional sums. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Domitian . . .

1. A taxpayer of this name is attested in *O. Stras.* 184, but its date (109) and the commonness of the names make it impossible to offer an identification with confidence.

5. The interchange of ε and ι is common in the transliteration of Latin into Greek; see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino* (Barcelona 1971) 18; cf. *P. Oxy.* XLI 2951.19n. (Browne); for Domitian, e.g. *O. Bodl.* 497, 985, 1057, 1058.

90. Receipt for Dike and Bath Taxes

Inv. 906.8.23

10 × 6.2 cm.

84

The formula of this receipt presents no problems, and the text's main point of interest is the taxpayer, Psenamounis son of Harphmois, whose family is well-attested elsewhere and is discussed below in the commentary to 168.

Διαγέγρα(φε) Ψεναμο(ῦνις) Ἄρφημό(ιτος) ὑπ(ἐρ)
 χω(ματικοῦ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) βο(ρρᾶ) γ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ς β(αλανευτικοῦ) ς (γίνονται)
 ζ = c καὶ προ[ο(σδιαγραφόμενα)].
 4 (ἔτους) γ Δομιτιανῶ τοῦ κυρίου Καισ(αρείου) λ̄ε
 Πτολ(εμαῖος) σεση(μείωμαι)

Paid, Psenamounis son of Harphmois for dike tax for Agorai North of the 3rd year, dr. 6, 4 ob., and for bath tax, 4½ ob., total, 7, 2½ ob. and additional sums. Year 3 of Domitian the lord, Kaisareios 30–5. I, Ptolemaios, have signed.

4. Ptolemaios, well-known elsewhere, here appears near the end of his career; only *O. Theb.* 49 is later, in 85 (year 5, Mecheir). He had been active at least since 67 (*O. Bodl.* 488, 962; *O. Brüсс.-Berl.* 2).

91. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.388

6.5 × 6.5 cm.

75/6 or 88/9

The dating of this text depends on the fact that of the emperors whose names ended in -ianus only two reigned during the use of this formula; the writing unfortunately breaks off at just the point where one could have distinguished the decisive letter for Vespasian or Domitian. If an identification with either of the men discussed in the note to line 1 is accepted, the later date becomes the more likely.

Δια(γέγραφε) Πικ[ῶς--]
 Ἄπολλοδ[ώρου--]
 ὑπ(ἐρ) χω(ματικοῦ) Ω[--]
 4 η (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αρὰς) (δραχμὰς) ἕξ [--]
 [--]. ιανοῦ Καίσαρο[ς---]

Paid, Pikos . . . of Apollodoros . . . for dike tax of O--- for the 8th year, copper dr. six . . .

1. A Pikos son of Apollodoros grandson of Amenothēs is attested from 106 to 138 (*DT* 71). An equally good, perhaps better, candidate for our taxpayer would be Pikos the younger, son of Apollodoros, grandson of Pikos, attested 107 to 121 (*DT* 72), who (in *O. ROM* 21) shares with our man the fact of having his patronymic misspelled in this manner. Since we do not know how much is lost in line 1, we cannot be certain which, if either, of these men is involved here.

3. Probably Ophieion.

92. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.607

10.5 × 11.5 cm.

91

This receipt, complete on all sides except the right, is missing there the tax name and the exact date in line 3. Its formula otherwise presents no difficulties.

Διαγέγρα(φε) Ἀμενώθ(ης) Λυσιμάχο(υ) ὑπ(ἐρ) . [--]
 θ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας ς (γίνονται) δ ς [--]
 (ἔτους) ι Δομιτιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου [--]
 4 δι(ὰ) Ερ. . . () Παῦ(νι) κς κ [--]

Paid, Amenothēs son of Lysimachos, for [tax, place name] of the 9th year, dr. four, 3 ob., that is, 4, 3 ob. . . . Year 10 of Domitian the lord, [date]. . .

4. It is uncertain whether this line records a second tax payment or further information about the main payment; probably the former. The date is 20 June 91.

93. Receipt for Poll Tax and Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.384

6.4 × 6.5 cm.

probably 90-94

This text of the reign of Domitian, the year of which is lost, is probably to be dated to the years in which the signer, Sokrates, is otherwise attested, 90-94; cf. the commentary to *O. Bodl.* 1150.

- [Δια(γέγραφε) Μαι]εῦρις Ἄρφημοίτο(s)
 [Μαιεύρ]ιος ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) Ἀγο(ρῶν) βο(ρρᾶ) . (ἔτους)
 [(δραχμὰς) δέκα] βα(λανευτικοῦ) α-ς (γίνονται) ια-ς καὶ προ(σδιαγραφόμενα).
 4 [(ἔτους) . .] Δομιτιανοῦ τοῦ κυρ(ίου)
 Φαμεν(ώθ) λιγ. Σωκ(ράτης) σεση(μείωμαι).

Paid, Maieuris son of Harphmois grandson of Maieuris, for poll tax of Agorai North for the -- year, [dr. ten], for bath tax 1, 1½ ob., total, 11, 1½ ob. and the additional sums. [Year --] of Domitian the lord, Phamenoth 30–13. I, Sokrates, have signed.

1. On the family of the taxpayer, see the commentary to 168.
2. Agorai North is the place for which members of the family almost always pay money taxes, and it is printed here as compatible with the traces that are obscured along with most of the rest of the right side of lines 2–4.

94. Order for Payment

Inv. 906.8.501

10.9 × 9.9 cm.

ca. 100

We cannot cite any exact parallel for this text, nor is it clear whether it is related to an official purpose. The writer is named Eirenion son of Petemenophis (since Παναμεῦτι appears to be a clear dative, Petemenophis is to be taken as a patronymic); he gives no title. He tells Panameus to give Pikos, not further identified, 24 drachmas. So far one might compare the text to such orders as *WO* 1162 and 1163 or *O.Bodl.* 1707, although their formula is rather different and deals with grain.

Our text ends, however, with the repeated signature of one Horos; signatures of third parties at the end are not characteristic of private orders for payment, but they are common on tax receipts. This fact raises the question of whether Eirenion may not be the collector (τελώνης θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν) attested in five receipts: *O.Bodl.* 686 and *O.Leid.* 104 (A.D. 101), *WO* 835 (132) and *WO* 842 and *O.Leid.* 34 (133). In all of these he collects bath tax. The empty span between the early group and the late one appears certain (see Préaux's note to *O.Bodl.* 686). The handwriting appears consistent with a date in this period, earlier rather than later. Examples of such orders written by or to officials are *O.Bodl.* 1702 and 1706, where a Plenis, τελώνης, seems to be the recipient of an order to pay *lachanon*.

- Εἰρην[ί]ων Πετμεν(ώφιος)
 Παναμεῦτι χα(ίρειν)· δὸς
 Πικῶτι δραχ(μὰς) εἴκοσι
 4 τέσσαρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κδ.
 Φαῶφι τῆς Ὠρος σεση(μείωμαι)
 Ὠρος δρ(αχμὰς) κδ.

Eirenion son of Petemenophis to Panameus, greeting. Give to Pikos twenty-four drachmas, that is, dr. 24. Phaophi 16. I, Horos, have signed. Horos, dr. 24.

95. Receipt for Bath Tax (?)

Inv. 906.8.652

5.2 × 7.5 cm.

ca. 100

The name of the collector of this text is lost except for the last three letters. Only one known telones from this period, however, has a name ending in this fashion, and this man uses precisely this formula in his one known receipt. The collector in question, Psenchonsis, issued *WO* 1417, a receipt for bath tax in year 3 of Trajan, A.D. 100, in which he writes ἀπέσχω(μεν) παρὰ σοῦ τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν) κτλ. If this is in fact the same man – and the remains of the formula in this text correspond well with both the tax and his title – the restoration of Psenchonsis' name may have some probability. It is interesting that Psenchonsis issued *WO* 1417 to a Psenamounis; the name is common, of course, but one may wonder if these receipts, preserved alone of this collector's texts, may not have belonged to the same family.

[.]σις καὶ μέτοχοι τελ(ῶναι) [θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερ(ῶν)---]
 [Ψενα]μούνιος χα(ίρειν). ἀπέσχω(μεν) πα[ρὰ σο(ῦ) τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν)(?)]
 4 [τοῦ . . (ἔτους) Τ]ραιανοῦ Καίσαρ[ος τοῦ κυρίου]
 Πα. [----]

[Psenchonsis ?] and associates, farmers [of the granary of the temples, to -- son of ?] Psenamounis, greeting. We have received from [you the bath tax of the -- year of] Trajan Caesar [the lord], Pa . . .

96. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.412

10 × 7 cm.

Ip

All that might have made this text of interest is now broken away at the top, and only the series of payments after the initial one remains. It is uncertain how much is lost at the right, but the left and bottom appear to be essentially intact.

 [Φα]ῶφι λ̄ ὄμ[ο(ίως)---]
 [(δραχμὰς)] η αἶ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) ζ ρ. ὄμο(ίως) Τῶβι [---]
 κδ̄ ὑπ(έρ) λαφ(ογραφίας) (δραχμὰς) η αἶ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) ζ ρ. ὄμο(ίως) Φ[α---]
 4 ὄμο(ίως) Παχῶν κγ (δραχμὰς) η αἶ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) ζ ρ [---]
 ὄμο(ίως) Παῦνι κς (δραχμὰς) γ ρς . . [---]
 [. .]. ὄμο(ίως) Ἐπειφ κη (δραχμὰς) ζ ρ [---]

3. It is not possible to determine which of Phamenoth and Pharmouthi appeared at the end of this line, particularly when we do not know what month the 24th at the start of the line refers to.

4. Under the first drachma sign in this line are remains of what appears to have been a previous, washed-out text, of which remnants of ink appear here and there over the surface of the sherd.

5. The strokes at the end of the line appear to belong to the present text rather than to the earlier one, but it is not possible to tell what they were.

97. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.761

7 × 5.2 cm.

102

The taxpayer is, to judge from patronymic and place for which the tax is paid, probably a member of the family discussed under 168; he is probably either Maieuris or Psenamounis, the former of whom at least was definitely still active at this time.

[---] .. [---]
 [---] Ἄρφμούτ(ος) ὑπ(ἐρ) [χω(ματικοῦ)]
 (Ἀγορῶν) βο(ρρᾶ) ε(ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ἑξ ὀβολ(οὺς) ρ [---]
 4 .. (ἔτους) ε Τραιανοῦ [---]
 μη(νὸς) Καί(σαρείου) [---]

98. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.27

8 × 8.5 cm.

103

Δια(γέγραφε) Ἑρμόδωρ [ος---]
 ὑπ(ἐρ) χω(ματικοῦ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) Νό(του) ς [(ἔτους)]
 ῥυ(παρὰς) εἴκοσι. (ἔτους) ζ Τρα[ιανοῦ]
 4 τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθὺρ λβ

Paid, Hermodoros son of —, for dike tax of Agorai South for the 6th year, copper (drachmas) twenty. Year 7 of Trajan the lord, Hathyr 30,2.

99. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.479

6.9 × 8.2 cm.

before 107

A signer (or signers) named Apion is attested between 57 and 106 by more than thirty receipts, but he is specifically attested in too many third years to allow giving a date to this text.

Δι(αγέγραφε) Ὡρος Ου[---]
 Χ(άρακος) γ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ἑπτὰ ρ [---]
 τοῦ κυρίου Παῦ[νι---]
 (2nd hand)
 4 λζ (δραχμὰς) δύο τριόβ[ολον---]
 Ἀπίω(ν) σεση(μείωμαι)

100. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.272

9.8 × 7.4 cm.

107 (?)

It is regrettable that the year date in which the tax receipt was issued is not readable in line 4; if it is year 10, the year for which the tax is collected – as seems likely – then this is, dated in

Mecheir (January–February), 107, the earliest extant *πράκτωρ* receipt from Thebes, antedating 101 of 29 March 107, the next oldest such receipt.

Πετοσίρις πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν
 Με(μνονείων) Παῆρις Κολαμαῦς
 Σ. . . μιος λαο(γραφίας) ι (ἔτους) Με(μνονείων) δραχ(μὰς)
 4 ὀκτώ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η. (ἔτους) [ι ?] Τραιανοῦ
 Καίσαρος τοῦ [κυρ]ίου Μεχ[εῖρ—]
 ὁμοίω[ς-----]. .
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ [..]
 8 τέσαρ(ας) (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ

Petosiris collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia to Paeris son of Kolamaus grandson of S., for poll tax of the 10th year for the Memnoneia, drachmas eight, that is, dr. 8. Year [10?] of Trajan Caesar the lord, Mecheir. . .

1. Petosiris is well-attested; see the commentary to 18 (year 11: April, 108), previously the earliest known receipt issued by him. His activity continued until year 15, and in year 17 he describes himself as former collector.

5. There is surface for the remainder of Mecheir, but we see no ink.

101. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.604

10.8 × 10.9 cm.

29 March 107

This text is to our knowledge the earliest certainly dated occurrence of a receipt in this form given by a *πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν* in the Theban area, being nine days earlier than *O. Stras.* 282 (7 April 107), also issued by the collector Apathes, although 100, not securely dated, may be earlier. It also comes just one day before the last known receipt from Thebes in the *διαγέγραφε* form, *O. Bodl.* 521, from 30 March (Pharmouthi 4) of the same year. In terms of regnal years, our receipt is one of two such receipts to be found before the eleventh year of Trajan. Fortunately the readings of the year number and imperial names are beyond question. Insofar as a real point of transition existed, it is now more closely defined by this text. It would be interesting to have more texts from this year (which is in general badly represented) to determine just how much overlap of formulas there in fact was.

Ἀπάθ(ης) νεώ(τερος) Ψενμώνθ(ου) πράκ(τωρ) ἀργυρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων)
 δι(ὰ) Πασήμιο(ς) γρα(μματέως) Πορτιο(ῦτι) Καμήτιος ὑπ(ὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) Φωτρ()
 ι (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς) ἕξ τριοβέλ(ιον)(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ς ς μαγδ(ώλων) α ς . (ἔτους) ι
 Τραιανοῦ
 4 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαρμοῦ(θι) γ̄

Apathes the younger, son of Psenmonthes, collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, through the scribe Pasemis, to Portious son of Kametis, for poll tax of Photr() for the 10th year, drachmas six, three obols, that is, dr. 6, 3 ob., for watch-towers, 1, 3 ob. Year 10 of Trajan Caesar the lord, Pharmouthi 3.

1. This collector is attested in *O. Stras.* 282 (cf. introduction, above), where, however, *νεώτερος* does not appear.

2. This taxpayer also appears in 18, where he is paying poll and dike taxes for Phot() in 108; cf. the com-

mentary there and *O. Stras.* 278 for a family connection. The present text provides further support for our conclusions about Φωτρ().

3. For a close parallel to the payment of *magdola* here, see *O. Bodl.* 510 (A.D. 96).

102. Receipts for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.413

11.2 × 7.7 cm.

13 January 113

This ostrakon preserves the end of a receipt that recorded multiple payments in at least the 16th and 17th years, but all of which except a few numbers is now lost. The second text, in a different hand, is a normal receipt for bath tax except that it is for arrears as well as for a current payment.

 [----] . . . [----]
 [---] (δραχμὰς) βcχ αἰ κ(αἰ) (δραχμαὶ) β. ιζ (ἔτους) [---]
 [---] (δραχμαὶ) β

3 cm. blank

(second hand)

- 4 Ἡριεὺς Πα(μῶνθου) πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων)
 Ψεναμούνιο(ς) Πορτιοῦς ὑπ(έρ) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Μ[εμνο(νείων)]
 ιε (ἔτους) ῥυ(παρὰς) ἐ γ καὶ ις (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δ.
 (ἔτους) ις Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Τῦβ(ι) ἰ' ἡ'

Herieus son of Pamonthes, collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, to Psenamounis son of Portious, for bath tax of the Memnoneia for the 15th year, copper (dr.) 5, 3 ob., and for the 16th year, dr. 4. Year 16 of Trajan the lord, Tybi 18.

4. Herieus son of Pamonthes is well-known from a number of texts: cf. commentary to 19 for his career. The present text is now the earliest in which he is attested. His patronymic is variously preserved in other texts as Παμω or Παμωνθου; here we have an analogue to the writing of the name of the collector Pamonthes (cf. 108), written either simply Πα or with extreme *Verschleifung* as Παμωνθ.

5. In *O. Petr.* 101 ἔσχ(ον) is restored before ὑπ(έρ), but as it is lacking in our text and all of Herieus' others, it may well have been lacking in the Petrie ostrakon also.

103. Receipt for Tax on Linen-sellers

Inv. 906.8.620

9.9 × 14.5 cm.

112/3

Receipts for this tax are not common in the Theban ostraka, but it is certain from *O. Bodl.* 1036 that the rate was 24 drachmas per year, with 1½ drachmas extra charges. The tax was to be paid in monthly installments, but this intent was not quite carried out, with multiple payments in one month not uncommon. In our receipt, it seems that only ten months' tax had been paid by the end of the year in Mesore, if our reading of the last two months here is correct; the last sixth of the tax was paid in the next year, in Tybi and Phamenoth.

- [---]. ἀώφιο(ς) καὶ μέτοχ(οι) πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων)
 [---]. Πετφοῦτος ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους) λινοπ(ωλῶν) ις (ἔτους)
 [(δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο] αἰ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β. (ἔτους) ις Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 4 [date]. 'καὶ ὑπ(έρ) ἀριθ(μῆσεως) Ἀθὺρ ἄλλοτε ἔδωκε
 [(δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο] αἰ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β. Τῦβι ε̄ (δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο αἰ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β. Μεχείρ
 [date (δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο αἰ] κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β. *vacat*

(second hand)

- [---]. πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνο)νείων διὰ Πετρεθώ(του) υἱο(ῦ) Ψεναμο(ύνει)
 8 [-ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους)] λινοπ(ω)λ(ῶν) ις (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο αἰ κ(αὶ) β. (ἔτους) ις
 [Τραιανοῦ Καίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμ(ενῶθ) ις.
 [---] (δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο αἰ κ(αὶ) β. Παχῶ(ν) .
 [(δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο αἰ κ(αὶ) β.] Ἐπ(είφ) θ ὀνό(ματος) Ψεναμοῦνις καὶ Πο-
 12 [---(δραχμὰς) δ-c] αἰ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) δ. Παῦνι λ ὀνό(ματος)
 [---(δραχμὰς) β]cχ^ο αἰ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β. Τῦβι κζ'
 [(δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο αἰ κ(αὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β. Φαμ]ενῶθ δ̄ (δραχμὰς) βcχ^ο

. . . aophis and associates, collectors of money taxes of the Memnoneia . . . of Petphous, for the tax on linen-sellers for the 16th year, [dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch.], reckoned as dr. 2. Year 16 of Trajan the lord . . . and for the reckoning of Hathyr he paid elsewhere [dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch.], reckoned as dr. 2. Tybi 5, dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as dr. 2. Mecheir [. . . dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch.], reckoned as dr. 2. [— and associates], collectors of money taxes for the Memnoneia through Petethotes his son to Psenamounis [son of — for the tax] on linen-sellers for the 16th year, dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as 2. Year 16 [of Trajan] Caesar the lord, Phamenoth 16. . . . dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as 2. Pachon . . [dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as 2.] Epeiph 9 in the name of Psenamounis and Po[. . . dr. 4, 1 ob., 4 ch.], reckoned as dr. 4. Pauni 30 in the name of [--- dr. 2], ½ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as dr. 2. Tybi 27 [dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as dr. 2.] Phamenoth 4, dr. 2, ½ ob., 2 ch.

1. We do not find a suitable collector's name, but the first letter is not a *nu* unless that letter is grossly deformed.
2. We cannot read the preserved portion of the first name, although the ink is clear.
10. Ink is visible at the beginning of the line, but the surface written on is so rough that no word can be read.
13. Tybi does not look much like that month, but it cannot be read as any other.

104. Receipt for Tax on Watchtowers

Inv. 906.8.317

6.7 × 9.2 cm.

2 December 113

The collector of this receipt, Imouthes, is known from some 37 other receipts falling between 113 and 117 (years 16 and 20 of Trajan), which are listed in the commentary to *O. Bodl.* 431 – in which, however, are omitted *O. Bodl.* 626 (restored), *O. Cam.* 34, and *O. Petr.* 100. For the family of the taxpayer, see the commentary to 168.

- Ἰμούθης πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) μητροπ(όλεως)
 Ἀρφμόις Ψεναμο(ύνιος) ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) σκοπ(έλων)
 καὶ ἄλ(λων) Ἀγ(ορῶν) βο(ρρᾶ) ι. (ἔτους) ῥυ(παρὰς) τρεῖς ὀβ(ολοὺς) ς
 4. (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) γ ὀβ(ολοὺς) ς. (ἔτους) ις Τραιανοῦ
 τοῦ κυρίου Χοιάκ ς. Α() σεση(μειῶμαι)

Imouthes, collector of money taxes of the metropolis, to Harphmois son of Psenamounis: I have received for watchtower tax and other taxes for Agorai North for the 1- th year, copper (dr.) three, obols 3, that is, dr. 3, ob. 3. Year 17 of Trajan the lord, Choiak 6. I, A(), have signed.

1. For Imouthes see also now 105.
5. This signature is found on many of Imouthes' receipts.

105. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.331

6.9 × 7.7 cm.

11 December 113

For the collector in this text see commentary to 104.

Ἰμούθ(ης) [πράκ(τωρ) ἀργυρικῶν] μητροπ(όλεως) ?]
 Π. Ψεγ. -----
 Πασήμ(ιος) . . . () ὑπ(έρ)
 4 [λ]αο(γραφίας) ἰζ (ἔτους) (δραχμᾶς) δέ[κα ἐπτ]ὰ
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἰζ. (ἔτους) ἰζ Τραιανῶ
 τοῦ κυρίου Χοίακ ιε
 A() σεση(μείωμαι)

Imouthes, [collector of money taxes of the metropolis] to P. . . son of Psen. . . grandson of Pasemis . . . for poll tax of the 17th year, dr. seventeen, that is, dr. 17. Year 17 of Trajan the lord, Choiak 15. I, A(), have signed.

1. In this line, as in 2 and 4, some of what we read in square brackets is faintly visible on the photograph, but the traces are not clear enough to allow a determination whether they accord with the restorations.
5. Τραιανῶ is very faded except for the first and last letters.
6. The ink at the beginning of the line is clear, but the *Verschleifung* is extreme.
7. For the signature cf. 104.

106. Receipt for a Money Tax (?)

Inv. 906.8.457

8.5 × 8.4 cm.

ca. 105

Too much of this receipt is missing for us to be able to be certain of the tax involved; the use of the word τέλος is alien to praktor receipts and to those issued by the farmers of the temple granaries for bath tax, while the fact that the tax is paid for a year rather than for a month sets the text apart from those concerned with taxes on trades.

Φιλόξενος καὶ μέ[τ(οχοι)---]
 Ἄπολ() Φαήριος[---]
 παρ() τέλος τοῦ η [(ἔτους)---]
 4 Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανῶ]
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ [---]

1. The collector is not otherwise known.
3. We are not certain of the correct resolution of παρ(); other tax formulas would suggest παρ(ὰ σοῦ) on the

assumption that a verb of receiving was written in the lost part of line 2, but this would be an odd way to write such an abbreviation. Perhaps (as Browne suggests) τὸ/παρ(αγεγραμμένον), i.e. the tax listed as being owed by the taxpayer. I cannot cite any parallel from receipts on ostraka. The 8th year of Trajan is 104/5, but the payer may have been behind.

107. Receipt for Tax for Watchtowers

Inv. 906.8.425

6.1 × 9.7 cm.

118

Χεσφμούς πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) μη(τροπόλεως)
 Πασήμιος - ± 12 - ἔσχ(ον)
 ὑπ(ἐρ) σκοπ(έλων) καὶ ἄλ(λων) (Ἀγορῶν) β(ορρᾶ) γ (ἔτους) ῥνπ(αρὰς)
 4 δραχ(μάς) τρις τετροβ(ολον) c
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) γρς. (ἔτους) γ Ἀδριανοῦ
 τοῦ κυρίου Θῶθ λ
 Φθου(μῆνις) σεση(μείωμαι)

Chesphmois, collector of the money taxes of the metropolis, to Pasemis — I have received for watchtowers and other (taxes) for Agorai North for the 3rd year, copper drachmas three, four and a half obols, that is, dr. 3, 4½ ob. Year 3 of Hadrian the lord, Thoth 30. I, Phthouminis, have signed.

1. On Chesphmois, see commentary to 109.
2. One or two names after Pasemis were written in a very small hand which is now too faint to be read.
6. 27 September.
7. Phthouminis signs for Chesphmois in *O. Bodl.* 526 and 527.

108. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.615

11.9 × 13.5 cm.

3 April 119

The collector of this text is known from five other receipts, if all belong to the same man. Of these, four form a group in that the three dated ones come from 119–122 and all four were executed through a scribe whose name is most clearly read in 20 as Psenenteris. The fifth, *PSI* 995, belongs to 131, and may be a different collector. The present receipt is in the same hand as 20, and the writing of the scribe's name, while slightly different, supports the same reading (see note to line 1). Since two of the others of the first group, *O. Bodl.* 885 and 1036, are stated to be in the same hand, it is likely that all of these come from the same hand. The same is in all likelihood true of *O. Cam.* 46, where the scribe's name, broken off, was read by Tait as Ψαν[.

Παμώνθ(ης) πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων) δι(ὰ) Ψενεντ(ήριος) γρ[α(μματέως)]
 Ἀτρή(ος) Φθομῶνθ(ου) Ἀτρή(ος) ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(ἐρ) λαο(γραφίας) .[-(δραχμάς) δ]
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. (ἔτους) γ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Φαρμ(οῦθι) ῥ
 2 further lines

Pamonthes, collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, through Psenenteris the scribe, to Hatres son of Phthomonthes grandson of Hatres, I have received for poll tax . . . [dr. 4.] that is, dr. 4. Year 3 of Hadrian the lord, Pharmouthi 8.

1. At first glance the collector's name appears to be no more than Πα, but the concluding stroke of abbreviation seems to represent a *theta*; the same formation is found in 20. What the Bodleian editors read as Παμμω (Παμω in *O. Cam.*) may well be the same strokes. The strokes of our two texts suggest to us that we in fact have a writing Παμωνθ with the most extreme *Verschleifung*. The scribe's name is here written with εντ above the first *mu*, unusual but clear.

2. The taxpayer may perhaps be the brother of the Petechonsis son of Phthomonthes grandson of Hatres attested in 19 (A.D. 113).

4-5. We can make nothing out of these lines, which seem to be in a different hand.

109. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.640

8.2 × 9.2 cm.

117-121

The text is assigned a date on the basis of the known appearances of the collector Chesphmois (see note to line 1).

Χεσφμούς πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν)
 Ἀγο(ρῶν) β(ορρᾶ) Ἀρφμούς Ψεναμο(ύνιος)
 ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) . (ἔτους) Ἀγο(ρῶν) β(ορρᾶ) ῥυπ(αράς) (δραχμὰς)
 4 τέσσαρας (γίνονται) ῥυπ(αράι) (δραχμαί) δ.
 [(ἔτους) . Ἀδρ]ιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθῦρ
 Παν(ίσκος) σεση(μείωμαι)

Chesphmois, collector of money taxes for Agorai North, to Harphmois son of Psenamounis: I have received for poll tax of the -th year for Agorai North, copper dr. four, that is, copper dr. 4. [Year -] of Hadrian the lord, Hathyr. I, Paniskos, have signed.

1. For the appearances of this collector, see the list *ad 21*, to which should be added *WO* 1570 and 1241, *O. Stras.* 197, 198, and 200, and now 107. His total range of regnal years of activity is year 20 of Trajan to year 5 of Hadrian, or 117-121.

2. On the taxpayer and his family see the commentary to 168.

6. Paniskos appears in *O. Bodl.* 528 and 839 and *O. Theb.* 94. Both of the first two are written and signed by him, and they are in the same hand. Since our text is also in one hand, it is probably his as well. Cf. also *O. Stras.* 197. In., *P. Lips.* 69.

110. Receipt for Poll Tax and Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.284

10 × 11.5 cm.

14 August 125

The name of the collector and part of the name of the taxpayer are legible only on the photograph, and there only with difficulty. The beginning of the collector's name is certain, however.

Πικῶς πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν)
 Πατῆτος Τασήμιος
 ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) καὶ βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Νό(του) θ (ἔτους)
 4 ῥυ(παράς) δραχ(μὰς) ἑπτὰ ς χ^ο (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) ζ ς χ^ο
 [(ἔτους)] θ Ἀδριανοῦ Μεσ(ορή) κᾶ

Pikos, collector of money taxes, to Pates son of Tasemis, I have received for poll tax and bath tax for Notos for the 9th year, copper drachmas seven, 5 ob., 2 ch., that is, dr. 7, 5 ob., 2 ch. [Year] 9 of Hadrian, Mesore 21.

1. For Pikos, cf. the references cited at 117.1n.

111. Receipt for Geometria

Inv. 906.8.401

6.3 × 10.3 cm.

3 October 123

Πόστομος ὁ καὶ Ὡρ[ος Ποστ(όμου)]
 πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἀρφμ[όιτι--]
 ἔσχο(ν) ὑπ(έρ) γεωμετ(ρίας) ἐβ[δόμου]
 4 ἔτους ῥυ(παρόν) τετροβ(ολον) [(γίνεται) ῥυ(παρόν)]
 ρ καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Ψεν[--]
 ὑπ(έρ) γεωμετρία(s) τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) ῥ[υ(παρὰς)]
 δραχ(μὰς) τρεῖς τριόβ(ολον) (γίνονται) ῥ[υ(παρὰ)]
 8 (δραχμαὶ) γ ρ. (ἔτους) η Ἀδριανοῦ Κ[α]ί[(σαρος) ?]
 τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι ε

Postomos also called Horos [son of Postomos], collector of money taxes, to Harphmois . . . , I have received for *geometria* of the seventh year, four copper obols, [that is, of copper] 4 ob., and in the name of Psen . . . for *geometria* of the 7th year, copper drachmas three, three obols, that is, copper dr. 3, 3 ob. Year 8 of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Phaophi 5.

1. Postomos is well-known from his other receipts, from the time range 121 to 124: *O. Bodl.* 530, 842, 884; *WO* 527, 529, 1243; *P. Lips.* 67; *O. Heid.* 259; *O. Amst.* 47. The patronymic is sometimes omitted (as in *WO* 527, *O. Heid.* 259, and *O. Bodl.* 884) but the amount supposed to be missing here from later lines requires the patronymic to have been present. The amount lost at the right is thus ca. 6 letters, decreasing steadily to almost nothing in lines 7–9.

3. Many of Postomos' receipts, apparently those given by his own hand, have this characteristic of writing out ordinal year numbers as well as ἔτους itself.

112. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.419

9.5 × 7 cm.

123/4

[---] πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμ(νονείων) δι(ὰ) υἱο(ῦ)
 [---] Πανεχ() καὶ Ἡρων(ος) Σαχ()
 [ἔσχο(ν) ὑπ(έρ)---]. c. (ἔτους) η Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
 4 [τοῦ κυρίου . . .] . . . () κδ. Παχ(ών) ἡβ (δραχμὰς) ἡβ.

. . . collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, through his son [. . . to . . .] son of Panech() and Heron son of Sach(), [I have received for -- of the --th year . . .] ½ ob. Year 8 of Hadrian Caesar [the lord . . .] 24. Pachon 12, dr. 12.

1. The collector was probably Postomos also called Horos, attested for this year in a number of texts (cf. 111). Phaeris is known from *WO* 1244 to have been still active in year 8, but the probable length of the lacuna suggests Postomos as a more likely candidate. No son of his has been attested previously as an agent of collection.

3. The ἔτους sign does not appear to have much of a horizontal stroke, but the surface is chipped in that place just above the line. The stroke before the ½ obol sign does not look like the *upsilon* that would be necessary for a reading of ἔτο]υς η κτλ.

4. The traces look like an abbreviated end of Pharmouthi or Phamenoth. Pachon 12 is 7 March 124.

113. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.752

10.1 × 8 cm.

125/6

For the other receipts of the collector Petechespochrates, see the commentaries to *O. Bodl.* 680 and to 116. Much of the ink of this text is too badly blurred – and faded – to be read with much confidence, especially in lines 4 and 5.

Πετεχεσποχ(ράτης) τελ(ώνης) [θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερ(ῶν)]
 ε. . . ε. . . χ. . . χα(ίρειν). ἀπέσ-
 χ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) τοῦ ι (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ
 4 τοῦ κυρίου-----

114. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.29

7.5 × 6.5 cm.

107/8

Πετοσίρις πράκ(τωρ) [ἀργ(υρικῶν)]
 Παμ() ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) λαφ(γραφίας) ια (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αρὰς) [(δραχμὰς) --- (γίνονται)
 (δραχμαὶ) --- (ἔτους) ια ?]
 Τρ[αι]ανοῦ Καίσαρος [τοῦ κυρίου---]
 4 ὁμοίως ὑπ(έρ) λαφ(γραφίας)---]
 (δραχμὰς) δε. ὁμοίως κβ . [---]
 .. [. . .] (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. ὁμοίως-----]

Petosiris, collector [of money taxes] . . . son of Pam(), I have received for poll tax of the 11th year, copper [dr. . . . , that is, dr. . . . Year 11 (?)] of Trajan Caesar [the lord] . . .

1. For Petosiris cf. 100, which is in the same hand.

115. Receipt for Bath Taxes

Inv. 906.8.378

8.6 × 15.2 cm.

125-127

This receipt presents us with a ninth document attributable to the praktor Psansnos son of Psansnos. It presents minor difficulties in detail but is clear in general.

Ψανσῶς ὁμ(οίως) πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων)
 Ψεγαμ(ούνει) Ἀρσιήσ(ιος) Βήσιο(ς) ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) . . . θ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) . . (ἔτους) θ
 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίο[v date].
 4 ὁμ(οίως) Φαρ(μοῦθι) ᾠ (δραχμὰς) δε. ὁμ(οίως) Παχῶ(ν) ι (δραχμὰς) δ [---]
 ὁμ(οίως) ι (ἔτους) Φαῶ(φι) θ ὑπ(έρ) μερισ(μοῦ) βαλ(ανείων) . [---]
 ὁμ(οίως) ια (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ ια ὑπ(έρ) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) [---]
 (δραχμὰς) η. ὁμ(οίως) Παχῶ(ν) ε δ (δραχμὰς) [---]
 8 ὁμ(οίως) Παῦ(νι) ιγ διὰ Φθο(μώνθου) γρ(αμματέως) . [---]
 διὰ Φθο(μώνθου) γρ(αμματέως) (δραχμὰς) δ [---]
 Ἀμῶ(νιος) σεση(μείωμαι)

Psansnos son of the same, collector of money taxes [for the Memnoneia], to Psenamounis son of Harsiesis grandson of Basis, I have received [for — of the 9th year, dr. —. Year 9] of Hadrian Caesar the lord, [month, date]. Likewise Pharmouthi 1, dr. 4. Likewise Pachon 10, dr. 4... Likewise 10th year Phaophi 9 for *merismos balaneion* . . . Likewise 11th year Hathyr 11 for bath tax . . . dr. 8. Likewise Pachon 5, 4 dr. . . . Likewise Pauni 2 through Phthomonthes the scribe . . . through Phthomonthes the scribe, dr. 4 . . . I, Amonios, have signed.

1. Psansnos son of Psansnos is known from *O. Cam.* 37, 38, *PSI* 266, *O. Theb.* 39, *P. Aberd.* 77, *O. Leid.* 19, *O. Amst.* 48, and *119*, of the period 125–130. He is to be distinguished from the Psansnos who was active as praktor in the latter part of the next decade and is attested in many receipts, although their identity cannot be precluded.

2. This seems to us the best reading of these somewhat uncertain strokes.

4. Dates 27 March and 5 May 125.

5. For *μερισμὸς βαλανείων*, cf. *O. Bodl.* 766 and 767, from A.D. 144 and 148. Date, 6 October 125.

6. Date 7 November 126.

7. The reversal of δ and (δραχμὰς) is as clear as it is unusual. Date 30 April 127.

8. Phthomonthes the scribe, here and in line 9, also appears in *PSI* 266, according to Tait's rereading of that text (cf. *BL* II.1 24), and various other texts. Date, 7 June 127.

116. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.341

7.4 × 8.1 cm.

22 February 127

Πετεχespoχ(ράτης) καὶ μ(έτοχοι)
 τελ(ῶναι) θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν
 Ψεναμο(ύνει) χ(αίρειν). [ἔσχ(ομεν)] βαλ(ανευτικόν)
 4 τοῦ ἱα (ἔτους) Ἰαδριανοῦ
 [τ]οῦ κυρίου Μεχεῖρ κη.

Petechespochrates and associates, farmers of the granary of the temples, to Psenamounis, greeting. [We have received the] bath tax of the 11th year of Hadrian the lord, Mecheir 28.

1. The numerous receipts of this collector are listed in the notes to *O. Bodl.* 680, to which may be added *113*.

3. One expects τό before βαλ(ανευτικόν), but there is no space.

117. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.391

7.8 × 6.8 cm.

127/8

The collector of this receipt, Pikos, is well-attested, and his dates confirm the reading of the emperor's name in line 4 here. The loss of the month makes it impossible to know if this is the last receipt of Pikos published to date, the only other one of year 12 belonging to Thoth of that year (*O. Bodl.* 890).

Πικῶς πρά(κτωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Φθουσνεῖ πρ(εσβυτέρω)
 ——— ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) ἱβ (ἔτους) (Ἰαγορῶν)
 δραχ(μάς) ῥηπ(αράς) δώδεκα (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἱβ.
 4 [(ἔτους) ἱβ] Ἰαδρι[ανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου date]

Pikos, collector of money taxes, to Phthousneus the elder son of . . . , I have received for poll tax of the 12th year for Agorai, copper drachmas twelve, that is, dr. 12. [Year] 12 of Hadrian [the lord . . .]

1. The texts of Pikos, which range from 124 to 127, include *O. Bodl.* 531, 534, 587, 628, 666, 843, (886), 888, 889, 890; *WO* 535, 1245, 1288, 1572; 110.

4. Of Hadrian's name only the *rho* is really secure, but no other emperor could have that letter in this place and also have a titlature of this length; the identity of the collector further secures the reading.

118. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.421

6.7 × 8.3 cm.

128/9

This ostrakon has a rough surface, and the hand is a cramped one. The ink has, in addition, faded over most of lines 3 and 4.

Θέων πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Φμόιτ(ι)
'Απολλῶτ(ος) ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) χ(ωματικῶ) δνό(ματος) Ζωίλ[ου]

4 -----(ἔτους) ἰγ 'Αδριανοῦ Καίσαρ[ος-----]

Theon, collector of money taxes, to Phmois son of Apollos, I have received for dike tax in the name of Zoilos . . . Year 13 of Hadrian Caesar . . .

1. Theon is attested in year 13 of Hadrian in *O. Stras.* 209, *O. Bodl.* 893, and *O. Petr.* 102, and in year 15 in *WO* 1425.

119. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.404

7 × 11 cm.

128-130

Aside from the loss of the name of the tax being paid, there are few problems in this text. The collector is one previously known from many texts (see note to line 1).

Ψανσνῶ(ς) ὀμ(οίως) πρ[άκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων)-----]
Παμών(θη) Π. [---ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) --- ἰγ (ἔτους)]
(δραχμὰς) η. (ἔτους) ἰγ 'Αδριαν[οῦ τοῦ κυρίου]
4 Φαῶ(φι) ἰε. ὀμ(οίως) Παχῶ(ν) [. . . (δραχμὰς) . . . ὀμ(οίως)]
ἰε διὰ Ψεντ() (δραχμὰς) δ [---]
(δραχμὰς) δ. ὀμ(οίως) Παῦ(νι) ἰε . [---]
ὀμ(οίως) 'Επ(είφ) κθ διὰ Φα[---]
8 ὀμ(οίως) ιδ (ἔτους) Φαῶ(φι) δ̄ . [---]
Παῦ(νι) η διὰ Φθο(μώνθου) γρ(αμματέως) (δραχμὰς) [---]

Psansnos son of the same, collector [of money taxes of the Memnoneia] . . . Pamonthes son of P . . . [I have received for --- of the 13th year] dr. 8. Year 13 of Hadrian [the lord] Phaophi 15. Likewise Pachon [---, dr. ---. Likewise] 15th through Psent(), dr. 4 . . . dr. 4. Likewise, Pauni 15, . . .

Likewise Epeiph 29 through Pha... Likewise the 14th year, Phaophi 4 ... Pauni 8 through Phthomonthes the scribe, dr. ...

1. See 115 for a discussion of this collector.
4. Phaophi 15 = 12 October 128.
6. Pauni 15 = 9 June 129. An *eta* is erased under the first *delta* of the line.
7. Epeiph 29 = 23 July 129.
8. Phaophi 4 = 1 October 129.
9. Pauni 8 = 2 June 130.

120. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.529

13.1 × 12.1 cm.

9 March 131

This receipt of standard form comes from the same year as 22, also issued by the same Pamonthes.

Παμώνθ(ης) ——— πράκτωρ ἀργ(υρικῶν)
 Με(μνονείων) διὰ Πετταρ() γρα(μματέως) Παῆρις υἱὸς
 Σενπαήριος(ς) ὑπ(έρ) β(αλανευτικοῦ) Ἄ(γορῶν) ιε (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) βςχ^ο αἰ κ(αἰ)
 (δραχμαὶ) β.
 4 (ἔτους) ιε Ἄδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κυρίου Φαμενώθ ιγ

Pamonthes son of the same, collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, through Petear() the scribe, to Paeris son of Senpaeris, for bath tax of Agorai for the 15th year, dr. 2, $\frac{1}{2}$ ob., 2 ch., reckoned as dr. 2. Year 15 of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Phamenoth 13.

1. Pamonthes is discussed in the commentary and notes to 22; cf. also 122.
2. Petear() the scribe also appears in a number of Pamonthes' other texts. The present ostrakon was cited in the discussion of him in connection with 22, but there mistakenly referred to as "O. ROM 24." The taxpayer is not elsewhere attested.

121. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.530

8.7 × 7.2 cm.

132

We can find no real parallel for this text, though most features of it are found elsewhere. It is extremely brief in its formula, but no essential part is lacking from the text. The sherd shows no signs of breakage, and we have found it impossible to formulate any convincing missing text at the right. The basic source of the formula is the group of receipts exemplified by *O. Bodl.* 670–737, where the bath tax, generally of an unspecified amount, is collected by telonai and epiteretai (as in *O. Bodl.* 710–714, approximately contemporary with our text). Our belief that this text is complete and was originally very individual is reinforced by the hand, quite unlike the usual official hands of our collection.

Ἐπικρά(της) ἐπιτηρητῆς
 Πεττεμενώφιο(ς) Λολοῦτο(ς)
 ἔσχωμεν τὸ βαλ(ανευτικόν).
 4 (ἔτους) ις Ἄδριανοῦ
 Φαμ(ενώθ) .

Epikrates the overseer to Petemenophis son of Lolous, we have received the bath tax. Year 16 of Hadrian, Phamenoth . .

1. Epikrates is known, with μέτοχοι, as ἐπιτηρητῆς τέλους θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν in *WO* 1426 (also year 16) and 1020 (date lost), the word τέλ(ους) being omitted in 1426. (Cf. *BL* II.1 109 on the latter text.)
3. The plural here is expected from normal texts in which associates are mentioned, but it does not agree with the singular in line 1.
4. From other receipts one expects τοῦ ἰς (ἔτους), in dependence on τὸ βαλανευτικόν.
5. The date is blurred at the right edge.

122. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.3

9 × 7.2 cm.

132-133

Παμώνθ(ης) ——— πράκ(τωρ) ἀ[ργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονείων) διὰ Πετταρ()]
 γρα(μματέως) Ἐριεῦς Παγᾶς Πε[. tax δραχ(μάς) δ]
 αἰ κ(αὶ) γ ρ. (ἔτους) ἰς Ἄδριανοῦ Κ[αίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου]
 4 vacat Θῶτ κ̄ [---]
 ὁμοίως ἰς (ἔτους) Ἐπειφ κδ ὑπ(έρ) . [---δραχ(μάς) β αἰ κ(αὶ)]
 (δραχμαὶ) αφς. ὁμοίως ἰς (ἔτους) Θῶτ ἰς [---]
 ὁμ(οίως) Θῶτ κθ ςς

Pamonthes son of the same, collector of money taxes [of the Memnoneia, through Petear() the scribe, to Herieus son of Panas, grandson of Pe. . . [for ---, drachmas 4], reckoned as 3, 3 ob. Year 16 of Hadrian Caesar [the lord] Thot 20. . . Likewise the 16th year, Epeiph 24 for [. . . drachmas 2, reckoned as] dr. 1, 5½ ob. Likewise the 17th year, Thot 16 . . . Likewise Thot 29, 4½ ob.

1. Pamonthes son of Pamonthes of years 14-15 of Hadrian is known from *O. Bodl.* 557, *PSI* 995, 22, and 120. He may be identical with a Pamonthes son of Pamonthes collecting a few years earlier, see commentary to 108. In all of the group mentioned he collects through the secretary Petear() and is collector for the Memnoneia; hence the restoration of these here. The present text extends his activity into the 17th year of Hadrian, although only its first month. It is possible, therefore, that he is also the same man as the praktor of Agorai attested in year 19 (*O. Bodl.* 755, 538, and 850, the last of these lacking the place name).
3. Four drachmas were normally reckoned in this system as 3 dr. 4½ ob., but the ½ ob. is omitted here.
4. 17 September 132.
5. 18 July 133.
6. 13 September 133.
7. 26 September 133.

123. Receipt for μερισμὸς προχρείας

Inv. 906.8.450

10.1 × 9.7 cm.

10 March 133

The μερισμὸς προχρείας appears in only three other Theban ostraka, *WO* 549, 551, and 1577, all, like our text, of year 16 of Hadrian (132/3), and all issued by Hierax as apaitetes of *merismoï*; it is Hierax who is the first signer of the present receipt issued by a Pamonthes (see note to line 1). The amount in all cases is 3 drachmas, 3 obols.

Παμώνθ(ης) καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἀπαιτ(ηται) μερισμοῦ
 προχ(ρείας) ὀνό(ματος) Π. Π.
 Ψεναμο(ύνιος) ἔσχο(μεν) ὑπ(έρ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 4 μερισμοῦ δραχ(μάς) τρῖς τριόβ(ολον)
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) γ ρ. (ἔτους) ἰς Ἁδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 Φαμ(ενώ)θ ἰδ̄
 Ἱεραξ σεση(μείωμαι) Πετροσίρι(ς) σεση(μείωμαι)

Pamonthes and associates, apaitetai of the *merismos prochreias*, in the name of P . . . son of P . . . grandson of Psenamounis, we have received for the same *merismos* drachmas three, three obols, that is, dr. 3, 3 ob. Year 16 of Hadrian the lord, Phamenoth 14. I, Hierax, have signed. I, Petosiris, have signed.

1. Apaitetai named Pamonthes are found in 128 (*O. Bodl.* 796–797), 134 (*WO* 568) and 140 (*O. Theb.* 52). Whether all of these are the same person, and whether any is to be identified with other collectors of this name in this period, we cannot say.

2. On *prochreia* in general, see Wallace, *Taxation*, 167 (cited in notes to *O. Bodl.* 1128, a receipt of 94 for *prochreia*). The payer's name is too faint to read except for the apparent initial *pi* in each name.

7. Hierax is known, aside from the instances cited in the introduction, in *WO* 560 and 562, in the first of which he is the signer for another apaitetes in year 18. A second signature is found on this ostrakon as on ours.

124. Receipt for Watchtowers Tax and Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.650

11.2 × 9.3 cm.

probably 134/5

This ostrakon may be divided into two sections. The first, containing the text as printed, is reasonably clear in most places though sometimes crowded. The second, which may or may not have existed, would have contained the totalling and the date. The loss of ink after the 5-obol sign in line 3 is virtually complete, and it is not even certain that the remainder of the normal formula was present; but there are very faint traces of ink here and there that might have belonged to it.

The collector is, fortunately, known from two other texts, *O. Cam.* 39, of year 17 of Hadrian (133) and 40, of year 20 (135). The reading *ιθ* would put this text between the two Cambridge texts (see note on line 2).

Κλέων πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικών) Με(μνονείων) Καμήτ(ει) Πρεμτώτο(ν)
 Πεκύσιο(ς) ἔσχο(ν) ὑπ(έρ) σκοπ(έλων) {σκοπ(έλων)} ἰθ̄ (ἔτους) (δραχμὴν) α καὶ
 ὑπ(έρ) χωμ(ατικοῦ) ιη (ἔτους) (δραχμὴν) αφ ---

Kleon, collector of taxes of the Memnoneia, to Kametis son of Premtotes, grandson of Pekysis, I have received for watchtowers tax of the 19th year, dr. 1, and for dike tax of the 18th year, dr. 1, 5 ob. . . .

2. One expects *σκοπ(έλων) καὶ ἄλ(λων)*, but this does not seem to us palaeographically possible, and the bracketed letters are in fact identical to the first group. The reading of the second letter of the year date is not certain, but *ιε* seems unlikely next to year 18 in line 3, and *ισ*, *ιζ*, and *ιη* are not possible.

125. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.649

9.1 × 7.1 cm.

15 October 136 or 137

The title of the collector in this receipt and the tax collected (a τέλος [---]) are uncertain. The presence of τέλος eliminates βαλανευτικόν and hence the title τελώνης θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν, or similar, which a Paniskos is otherwise attested as holding in years 5 and 8 of Antoninus (*O. Bodl.* 719–720), shortly after the date of this text. The evidence is insufficient to allow us to say what other τελώνης or ἐπιτηρητής title should be restored.

Πανίσκος [καὶ μέτοχοι] ? ---] Ὀρος Ἀρφα. () ἔσχ()
 τέλος [—ca. 13—] δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρας
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. (ἔτους) κ. Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι ιη

1. The length of the lacuna, about 13 letters, suggests that this phrase was included, unless the title itself was unusually long or fully written. This line and the next are covered with a black blotch; in 2 there are traces visible on the photograph under the blotch, but not readable.

3. The year date is apparently either 21 or 22.

126. Receipt for Money Taxes

Inv. 906.8.396

5.3 × 7.6 cm.

142

This text records multiple payments, all except one of four drachmas each, for a tax the name of which is lost at the left. The reading of the collector's name in line 1 provides the sole point of interest, for it appears to be reasonably clear: καὶ Κασιαν() ; there is only one plausible expansion of the abbreviated name, Kasianos, which is indeed the name of a praktor known from this period. Two things surprise, however: that he abbreviates his name, which he does not do elsewhere, and that the date is four years later than the last year in which he was previously known to have been active, 138 (three regnal years, for in *O. Bodl.* 630 and *O. Heid.* 261 he appears in year 2 of Antoninus). We are, nonetheless, justified in the reading and restoration given. A list of Kasianos' appearances is given in the note to line 1.

[Ψανσνῶς ?] καὶ Κασιαν(ὸς) πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμ(νονείων)
 [---]. Σαχ() Φθομῶνθου
 [ἔσχ(ομεν) ὑπ(έρ) ε (ἔτους)] Ἀντωνί(νου) Καίσαρος τοῦ
 4 [κυρίου Φαμε]νῶθ δ (δραχμὰς) δ. Φαρ(μουῦθι) ἦ
 [(δραχμὰς) δ. Date] ὑπ(έρ) ὁμ(οίως) (δραχμὰς) δ. Παχῶ(ν) ια (δραχμὰς) δ.
 [---Μ]εσ(ορή) . (δραχμὰς) δ. σ (ἔτους) Θῶθ ς (δραχμὰς) δ.
 [----] (δραχμὰς) αβ αὶ κ(αὶ) αψχ

[Psansnos ?] and Kasianos, collectors of money taxes of the Memnoneia, to — son of Sach(), grandson of Phthomonthes, [we have received for — of — of the 5th year] of Antoninus Caesar the [lord], Phamenoth 4, dr. 4. Pharmouthi 8, [dr. 4. Date] for the same, dr. 4. Pachon 11, dr. 4. . . . Mesore —, dr. 4. 6th year, Thoth 6, dr. 4 . . . dr. 1, 5 ob., reckoned as dr. 1, 4 ob., 1 ch.

1. Kasianos is known from *O. Bodl.* 630, 644, 645, 852, 853, 858, 899; *WO* 578, 1247, 1428, 1429; *SB* 1669;

O. Heid. 261; *O. Leid.* 20, 21, 43, 44. All of these are joint receipts of Psansnos and Kasianos, many of which were signed by Kasianos' son Loukas (the name appears in full in *O. Leid.* 44; cf. Sijpesteijn's commentary there).

4. The dates preserved range from 28 February to 3 September 142.

127. Receipt for μερισμὸς ἐνλείμματος τελωνικῶν

Inv. 906.8.606

8.7 × 7.2 cm.

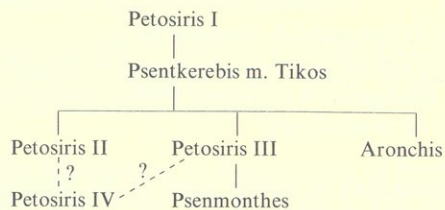
142

The details of interest in this receipt of standard form are discussed in the notes.

- Θέω(ν) καὶ μέτοχοι ἀπαιτ(ηται) μερισ(μοῦ) ἐνλ(είμματος) τελ(ωνικῶν) Ἀρ[ών-]
 χιος Ψεντκερήβιο(ς) ἔσχο(μεν) ὑπ(έρ)
 τέλ(ους) ε(ἔτους) δραχ(μῆν) μίαν ὀβολ(οὺς) πέντ[ε]
 4 καὶ ὑπ(έρ) αὐτο(ῦ) ἀπὸ χειρὸ(ς) Πετροσίρι[ος - δραχ(μάς)]
 δύο διχ(αλκόν) (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) βχ^ο. (ἔτους) 5 Ἀντ[ωνίνου]
 τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι
 ἄλ(λας) Ἀθῦρ ι ὁμοί(ως)
 8 δραχ(μάς) δύο ἡμι(βέλιον)

Theon and associates, apaitetai of the μερισμὸς ἐνλείμματος τελωνικῶν, to Aronchis son of Psentkerebis, we have received for the tax of the 5th year drachma one, obols five, and for the same from the hand of Petosiris, [drachmas] two, two chalkoi, that is, dr. 2, ch. 2. Year 6 of Antoninus the lord, Phaophi -. Others, Hathyr 10, likewise, drachmas two, half-obol.

1. An apaitetes Theon is attested in *O. Stras.* 242, of A.D. 131. On the tax, see *O. Wilb.* 21, commentary.
 1-2. We restore here the spelling of this man's name found in *O. Bodl.* 1928, a name list of the second century and approximately of the period 142-152. This text includes Aronchis and his brothers Petosiris and Petosiris the younger. Aronchis himself appears in *WO* 1441 of A.D. 150 (cf. *BL* II.1 110), with his name spelled Arynchis. The brothers are better known: Petosiris the elder (II; *DT* 145) is attested between 146/7 and 152. Petosiris the younger (III; *DT* 141; to those references should be added *O. Bodl.* 762 [144], 668 and *P. Lips.* 74 [145], and *O. Bodl.* 731 [164]) is attested between 142 and 164. The Psenmonthes son of Petosiris, grandson of Psentkerebis, (not in *DT*) who appears in *O. Bodl.* 776, 1402, and 743 of the years 149-152, is identified in the last of those texts as the son of the younger Petosiris, and if Psenmonthes is the same in all cases, his father, surely at least 30 when Psenmonthes is first attested, must have lived to the age of at least 45, beating the odds of mortality. It is possible, if *O. Bodl.* 669 (A.D. 152) is read correctly, that one of the Petosireis had a homonymous son (*DT* 75 is surely wrong to associate this person with the Petosiris son of Petosiris in *O. Stras.* 184). The family tree will have been:



4. We cannot find a precise parallel for this phrase, which seems to mean that one Petosiris paid an installment of tax on behalf of Aronchis.
 5. Despite the unusual degree of abbreviation, the resolution διχ(αλκόν) seems unavoidable. The circle indicating 2 on the tip of the *chi* is indistinct.
 8. *O. Petr.* 79 also has an instance of ἡμι(βέλιον) used where no whole number of obols has been paid.

128. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.690

16 × 8.7 cm.

144/5

Πανίσκος καὶ μέτοχοι τελ(ῶναι) θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερ(ῶν)
 Ψεναμούνει ἔσχ(ομεν) τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν)
 4 τοῦ η (ἔτους) Ἀντων[ίνου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 Φα. . . .

Paniskos and associates, farmers of the granary of the temples, to Psenamounis son of —, we have received the bath tax of the 8th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pha. . .

1. Paniskos: cf. *O. Bodl.* 719, 720, both of year 5 of Antoninus, A.D. 142, in both of which he holds this title. In 125, a Paniskos holds another office – but not this one – in 136 or 137.
2. The patronymic is very faint.

129. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.52

9.4 × 8.9 cm.

146/7

Neither collector nor taxpayer is otherwise known; the formula offers no novelty.

Γάιος Ἐριέως Πασήμις
 Θεωγο(ς) χαίρειν. ἀπ–
 4 ἐχ(ω) [τὸ β]αλ(ανευτικὸν) τοῦ ι (ἔτους) Ἀντ[ωνί]ν[ου]
 Ἄθῦρ κδ̄

Gaius son of Herieus to Pasemis son of Theon, greeting. I have received the bath tax of the tenth year of Antoninus, Hathyr 24.

130. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.300

9.7 × 5 cm.

probably ca. 148–150

The date in this document is nowhere legibly preserved; the identity of the collector is therefore not certain. It is likely, however, that he is the Psenamounis who held the same office (praktor) from 148 to 150 and is attested in *O. Bodl.* 546, 637, and 911 and *WO* 641. The date in line 3 would in this case be something near the years 11 to 13 that form the presently known range for him.

[Ψεν]αμοῦ(νις) καὶ μέτοχοι πράκ(τορες)
 ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἀγο(ρῶν) Ἀσκλάτο(ς) γ Ἐριέως
 Φα.() ἔσχ(ομεν) ὑπ(έρ) (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρα
 4 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ ----[----]
 Ἄθῦρ ιε

Psenamounis and associates, collectors of money taxes for Agorai, to Asklas 3rd son of Herieus grandson of Pha(), we have received for . . . of the —th year, drachmas four, that is, dr. 4 . . .

2. The taxpayer is not known.
3. The tax and its date are not certain; σκοπ(έλων) is possible but very uncertain. The numeral before the year sign could be either an *iota* or *kappa*, the former being more likely if the identification of Psenamounis is right.

131. Receipt for Bath Tax

Inv. 906.8.56

7.7 × 9.5 cm.

164

ἽΩρος καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτ(ηρηταὶ) τέλ(ους) θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερῶ(ν)
 Ψεναμο(ύνει) . . . μει . . .
 ἔσ[χ]ομ(εν) τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν) τοῦ δ(έτους)
 4 Ἄντων(ίνου) καὶ Οὐήρου Καισάρων
 Μεσορῆ γ

Horos and associates, overseers of the tax of the granary of the temples, to Psenamounis son of —, we have received the bath tax of the 4th year of Antoninus and Verus Caesars, Mesore 3.

1. Horos is attested in this function in *O. Bodl.* 731, of the same year.
2. Probably Παμείν or Παμείνις, but the ending is very unsure.
4. The titulature would normally add τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν, but we see no trace of it here.
5. Mesore 3 = 27 July. Mesore 10 is also possible.

132. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.371

6 × 5.7 cm.

2 March 176 (?)

Φαμ(ενῶθ) ἔ τοῦ 15 (έτους) ὀνό(ματος) Πετε. . . .
 ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) ἱε (έτους) (Ἀγορῶν) δραχ(μῆν) α = (γίνεται) (δραχμῆ) α =
 καὶ ὑπ(έρ) . . . ὁμ(οίως) δραχ(μῆν) μία(ν) (γίνεται) (δραχμῆ) α
 4 Πε() σεση(μείωμαι)

Phamenoth 5 of the 16th year in the name of Pete. . . for poll tax of the 15th year for Agorai, drachma 1, 2 ob., that is, dr. 1, 2 ob., and for . . . likewise drachma one, that is, dr. 1. I, Pe(), have signed.

1. A large chip out of the surface has wiped out most of the taxpayer's name; the presence of a patronymic is possible but not certain. The scarcity of late receipts for poll tax suggested to Tait that *O. Bodl.* 433, of a year 13, belonged to 173 rather than to a Severan date; the same is probably true here.
3. We have not succeeded in reading a tax name in this line. The best reading might be *αγο*, but this seems unlikely since the tax and place are the same in both payments anyway. Perhaps *αὐτ(οῦ)*.

133. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.177

3.7 × 6.2 cm.

177/8

The formula of this ostrakon diverges from the usual one for this period in the inclusion of the imperial titulature; in this it resembles *WO* 1457, of 184. Our text may reflect a transitional form in the early years of this format.

[---] ἔ τοῦ ἱη (ἔτους) Αὐρηλ(ίων)
 [Ἀντωνίνου κα]ὶ Κομμόδο(υ)
 [Καισάρων τῶ]ν κυρίων ὀνό(ματος)
 4 [---] ()
 [---] Νό(του) (δραχμῆν) μίαν c
 [---] —

. . . 6 of the 18th year of the Aurelii [Antoninus and] Commodus [Caesars the] lords, in the name of . . . for Notos, dr. one, $\frac{1}{2}$ ob. . . .

4. The last three letters may be *Δωρ(ίωτος)*.

6. The end of a horizontal stroke coming from the left, probably from an abbreviation now lost (signature?), is all that remains in this line.

134. Receipt for Epiképhalaion

Inv. 906.8.460

7.3 × 9 cm.

179

The family of Inaros and Talos was examined in the note to lines 3–4 of 50. The present volume adds some seven texts, five dated, to the dossier. These are:

134	A.D. 179	Inaros and Talos pay epiképhalaion
135	184	Inaros s. of Inaros, gs. of Horos pays dike tax
145	194	Inaros s. of Inaros pays geometria
148	n.d.	Inaros s. of Inaros, Talos d. of Inaros
186	163	Talos d. of Inaros pays grain
210	200/1	Talos d. of [Inaros and her brother] Inaros s. of Inaros
281	n.d.	Inaros s. of Inaros and Talos, and Talos his sister (memorandum)

These texts reinforce the character of the group as a whole as belonging to the late second century and as concerning the brother-sister pair, Inaros and Talos, children of Inaros son of Horos and, as 281 tells us, his wife Talos. The younger Talos thus draws her name from her mother. This fact and the continued concentration of texts on this pair makes it fairly certain that *O. Theb.* 121 belongs to the same Talos and not a hypothetical aunt; in short, that the first stemma on page 114 of *O. ROM I* is right, not the second.

The new texts also force us to face an activity span by Inaros of some 29 years, and by his sister of 38 years, giving them minimum ages at death of 43 and 52, high for their class. Their father Inaros need have lived only some 30 years to have paid taxes in 142 and begotten these children. It is likely that he was dead before 163, since one of his children (Talos) was paying grain taxes in that year (186).

The fairly secure date of our text in 179 is unusually early for a Theban epiképhalaion

receipt, since in many cases the dates of the later years of Marcus Aurelius are not high enough to distinguish them, in the absence of imperial titulature, from those of Severus and Caracalla. The possibility thus exists, strengthened by our text, that many ostraka between years 20 and 25 belong to Commodus and not Caracalla.

Μεσ(ορῆ) λ̄ τοῦ ιθ̄ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 Ταλῶς Ἰναρῶτ(ος) καὶ Ἰναρῶ(τος)
 ἀδ(ελφοῦ) ὑπ(έρ) ἐπ(ικεφαλαίου) ιθ̄ (ἔτους) (Ἀγορῶν) δραχ(μὴν)
 4 μίαν = . (γίνεται) (δραχμῆ) α = . Ψα.() Κρ.() σεση(μείωμαι)

Mesore 30 of the 19th year in the name of Talos daughter of Inaros and Inaros her brother, for epikhephalaion of the 19th year for Agorai, drachma one, 2 ob., that is, dr. 1, 2 ob. I, Psa.() (have signed.) I, Kr(), have signed.

3. The brevity of *ad* as an abbreviation here suggests that in 50 (note to lines 3–4) the last letter of the line is not an *epsilon* as read in the text but a *mu* as suggested in the note, and the latter letter seems to us also palaeographically preferable.

4. The strokes over the signatures indicate that we have two names abbreviated here. See 151, where the signature is clearer (but the rest of the text is lost).

135. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.31

7.1 × 6.3 cm.

184

Παῦ(νι) κ̄. τοῦ κδ̄ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 [Ἰ]ναρῶτ(ος) ὀμ(οίως) Ὀρου ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ)
 [κδ̄ (?)] (ἔτους) (Ἀγορῶν) (δραχμὰς) ἑπτὰ Ϝ χ̄^ο (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ζ Ϝ χ̄^ο

Pauni 2– of the 24th year in the name of Inaros son of the same, grandson of Horos, for dike tax of the [24th (?)] year for Agorai, dr. seven, 5 ob., 2 ch., that is, dr. 7, 5 ob., 2 ch.

2. On the family of Inaros, from which this document can be securely dated, see the commentary to 134.

3. Given that the payment occurs late in the year (Pauni), it is very likely that the year date lost here was the same as in line 1.

136. Receipt for Epikhephalaion

Inv. 906.8.170

8.4 × 5.3 cm.

184 (?)

The sherd of this text is unevenly ribbed, and the surface is full of irregularities coming from incompetent potting. In addition, a multitude of dark blots and smears contribute to the difficulty of reading. Some traces seem to belong to an earlier text. The reading as a whole is therefore somewhat uncertain, and line 1 is in particular very faint and damaged.

Μεσορῆ ις τοῦ κδ̄ (ἔτους)
 ὀνό(ματος) Χαπονχώνσιο(ς)
 Ψενχ(ώνσιος) ----- ὑπ(έρ)
 4 ἐπ(ικεφαλαίου) κδ̄ (ἔτους) (Ἀγορῶν) Ϝ. Α() σεση(μείωμαι)

Mesore 16 of the 24th year in the name of Chaponchonsis son of Psenchonsis . . . for epikephalaion of the 24th year for Agorai, 5 ob. I, A(), have signed.

1. Mesore 16 is 9 August. The 24th year could also be that of Caracalla and the date therefore 216. Since the taxpayer is not known, a certain determination cannot be made.

137. Receipt for Epikephalaion

Inv. 906.8.232

6.5 × 8.9 cm.

25 September 185

This sherd is complete, and the writing is all clear except where the numerous blots on the surface occur.

Θῶθ κη τοῦ κς (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 Πικῶτο(ς) Χεμπν(έως) ὑπ(έρ)
 ἐπ(ικεφαλαίου) κς (ἔτους) Χ(άρακος) (δραχμὰς) δύο
 4 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) β. . σεση(μείωμαι)

Thoth 28 of the 26th year, in the name of Pikos son of Chempneus, for epikephalaion of the 25th year for Charax, dr. two, that is, dr. 2. I, . . ., have signed.

2. We do not find this taxpayer elsewhere.

138. Receipt for Dike Tax

Inv. 906.8.389

8.6 × 6.4 cm.

23 August 186

Μεσ(ορῆ) ᾶ τοῦ κς (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 Ἰμούθου Σποτοῦτο(ς) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ)
 κς (ἔτους) Ἄγο(ρῶν) (δραχμὰς) ἑπτὰ β χ^ο (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ζ β χ^ο
 4 Ἄμ() σεση(μείωμαι)

Mesore 30 of the 26th year, in the name of Imouthes son of Spotous, for dike tax of the 26th year for Agorai, dr. seven, 5 ob., 2 ch., that is, dr. 7, 5 ob., 2 ch. I, Am(), have signed.

139. Receipt for Money Tax (?)

Inv. 906.8.402

8.3 × 6.3 cm.

187

A considerable amount of this text is lost at right, including the payments. With the large lacunae, it is impossible to be certain about the correct interpretation of the ostrakon, but we surmise that line 4 gives a total of payment for the receipt, and that it is drachmas meant.

Πα[-----ὀνό(ματος) (?)]
 Πετοσῆρις πρ(εσβυτέρου) Ψ[--καὶ ὀνό(ματος) (?)]
 Τηιονχά(νσιος) Σαχο(μνέως) Πετο[σί]ρ[ι]ο(ς)--]
 4 (ἔτους) κζ'' ε (γίνονται) ε. Παγίσκ[ος--]

3. On Teionchonsis and his family, see 198 commentary, on which the date to the reign of Commodus is based.

140. Receipt for Price of Wheat

Inv. 906.8.621

9.4 × 9.6 cm.

11 September 189

This sherd is complete, but the ink at the left side of line 3 and in line 4 has been almost completely washed out.

Θῶθ ιδ̄ τοῦ λ (ἔτους)
 ὑπ(ἐρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος) Πατσέβ(θιος) Πεχ()
 δι(ὰ) Λολο[ῦτο(ς)] Τηιονχά(νσιος) ὑπ(ἐρ) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ
 4 [. . .].[-----]

Thoth 14 of the 30th year, for Notos in the name of Patsebthis son of Pech(), through Lolous son of Teionchonsis, for the price of wheat . . .

2. We do not find the taxpayer elsewhere.
3. For the family of the agent, see 198, commentary.

141. Receipt for *Dimoiron*

Inv. 906.8.536

7.9 × 9.3 cm.

14 January 190

This text, mostly clearly readable, is complete except at right, where a considerable amount is lost. Its hand is that of the late second century, and the date to year 30 is therefore Commodus. The nature of the tax paid, however, is unknown; it is a *δίμοιρον* reckoned as an amount for each month. Since only one amount is preserved, in line 6, we do not know if the amount was uniform each month or varied according to some principle. The tax is not, to our knowledge, previously attested. At the right, it would seem that we are missing a good deal; for example, line 1 should have contained the remainder of the collector's title (tax, perhaps year) and two names. Line 2 must have contained a complete payment.

Ἀπολλωνίδης ἀπαι[τητῆς---]
 ἔσχον παρ' ὑμῶν [---]
 καὶ Πλήνι(ος) ἀδελφο[ῦ---]
 4 ὑπ(ἐρ) διμοίρου Θῶθ [---]
 (ἔτους) λ" Τῦβ(ι) ιθ̄ [---]
 ὁμοίως κδ δραχ(μάς) ὀκ[τῶ---]
 ὑπ(ἐρ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) .[---]
 8 ὑπ(ἐρ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) .[---]

1. The collector is not elsewhere attested.

142. Receipt for Goldsmiths' Tax

Inv. 906.8.281

6.9 × 6.3 cm.

28 September 190

The tax for which this receipt is issued is not commonly attested; the standard account of it is still to be found in *WO* I, pp. 403–404, where the (mostly Ptolemaic) evidence is cited. The formula of the present text is in essence the standard late second to early third century money tax form. The amount paid is 16 drachmas, but it is not certain what portion of a year's tax this represents.

Φαῶφι ᾧ τοῦ λα (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 Φθουμῶ(νθου) Ἀσκλαῦτο(ς) Ἑρμα(ίου)
 χρυσοχ(οικῆν) τοῦ λα (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δέκα
 4 ἕξ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἰς. Ἀμ() σεση(μείωμαι)

Phaophi 1 of the 31st year, in the name of Phthoumonthes son of Asklas, grandson of Hermaios(?), goldsmiths' tax of the 31st year, dr. sixteen, that is, dr. 16. I, Am(), have signed.

143. Receipt for Tax on Weavers

Inv. 906.8.537

7.9 × 7.6 cm.

180–192

The uncertainty of the name of the collector to be restored here prevents a precise dating of this receipt. Its formula is standard, but the inclusion of the full titles of the collectors is unusual for receipts for this tax in this period. The possibilities of collector include Sarapion, Premaos, and Pasemis.

[---καὶ] μέτοχ(οι) ἐπιτ(ηρηται) τέλ(ους) γερδ(ίων)
 [---Ψε]ναμούν(ιος) ἔσχ(ομεν) ὑπ(έρ) ἀριθ(μήσεως)
 [Φαμενώθ (?) καὶ] Φαρμούθι τὸ καθῆκ(ον) τέλ(ος)
 4 [(ἔτους)---] Ἀύρηλί[ου] Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου
 [Καίσαρος] τοῦ κυρίου Παχῶν ἰᾶ

... and associates, overseers of the tax on weavers, to ... , son of Psenamounis, we have received for the reckoning [of Phamenoth (?)] and Pharmouthi the tax due. [Year . . of] Aurelius Commodus Antoninus [Caesar the] lord, Pachon 11.

3. One expects the adjacent month preceding in the restoration here, as in the similar context in *WO* 660.
5. Καίσαρος would be too long written in full. Pachon 11 = 6 May.

144. Receipt for Tax on Weavers

Inv. 906.8.38

10.3 × 9.1 cm.

29 August 193

The formula of this receipt is typical for this tax in the Severan period; both collector and taxpayer are already known (see notes).

Πρεμαῶς καὶ
 μέτοχ(οι) ἐπιτ(ηρηται)
 [τέλ(ους)] γερδ(ίων) Πε-
 4 [τ]εμενώφει Φθου-
 μίνι(ος) ἔσχ(ομεν) παρὰ σοῦ
 ὑπ(έρ) μην(ός) Θῶθ {τὸ κ}
 τὸ καθῆκον τέλ(ος).
 8 (ἔτους) β" Θῶθ ᾱ

Premaos and associates, overseers [of the tax] on weavers, to Petemenophis son of Phthouminis, we have received from you for the month of Thoth the tax due. Year 2, Thoth 1.

1. Premaos is known from twelve other receipts: *O. Bodl.* 1031 and the references cited there; 32; 146; and 289.
3. Petemenophis son of Phthouminis pays tax on weavers for Choiak of the same year in *O. Bodl.* 1029; for Pachon of the preceding year in *O. Theb.* 64; and for year 3 in 32 and 146 (one of which is mentioned in the note to *O. Theb.* 64 as G.85).
6. This is apparently the beginning of τὸ καθῆκον, which was then written in its entirety in the next line. The alternative, *beta*, would suggest a second payment for Thoth, which is unlikely in view of the nature of the tax and the date.

145. Receipt for Geometria (?)

Inv. 906.8.12

8.1 × 6.2 cm.

194

Θῶθ ἰ τοῦ γ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Ἰναρῶτ(ος)
 [Ἰ]αρῶτ(ος) ὑπ(έρ) γεωμετρίας β (ἔτους) (δραχμῆν) μίαν = c
 (γίνεται) (δραχμῆ) α [=] c. A () σεση(μείωμαι)

Thoth 10 of the 3rd year in the name of Inaros son of Inaros, for geometria of the 2nd year, dr. one, 2½ ob., that is, dr. 1, [2]½ ob. I, A (), have signed.

1. Thoth 10 = 6 September. On the family, see the commentary to 134. From the careers of the family members discussed there it seems certain that the third year here can be only that of Severus.
2. The brevity of the tax abbreviation is remarkable, but it is difficult to see what else can be meant.

146. Receipt for Tax on Weavers

Inv. 906.8.73

7 × 5.7 cm.

25 January 195

The collector of this tax, Premaos, is well-known from early 191 to early 196; see 144.1n.

Πρεμαῶς καὶ
 μέτοχ(οι) ἐπιτ(ηρηται) τέλ(ους)
 γερδ(ίων) Πετεμ-
 4 ενώφ(ει) Φθουμίνιος
 ἔσχ(ομεν) παρὰ σοῦ
 ὑπ(έρ) Τῦβι τὸ κ(αθηκον)
 τέλ(ος). (ἔτους) γ"
 8 [Τ]ῦβι λ

Premaos and associates, overseers of the tax on weavers, to Petemenophis son of Phthouminis, we have received from you the tax due for Tybi. Year 3, Tybi 30.

3. The taxpayer is attested elsewhere; cf. 144.3n.
4. The end of the line is very blurred.

147. Receipt for Tax on Weavers

Inv. 906.8.44

8.2 × 9.6 cm.

198

The name of the collector in this receipt is restored on the basis of *WO* 1332, of year 5, and *O. Theb.* 65 and 68 of years 5 and 6. He also issued *O. Bodl.* 1030, of year 2, which is demonstrated to be A.D. 194 by the appearance of the taxpayer in another dated text (and also in *O. Theb.* 69, year 7). In both of the latter, Nepheros omits his patronymic and “the elder”. Both our text and *WO* 1332 are therefore of Severan date. This Nepheros or his brother appears in *O. Bodl.* 1099, to which the editors gave “197 (?)” as a date; that date is confirmed by the combination of these texts. In the text from 197, Nepheros paid *τέλος ἀγορανομίας* for the sixth year.

[Νεφερώς πρ(εσβύτερος) Φ]θουμίνιος καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτ(ηρηται)
 [τέλ(ους) γερδ(ίων)] τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Πετε()
 [—ἔσχ(ομεν) παρὰ] σο(ῦ) ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους) Θώθ (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ
 4 [----] (ἔτους) ζ Θώθ

[Nepheros the elder] son of Phthouminis and associates, overseers [of the tax on weavers] of the 7th year, in the name of Pete() . . . [we have received from you] for the tax of Thoth, dr. eight . . . Year 7, Thoth.

148. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.393

6.9 × 5.6 cm.

late IIp

On the family of the taxpayers see the commentary to 134.

[Πα]ῦ(νι) κῆ τοῦ [- (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)] Ἰναρῶ[το(s)]
 [Ἰ]ναρῶτ(ος) κ[α]ῖ Ταλῶτο(s) [Ἰ]ναρῶτ(ος) καὶ ὀνό(ματος)
 [---] . [----] . σεση(μείωμαι)

Pauni 28 of the . . [year, in the name] of Inaros son of Inaros and Talos daughter of Inaros, and in the name of . . .

1. Pauni 28 = 22 June.
2. We do not fully understand the last part of this line. The strokes that we take to be a second *καί* are disrupted by irregularities in the surface of the sherd; there are also supralinear marks that we cannot read.

149. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.612

8.9 × 12.4 cm.

IIp

This interesting receipt, issued by an otherwise unknown collector, lacks all mention of the

emperor's name, contrary to usual custom in the second century. Possible years of issue (assuming the payment is made in the 11th year for which the tax is paid) would be 107/8, 126/7, 147/8, and 170/1.

Παμοντ() Παθιοῦτ(ος) πράκ(τωρ)
ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμνο(νείων) ἔσχ(ον) ὑπ(έρ) λαο-
γρα(φίας) ια (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Πλήνιος
4 Καλασί(ριος) Α. . . . () (δραχμὰς) ς χ²
κ(αὶ) προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) Παχῶν κθ
πρὸ τοῦ(του) Μεχεῖρ ις (δραχμὰς) η

Pamont () son of Pathious, collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, I have received for poll tax of the 11th year in the name of Plenis son of Kalasiris, grandson of A—, dr. 6, 1 ch. and additional sums. Pachon 29. Before this, Mecheir 16, dr. 8.

2. The displacement of the taxpayer's name to a later spot in the formula is unlike money tax receipts and reminiscent of granary receipts.

5. Pachon 29 = 24 May (108, 127, 148, or 171).

6. Mecheir 16 = 10 February (108, 148) or 11 February (127, 171).

150. Receipt for Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.622

7.2 × 7.4 cm.

Πρ

Nothing remains of this text but a long series of payments of four and eight drachmas each.

[----] σεση(μείωμαι) Πα[---]
[---]. Σαραπίω(ν) σεση(μείωμαι) [---]
[---] Παῦ(νι) ιγ̄ (δραχμὰς) η σεση(μείωμαι). ἄ(λλας) Πα[ῦ(νι)---]
4 [---] ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμὰς) η σεση(μείωμαι)
[---] ἄλ(λας) Παῦ(νι) κβ̄ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμὰς) η σεση(μείωμαι)
[---] Ἐπεῖφ γ̄ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμὰς) δ σεση(μείωμαι)
[---] .() ις ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμὰς) δ σεση(μείωμαι)
8 [---] ἄ(λλας) κβ̄ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμὰς) δ σεση(μείωμαι)

2. Several officials named Sarapion are attested in various parts of the second century, none of whom can be identified with the man here with any confidence.

151. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.363

2.9 × 4.4 cm.

late Πρ (?)

Only the end of this text survives; it is included solely for the comparatively clear rendition of the signature that appears less clearly in *I34*, an epikephalaion receipt of 179 belonging to the archive of the Inaros family.

 [---] [----]
 [---] ζϕ Ψα.() Κρο() σεση(μείωμαι)

152. Receipt for a Tax on a Trade

Inv. 906.8.528

6.1 × 7.4 cm.

Πρ (?)

This ostrakon is complete except on the left, where a considerable amount must be lost. The formula, in its present state lacking most of what gave it specificity, is in general like that of the taxes on trades, with its information that the tax was paid in monthly installments. If an installment of this size was due each month, the yearly total would be a rather large 96 drachmas. None of the names in the text is sufficiently well-preserved to allow any identifications.

[---] Ἀτρήους καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτη(ρηται)
 [---] τε() Σενπετε() χ(αίρειν).
 [---]. ὑπ(έρ) Θῶθ (δραχμὰς) η (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η.
 4 [---] Θῶθ κη

153. Receipt for *Merismos Diplon*

Inv. 906.8.485

10.3 × 5.1 cm.

II/III

The tax for which this receipt is given is not yet fully understood. It was a capitation tax usually paid in small amounts, and usually paid simply ὑπὲρ διπλῶν, rather than as here as a *merismos*. The notation in this ostrakon that it was paid with a *τιμὴ πυροῦ* is evidently unique for the tax and its *merismos*, which are elsewhere simply paid in money. The chronological range of the tax in the ostraka is 110 (*O. Bodl.* 524, *O. Petr.* 214) to 153 (*O. Bodl.* 648), with most of the receipts falling after 132 and before 150. Ostraka for this tax are known both from Thebes and from Syene. The papyri widen the geographical and chronological scope somewhat: the earliest Roman attestation is *SB* 4352 of A.D. 95, the latest probably *P. Oxy.* 1438.20, from the late second century; the papyri come predominantly from the Fayum (see note to line 3).

The purpose of the tax is not certainly known. Wilcken (*WO* I, p. 179) declined to speculate, and early editors by and large followed him: "διπλᾶ are commonly jars of wine, but the meaning here is uncertain," commented Grenfell and Hunt on a *μερισμὸς διπλῶν* in *P. Oxy.* 1438, a list of arrears of taxes. Johnson (*Roman Egypt*, p. 548) offered the hypothesis that the tax "was probably designed to cover the charge for maintaining public officials travelling with a diploma." This suggestion was cited by Day and Keyes in commenting on a record of payment of 266 drachmas, 5 obols for διπλῶν in *P. Col.* V 1 verso col. 1a.99, but they were not entirely persuaded: "the nature of the tax is not yet clear to us, but there is some evidence that [it was] intended to provide for the billeting of soldiers."

Θῶθ . . τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 Λολοῦτο(ς) Παγεχάτει ὑπ(έρ)
 μερισμοῦ διπλῶ(ν) τι(μὴν) πυροῦ
 4 δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρες (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. Ε. . () σεση(μείωμαι)

Thoth . . . of the 24th year, in the name of Lolous son of Panechates, for *merismos diplon*, the price of wheat, drachmas four, that is, dr. 4. I. E. . (), have signed.

1. The date is August–September of either 183 or 215, more likely the former, from the absence of any Aurelii and the range of the tax noted in the commentary.

3. Theban ostraka in which payments are made for either *διπλῶν* or *μερισμὸς διπλῶν* are *O. Bodl.* 524, *O. Petr.* 214 (110); *O. Bodl.* 2248 (132; doubtful); *O. Bodl.* 755 (135); 853, 854 and *WO* 1477 (136); *WO* 578 and 1429 (137); 600 (141); 605 and 610 (142); 613 (143); 622 and 625 (145); 633, 637, and 1291 (148); *O. Bodl.* 862 (152); 648 (153). Ostraka from Syene: *WO* 85 (113); 163 (136); 164 (137); 169 (139). Other documents: *SB* 4352.10; 4359.4; 4361.6; *P. Lond.* 844.5, 7; *P. Col.* V 1 verso col. la.99; *P. Oxy.* 1438.20; *P. Teb.* 355.8, 10, 17; 638; *P. Ryl.* 214.9; *P. Fay.* 53.6; *O. Brüss.-Berl.* 38. The one Ptolemaic reference, no clearer, is *P. Teb.* 140, an account from 72 B.C. For the Roman period cf. also *Stud. Pal.* XXII 117; *P. Ryl.* 213.

154. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.651

3.8 × 5.8 cm.

II/III

Both the restoration and date of this brief text are uncertain. There are three other occurrences of a Pasemis as an *epitēretes* in the period in question, the end of the second and beginning of the third century. These texts are (1) *O. Bodl.* 1100, of a year 21, thought by Tait to be that of Caracalla, in which Pasemis is *ἐπιτηρητῆς τέλους ἀγορανομίας* and collects that tax for four months, the amount being four drachmas; (2) *WO* 660, year 29 of Commodus (April, 189), in which Pasemis is *ἐπιτηρητῆς τέλους γερδίων*; and (3) *WO* 680, of a year 11, in which Pasemis was (on Wilcken's restoration) *ἐπιτηρητῆς [τέλ(ους) γερδ(ίων)]*. About the latter two ostraka (not cited by *O. Bodl.*) Wilcken commented, "Falls der Pasemis derselbe ist, der in No. 660 genannt ist – was nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, – so würde, da jener im 29. Jahre des Commodus thätig ist, das 11. Jahr hier wohl auf Marcus oder Severus zu beziehen sein."

The justice of Wilcken's statement is undeniable; with *O. Bodl.* 1100 possibly to be included in the reckoning, the situation becomes more complicated. If all three receipts belong to the same man, we can choose from three possible datings: the dates may be 172, 181, and 189 (years 11, 21, and 29 of Marcus and Commodus), or 181, 189, and 203 (years 21 and 29 of Commodus and 11 of Severus), or even 189, 203, and 213 (years 29 of Commodus and 11 and 21 of Severus and Caracalla). These series yield theoretical spans of activity of 17, 22, and 24 years, in the same order. In general the smaller range is to be preferred on grounds of the progressively greater unlikelihood of increasing longevity, but the differences in this case are not so large as to give any measure of certainty.

In any case, of course, three receipts scattered over at least 17 years do not yield an identification of any compulsion. Under the circumstances, it does not seem possible to restore either tax associated with a Pasemis in this text (the same observation may be made about *WO* 680, as Viereck pointed out, *BL* II.1 71), since both were monthly levies of the sort collected here, and since the year date is missing from our text.

Πασῆ(μῆς) καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτηρηταὶ τ[έλ(ους)---]
 Φθουμῖ(νιος) ἔσχο(μεν) [---]
 μῆν(ος) Φα.() τοῦ [---(έτους)---]
 4 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) β" (δραχμαὶ) β" Α[---]

2. A very slight suggestion that this is the tax on weavers may come from the patronymic, which though common suggests Petemenophis son of Phthouminis, the weaver of whom this collection has at least three receipts (cf. 144.3n).

3. The month name is probably Phaophi, but Phamenoth cannot be excluded.

155. Receipt for Epikēphalaion

Inv. 906.8.403

4.7 × 7.3 cm.

II/III

[] . τοῦ ς (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Θέων(ος)
 [...]. . . . ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐπικ(εφαλαίου)
 [τοῦ] ς (ἔτους) (? Ἀγορῶν) (δραχμὰς) δώδε(κα)
 4 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἑβ

2. The letters clearly preserved at the start of this line evidently end the patronymic. We are not confident of a reading; perhaps]αμου(νιος).

4. It is uncertain if anything is lost at the start; at the end there is one uncertain character.

156. Receipt for μερισμὸς λημμάτων

Inv. 906.8.175

7 × 6 cm.

II/III

For the general type, see for example *O. Bodl.* 801–804 and 28.

Ἐπεὶ φ̄ ις τοῦ β (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) ---]
 Π. καὶ Σε. [----]
 ὑπ(ἐρ) μερισ(μοῦ) λη(μμάτων) [---]
 4 ἄλλ(ας) ἰη ὀμ(οίως) [---]

Epeiph 16 of the 2nd year, in the name of . . . and . . . , for *merismos lemmaton* . . . others on the 18th, likewise . . .

3. Tait suggested reading this tax name in *O. Bodl.* 786. The remainder of the line contains a place name, perhaps, which we cannot read, followed by the beginning of the sum paid.

4. The latter part of this line, too faint to read, evidently contained another payment.

157. Receipt for Crown Tax

Inv. 906.8.436

10.2 × 6.3 cm.

18 September 188

Receipts for crown tax of this period are normally in the form "month, year, in the name of X son of Y, for crown money of place Z, payment." A list may be found in A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 4 (1967) 59–74, to which 33 is to be added. The date in this text in lines 3–4 indicates that this formula was not followed here; but we have not been able to read the opening which would tell us what different phraseology was used here. There does not seem to be any dating construction in line 1.

[. . .]. ὀνό(ματος) Ἀτρήου[s]
 Σενπετε(μενώφιος) ὑπ(ἐρ) στεφ(ανικοῦ) χρή(ματος) τοῦ κη (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς)
 τέσσαρας ο- (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ ο- (ἔτους) κθ"
 4 Θῶθ κᾱ Αμεν . . . σεση(μείωμαι)

. . . in the name of Hatres son of Senpetemenophis, for crown-tax money of the 28th year, drachmas four, 3 ob., that is, dr. 4, 3 ob. Year 29, Thoth 21. I, Amen . . . , have signed.

158. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.420

5.6 × 7.8 cm.

II/III

[Month, date τ]οῦ ἰς̄ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 [-----]το(ς) ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας)
 [---δρα]χ(μὰς) τέσσαρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) [δ]

3. There is space for the final numeral but no trace of ink.

159. Receipt for Price of Dates


Inv. 906.8.489

7.8 × 6.5 cm.

II/III

Μεσ(ορῆ) η τοῦ κ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Ψανσνῶτο(ς)
 Φατρῆου(ς) Ἐριέω(ς) ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) φοι(νικῶν)
 λῆμ(ματος) κ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. Σαβ(ῖνος)

Mesore 8 of the 20th year, in the name of Psansnos son of Phatres, grandson of Herieus, for price of dates for receipts of the 20th year, dr. four, that is, dr. 4. I, Sabinos.

3. What follows the κ looks like  on the ostrakon, scarcely a normal writing of (ἔτους). It is in lighter ink than the κ and was perhaps written first. We cannot provide a satisfactory hypothesis of error and correction; perhaps this is an awkward writing or unintentional elaboration of the year sign.

160. Receipt for τέλος ὀνηλ()

Inv. 906.8.531

8.3 × 5.5 cm.

II/III

The formula and handwriting of this text date it to the late second or early third century. The name of the taxpayer is that of the Psenamounis son of Harphmois well-attested a century before, but no connection can be established.

The main interest of the text is the tax paid, the reading of which we are reasonably confident is correct. The resolution of the abbreviation ὀνηλ() has been much disputed. Wilcken preferred ὀνηλ(ατῶν), a tax on the driver rather than the animal, and Wallace (*Taxation*, p. 206) concurred, considering the tax one of the capitation taxes on trades. Tait, on the other hand, argued (*ad O. Bodl.* 1078) that the correct form was ὀνηλ(ασίας). His argument rested on the evidence of that Bodleian text, in which two collectors, calling themselves μισθ(ωταὶ) τέλο(ους) ὀνηλ(), acknowledge receipt of the ἑξαδραχμιαία for one ass. With the equation of the τέλος ὀνηλ() and ἑξαδραχμιαία that Tait considered justifiable on the basis of this text, it was clear to him that the tax was on the ass, not on the driver, and that ὀνηλ(ατῶν) was therefore incorrect. A second entry, indeed, recorded the payment of the six-drachma levy on two more donkeys. This was the same rate as at Oxyrhynchus, Tait noted.

More recently, M. Hombert (*Cd'É* 30 [1955] 139 ff.) has cited a papyrus with the form ὀνηλατικόν (A.D. 5), arguing from this that the correct form of the tax name in the ostraka is τέλος ὀνηλατικοῦ (recorded in *BL* IV 116).

The solution, however, is by no means so sure. (1) Tax names ending in -ικον are not coupled

with the word *τέλος* since this would be pleonastic, the suffix indicating by itself a tax. On the contrary, *τέλος* is used with the root word, not the tax-name derivative: *τέλος γερδίων* and *γερδιακόν* are an example of this phenomenon. If Hombert's evidence proves anything, in fact, it suggests a tax that would be called either *ὀνηλατικόν* or *τέλος ὀνηλατῶν*, so that Wilcken's position would be supported by this text.

(2) The problem of Tait's argument is more complex. *O. Bodl.* 1078 is dated to 129, several decades before the type of receipt that we have here, and conclusions of this era may not be true later (the same point, indeed, may be made about the still earlier text cited by Hombert). A second problem is that these late receipts show a great lack of uniformity in the amount paid, whereas one would on Tait's hypothesis assume multiples of six to be likely. Thus in *WO* 684 and *O. Bodl.* 1080, the payment is 2 drachmas 1 obol; in our text, 4 drachmas; in *O. Bodl.* 1079, 8 drachmas; in *O. Bodl.* 1081, 12 drachmas. It is hard to see how this range of payments can be interpreted as a six drachmas per animal levy. The situation in earlier receipts, too, is far from clear. In *WO* 392, two payments are made (A.D. 44), one of 75 drachmas, the other of 30. The latter is a multiple of six, the former not. *WO* 395 (A.D. 47) records a payment of 150 drachmas, also a multiple of six. No amount is found in *WO* 1054. It is possible, then, that the six drachma levy was the main pattern in the first and early second century, but it need not have been so toward the end of the second.

It is, in sum, uncertain still what resolution is to be preferred. The absence of a month for which payment is made does not suggest a tax on trade.

Ἐθὺρ κς τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Ψεναμού(νιος)
Ἄρφμόιτο(ς) ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους) ὀνηλ() (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. Α() σ(εσημείωμαι)

Hathyr 26 of the 14th year, in the name of Psenamounis son of Harphmois, for tax on donkey (drivers?), dr. four, that is, dr. 4. I, Α(), have signed.

161. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.17

5.9 × 6.5 cm.

II/III

Παχῶν [-----]
ὀνό(ματος) Ἀπολλοδώ[ρου--]
Πεκύσιο(ς) ὑπ(έρ) [--]
4 ἀργυρίου δρ[αχμὰς--]
vacat Παχῶ[v----]
vacat Φ[α--]

162. Receipt for Epikhephalaion

Inv. 906.8.306

8.7 × 7.9 cm.

1 September 201 (?)

Given the normally late date of epikhephalaion receipts, 201 is probably a better date for this text than 169.

Θῶθ δ̄ τοῦ ι (ἔτους) ὀν[ό(ματος)----]

Πετεχώ(νσιος) [. . .] τ() καὶ
 4 Σε[. . .] σ ἀδ(ελφῆς) ὑπ(έρ) ἐπ(ικεφαλαίου)
 θ (ἔτους) (Ἀγορῶν) (δραχμὰς) δ σεση(μείωμαι)

Thoth 4 of the 10th year in the name of . . . of Petechonsis, . . . and of Sen . . . his sister, for epikephalaion of the 9th year for Agorai, dr. 4. I have signed.

2. The line is scribbled, very small and blurred.

163. Receipt for Epikephalaion

Inv. 906.8.387

5.9 × 6 cm.

21 September 214?

This ostrakon is complete but everywhere very faint and washed-appearing. What we read as text and dots in lines 5 to 7 may be remnants of an earlier text; and there may be traces of such a text under lines 1–3 as well.

Θῶθ κδ̄ τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 Παουήσι(ος) Π() ὑπ(έρ) ἐπ(ικεφαλαίου)
 Ἀγο(ρῶν) κα (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρα
 4 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ. Αρ() σεση(μείωμαι)
 ἄ(λλας) Ἀθ[ύρ]
 ----- (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ

Thoth 24 of the 23rd year, in the name of Paouesis son of Pet(), for epikephalaion of Agorai of the 21st year, drachmas four, that is, dr. 4. I, Ar(), have signed . . .

1. The earlier securely datable examples of the omission of the imperial name belong mostly to the later part of Commodus' reign; the year is therefore probably 214.
 2. The name Paouesis is attested in *O. Bodl.* 1572.

164. Receipt for Tax on Weavers

Inv. 906.8.428

6.2 × 4.5 cm.

after 212

None of the persons of this text are known, but the way Aurelius is used makes a date after the Antonine Constitution virtually certain.

Αὐ(ρήλιος) Παπ() καὶ μέτοχοι ἐπιτ(ηρηται) τέλ(ους)
 γερδ(ίων) . . . Αὐ(ρηλίω) χ(αίρειν). ἔσχο(μεν)
 ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους) (δραχμῆν) μ[ία]ν ρς (γίνεται) (δραχμῆ) α ρς

Aurelius Pap() and associates, overseers of the tax on weavers . . . to Aurelius . . . , greeting. We have received for the tax dr. one, 4½ ob., that is, dr. 1, 4½ ob.

2. After the tax name the letters look like *παρ*, but the reading is uncertain and a preposition would be out of place. The name is perhaps Κρ . . .

165. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.246

8.5 × 5.6 cm.

23 February 229 (?)

Μεχέιρ κθ τοῦ η (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)
 . . . () Ἀμω(νίου) πρ(εσβυτέρου) Ἀσκλ[ᾱ-]
 τος ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) (Ἀγορῶν) δραχμ(ὰς) τέσσαρ(ας)
 4 σεση(μείωμαι). Α(ὕρηλιος) Ἀσκλᾱς σεση(μείωμαι)

Mecheir 29 of the 8th year in the name of . . . Amonios the elder son of Asklas, for poll tax of Agorai, drachmas four. I, . . . , have signed. I, Aurelius Asklas, have signed.

2. One would expect Aurelius at the start, but it does not seem to be what was written.
3. Only the *lambda* of the tax name is clearly written. The amount paid is very messily written. It does not seem that any total was written.

166. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. 906.8.648

5.1 × 7.4 cm.

Roman

The broken condition of the ostrakon prevents us from having an understanding of what would be a most interesting document. It apparently recorded a receipt given by a *χοαχύτης*, a priest of the funerary cults and in effect mummy-keeper, to someone who has paid 8 drachmas for some tax and 4 drachmas for some purpose connected with grave-diggers (*νεκροτάφοι*). More than this it is hard to discern; we know of no parallel for the text.

[Πετ]εχ(εσποχ(ράτης) . . . [----]
 [. . .] χοαχύτης [----]
 [ἔσχ(ον)] παρὰ σοῦ ὑπ(έρ) τέλος [----]
 4 [. . .] δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτώι [----]
 [. . .] νεκροτάφω(ν) κερ[----]
 [δ]ραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρ[as----]
 [. . .] . . . αυ . . . [----]
 8 [----] [----]

2. There is, of course, the possibility that the *χοαχύτης* is the taxpayer and the nominative is a mistake for dative, as is so common.

167. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 906.8.481

8.2 × 5 cm.

Third Century

Διέγρ(αψε) Μεσ(ορή) ῥ τοῦ . (ἔτους) Ἀσκλᾱτος Λολοῦτο(ς)
 -ca. 10- ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) ε (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κ. Δ() σεση(μείωμαι)

Paid, Mesore 6 of the . . . th year, Asklas son of Lolous . . . , for poll tax of the 5th year, dr. twenty, that is, dr. 20. I, D(), have signed.

1. The taxpayer may be the person attested in *WO* 987 of A.D. 211. Mesore 6 = 30 July.

GRAIN TAXES

168. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.188

5 × 3.7 cm.

74/5

This brief text, much of which is lost to the right, raises problems of dating that require a full examination of the family of the descendants of Maieuris, who have figured from time to time in the ROM ostraka and other collections. The two best known persons of the family are the brothers Maieuris and Psenamounis, both sons of Harphmois and grandsons of Maieuris. The evidence for them is this:

Maieuris son of Harphmois (so identified in all his texts):

<i>O. ROM</i> 241	73/4	performs naubion
<i>O. Theb.</i> 44	78	pays bath tax w. brother Psenamounis
<i>O. Theb.</i> 45	80	pays poll tax for Agorai North
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 963	81	pays date-palms for Upper Toparchy, w. brother Psenamounis
<i>O. Theb.</i> 47	82	pays bath tax for Agorai North
<i>O. Theb.</i> 48	84	pays dike tax for Agorai North
<i>O. ROM</i> 170	74/5	pays <i>sitika</i> with brother Psenamounis
	or 87/8	
<i>O. ROM</i> 94	90-94	pays poll and bath taxes for Agorai North
<i>O. ROM</i> 34	105	pays grain for Upper Toparchy

The association with him of *O. Theb.* 120 will be discussed below.

Psenamounis son of Harphmois, grandson of Maieuris (his grandfather's name is given in *O. Theb.* 49 and 50):

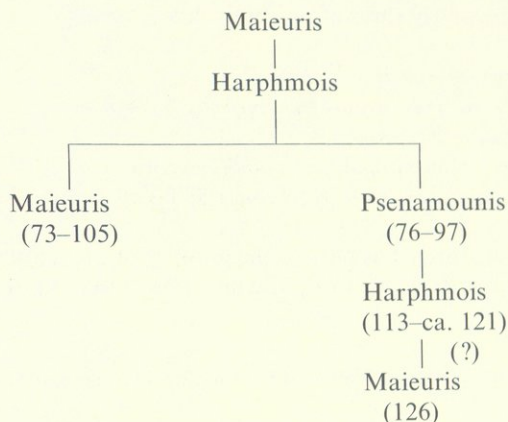
<i>O. Theb.</i> 43	76	pays dike tax for Agorai North
<i>O. Theb.</i> 44	78	pays bath tax with brother Maieuris
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 963	81	pays date-palms for Upper Toparchy with brother Maieuris
<i>O. ROM</i> 90	84	pays dike tax for Agorai North
<i>O. Theb.</i> 49	86	pays poll tax for Agorai North
<i>O. Theb.</i> 50	86	pays dike tax for Agorai North
<i>O. ROM</i> 170	74/5	pays <i>sitika</i> for Upper Toparchy (w. brother Maieuris; Psenamounis
	or 87/8	is identified here only as "his brother", no name given)
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 511	97	pays poll and bath taxes for Agorai North

One of the brothers pays dike tax for Agorai North in 102 in 97.

To the record of Psenamounis' activity may be added the appearance of a Harphmois son of Psenamounis, undoubtedly his son, in 104, paying watchtower tax in A.D. 113, again for Agorai North. The same person, again for Agorai North, pays poll tax in 109, of ca. 117-121.

In the context of these documents one may consider *O. Theb.* 120, in which a Maieuris son of Harphmois pays grain taxes for Agorai in A.D. 126. If one were to assume that this is the

Maieuris abundantly documented, his active career would have to stretch over more than half a century, which is exceedingly improbable. The graph in *Death and Taxes* (Graph 6.1) shows that an infinitesimal portion of the population could have reached age 60, and not less than an age of 67 would have to be assumed. It seems far more likely that this Maieuris in 126 is the son of either a son of the earlier Maieuris or of the attested Harphmois son of Psenamounis (nephew of the earlier Maieuris). A stemma of the following sort is indicated:



(Dates are of known activity).

Into this family the present text is to be inserted. It is a granary receipt of year 8 given to Harphmois son of Maieuris (this restoration seems very probable).

Μέτρ(ημα) θη(σαυροῦ) ἱερ(ατικῶν) [᾿Ανω (τοπαρχίας) γενή(ματος) η (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)]
 ᾿Αρφμοῖς Μα[ιεύριος---]
 (ἔτους) η Οὔεσπ[ασιανοῦ---]

There are three interdependent problems here: (1) the restoration and resolution in line 1; (2) the identity of the taxpayer; and (3) the date in line 3. The reading of Vespasian's name is, being predominantly sawtooth writing, uncertain as a whole: ᾿Αντων[ίνου is also possible, even if less likely (this would yield a date of 144/5). Aside from palaeography, the chief support for the date under Vespasian is the reading and restoration of line 1. There are a variety of combinations of resolutions of *ιερ* and restorations of the lacuna possible: *θη(σαυροῦ) ἱερ(ῶν)*, with the possible addition of place names ᾿Ανω *τοπαρχίας* or ᾿Ερμώνθεις, and *θησαυροῦ ἱερατικῶν*, which may stand alone or be followed by ᾿Ανω *τοπαρχίας* or *κάτω τοπαρχίας*. The phrase *θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν* is known mainly from receipts issued by the *τελῶναι* of that granary. Receipts for grain delivered to all of the granaries designated by the phrases cited fall mainly in the first century, with the latest known to us being 172 of A.D. 106. It is likely, therefore, that whatever the resolution and restoration, the receipt was issued no later than about 105, after which the granaries in question appear to have ceased issuing receipts of this kind. That the upper toparchy was mentioned is suggested by the persistent connection of the family with that area.

The issuer of the receipt, then, is an argument in favor of a date under Vespasian in line 3, and with the letters favoring that reading also, it is reasonably secure. We may ask who this Harphmois may be. If both of the brothers Maieuris and Psenamounis are first attested in the early to mid 70's, it is unlikely that either had a mature son in 74/5, particularly considering the known range of activity of Psenamounis' son. It is more likely, we suggest, that this is the father of the two sons; unless, indeed, he is a more distant relation.

169. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.5

9.6 × 6.7 cm.

80

This neatly lettered and relatively fully written out receipt follows the active formula common in the first century but progressively rarer after about this time.

Μεμέτρ(ηκεν) εἰς τὸν τῶν ἱερατικῶν
θησαυρὸ(ν) Ἦνω το(παρχίας) γενήματος β (ἔτους)
Τίτου τοῦ κυρίου Ψεναμοῦνις
4 πρεσβ(ύτερος) Ἦρου πυροῦ μίαν δωδ(έκατον)
(γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α ιβ [(ἔτους) β] Τίτου τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπειφ.

Psenamounis the elder, son of Horos, has paid to the granary of the temples of the upper toparchy from produce of the 2nd year of Titus the lord, of wheat one, a twelfth, that is, art. wh. $1\frac{1}{12}$. [Year 2] of Titus the lord, Epeiph —.

3. Psenamounis the elder, son of Horos, is attested in 83 paying dike and bath taxes in 71.

170. Receipt for Grain Taxes

Inv. 906.8.332

8.5 × 7.3 cm.

74/5 or 87/8

This sherd is complete but offers no recognizable formula. It may be only an informal receipt, and the use of the word *σιτικῶν* in the way it is here shows that this is neither a normal granary receipt nor a *πρόσθεσις* receipt (on which see 60, commentary).

Μαιεύριος Ἄρφημοῖτο(ς)
καὶ ἀδελφὸ(ς) σιτικῶν ὑπ(έρ) Ἦνω (τοπαρχίας)
ζ (ἔτους) -----
4 Α.() σε(σημείωμα)

Maieuris son of Harphmois and his brother, for grain taxes for the upper toparchy for the 7th year . . .

1. On the taxpayers see 168, commentary. Either Vespasian or Domitian would be a possible date in terms of the careers outlined there.

3. We do not understand this line. One possible reading is (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) διμοιρο(ν) (γίνεται) τ β, but this encounters considerable palaeographical obstacles. Another reading would take the last group of letters to represent σιτ().

171. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.54

13.7 × 7.1 cm.

100-101

The sherd is extremely faded, especially in line 3, which is only partially readable.

Μέ(τρημα) θησαν(ροῦ) κω(μῶν) γενή(ματος) δ (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ τοῦ
 κυρίου Ἐθῦρ . ὀγ(όματος) ----- Πετεῦριο(ς) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ τ̄ (γίνονται) (πυροῦ
 ἀρτάβαι) δ τ̄

(2nd hand)

ὄμ(οίως) Ἐπειφ ιε (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) . (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) . ---

Payment to the granary of the villages from produce of the 4th year of Trajan the lord, Hathyr – in the name of — son of Peteuris, art. wh. 4½, that is, art. wh. 4½. Likewise, Epeiph 15, art. wh. –, that is, art. wh. ---

2. Hathyr is October–November, 100.

3. The end of this line seems to contain the signature for lines 1–2, written in the first hand. Epeiph 15 is 9 July 101.

172. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.275

10.3 × 9 cm.

18 July 106

[Με(μέτρηται) εἰς θησαν(ρόν) ἱερῶ(ν) Ἄνω (τοπαρχίας) γενή(ματος) θ (ἔτους)
 Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπειφ κδ
 ὀν(όματος) Ἀ[σ]κλᾶτ(ος)

4 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ.
 Πι() σεση(μείωμαι)

[Paid] to the granary of the temples of the upper toparchy from produce of the 9th year of Trajan the lord, Epeiph 24, in the name of Asklas son of —, art. wh. 4, that is, art. wh. 4. I, Pi(), have signed.

3. The patronymic probably started with Ερ or Αρ, but the remainder of the line has only traces of ink remaining.

173. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.254

8.7 × 7.9 cm.

18 July 131

The surface of this sherd is much abraded, and several smudges also detract from its legibility.

Μέτρ(ημα) θη(σανροῦ) κω(μῶν) γενή(ματος) ιε (ἔτους) Ἄδριανοῦ
 τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπ(εὶ)φ κδ [ὑπ(έρ) --]
 Πετεμίν[ιο(ς)]
 4 ὑπ(έρ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δωδ[έκατο(ν)]
 (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ιβ

Payment to the granary of the villages from produce of the 15th year of Hadrian the lord, Epeiph 24 . . . of Peteminis . . . for Agorai, art. wh. a twelfth, that is, art. wh. 1/12 . . .

2. The traces at the start of the line are too faint to confirm definitely the reading printed, but the space is of the right length.

174. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.194

3.8 × 5 cm.

ca. 134

The year date for which this receipt was primarily given is lost; two other dates, years 18 and 16, are preserved later in the text. The former, 133/4, is the earliest date possible, but nothing prevents a later one.

Μέ(τερημα) θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) [γενή(ματος) - (ἔτους)]
 [Ἄ]δριανοῦ Καίσα[ρος τοῦ κυρίου---]
 .. ἰγ̄ ὑπ(έρ) (Ἀγορῶν) [όνό(ματος)---].
 4 τος μη(τρός) Σενφ. [----]
 ἰη (ἔτους) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δωδ[έκατο(ν) (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἰβ. ---]
 ὑπ(έρ) ἰς (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) δ. [----]
 [.] (γίνεται) . [----]

Payment to the granary of the villages [from produce of the - year] of Hadrian Caesar [the lord, --- 13 for Agorai [in the name of ---], whose mother is Senph. . . 18th year, art. wh. a twelfth [that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{12}$]. . . for the 16th year, art. wh. . . .

2. The ink, but not the surface, of the first letter of Ἄδριανοῦ is missing, and the reading is not certain; but neither Trajan nor Antoninus seems possible.
3. What we read as the *iota* in the date could be the abbreviation stroke of the month name, which we cannot read.

175. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.228

8 × 9.9 cm.

135

Με(μέτρηται) εἰς θησ(αυρὸν) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος)
 ἰθ (ἔτους) Ἄδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 Ἐπειφ κα ὑπ(έρ) Νή(σων) ὄνό(ματος)
 4 Ἀρβήχ(ιος) Πασήμιο(ς) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἰβ'. ἄ(λλο)
 Μεσ(ορῆ) ἄ το(ῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) κ'δ' καὶ ὄνό(ματος)
 Παήριο(ς)
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἰβ' (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἰβ'. Κρ() ἰβ'
 8 .. σεση(μείωμαι)

Paid to the granary of the metropolis, from produce of the 19th year of Hadrian the lord, Epeiph 21, for Nesoi, in the name of Harbechis son of Pasemis, art. wh. $\frac{1}{12}$. Another Mesore 1 for the same, $\frac{1}{24}$, and in the name of --- son of Paeris, art. wh. $\frac{1}{12}$, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{12}$. I, Κρ(), $\frac{1}{12}$. I, ---, have signed.

3. Epeiph 21 = 15 July.
5. Mesore 1 = 25 July.
6. The name not read looks like Κοασοήριο(ς), but that is neither attested nor, to our thinking, persuasive.
7. The sign at the start, which must be equivalent to ζ, looks like a bucranium; see the plate. The ἰβ in this line is written ιο (unlike the numeral in line 4), but was smeared below the line as well.

176. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.623

7.3 × 10.2 cm.

August–September 138

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος)
 α (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Θῶθ .
 4 τοῦ β (ἔτους) ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὄνό(ματος) Πετορζ(μήθιος)
 καὶ Πα.() Καλή(ος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δίμοι-
 ρον (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ο'. Λολ(οῦς) σεση(μείωμαι)

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 1st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Thoth –, of the 2nd year, for Notos, in the name of Petorzmetis and Pa... sons of Kales, art. wh. two-thirds, that is, art. wh. $\frac{2}{3}$. I, Lolous, have signed.

177. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.260

8 × 10.2 cm.

16 June 141

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) — γενή(ματος)] δ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου
 [τῶν κυρίων] Σεβαστῶν Παῦ(νι) κβ ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος)
 [ὄνό(ματος) . . .] Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀροννῶ(φριος) διὰ Σε-
 4 [. . .]. Παισιο(ῦτος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἕκτο(ν) κδ (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) \bar{s} κδ
 Ἀμώ(νιος) σεση(μείωμαι)

[Payment to the granary of the —, from produce] of the 4th year of Antoninus and Verus [the lords] Augusti, Pauni 22, for Charax, [in the name of —] (son of?) Heraklas, grandson (?) of Haronnophris, through Sen... daughter of Papsious, art. wh. a sixth, $\frac{1}{24}$, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{24}$. I, Amonios, have signed.

178. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.274

7.3 × 6.3 cm.

144

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) γενή(ματος) ζ (ἔτους)
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶ(φι) ε
 4 τοῦ η (ἔτους) ὑπ(έρ) Ὀφι(ήου) ὄνό(ματος)
 Ἀσκλᾶτο(ς) Κα... () Ψανσ(νῶτος)
 [[Κρ()]] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ . Κρ() . .

Payment to the granary of the villages from produce of the 7th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi 5 of the 8th year, for Ophieon in the name of Asklas son of Ka..., grandson of Psansnos, art. wh. 4, that is, art. wh. 4...

3. Phaophi 5 = 2 October 144.

5. The patronymic begins with *kappa* or *beta*; after the second letter it is too faint to read. The taxpayer is

possibly the elder brother of the Asklas the younger son of —, grandson of Psansnos attested in 185, A.D. 162.
6. At the start of the line the scribe originally wrote Κρ, the start of the signature, but wrote ζ over it. The ink after the totalling indicated by a dot in our text looks like a phi, but its significance here is obscure. The last two letters do not look like ση or a variant thereof, but we cannot suggest what else they are.

179. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.166

8.5 × 5.1 cm.

25 June 157

[Μέ(τρημα)] θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
[τοῦ] κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ ἁ ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) ὀνό(ματος)
[Τε]ῶτο(ς) Ὄρου Σποτοῦτο(ς)
4 [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης)] τρίτο(ν) ιβ' (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) γ' ιβ' Ψ. [—]

[Payment] to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 20th year of Antoninus [the] lord Augustus, Epeiph 1 for Agorai, in the name of Teos son of Horos, grandson of Spotous . . . [art. wh.] a third, $\frac{1}{12}$, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{12}$

2. The titlature is uncommon in this reign but listed by Bureth.

3. The taxpayer is attested with his grandfather's name in *O. Bodl.* 1499 (179, the editor's date, seems certain), in which he himself had paid grain on Pauni 8 (2 June) and his heirs on Epeiph 16 (10 July); his death thus falls between those dates. Tait had, to judge from his notes, associated this taxpayer with the series of receipts issued to Teos son of Horos (no grandfather's name) in *O. Bodl.* 1493, 1494, 1496, and *O. Minor* D 12, all from the months of Pachon, Pauni, and Epeiph in 178, and this must be correct. In these receipts he pays for Nesoi and Agorai. To these texts are now to be added 201, of which the date is lost, and the present text, which, dating to 157, lengthens his known life-span very considerably.

Some writing that we do not understand follows the grandfather's name both here and in 201, which seems to be in the same hand; it is possible that the unread portion after the patronymic in *O. Bodl.* 1493 is the same expression. It may be that in the ROM texts and in the Bodleian one we are dealing with various phrases for intermediaries, but we are not convinced by any interpretation of our texts in this manner.

180. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.186

7.1 × 8.2 cm.

158/9

This sherd is pock-marked in places; the ink is faded and in line 5 badly blurred. The hand is unusual.

[Μέ(τρημα)] θησ(αυροῦ —) γενή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
[τοῦ] κυρίου — ὑπ(ἐρ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Θερμούθιο(ς) Πα. . .
[—] Ὄρου Πεπεμενώφιος καὶ
4 [—]. (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δύο τέταρτο(ν) (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) βδ
[—]. μίαν
[τέταρτο(ν) (γίνεται)] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
[—] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) βL . Σαβ(ῖνος) σεση(μείωμαι)

3. The καὶ is formed in an unusual manner, but it is similar to the same letters in Καίσαρος (line 1).
5. There was another payment recorded here, but we cannot securely identify most of it.

181. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.221

6.2 × 7.2 cm.

5 August 160

[Μέ(τρημα) θη]σ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κγ (ἔτους) Ἄντω[νίν]ου Καίσαρος
 [τοῦ κυρ]ίο(υ) Μεσο(ρή) ιβ ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) δ[νό(ματος)].
 [. . .]. . . . Πετε() (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ὀκτ[ῶ]. . .

4 [—].. σεση(μείωμαι) Σαβ(ῖνος) σεση(μείωμαι)

3. The beginning of the preserved portion may be read as].φατ or].φαρ, possibly the abbreviated end of a name.

4. Sabinos is attested in numerous granary receipts of about this date.

182. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.247

9.1 × 8 cm.

9 August 161

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως)] γενή(ματος) α (ἔτους) Αὐρηλ[ίων]
 Ἄντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου [τῶν]
 κυρίων Σεβαστῶν Μεσορή ις [ὑπ(έρ) —]

4 ὀνό(ματος) Πετεχεσποχρ(άτου) Α. αρχιος
 Φατρήους πυροῦ τέσσαρες (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ
 Πετε. . () σεση(μείωμαι) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ

[Payment to the granary of the metropolis] from produce of the 1st year of Aurelii Antoninus and Verus [the] lords Augusti, Mesore 16, [for —] in the name of Petechespochrates son of A. . . grandson of Phatres, of wheat four, that is, art. wh. 4. I, Pete. . . , have signed, art. wh. 4.

5. Every letter is faintly visible.

183. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.233

7.4 × 6.3 cm.

Antoninus

The dating of this ostrakon among the various reigns in which the name Antoninus is found in the imperial titlature rests on the signer's name. Although Horos is possibly the most common name in Roman Egypt, only two men of the name signed granary receipts under emperors who used the name Antoninus. The first, who generally signed himself Ἔρος or Ἔρο(ς), worked under Antoninus Pius, and is attested from 141–149 and 156–161 (if these are the same man). The second, who signed himself Ἔρ(ος) (and whose name is usually uncertainly read), signed receipts in 186 and 190. Only three receipts of the latter are known (*O. Bodl.* 1522 and 1549; *WO* 954), whereas sixteen at least are known for the earlier man. The considerations of the form of the signature and the numerical preponderance of the earlier Horos suggest that we have Antoninus Pius here rather than Commodus. And the length of the restoration, while not a decisive criterion, does support Antoninus, for the 7–8 letters that thus would be restored in each of lines 1 and 2 are of about the same order of magnitude as the probable restorations in later lines.

The right side of the ostrakon has a very rough surface, especially toward its top.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) [— γενή(ματος) — (ἔτους)]
 Ἀντωνίνου [τοῦ κυρίου (?)]
 Παῦνι κ̄ε̄ ὑπ(έρ) . [. ὀνό(ματος) ——]
 4 μούθιο(ς) Ἀπελλ. [—]
 Αἰλουρίων(ος) πυροῦ [δέκα]
 ἑπτὰ (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιζ. Ὡρο(ς) σεση(μείωμαι)

Payment to the granary of [— from produce of the — year] of Antoninus [the lord] Pauni 25, for — [in the name of] . . . mouthis son (or daughter) of Apell . . . of Ailourion, of wheat, seventeen, that is, art. wh. 17. I, Horos, have signed.

5. There are traces of ink toward the end of the line, but they do not confirm nor negate the restoration suggested.

184. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.238

9.2 × 7.6 cm.

June–July 162

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) β [(ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ]
 Οὐήρου Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων
 Σεβαστῶν Ἐπιφ. ὑπ(έρ) Νή(σων) ὀνό(ματος) Ἀν-
 4 ουβίω(νος) Ὡρου . . . πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας)
 μίαν ἡ[μισυ] (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) αΛ. Α() σεση(μείωμαι)

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 2nd [year of Antoninus and] Verus Caesars the lords Augusti, Epeiph – for Nesoi, in the name of Anoubion son of Horos . . . , of wheat art. one, a half, that is, art. wh. 1½. I, A(), have signed.

185. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.239

10.2 × 7.5 cm.

28 July 162

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) β (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
 καὶ Οὐ[ήρου] τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν
 Μεσο(ρή) δ̄ ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος) Ἀσκλάτο(ς) νε(ωτέρου)
 4 Ψανσῶς (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α. Ἀμ(ώνιος)
 σεση(μείωμαι)

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 2nd year of Antoninus and Verus the lords Augusti, Mesore 4 for Notos, in the name of Asklas the younger, son of . . . , grandson of Psansnos, art. wh. one, that is, art. wh. 1. I, Amonios, have signed.

2. There are extra traces of ink at the start of the line, besides what is read above, and in the area to the left of the margin established by line 1; it may be a blot or a false start.

3. The taxpayer may be the younger brother of the one in 178.

4. The patronymic is present but we cannot read it.

186. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.235

10.4 × 11.8 cm.

163

The date in line 1 is restored on the assumption that the date in Pauni (line 3) is earlier in the same summer in which year 4, Thoth, occurred (163).

- Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) [γ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου]
 καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρ[ίων Σεβαστῶν]
 Παῦ(νι) κγ ὑπ(έρ) (Ἀγορῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Ταλ[ῶτος Ἰνα-]
 4 ρῶτο(s) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τέσσαρας [(γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)] δ̄ . . . [---]
 (ἔτους) δ Θῶθ . . . [---]

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the [3rd year of Antoninus] and Verus the lords [Augusti], Pauni 23, for Agorai, in the name of Talos daughter of Inaros, art. wh. four, [that is, art. wh.] 4. . . Year 4, Thoth . . .

3. On the family of the taxpayer, see the commentary to 134.
 4. There are traces at the end which we cannot read because of their faintness.

187. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.147

4.5 × 7.4 cm.

161-169

- Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) [γενή(ματος) - (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου]
 [κα]ὶ Οὐήρου τῶν [κυρίων Σεβαστῶν]
 [Π]αῦνι κῆ ὑπ(έρ) [--- ὀνό(ματος) ---]
 4 [---]. απο() εχω[---]
 [(?) Πετ]εχω() (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τέ[σσαρας (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ. Date]
 [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τέσσα]ρας (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ̄ [---]
 [---]. . . [---]

4. απο (or απο) probably ends a name. But Παγεχά(της) may also be possible.

188. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.269

8.2 × 8.6 cm.

10 June 174

- Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ιδ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος [τοῦ κυρίου]
 Παῦ(νι) ις ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) Πετε. . . .
 4 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α. Ἀμ(ώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι)

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 14th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar [the lord], Pauni 16, for Charax in the name of Pete. . . , art. wh. one, that is, art. wh. 1. I, Amonios, have signed.

2. The latter part of the line preserves bits of ink too scattered to determine the reading.
3. There may be an abbreviation stroke after Πετε, but the letters are very faint, and it could be just another letter. Petemenophis is possible.

189. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.462

11.2 × 13.6 cm.

174

The formula of this receipt is the same as in 40, *O. Bodl.* 1409 and 1460, and *O. Petr.* 157; its distinguishing features are the use of *συναίρεμα* and the absence of the place for which paid between the numeral of the month and the word *δνό(ματος)*. The lower left part of the sherd's surface is abraded away; much of what ink remains is very faded.

Ἀντίγρα(φον)· συναί(ρεμα) θησ(αυροῦ) Με(μνονείων)
 γενή(ματος) ιδ(ἔτους) Ἀῶρη(λίου) Ἀντ(ωνίνου) Καίσα(ρος) τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπέιφ ε̄
 δνό(ματος) Παναμ(έως) Ἐρμωδώρου καὶ
 4 [----] δνό(ματος) Ψεναμο(ύνιος)
 [-----].

Copy. Total payment into the granary of the Memnoneia from produce of the 14th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 15, in the name of Panameus son of Hermodoros and . . . in the name of Psenamounis . . .

2. The extreme compression and abbreviation of the imperial titles is unusual but, we think, correctly read.
5. At the end, perhaps *πέμπτον*.

190. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.209

5.2 × 4.5 cm.

30 December 175

[Μέ(τρημα)] θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ιε(ἔτους)
 [Ἀῶ]ρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Τῦβι γ τοῦ ις(ἔτους)
 4 [ὑπ(έρ) . .] δνό(ματος) Φατρή(ος)
 [--] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἡμισυ(γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) L
 Ἀμ(ώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι)

[Payment] to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 15th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar [the] lord, Tybi 3 of the 16th year, [for --], in the name of Phatres son of . . . art. wh. one-half, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{2}$. I, Amonios, have signed.

2. The titles, which are very faint, seem to be written with extreme *Verschleifung* rather than abbreviated.

191. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.207

6.2 × 5.6 cm.

23 May 176

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ)] μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ις(ἔτους)
 [Ἀῶρηλίου] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος

- [τοῦ κυρίου] Παχῶ(ν) κῆ ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος) Ὁρο(υ)
 4 [.....].....() (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν ἡμισυ
 [.....] (γίνεται) [α]ζ" Ἀμ(ώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι)

[Payment to the granary] of the metropolis from produce of the 16th year of [Aurelius] Antoninus Caesar [the lord], Pachon 28 for Notos in the name of Horos . . . art. wh. one, one-half . . . that is, [1]½. I, Amonios, have signed.

4. The writing is clear, but we cannot read the patronymic. Possibly] . . Πικῶ(τος).
 5. Most of the total is lost below a diagonal break, with little more than the diagonal number mark now visible.

192. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.185

7.1 × 5.5 cm.

3 June 176

- Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ις (ἔτους)
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ [κυρίου] Παῦ(νι) θ
 4 ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος) [.....].
 [— — — — —] . . .
 [.....]

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 16th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the [lord], Pauni 9, for Notos, in the name of . . .

- 2-6. The ink is missing in the middle of these lines.

193. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.165

6.3 × 6.9 cm.

15 June 176

- [Μέ(τρημα) θ]ησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ις (ἔτους) Αὐρηλ(ίου)
 [Ἀντωνίνου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παῦ(νι) κα
 ὑπ(έρ) . . ὀνό(ματος) Πετεχ(εσποχράτου) Χαβονχώνσιο(ς)
 4 [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) τρί]το(ν) (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) γ'. Ἀμώ(νιος) σεση(μείωμαι)

[Payment] to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 16th year of Aurelius [Antoninus] Caesar the lord, Pauni 21, [for —, in the name of] Petechesochrates son of Chabonchonsis, [art. wh. a third], that is, art. wh. ⅓. I, Amonios, have signed.

3. The taxpayer is also attested in 55 (4 July 195, not 194 as printed), and in 195 and 196.

194. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.153

7 × 6.1 cm.

179

This sherd is complete at top, bottom, and right, but missing nearly half its total width at the left. Some of the writing is quite faded, and there is a large blotch in line 3 (and extending up and

down from that line) which makes impossible the reading of the name of the payer as well as part of the signature.

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ιθ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίων Ἀντων(ίνου)
[καὶ Κομμόδου Καισ]άρων τῶν κυρίων Ἀθῦρ
[. . . τοῦ κ] (ἔτους) ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) Π. Ὡρου
4 [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) μίαν ὄγδο]ον (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ἀη Α. ἀη

[Payment to the granary of the metropolis, from produce] of the 19th year of Aurelii Antoninus [and Commodus] Caesars the lords, Hathyr . . [of the 20th] year, for Charax, in the name of P . . . son of Horos, [art. wh. one, an eighth], that is, art. wh. 1, $\frac{1}{8}$. . . 1, $\frac{1}{8}$.

195. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.206

5.4 × 6.8 cm.

181/2

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος)
κα (ἔτους) Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
4 Παῦ(νι) κε ὑπ(έρ) Νή(σων)
ὀνό(ματος) Πετεχεσ(ποχράτου) Χα-
βονχώ(νσιος) νε(ωτέρου) Ὡρου
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) κδ' (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) κδ'
8 Ἀ(μώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι) Demotic
Demotic

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 21st year of Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 25 for Nesoi in the name of Petechespochrates son of Chabonchonsis the younger, grandson of Horos, art. wh. $\frac{1}{24}$, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{24}$. I, Amonios, have signed.

1. The ending is chipped but the ends of the letters are visible.
2. The surface in the latter part of the line is rough.
4. The tangle of strokes beginning the line apparently was created by the scribe's first writing Παχ^α, and then writing over it Παυ'. Similarly, ντ is written over a nu carelessly written first. Our scribe was clearly something of a bungler.

196. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.257

8.9 × 6.8 cm.

15 July 182

The taxpayer of this receipt, Petechespochrates son of Chabonchonsis, is attested in three other receipts, 55 (195), 193 (176) and 195 (181/2), in the first of which an *epsilon* is preserved before the abbreviation mark; the last of these gives the name with a further *sigma* and the further information of the younger and grandson of Horos.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κα (ἔτους) Κομμ(όδου)
Ἀντων(ίνου) Καίσαρ(ος) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἐπ(είφ) κα
ὑπ(έρ) Νή(σων) ὀνό(ματος) Π(ε)τ(ε)χ(ε)σ(πο)χ(ρά)του Χαβονχώ(ν)σι(ος)

- 4 . . . φ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) εἴκοσι μίαν
 - ± 6- (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κα εἰς . .
 2 lines of Demotic

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 21st year of Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 21, for Nesoi in the name of Petechespochrates son of Chabonchonsis . . . art. wh. twenty-one . . . that is, art. wh. 21, $\frac{1}{12}$.

4. The line opens with an abbreviated expression similar to that found in 179 and 201, both texts dealing with Teos son of Horos grandson of Spotous; it resembles but is not identical with the common writing of δι(ά). It is followed by what appears to us to be φ . . . ο(), followed by another abbreviated word of 3-4 letters in length.

197. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.240

8.6 × 5.1 cm.

16 May 183

The only important uncertainty in this text is the name of the granary in line 1, for the other Theban ostraka indicate that the granary of the dioikesis issued receipts only in the first century; but we do not see a plausible alternative to the reading.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) δι(οικήσεως) γενή(ματος) κγ (ἔτους) Κομμόδοῦ
 Ἀντων(ίνου) Καίσαρος τοῦ κυ(ρίου) Παχῶ(ν) κα
 ὑπ(έρ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Σενφίβιο(ς) τῆς καὶ
 4 Τασήμ[ιο(ς)] Λολ[οῦτο(ς)] μη(τρὸς) Θαλήτ(ος)
 [-----]ου Ὀρου

Payment to the granary of the dioikesis from produce of the 23rd year of Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pachon 21, for Agorai in the name of Senphibis also called Tasemis, daughter of Lolous and Thales . . .

3. The taxpayer seems not to be otherwise known.

198. Receipts

Inv. 906.8.39

7.1 × 17.2 cm.

c. 186-194

This ostrakon presents a number of problems which we have not been able to resolve with confidence. It is long and narrow, with chipping along the entire right side and much of the left side. All the evidence points to its being complete except for this chipping. The top of the sherd is occupied by a five-line receipt for grain, more or less of typical form. There is a break of some 3 cm. before we have text again, and this time it is in a different hand, is more fragmentary than that above, and cannot in fact be read with confidence in all points. Though most of the actual letters read are fairly certain, the parts that are lost are not certain, and the original form of the text remains uncertain. After these four lines we have another three lines, written again in a thinner pen point, and perhaps in the same hand as the first text, and again like the second text not quite comprehensible.

Despite the confusion, however, the text does give us some more evidence on the descendants

of Sachomneus, already known from a number of ostraka, to which the present volume adds very largely; it will be convenient to tabulate these texts here.

<i>P. Aberd.</i> 79	167	Teionchonsis son of Sachomneus is intermediary for payer of grain
<i>O. ROM</i> 198	185/6	Teionchonsis son of Sachomneus and his son Lolous pay taxes
<i>O. Minor D</i> , 13	187	Teionchonsis son of Sachomneus pays taxes
<i>O. ROM</i> 139	187	Teionchonsis son of Sachomneus, grandson of Petosiris, pays money(?)
<i>O. ROM</i> 199	187	Lolous son of Teionchonsis and his father pay taxes
<i>O. ROM</i> 140	189	Lolous son of Teionchonsis pays money as intermediary
<i>O. ROM</i> 208	180–192	Lolous son of Teionchonsis pays grain
<i>WO</i> 681	204	Melas son of Teionchonsis pays epikephalaion
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 979	207	Melas son of Teionchonsis pays price of wheat
<i>WO</i> 1014	209/210	Melas son of Teionchonsis pays chaff
<i>WO</i> 686	210	Kysis son of Teionchonsis pays epikephalaion through brother Melas

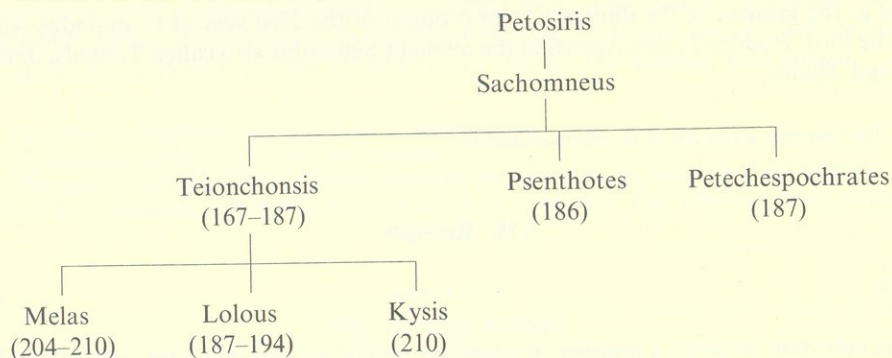
The dating to Severus of the latter group is not made by the original editors, but Viereck commented *ad O. Stras.* 149 (cited *BL* II.1 71) that a Severan date was necessitated by the identity of a trapezites in *WO* 681 with one known from a receipt of an archive dated by a granary receipt with imperial titulature among its texts.

Two further texts that are perhaps relevant may be cited:

<i>O. Bodl.</i> 1523	186	Psenthotēs son of Sachomneus pays grain
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 1524	187	Petechespochrates son of Sachomneus is intermediary for grain payer

Without a grandfather's name it cannot be demonstrated that these are brothers of Teionchonsis, but the coincidence of dates and the relatively rare name Sachomneus give us some reason to think that they are in fact his brothers.

On the basis of this information, the following probable stemma may be constructed:



The stemma is not without its oddity, and the great difference between Lolous' dates and those of his brothers is striking. One must suppose, it seems, that Lolous was born not long after his father reached tax-paying age himself; but Lolous may not have survived his father by very long. The younger brothers, on the other hand, either had unusually long lives for their class or else were born toward the end of Teionchonsis' life. With this picture it is clear that the date by Commodus in the first text, with year missing, and the date of year 26 in the second text both refer to the same time.

Μέ(τερημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γ[ενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους)]
 Κομμ(όδου) Ἀνω(ίνου) [Καίσα(ρος)]

- τρῶ κυρ(ίου) Ἐπεῖφ κῆ ὑπ(έρ) [Νό(του) (?) ὀνό(ματος)]
 4 Τηιονχῶ(νσιος) Σαχο[μνέως--]
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α [--]
 (ca. 3 cm. *vacat*, then second hand)
 Μεσο(ρῆ) ἰς ὑπ(έρ) . [--]
 ὀνό(ματος) Τηιονχ[ῶ(νσιος)--]
 8 Σαχο(μνέως) πυρ[οῦ ?--]
 . (ἔτους) κς . [--]
 (third hand)
 Πα() ς ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος)--]
 Λολο(ῦτος) Τηιονχ[ῶ(νσιος)--]
 12 πυρο(ῦ) τρῶ β (ἔτους)

1. Probably year 26, if it is the same as the second text; the date would be 22 July 186.

6. The *epsilon* has disappeared into the end of the *mu* by *Verschleifung*. The reading of the end of the line is problematical; the numeral stroke of *ς* continues over what is read as *ὑπ(έρ)* (which is in itself not quite of normal formation). The lacuna presumably contained tax or place or both, but the formula, if it can be called that, is not regular enough to be determinative.

9. There is some ink before the ς sign, but not recognizably any letter or sign. There is a dot under the tail of the *sigma*, but chipping prevents us from telling if it might have had some meaning. If the sign is meant for the year rather than for drachmas, as we think, this does provide us with a plausible date.

10. We are reasonably happy about the reading of this line, though we do not know whether Pauni or Pachon is to be understood. Teionchonsis and his sons hail from Notos in all other receipts.

12. Only the *πυ* of *πυρο(ῦ)* are certain, and τρῶ (if correct) is written with extreme *Verschleifung*. Year 2 of Severus was 193/4.

199. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.248

7.9 × 7.1 cm.

24 October 187

On the family of the taxpayer see the commentary to 198.

- Μέτρη(μα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κη (ἔτους)
 Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου [Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου [Φαῶ]φι κς ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του)
 4 ὀνό(ματος) Λολοῦ(τος) Τηιονχώνσι[ο(ς)]
 καὶ Τηιο[νχώνσι(ς)] . . . (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δύο ἡ-
 μισυ -- ca. 8 -- (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) βς [--]

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi 27, for Notos in the name of Lolous son of Teionchonsis and Teionchonsis . . . art. wh. two, a half . . . that is, art. wh. $2\frac{1}{2}$. . .

5. It is not certain if there is space after the end of the name here for a patronymic, or if we are to look rather for a word of relationship like *υἱός* or *πατήρ*.

6. There must have been a smaller fraction in the gap, but it cannot be read; at the end of the line there is space but no ink for the inclusion of such a number.

200. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.234

8.1 × 4.1 cm.

15 July 189

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κθ (ἔτους)
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 [τοῦ κυρί]ου Ἐπ(είφ) κᾶ ὑπ(έρ) Νή(σων)
 4 [ὀνό(ματος) ---]..() Π...

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 29th year of Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 21 for Nesoi...

201. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.164

8 × 5.1 cm.

ca. 157-179

This text is of interest primarily for the appearance of Teos son of Horos, grandson of Spotous, on whom see the notes to 179, which is written in the same hand.

 [----].....[---]
 ὀνό(ματος) Τεῶτο(ς) Ὠρο(υ) Σ[ποτοῦτο(ς) ---]
 ----- Πικῶς Ψεναμ[ο(ύνιος) ----]
 4 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δύο ἡμισυ τρίτ(ον) (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) βλγ
 Α.() σεση(μείωμαι)

Demotic

1. This line is probably to be read as . . . Σεβαστο[ῦ], but only context could make this certain. This was almost certainly the second line in the complete text.
3. We do not understand the beginning of this line; cf. the notes to 179 on the problem.

202. Receipt for *Prosthesis* to Grain Tax

Inv. 906.8.448

6.5 × 6.9 cm.

191/2

This sherd, broken at the right, presents another example of the *prosthesis* at Thebes from the last decade of the second century; for similar examples, see the commentary to 60. This text also has the *praktor sitikon*, often but not always connected with the payment of the surtax. It should not be surprising that this receipt follows slightly unusual formulas, since the *prosthesis* receipts almost never present two identically formulated texts, presumably a result of the extraordinary nature of the surtax.

Κάλλιστο(ς) π[ράκ(τωρ) σιτικ(ῶν) -- e.g. Πετε--]
 μενώφ(ιος) Σεγ[----]
 ἔσχον εἰς πρ[όσθ(εσιν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) μῆ γί(νεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) μῆ]
 4 καὶ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβη) γί(νεται) [κριθ(ῆς)]

(ἀρτάβη α) (γίνεται) (ἀρτάβη) μ̄η. (ἔτους) λβ" Μ[---]
Κάλλιστο(ς) σεση(μείωμαι)

Kallistos, collector [of grain taxes for ---, to (?) Pete]menophis son of sen . . . , I have received for the surtax, [art. wh. $\frac{1}{48}$, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{48}$], and of barley 1 artaba, that is, [of barley] 1 art., total, art. 1, $\frac{1}{48}$. Year 32, M---, I Kallistos have signed.

1. Kallistos is not elsewhere attested. There may have been a place in his title, but it is not necessary. The beginning of the taxpayer's name is probable, though other possibilities (e.g. Amenophis) might be envisaged.

3. From the space probably available after the break we suggest that the symbol ζ was probably used for one artaba of wheat.

4. The restoration of the repetition of κριθ(ῆς) is suggested by the space available and by *O. Ash.* 69. It is clear from the following of π by γί(νεται) in line 5 that π means 1 artaba everywhere it is used in this text, though the omission of the numeral is unusual.

203. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.309

8.8 × 5.7 cm.

June, 192

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) λβ (ἔτους) Αὐρη(λίου)
Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Παῦ(νι) .. ὑπ(έρ) .. ὀνό(ματος) Σενφμοίς
4 ----- δωδέκατο(ν) (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ιβ
Πα.() σεση(μείωμαι) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ιβ

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 32nd year of Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord, Pauni -- for ---, in the name of Senphmois . . . a twelfth, that is, art. wh. $\frac{1}{12}$. I, Pa.(), have signed, art. wh. $\frac{1}{12}$.

5. Apparently either Παμώ(νθης) or Παω.(), less likely; could be related to Πα() in *O. Bodl.* 1559 (193) or 1561 (194) and elsewhere. It is evidently not Πανίσκος.

204. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.198

6.6 × 9.1 cm.

180-192

Μέ(τρημα) [θησ(αυροῦ) -- γενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους)]
Κομμόδου [τοῦ κυρίου]
Παῦ(νι) ιθ ὑπ(έρ) .[. ὀνό(ματος) ---]
4 θιο(ς) Περιμά(μιος) [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) τέταρτο(ν)]
(γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δ. Α() σεση(μείωμαι)

2. The exact amount lost in this line is uncertain, but it appears that the amount lost decreases steadily from line 1 to line 4, so that one would expect less than the 10 letters lost in line 1; there does not seem to be room for Καίσαρος.

3. Pauni 19 = 13 June.

4. The line below the long descending stroke of *mu* is probably a false start to the abbreviation stroke; but the name is rather doubtful.

205. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.125

8.3 × 8.2 cm.

180-192

This ostrakon is very faded and crumbling so that the reading of the last few lines is very difficult.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) [γενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους)]
 Κομμόδου Ἀν[τωνίνου Καί-]
 σαρος τοῦ κυ[ρίου date]
 4 ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) .. [- ca. 8 -]
 ας Φαμί[ιος καί]
 ὀνό(ματος) Σεν[- ca. 6 -]
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α [-]
 8 (γίνεται) . . . (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α. [-]
 . [----]

Payment to the granary of the metropolis [from produce of the --th year] of Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord . . . for Charax in the name of . . . of Phaminis . . . in the name of Sen. . . , art. wh. one, that is, art. wh. 1 . . . total . . . art. wh. 1 . . .

1. Here and in almost all the lines the right hand side is preserved but the ink is too faint and scattered to be compared to the restoration.

206. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.258

6 × 5 cm.

195/6

[Μέ(τρημα) θη]σ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) δ (ἔτους)
 [Λου]κίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου
 [Περτί]ρακος Καίσαρος τοῦ κυ[ρίου]
 4 [month]. ὑπ(έρ) Ἀγο(ρῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Ἐσουήριος
 [---]ησιο(ς) . . . σιο(ς) ὑπ(έρ) Ψεν[---]
 [---] . . . διμη. . . ρο ἀδε[φ-]

5-6. The ink of these two lines is clear and dark, but we can read very little of it. A long horizontal line from the left runs below part of line 6; it is cut off at the break in the ostrakon.

207. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.211

5.3 × 5.2 cm.

Πρ

This receipt is unfortunately not datable more closely than to the period 138-192, since we are missing that portion of the titulature which would determine the reign along with the number of the year. Different restorations in line 1 would, accordingly, give Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, or Commodus.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) [γενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους) --]
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσα[ρος τοῦ κυρίου month, date]
 ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) .[name, patronymic, amount -]
 4 ἀριθ() .[---]
 κδ̄ (γίνεται) α. [---]

4. Probably a form of ἀριθμησις, but we cannot be certain what.

208. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.215

7.5 × 7.9 cm.

180-192

Four pieces are joined here, but two are still missing at the right.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γε[νή(ματος) . . (ἔτους)]
 Κομμόδου Ἀντων[ίνου] Καίσα[ρος τοῦ κυρίου]
 Παχῶ(ν) κζ̄ ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀγ[ό(ματος) Λο-]
 4 λοῦτο(ς) Τηιο[νχώνσιο(ς)] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β]
 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β [signature]

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce [of the---th year] of Commodus Antoninus Caesar [the lord], Pachon 27 for Notos in the name of Lolous son of Teionchonsis, [art. wh. 2], that is, art. wh. 2. . .

3. Pachon 27 = 22 May.
 4. On the family of the taxpayer see the commentary to 198.

209. Receipt for Grain

Inv. 906.8.199

7.3 × 7.5 cm.

II/III

This formula is more commonly found for money taxes than for grain, but it is not unknown for grain; there are a number of examples from this period, e.g. *O. Bodl.* 1591-1593, 1596, 1598-1599, 1618, etc., from just one collection. The present document evidently belongs to the group not involving the *prothesis*, for the space available in line 1, if one assumes a straight margin between lines 1 and 3, can be no more than 5 letters, enough for an abbreviated month name and date.

[—ca. 5—]. τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Ψάιτ(ος)
 [. . .] . . ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) πυροῦ ἡμισυ
 ὄχδον (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) Λη---

2. The first word, mostly lost, was probably the patronymic of the taxpayer; there was thus apparently no tax name given.
 3. In contrast to the dark ink of most of this text, the writing of the signature is very faded.

210. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.173

4 × 7 cm.

200/1

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γεν]ή(ματος) η (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων
 [Αὐτοκρατόρων Σεο]υήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
 [Εὐσεβῶν Σεβαστῶν. . ὑ]π(έρ) (Ἀγορῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Ταλῶτο(ς)
 4 [Ἰναρῶτο(ς) καὶ Ἰναρῶτο(ς) Ἰν]αρῶτο(ς) ἀδελ(φοῦ)
 [----] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α
 [----] Πα() σεση(μείωμαι)

3-4. On the family of the taxpayers see the commentary to 134.

211. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.231

9.2 × 7.5 cm.

201/2

[Μέ(τρημα)] θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ι (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων
 [Σεο]υήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβῶν Σεβαστῶν
 [Date] ὑπ(έρ) (Ἀγορῶν) ὀνό(ματος) Ἀσκλᾶς Αἰλουρίωνος
 4 [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] τέσσαρες (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ. ἄ(λλον) τῆ(ς) αὐτ(ῆς) ὁμ(οίως)
 [--] . . . ιο (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) L ιο. ὁμ(οίως) ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) (?) ὀνό(ματος)
 [----] ὑπ(έρ) (Ἀγορῶν) ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ὑπ(έρ) η (ἔτους) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τέσ-
 [σαρες ἡμ]ισυ τέταρτο(ν) (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δελ. ὀνό(ματος) [----]
 8 [...] ὁμοίως
 [----] Φλ() σεση(μείωμαι)

3. The taxpayer is attested in *O. Bodl.* 1579 (202) and 1582 (203), both granary receipts; also in 225 (chaff), q.v.
 5. It is not certain that the traces before the first *ιο* are compatible with *τρίτον*, but they do not suggest anything else. The place name is written \square , perhaps to be expanded as *Νό(του)*.
 8. The letters here are fairly clear but we have not been able to read them.

212. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.160

5.9 × 7.1 cm.

203

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) -- γε]νή(ματος) ια (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων
 [Αὐτοκρατόρω]ν Σεο]υήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
 [Εὐσεβῶν Σεβασ]τῶν Ἐπ(είφ) . . ὑπ(έρ) Νή(σων) ὀνό(ματος)
 4 [----] ὠρον Πετε.
 [----]-----

4. The remainder of this line, which probably contained another payment, was written over a surface blemish and is now faint.

5. We are not certain of the reading of this line, although most of the ink remains. One possibility is *πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ε (γίνονται) ε. Σερῆ(νος) σεση(μείωμαι) ζ ε*. Another is *πυροῦ (ἀρτάβης) ἕκτον (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) σ*. As is often the case with ostraka, however, we feel no confidence in the reading of any word individually in the absence of a convincing reading of the line as a whole.

213. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.625

4.1 × 7.3 cm.

197/8-210/1

Μέ(τρημα) [θησ(αυροῦ) -- γενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων]

Αὐτοκρατ[όρων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου]

Εὐσεβῶν Σεβ[αστῶν date ὑπ(έρ) -- ὄνό(ματος)]

- 4 Χαβονχῶνσις [--- (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)]
πέντε (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε [---]

214. Receipt for Prosthesis to Grain Taxes

Inv. 906.8.480

14.2 × 11.5 cm.

II/III

On the *πρόσθεσις* to grain taxes, see our discussion on 60 and now 202 and 215. This text and 202 belong to the group (now 15 strong) that include the name of a collector, while 215 is one of the six that do not, being written instead in the month-year formula common in many taxes of the late second and early third centuries. The name of the collector in the present receipt we cannot read; it does not seem to be one of those previously known.

... () καὶ μέτ(οχοῦ) πρά(κτορες) σιτικῶν Μ[---]

ἔσχ(ομεν) ε[ίς] πρόσθ(εσιν) ὄνό(ματος) Πετεχ. . ()

Ταουέως ὑπ(ερ) γενή(ματος) ἰς (ἔτους) πυροῦ

- 4 ἀρτά(βην) μίαν τρίτον τε-
τρα(καικεκοστὸν) (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α γ κ δ

-- and associates, collectors of the grain taxes of M. . . , we have received for the surtax in the name of Petech. . () son of Taoues, for produce of the 16th year, artabas of wheat one, a third, a twenty-fourth, that is, art. wh. 1, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{24}$.

3. If year 16 is Severan, in accordance with our arguments in *O. ROM* I, p. 120, the date would be 207/8; the month and day appear to have been omitted. με seem to be written over the end of the line.

4. τε at the end are sloppily written over a previous letter.

215. Receipt for Prosthesis to Grain Taxes

Inv. 906.8.326

8.9 × 8 cm.

II/III

On this tax see the introduction to 214. This receipt is very faded, especially in lines 3-5, where the ink, though present nearly everywhere, is too faded to be securely readable.

Μεσ(ορή) ᾧ τοῦ ἰθ (ἔτους) ἔσχ(ον) εἰς
πρόσθ(εσιν) ὄνό(ματος) Ψεναπάθη(ς) πρεσ(βυτέρου)

Ψεναπάθ(ους) -----

- 4 τοῦ χωρίου Νε. () ----

[Πε]κύσι(ς) [----] μίαν

(ἔτους) ἰθ' Μεσ(ορή) ᾧ Ἀμ () σεση(μείωμα)

Mesore 6 of the 19th year, I have received toward the surtax in the name of Psenapathes the elder, son of Psenapathes . . . for the place Ne.() . . . Year 19, Mesore 6. I, Am(), have signed.

4. The χωρίον Ne.() is mentioned in *O. Bodl.* 1733 and 2287.
6. The year date is probably Severan (cf. arguments to 60) and thus 210/1.

216. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.268

9 × 5 cm.

16 July 214

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κβ [(ἔτους) Μ]άρκου
 Αὔρηλιου Σεουήρου Ἀ[γ]τωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παῦ(νι) κβ
 4 εμαιοῦ
 [ca. 6]. (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) θ (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ

4. The line is faded, but there are traces of ink that might be readable. The second name is presumably Πτολεμαίου, and traces compatible with *lambda* exist very faintly, but the rest is too faint to determine the text.

217. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.162

6.7 × 8.2 cm.

214/5

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) γενή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους) Μ[άρκου Αὔρηλιου]
 Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσα[ρος τοῦ κυρίου]
 Ἐπ(είφ) ᾧ ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) Σεϛ[---]
 4 Αἰλουρίωνο(ς) ἡμισυ κ[αὶ ὀνό(ματος)]
 Ψεν[.] Αἰλ[ουρίωνο(ς)]
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἡμισυ μῆ" (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) [L μῆ" ---]
 τεσσαρακο(στ)όγδοον [---]

Payment to the granary of the villages from produce of the 22nd year of Marcus [Aurelius] Severus Antoninus Caesar [the lord] Epeiph 1 for Charax in the name of Sen. . . daughter of Ailourion, a half, and [in the name of] Psen. . . son of Ailourion, art. wh. one-half, $\frac{1}{48}$, that is, art. wh. $[\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{48}]$. . .

3. The scribe seems to have begun by writing *επ* with a long abbreviation tail which with a stain confuses the numeral.

218. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.230

6.9 × 9 cm.

218-222

Μ[έ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) . . γενή(ματος) . .] (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὔρηλιου
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 {ιου Καίσαρος} τοῦ κυρίου
 4 ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος) Μαρῆς Λολο(ῦ)το(ς)
 πυροῦ δύο (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β. Αὔρηλ(ιος) Ἀμώ(νιος) σεση(μείωμα)

Payment [to the granary of – from produce of the –th] year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, for Notos in the name of Mares son of Lolous, of wheat two, that is, art. wh. 2.I, Aurelius Amonios, have signed.

1. The ostrakon is undamaged but the writing is badly faded after the opening letter.
2. The line seems to be indented because of the large descending stroke of the opening *mu* of line 1.
3. This line is mostly a dittography of line 2; the emperor is certainly Elagabalus, since the signer's name indicates a date after 212, while Caracalla always included Severus in his titles. The scribe seems to have been somewhat confused, as he not only duplicated part of the imperial titulature but omitted the month date.

219. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.201

5.3 × 5.9 cm.

212–235

The *termini* for the dates of this ostrakon are given by the presence of the name Aurelius (lines 6 and 9) on the one hand and the imperial name Severus (line 2) on the other.

Μέ(τρημα) [θησ(αυροῦ) -- γενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους) --]
 Σεουήρου . [-----]
 Παῦ(νι) κβ ὑπ(έρ) . [-----]
 4 Ἀβῶτο(ς) Ἀθαμ . [-----]
 Ἀπολλωνίου Λολ[-----]
 (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) d. Α(ὑρήλιος) Παν(ίσκος) σεση(μείωμαι) . ἄ(λλο) [----]
 τῆς α(ὑτῆς) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) τέτ[αρτο(ν) (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) d]
 8 ἄ(λλον) ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) πυρο(ῦ) ἕκτο(ν) [----]
 . (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ς .. Α(ὑρήλιος)
 Παν(ίσκος) σεση(μείωμαι)

3. Pauni 24 = 18 June.
4. The reading of the second name is very uncertain; the *theta* lies over or under another letter (*lambda*?).
6. Aurelius Paniskos is known from several third-century ostraka: *O. Bodl.* 557 (n.d.), 1115 (year 3), and 1687 (year 2), and *O. Amst.* 58 (216).
9. The smaller fraction was either κδ or ιβ, probably the latter.

220. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.163

7.8 × 7.8 cm.

169–235

The text is complete at left, top, and bottom; and there are wide margins except at the top. But the amount lost to the right is enough to deprive us of most of the essential information the receipt contained.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) [---]
 Αὑρηλίου [---]
 ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὀνό(ματος) . [---]
 4 καὶ ἀδ(ελφ-) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἧμισυ[---]

221. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.152

4.8 × 11.2 cm.

244

This sherd is extremely faded, but not much is lost at right; the narrowness is unusual.

Μέτρ[η(μα)]
 θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) γενή(ματος) β [(ἔτους)]
 Φιλίππω[ν]
 4 Καισ(άρων) Φαῶ(φι) [---]
 ὀνό(ματος) Φιλ[---]
 Περμάμι [ο(s)---]

Payment to the granary of the villages from produce of the 2nd [year] of Philippi Caesars, Phaophi . . . in the name of Phil. . .

7. Probably a signature.

222. Granary Receipt

Inv. 906.8.758

9.7 × 8.5 cm.

263/4

This text is of interest as the latest known receipt of this type, the only granary receipt, in fact, to be known from the sole reign of Gallienus.

Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) ια (ἔτους)
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος Ἁθῆρ
 ιη' ὑπ(έρ) Ε. . . ὀνό(ματος) Ἡρα. [---]
 4 ὑπ(έρ) Φθου() -- ca. 13 --
 Τασήμις(ς) [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης)] δωδέκατον
 (γίνονται) ιβ. Ἄμ() σεση(μείωμαι). καὶ ἄλλ(λο) ὀνό(ματος) . . .

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 11th year of Gallienus Caesar, Hathyr 18 for E. . . , in the name of Hera . . . for Phthou() . . . , of Tasemis, art. wh. one-twelfth, that is, $\frac{1}{12}$. I, Am(), have signed. And another in the name of . . .

3. This place is previously attested, but the name still cannot be read; cf. 12 and 15 and citations there.

223. Receipt for Grain (?)

Inv. 906.8.605

7.8 × 5.5 cm.

Rom:

The text of this ostrakon does not resemble any formula known to us, and we are entirely uncertain of the general sense of the document. The *θησαυρός* indicates a connection with grain. The place name, which we have interpreted as Ἄφροδ(ίτης) κ(ώμη), is known in two places in

the Arsinoite Nome and once in the Antaiopolite Nome. Neither is expected in this collection of Theban ostraka, but the Antaiopolite Nome is at least in the general region of Thebes and may be the more likely; that this is not Theban is also suggested by the atypical fabric.

.....
 ὑπ(ἐρ) θησαυροῦ ᾿Αφροδ(ίτης) κ(ώμης)
 ... (ἔτους) β̄ Μεχίρ κθ̄

CHAFF RECEIPTS

224. Receipt for Chaff

Inv. 906.8.510

8.4 × 7 cm.

15 September 171

The format of this text is one of those typical of receipts for this purpose. It finds its parallels in, for example, *O. Bodl.* 1641 ff., with nos. 1657, 1659, and 1679 the nearest. *O. Bodl.* 1659 is particularly a virtual model for our receipt.

Περτε() καὶ μέτοχοι ἀχυροπράκ(τορες) μη(τροπόλεως) ᾿Αρσιήσιο(s)
 (ὁμοίως) παρεκόμ(ισας) εἰς ᾿Ωφιήου ὑπ(ἐρ) γενή(ματος) ια (ἔτους)
 γόμ(ου) ἕκτον (γίνεται) γόμ(ου) σ'. (ἔτους) ιβ̄ Ἀύρηλίου
 4 ᾿Αντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Θῶθ ιζ̄

Perte() and associates, chaff-collectors of the metropolis, to Harsiesis son of the same, you have delivered to the (encampment) of Ophieon for the produce of the 11th year, one-sixth gomom, that is, $\frac{1}{6}$ gomom. Year 12 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Thoth 17.

2. *O. Bodl.* 1659 has the word παρεμβ(ολήν) before ᾿Ωφιήου, and the genitive here suggests that this term is understood or accidentally omitted.

225. Receipt for Chaff

Inv. 906.8.411

7.5 × 5.8 cm.

182

Παρε(κομίσθη) εἰς παρεμ(βολήν) ὑπ(ἐρ) γενή(ματος)
 κβ̄ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) ᾿Ασκλᾶς Αἰλουρίωνο(s)
 καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἑ ἀχύρου τρίτον
 4 ὄγδοον (γίνεται) γόμ(ου) γη. (ἔτους) κβ̄
 Κομμόδου ᾿Αντωνίνου
 Καίσαρο(s) τοῦ κυρίου Μεσορή
 κθ̄ Πετε() σεση(μείωμαι)

Delivered to the encampment from produce of the 22nd year in the name of Asklas son of Ailourion and his five brothers, of chaff a third, an eighth, that is, gom. $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{8}$. Year 22 of Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore 29. I, Pete(), have signed.

1. This seems to be the correct reading, but we cannot explain the apparent *sigma* after the abbreviation stroke of παρεμβολή.

2. Asklas son of Ailourion is also known from a group of granary receipts from 201/2 (211) and 202/3 (*O. Bodl.* 1579, 1582; not registered in *DT*). It is possible that he is the taxpayer of *WO* 974 (193), whose patronymic was not read.

7. An ink blot at the start of this line evidently does not cover any writing. A signer of this name for grain appears in *O. Bodl.* 1672, also of the reign of Commodus.

226. Receipt for Chaff

Inv. 906.8.453

10.9 × 7.5 cm.

9 October 193

This ostrakon, although very faint, is of interest as one of the few known dated to the reign of Pescennius Niger, whose titles appear here in unusual fullness. Niger was recognized in Egypt from the spring of 193 to the next winter; the last date by him (*P. Grenf.* II 60 = *P. Lond.* III 704) is on 5 December 193, while Egypt had gone over to Severus by the next 13 February (*BGU* 362 iv). On Niger's Egyptian dates see D. Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1538 ff., and A. R. Birley, *Bonner Jb.* 169 (1969) 247.

Παρεκομί(σθη) τοῖς παραλήμ[πταις---]

γενή(ματος) α (ἔτους) ἀχύρου γόμου ἥμισυ
 4 (γίνεται) γ(όμου) Λ. (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου
 Πεσκεννίου Νίγερος Ἰούστου
 Φαῶφι ἰβ̄ Σ. . () σεση(μείωμαι)

Delivered to the receivers . . . from produce of the 1st year, a half gomos of chaff, that is, gom. $\frac{1}{2}$. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Pescennius Niger Iustus, Phaophi 12, I, S. . (), have signed.

2. Although traces of ink remain throughout the line, nothing can be read with any confidence.

BARLEY, ETC.

227. Receipt for Barley and *Lachanon*

Inv. 906.8.466

10.4 × 7.6 cm.

II/III

The exact import of this text is unclear to us. *Apaitetai* of barley are known from *O. Ash.* 68 and *O. Leid.* 3 (cf. *ZPE* 4 [1969] 193–195, and *BASP* 6 [1969] 66) in the persons of Plantas and Paniskos in 193–194.

ἀπαιτ(ηται) κρ(ιθης) και λαχ(άνου) [---]
 Ψενχώ(νσιος) και Ὠρο(υ) [---]
 . . λάχ(ανου) ὑπ(έρ) ξ και β [---]
 4 Φιλα() Ἡρα() σεση(μείωμαι) [---]
 2 lines of Demotic

2. We are not certain whether these persons are the *apaitetai* themselves or, as is more likely, the addressees; we resolve them on the latter assumption.

3. There are one or two letters at the start and somewhat above the line that we cannot read. We are not certain of the sense of $\tilde{\epsilon}$ and β .

228. Receipt for *Lachanon*

Inv. 906.8.669

12.8 × 8.8 cm.

Πρ

This ostrakon seems to preserve a receipt in a *ὁμολογία* form given by three partners – Pamont() son of Pikos, Aphis son of Herakles, and Phatres son of Epikrates – and company to one or two persons (depending on the proper length of the restoration in line 2). After the first three lines the text becomes progressively more fragmentary, yielding the information that we are dealing with *lachanon* of a year, perhaps the 21st mentioned in line 6.

Παμοντ() Πικῶτος υἱὸς Ἄφης Ἑρακλή[ους]
καὶ Φατρῆς Ἐπικράτης καὶ μέτοχοι Π[---]
Ἔρωτος Καμῆτις χαίρειν) ὁμολογ[οῦμεν---]
4 του ἔτος λαχαν() . . . [---]
ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄλου νο[---]
τοῦ κα (ἔτους). [---]
τοῦ αὐτοῦ[ῦ-----]
8 .. εγ. [-----]
[-] . . [-----]

1. Aphis is cited twice by the *Onomasticon*.
6. The beginning of this line contains a blurred numeral.

229. Receipt for Chaff

Inv. 906.8.611

7 × 11 cm.

Roman

This ostrakon, broken at the left, was probably a private or informal receipt.

[-----]. Σαλουιαν(ῶ) χαίρειν)
[-----]εχω ἀχύρου
[-----]ια εἴκοσι δύο (γίνονται) κβ
4 [-----] (ἔτους) κ Μεσορή κ

NAUBION RECEIPTS

230. Receipt for Naubia

Inv. 906.8.626

7.8 × 9 cm.

72/3

This text belongs to the series of naubia receipts issued by Kametis, published as *WO* 1043–1047. All of these except 1047 (where the year is lost) were issued on a single day, Phamenoth 29, year 8 of Vespasian (25 March 76), whereas our text falls some three years before, in the fifth year of the same emperor.

[Κ]αμμῆτις καὶ
 [μέτ]οχ(οι) χω(ματεπιμεληται) Ἐρμ(ώνθεως) Πικῶτ(ι)
 [-- Νό(του)] καὶ Λιβ(ὸς) ἤργασαι ἐπὶ χώμ(ατος)
 4 [---] να(ύβια) δύο τοῦ ε(ἔτους)
 [Οὔεσπα]σιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 [---]. ιζ̄

Second hand:

[---]. . . .

Kametis and associates, dike-supervisors of Hermonthis, to Pikos [son of -- (?) for Notos] and Lips, you have worked on the dike [of --] two naubia for the 5th year of Vespasian the lord, . . . 17th . . .

1. The misspelling of Kametis' name is unique among his receipts.

231. Receipt for Naubion

Inv. 906.8.14

5.8 × 7.8 cm.

73/4

This naubia receipt follows a formula like those of *O. Bodl.* 1695–1698. It is possible that the chomatepimeletes of our text, Apollonios, is the same as the man of that name who is one of the issuers (and is the signer) of *O. Bodl.* 1695, of the eighth year of an unnamed emperor. Hunt thought that the Bodleian text belonged to the first half of the first century; if this is correct an identification is excluded, and the name Apollonios is anything but rare. On the other hand, palaeographical dates are rarely to be depended on to that degree of accuracy; if the identification is correct, *O. Bodl.* 1695 can be dated to 75/6.

Ἀπολλώ(νιος) καὶ μέτοχοι χω(ματεπιμεληται)[--]
 Μαιεῦρις Ἀρφμόιτ(ος)
 χ(αίρειν)· ἀναβ(έβληκας) ἐπὶ χώμ(ατος) Κερ(αμείων)
 4 ν(αύβιον) α(γίνεται) α. (ἔτους) σ Οὔεσπασι-
 ανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 Φαρμ(οῦθι) κδ'
 Φιλάμμων σεση(μείωμαι)

Apollonios and associates, dike-supervisors of . . . , to Maieuris son of Harphmois, greeting. You have performed on the dike of Kerameia 1 naubion, that is, 1. Year 6 of Vespasian the lord, Pharmouthi 24. I, Philammon, have signed.

2. On Maieuris and his family, see the commentary to 168.
3. $\chi(\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu)$ is usually omitted, but it occurs in *O. Bodl.* 1698 in this place.

232. Receipt for Naubion

Inv. 906.8.471

9.2 × 8.9 cm.

104?

This text is dated and restored on the basis of *O. Bodl.* 1696–1698, all issued by Herakleides, all of year 7 of Trajan.

Ἡρακλείδ(ης) χω(ματεπιμελητῆς) Νό(του) [(καὶ) Λ(ιβὸς) περὶ Θήβ(ας)]
 Ἄρφμοί(τι) καὶ Χεσφμοί(τι) Α[--- ἀναβ(εβλήκατε) ἐπὶ χώμ(ατος)]
 Πατσώ(ντεως) ναύβιον) α (γίνεται) α. (ἔτους) [-- Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου date]

Herakleides, dike-supervisor of Notos [and Lips around Thebes] to Harphmois and Chesphmois sons of A. . . [you have performed on the dike] of Patsontis, naubion 1, that is, 1. Year [-- of Trajan the lord. . .]

2. The workers might be connected to the family discussed *ad* 168, but that is conjectural.
3. The place is read on the analogy of that in *O. Bodl.* 1697 (as emended by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, 70, cited in *O. Bodl.* III, p. xvii).

233. Receipt for Naubion

Inv. 906.8.4

8.6 × 5.5 cm.

118/9

Νεμώνιο(ς) Γερμανοῦ χω(ματεπιμελητῆς) Ἐρμ[ώ(νθεως)]
 δι(ὰ) Ἀπολ() υἱό(ν) Ψενα(μούνει) Οὐελίσιο(ς) . . [-]
 εἰργάζου χω(ματικά) Φμοῦ γ (ἔτους) Ἀδρι[ανοῦ]
 4 [Καίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου ναύβιον) μί[αν]
 [----]. Π[----]

Nemonios son of Germanos, dike-supervisor of Hermonthis through Apol() his son, to Psenamounis son of Velisios. . . you performed dike work of Phmou for the 3rd year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, naubion one, . . .

1. The supervisor Nemonios son of Germanos is attested also in *O. Cam.* 77, which P. J. Parsons has very kindly examined for us and compared with photographs of this text and 279 (in which the same person appears as a tax-collector under Trajan). *O. Cam.* 77 is probably in the same hand as the present text. The reading of the patronymic in all three texts is due to Parsons, and replaces Tait's Ἐρμᾶιον in the Cambridge ostrakon.
2. *O. Cam.* 77 should be corrected at this point from . . λ() χω() to Ἀπολ() υἱό(ν), as in this text (verified by Parsons). The taxpayer's patronymic here is not certain.
3. Tait's εἰργ(ασο) (*O. Cam.* 77.2) should probably be resolved as here, εἰργ(άζου).
4. Nemonios uses μίαν incorrectly also in *O. Cam.* 77.

ACCOUNTS

234. Account (?)

Inv. 906.8.545

11.5 × 13.7 cm.

Πρ

τῆλ()

Φαρμοῦθ(ι) κς

κθ Ἐπάγαθος Ε. [---]

4 Παχὼν γ . . . [---]

ξ Ἐσπερος Εκ. [---]

ἠ Καμω() Καρο [---]

θ Καμώρο(ν) [---]

6. We divide the word in this way since a long name like Καμωκαρο[---] seems far less probable than that we have here also Καμώρο(ν) of line 7 (attested only here). There are, however, other names with this beginning cited by the *NB* and *Onomasticon*, but with only one entry each. A possible alternative reading of line 7, however, as Καμωκ[---], which may be palaeographically preferable, would complicate matters further and argue for the longer name.

235. Account(?)

Inv. 906.8.582

10.5 × 10 cm.

Roman

This text presents a number of questions to which we cannot offer answers. It appears to be in form an account, predominantly consisting of names with entries after them. What these entries are is not so certain; the letter *alpha*, present in all preserved lines except 6 (and there *beta* stands in an analogous position) is preceded by what looks like the *δι* of the usual writing of *δι(ά)* in the ostraka – but this yields no sense to us. It may perhaps be preferable to see in this character an abbreviation of *διπλᾶ*.

Some of the entries also pose problems. In line 3 appears the name Ἄρειος, followed by γεωμετρηο(), seemingly formed as if Γεωμετρήως were an Egyptian name like Ἄτρῆς with a genitive in Γεωμετρήως. But this word, common enough (but not with this genitive) as a common noun (cf. *WB* III) is not attested as a name. In the next line, σιτομέτρον occupies the same position, whether as a title (which is well-attested) or as a name (which is not) is uncertain. Line 5 is less clear still, for no noun τὸ ἐπικριτικόν is registered by *LSJ*, its *Supplement* (1968) or the *WB* in any part. *LSJ* does cite an adjectival use of the word meaning “adjudicative, determinative”. Its form here suggests a tax, perhaps one connected with the *epikrisis*, not otherwise attested. Any further determination must await further evidence, and caution is in order.

[. . .] [---]

Ἄρποκρατίων . . . [---]

Ἄρειος γεωμετρηο() δ.() [---]

4 Ἔρος σιτομέτρον δ.() α

τὸ ἐπικριτικόν δ.() α π'δ

Ἔρος . . τελκεως δ.() β

Χεννᾶρις δ.() α

8 η α σ ι ν ο ζ ο . . . δ . () α
 α ρ α . . δ . () α

1. Only the bottoms of the letters are preserved.
7. *Xenāpis* is not in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but it is close to the attested name *Xenapeūs*.

236. Account

Inv. 906.8.490

7.2 × 8 cm.

Roman

As much as a half of the original text of this ostrakon may be missing, but we are in no position to restore any of it. What remains is a series of entries, mostly for Marcus Pollios, dealing with *lachanon*, barley, and wheat.

β̄ [---]
 Πετεμενῶφι[s-----]
 Λχ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ζδ λαχ[άνου---]
 4 Μάρκος Πόλλιο[s-----]
 (γίνεται) (?) Νή(σων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) γ ιβ̄ σ̄ω̄ κριθ[ῆς---]
 Μάρκος Πόλλιο[s-----]
 Λχ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) με η' ἄλ(λο) Νό(του) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) θ [-----]
 8 Μάρκος Πόλλιο[s-----]
 Λχ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) αΛη' ἄλ(λο) ις ἄλ(λον) ᾠ [---]
 φ κε Μάρκος Κλώδ[ιος-----]
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ η γη [---]
 12 .[. . .].[-----]

237. Account of Money

Inv. 906.8.525

6.1 × 7.5 cm.

Hr

The exact purpose of this account, which is a record of money payments by several individuals, is uncertain.

ηιε
 [---]. (ἔτους) . . . γ ἕως ε
 [? Παβ]οῦχιο(s) Ψενσενφθο(μῶνθου) (δραχμὰς) α
 4 [---]. . . Πικῶς (δραχμὰς) α
 [? Πετ]εχῶ(νσιος) Ἀρφμόις (δραχμὰς) κς
 [---]. νιο(s) Ψεϛ() (δραχμὰς) γ̄
 [---]. νιο(s) Πεχύσ(ιος) (δραχμὰς) γ
 8 [---]. (δραχμὰς) ἠ' ιε

2. The month name appears to begin with *mu*, but after that it is little more than a blot.
5. The first letter could also be an *alpha*, as in *Σαχο(μνέως)*, but the length of the loss suggests that *Πετρεχῶ(νσιος)* is a more likely restoration.
7. The strokes of the unusual spelling *Πεχύσ(ιος)* are quite clear.

238. Account of Grain

Inv. 906.8.627

9.5 × 14.2 cm.

IIp

- [--]. Ἐσμίνιο(ς) Ὠρο(ν) (ἀρτάβας) ιζ
 [--]. Ἀρμύσιο(ς) καὶ υἱὸς (ἀρτάβας) α π̄ο
 [--]ιο(ς) Πικῶς Χεσφ(μότης) (ἀρτάβας) κςL
 4 [--]ος Παμώνθ(ου) Ψεγγούφιο(ς) (ἀρτάβην) α
 [--]. ούφιος Παμώνθ(ου) (ἀρτάβας) β
 [--]. . . . θης Παμώνθ(ου) Ψάιτ(ος) (ἀρτάβην) α
 καὶ υἱὸς Ὠρος Ὀγώφριος (ἀρτάβας) λς
 8 Ἑρμίας Ἐριεῦς Ψεναμο(ύνιος) Ἐρι(εῦτος) (ἀρτάβας) . .
 Ἀρβήχιο(ς) Σενπαμ() Παβούχιο(ς) πρ(εσβυτέρου) (ἀρτάβας) ιε
 Ἐσουήριο(ς) Παβῶτ(ος) Πασήμιο(ς)
 Ἐριεῦτος Αρ[.] . . . (ἀρτάβας) δ̄
 12 Σεναμού(νιος) Ἑρμίας (ἀρτάβας) ς .

2. π̄ο = 1/84.

239. Account of Grain

Inv. 906.8.628

9.2 × 10.1 cm.

Roman

- [--] (ἀρτάβας) λ̄ο ξ̄ο
 [Ψ]εναμο(ύνιος) Ἄνου() (ἀρτάβης) ξ̄ο
 Μαριανὸς Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου) (ἀρτάβης) δλο"
 4 Τασήμιος Πικῶ(τος) (ἀρτάβης) λο"
 Θὼ Πετε. () Ψεναμού(νιος) (ἀρτάβης) λο"
 (γίνεται) (ἀρτάβην) α ἰς'

5. We are not certain if Θὼ is an abbreviated form of Θώθ or something else.
 6. Since the entries preserved add up to $\frac{5}{32}$, there must have been some lost at the top.

240. Account of Land

Inv. 906.8.629

13 × 17.2 cm.

Roman

This large and seemingly complete ostrakon lists several landholdings in what appears to be systematic fashion, but the purpose is obscure, as no reference to rates of taxation is included. We do not find any exact parallel, but the format of the entries in various of the land measurement texts in *O. Bodl.* 1847–1857 is similar. These texts do not have any standard or rigid form. We have a list of properties in the first *kleros*, starting first from the first *εἰσαγωγή* and then from the second.

ἄ κλήρου ἀπὸ ἄ εἰσαγ(ωγῆς)
 τῆς ἀπηλ(ιωτικῆς)· ἄ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) Πετεύριος
 νεω(τέρου) Πατή(ος) καὶ υἱῶ(ν) μέρο(ς) γ

- 4 ἀπ(ὸ) εἰσ(αγωγῆς) ἄρουραι β̄ εἰηλβ̄
 λιβό(ς) ἔχο(μένη) Θοτεῦτ(ος) . . . τως
 μέρο(ς) ᾱ (ἀρούρης) εἰ.
 λιβό(ς) ἔχο(μένη) δι(ὰ) Ἄρπαήσιο(ς) Καλήο(υς) καὶ υἱῶ(ν)
 8 (ἄρουραι) ιεἰ.
 β̄ εἰσαγ(ωγῆς) ᾱ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) δι(ὰ) Πατέως
 νεω(τέρου) Πατήο(υς) καὶ υἱῶ(ν) ἄρουρ(αι) β̄ ηἰςλβ̄
 β̄ δι(ὰ) Ἄρσιήσιο(ς) καὶ υἱῶ(ν) (ἄρουραι) β̄ ηἰςλβ̄
 12 γ̄ Ἄπελλῆς Ἄπιτῶς δι(ὰ)
 Θοτεῦτο(ς) (ἄρουραι) ιη ἰςλβ̄

Of the 1st lot, from the 1st entrance on the east: 1st from the east, Peteuris the younger, son of Pates, and his sons, a third part, from the entrance, ar. 2, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{32}$. Adjoining on the south, Thoteus son of ---, the first part, ar. $\frac{3}{4}$. Adjoining on the south, through Harpaesis son of Kales, and his sons, ar. 10, $\frac{3}{4}$. From the 2nd entrance: 1st on the east, through Pates the younger, son of Pates, and his sons, ar. 2, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$; 2nd, through Harsiesis and his sons, ar. 2, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$; 3rd, Apelles son of Apitos, through Thoteus, ar. 18, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$.

1. εἰσαγωγή usually means "entrance" in the sense of the act of entrance or introduction; it still retains this sense in Modern Greek. We are not aware of any other example of its meaning what it surely must mean here, physical place of entrance. The word is used in *P. Lond.* 1177.7 (εἰσαγωγή ὑδάτων) for the bringing in of water, and it may be that an irrigation channel of some sort is meant.

3. καί: the strokes resemble εϚ, but the analogy with lines 7, 10, and 11 leaves little doubt that we have here an awkward καί. Part of the word is lost in a chip.

4. The fractions here as throughout the text are hastily written and uncertainly read, but the sequence is that uniformly used in the Bodleian texts cited above and in other measurements of land.

5. ἔχο(μένη) is the usual term following words of direction; in both cases the *epsilon* is almost entirely invisible from *Verschleifung*.

6. We are not certain of the significance here or in line 3 of μέρος.

11. Ἄπιτῶς: see *BASP* 5 (1968) 142.

241. Account

Inv. 906.8.379

9.4 × 11.5 cm.

Roman

[---] μέχρι ᾗ ἡμερῶν δ̄
 [---] . . . ᾗ ᾗ
 [---] ᾗ ἡμερῶν ᾗ
 4 [---] . . . δύο
 [---] . . . ωνος ια (δραχμᾶς) κη
 [---] μέχρι

5. Probably both letters are either *nu* or *pi*.

242. Account of Asses

Inv. 906.8.658

14 × 14.8 cm.

Roman

This account seemingly preserves a register of the number of asses used, perhaps rented out,

on various days of a month. The listing of column i continues in column ii in a space below what was a separate account, from which it was separated by the lines shown.

$\begin{array}{l} \bar{\beta} \text{ ὄνοι } \bar{\iota} \\ \gamma \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \delta \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ 4 \text{ } \bar{\epsilon} \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\varsigma} \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\zeta} \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \eta \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ 8 \text{ } \bar{\theta} \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\iota} \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\iota}\alpha \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\iota}\beta \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ 12 \text{ } \bar{\iota}\gamma \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \text{ ἄλλον } \tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu \\ \bar{\theta} \text{ ὄνος } \bar{\alpha} \\ \bar{\iota} \text{ ὄνοι } \bar{\beta} \\ 16 \text{ } \bar{\iota}\alpha \text{ ὁμο(ί)ω(ς) } \bar{\beta} \\ \bar{\iota}\beta \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\beta} \\ \bar{\iota}\gamma \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\beta} \\ \bar{\iota}\delta \text{ ὄνος } \bar{\alpha} \\ 20 \text{ } \bar{\iota}\delta \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\iota}\epsilon \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\iota}\varsigma \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \\ \bar{\iota}\zeta \text{ ὁμοίω(ς) } \bar{\iota} \end{array}$
---	--

243. Account of Grain

Inv. 906.8.587

12.9 × 7.1 cm.

Roman

Π. . () [. . .] εἴς (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε μ[η]
 Χ(ἀρακος) Θερμοῦτι Παανα() (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) . . .
 Χ(ἀρακος) Πικῶς Παναμ(έως) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) α β
 4 (Ἀγορῶν) Ἐλένης Πετοσίριο(ς) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) . [- -]
 Χ(ἀρακος) Σενπετεαρο(ήριος) Ψα . . [- - -]
 . [- - -]

1. The second name was written in part on a surface that had already been chipped and is thus very unclear.
2. The peculiar spelling of the second name may be the result of the first *alpha*'s having been run into a chip that prevented its completion.

244. Account of Grain

Inv. 906.8.655

11 × 6.7 cm.

Roman

[- - -] Ἀμενρώσιος
 [- -] νεχανίου (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) κδς
 [- - -] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) η²
 4 [- - - -] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ιβς
 [- - - -] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ιβς

3. There is part of an abbreviation line surviving after the missing portion.

245. Account of Barley

Inv. 906.8.576

6.6 × 10.6 cm.

Roman

- ἄ(λλο) Κάστω[ρ ?---]
 ἄ(λλο) Ψανσιῶ[ς---]
 ἄ(λλο) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) .[---]
vacat
 4 ἰ·Σενεπώνυχ(ος) κ[ρ(ιθῆς) ---]
 ·Σενπανᾶσις κ[ρ(ιθῆς) ---]
 ·ἀδελ(φῆ) αὐτῆς κρ(ιθῆς) [---]
 ·Σενκαμῆτ(ις) κρ(ιθῆς) [---]
 8 [·]Σενπαχνοῦμις κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) [---]
 [· .]. .ous κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) .[---]
 [·Σ]εναμενώθ(ης) κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) .[---]
 [---]s κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) [---]
 12 [-----] κρ[-----]
 [-----].
 [-----]

4-5. ἰ = δεκανός, as in *decania*-lists such as 247 etc.

LISTS OF NAMES

246. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.584

13.5 × 12.6 cm.

Roman

- ξ
 . . πετρεῆσιος Κεδέλι(ς)
 Ἀρ[. . .]ου Διογένους
 4 [. . . .]. as Καλλιμάχου
 Καλλίμαχος ὃς καὶ . . . υῖτις υἱός
 Φιλάμων ὁμ(οίως) τοῦ Φιλάμωνος
 . . . ισοστρατος ἀδελφός
 8 [---]μιος ὁμ(οίως) νε(ωτέρου) Διονυσίου
 [---].s ἀδελφός
 [---]. ουθιωνθ()
 [---]. σποκηνους

1. Κεδέλις is not otherwise attested, but the *Onomasticon* cites Κεδλίς twice from Ptolemaic ostraka from Edfu.

2-3. A chip from the surface has carried away text in these lines.

247. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.78

9.3 × 7.6 cm.

Roman

- [] [---]. . . . [-----]
 1 Πεκύσιο(ς) Ψεν[---]
 Βήσιο(ς) Ἐπων[ύχου--]
 4 Χαιρήμων Ἄμ.[---]
 Πανίσκος πρ(εσβύτερος) Φμόις . [---]
 Μέμων πρ(εσβύτερος) Χα . . . [---]
 Παναμ(εῦς) πρ(εσβύτερος) Πᾶσις [---]
 8 Πανίσκος [. . .] τιο[---]
 Ψενχῶ(νσις) Τιθάτιος Παπού[σθιο(ς)--]
 ἼΩρος Τάέρσιος

10. The name Ταέρσιος, of which the *alpha* is odd, is cited by the *NB* from *P. Oxy.* 76.8.

248. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.543

14.2 × 13.7 cm.

Roman

From the names in this list one may surmise that it comes from the West Bank at Thebes.

- Παταπή(ς) Ἐριεῦτ(ος) Φθο(μώνθου)
 Λάμης
 Παμῖν πρ(εσβύτερος) Πεβο() καρτε
 4 Πασήμις Βασιλεὺς Πλή(νις) ποι(μὴν) Παταπή(τος)
 Πλή(νις) Παμοντεχύσις
 Πλή(νις) Πατσβθῖος Φθομῶ(νθου) Πεκῦσις
 Πρεμμησήμις
 8 Κολπησας
 Φμόι(ς) Ρισαι()
 Παμῖν Φθομ(ώνθου) Πεκῦσις
 Προμμοῦν Πλή(νις)
 12 Πλή(νις) . . . ου . . η
 Παῆρι(ς) Ἄπο . . ηβου
 Λολοῦτ(ος) Λολοῦτ(ος)
 Λολοῦτ(ος) Λελοῦς
 16 Πλή(νις) Πεκύσι(ος)
 Σταπβ . [---]
 Ἄμεν[---]
 Π[-----]

6. Browne suggests that we have here not an omitted vowel but a consonant cluster as in Coptic. The name is normally written Πατσέβθις in Greek and is very common on the West Bank.

7. This name is not elsewhere attested.

8. This name is not elsewhere attested.

9. Πισαι() is not elsewhere attested, but the reading seems sound.
 10. After the names: √
 12. After the names: √

249. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.554

8.5 × 13 cm.

Roman

This text has a number of stray traces apparently without meaning.

— — — — —
 [·]. [----]
 [·.]ρο. [----]
 Πλη(νις) Ἀλλ. [---]
 4 Πεβοτεχ() πρ. [---]
 Ἄτρῆς Πετεχ()
 Μάκρωνο(ς) υἱός
 Ὄρου ν(εωτέρου) Πεβρι[---]
 8 Καλῆς Καμ() . . . () [---]
 Ἡρᾶς Πεκῦσις πρ(εσβυτέρου)
 Κληῆς Λεκουετ()
 γί(νονται) ἀνδ(ρες) ἰβ̄

9. Heras is in the left margin, apparently an afterthought.
 10. The reading Λεκουετ() is good, but the name, not otherwise attested, is dubious.

250. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.556

5.3 × 6.7 cm.

Roman

This sherd is complete except at right, but the surface wash on which the text was written has now in great part flaked off, especially from the surface of line 3, where flaking has removed all but fragments of letters after the first two. The amount of loss at the right is unknown.

Πετεμενῶφισ [---]
 Σενμούθης Ὄρου . [----]
 Ταφ[.....]. [---]
 4 . [---]

251. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.562

6.3 × 5.8 cm.

Roman

Ὄρο[v] . [---]
 Ζιτωρος . [---]
 Παναμέως [---]
 4 Ποριεύθης [---]

Πετεμ() Ἀμμ[---]
 Σύρος Παβω[----]
 ...νωβ() ο.[---]
 8 [...]ωνιος ο..[---]

2. It is not clear what word division is desirable here; Ζιτῶρος is not attested, but -τῶρος may reflect Coptic τωρε (Browne).

7. Perhaps Εννωβ(), but that is not elsewhere attested.

252. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.567

7.4 × 8.8 cm.

Roman

Δ[----]
 Ἐπεῖφ ι [---]
 Μάσιο(ς) [---]
 4 Περιγεν[---]
 Γάλλου Κα.[---]
 Ἰ^ο Καν...[---]
 Σωσικράτης [---]
 8 Ἀπόλλων [---]
 Κρύτων
 Ταλγίβις...[---]
 Ταθῶτις [---]
 12 Παήρ[ιος]---
 [.] [---]

3. Μάσις is not elsewhere attested.

9. Κρύτων is cited by the *NB* from *WO* 1194.10 (Ptolemaic).

10. Ταλγίβις is not elsewhere attested in this spelling, but Ταλίβις (*NB*) and Ταλείβις (*Onomasticon*) are. At the end of the line, perhaps της.

253. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.581

11.4 × 11.8 cm.

Roman

Lines 1–3 are faint and blurred.

[-----]...
 [-----]....
 [-----] Διονυσί(ο)υ
 4 [----]σιο(ς) Παχοίτης
 [---] ιυσιο(ς) Σεμίνιο(ς)
 Φθουμῶθου ἀδελφο(ῶ)
 Θέωνος Διονυσί(ο)υ

- 8 Ἐπαφρᾶς
Ἐπαφρᾶς Ἐπαφρᾶτος
(γίνονται) ι

254. List of Women's Names

Inv. 906.8.672

7 × 11.8 cm.

Roman

- Σενφανσ(νῶς) θυ[γ(άτηρ)-----]
Σενπαχ() θυγ(άτηρ) Ταπ[-----]
Σαράπια θυγ(άτηρ) Σεν...[-----]
4 Σενπαχ() θυγ(άτηρ) Τ.[-----]
Τιτῶς[-----]
Σενπικῶ[s] . . . Π.[-----]
θυγ(άτηρ) Σεουε() θυγ(ατρὸς) Α[-----]
8 . . . μαχ() Τελεῖ[-----]
Τιαυρω Σεν..[-----]
Σενφ.[-----]
Ταναῆσ(ις) θυγ(άτηρ)[-----]
12 Τρε.()
Ἡραεῖς
. ἀδελ[φ(ή)-----]

6. The unread portion may be *θυγ*.

11. *Ταναῆσ(ις)* is attested in *P. Oxy.* 2338 (cited in *Onomasticon*) – if that is in fact the name here.

255. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.558

13 × 12.5 cm.

IIp

The sherd is evidently complete.

- Πεκύσιο(ς) Ἀρσιήσιο(ς)
Παμῖν Ἀρσιήσιο(ς)
Φθομώνθ(ης) Ὠρου
4 Ὠρου Παμῶνθ(ου)

1. The patronymic is written in a very cramped hand and the ink is somewhat blotted. We do not see a plausible alternative to our reading.

2. Individuals with this name are known from *O. Theb.* 129.1 (140, as dike-supervisor) and 130.1 (II) and from *O. Bodl.* 521 (107, paying poll tax) and 1881 (II, list of names). It would be idle to offer an identification.

4. *Παμῶνθ(ου)* is written very fast, with only the *pi* really clear.

256. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.553

11 × 12 cm.

IIp

The present portion of this sherd preserved is perhaps half of the original document, which must have been large indeed for an ostrakon, for it contained two columns of names. The hand is

a clear one, but only a few letters at the start of the second column survive. We have not been able to identify any of the people in our text with those known elsewhere, but the brothers Pates and Pasemis, sons of Papouthis (lines 9–10) are probably part of the same family as the sons of Pates in *O. Bodl.* 1822, who include a Papouthis, a Pates, and two Patsebtheis. If Tait's surmise that that text came from the West Bank is correct, ours ought to do so also.

Column i

- Πικ[ῶς---]
 Ἄρσιήσιος [---]
 Φθομώνθ(ης) ..[---]
 4 Ἄρσιήσιο(ς) Παμώνθ(ου) Ἀχιλλ(έως)
 //
 Ἄρσιήσιος Πασήμιο(ς) ἱ
 Πρεμπταν() Β.
 Σαχομνεῦς Πασήμιο(ς)
 8 Παβούχιος Ψενμῖνις
 Πατῆς Παπούσθιος
 Πασήμιος ἀδ(ελφός)
 Ψεναμόνιος Πασήμιο(ς)
 12 Καβίριο(ς) Παθιοῦς
 Ἄρσιήσιος Πασήμιος
 Παμώνθ(ης) Ὠρου Παμώνθ(ου)
 Παμώνθ(ης) Παμώνθ(ου) Νεχθ(μώνθου)
 16 [---]. οὔφιος Νεμω() ἀδ(ελφός)
 [---]. ων ..[---]

Column ii

- Φ.[---]
 Π.[---]
 20 Πέ[---]
 Ἄρπ[αῆσις--]
 Ψεν[---]
 Πατ.[---]
 24 Ψεν[---]
 Ὠρου [---]
 Κα. . . [---]
 Πετέ[---]
 28 Ψεν.[---]
 .[---]

257. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.551 A+B

8 × 13 cm.

ca. 225

An approximate date for this text is provided by the appearance of the two men named Psansnos (lines 6 and 8), who belong to an already attested family and who are themselves known;

for their stemma, see *BASP* 6 (1969) 68; their children were active ca. 244–246.

- α
- Ψάις πρ(εσβύτερος) Παβῶ(τος) Πικῶτος
 Φαῖρις Παῶτο(ς) νε(ωτέρου) Ἀπολλωδώρ(ου)
 4 Πετεχνοῦμις Πεκύσιος Ψενσενμούθ(ου)
 Πεκύσιος υἱός
 Ψανσνῶς πρ(εσβύτερος) Ἀσκληίας
 ἰ Πετε() Σενπετε() τῆς Σενφαή(ριος)
 8 Ψανσνῶς νεώτερος) Ἀσκληίας
 Νεφερῶς γ̄ Φθουμίνιος
 (γίνονται) η

258. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.550

10.6 × 13.7 cm.

IIIp

The close resemblance of the nomenclature of this list to that of *O. Bodl.* 1762–1766 suggests that it, too, may have come from the West Bank. Pamin, Plenis, Lolous, and Phthouminis all appear in 1762 together with the rare name Pauosis, while Plenis and Pkoilis appear in 1763. We cannot find a parallel to explain the opening lines of our text, but the meaning would seem to be that this list includes men living in the *toros* of Paniskos the younger. Whether δεκ(ανοῦ) refers to him (as we think likely) or to Chouribis, is not certain.

- τόπου
- Πανίσκου νεωτ(έρου)
 δεκ(ανοῦ)
 4 Χουρῖβι(ς) Ἀτρῆς
 Πλήνις νεώτ(ερος) Πκοῖλις
 πρ() πρ() πρεσ() πρε() πρ()
 Πατσέβ(θιος) Φθομῖν(ις)
 8 Παμῖν Κοπρή(ους) Παμῖ(ν) Χορσας
 Παυῶσις νεώτ(ερος) Λολοῦ(τος) νεωτ(έρου)

4. Χουρῖβις is not in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*.
 6. We are not sure what was intended here. The writing falls along one of the ribs of this distinctly ribbed sherd. We seem to have various states of abbreviation of *πρεσβύτερος*, but since that word does not occur in this text, it is unclear why the scribe used this line practicing in this way.
 9. *O. Bodl.* 1762 was the only previous attestation of this name (Pauosis), but it is not the same person there.

259. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.143

10 × 7 cm.

Roman

The left side of this completely preserved ostrakon is very faded, and the upper part of the left side is partly covered with dark patches.

Π Κεφάλου
 Ἀμύντας Ὀσοροῦριος(ς)

- Πε ος Πετεμενωφιο(ς)
 4 Ἄρφμοίτος ἀδελφός
 Μαιεύριος Ἄρφμοίς
 Ἄπολλωνάριος ἀδελφός

3. Perhaps Πεκύσιος, but the traces in the center of the word are too faint to allow a determination.
 5. Despite the conjunction of the names Harphmois and Maieuris, no connection to the family discussed at 168 can be established.
 6. This name is not attested in this spelling, although Apollinaris is well-known and the feminine form Ἄπολλωνάριον is known.

260. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.555

12.4 × 9.4 cm.

Roman

- λζ
 Πετεμεν(ῶφιος) Ἄσκλητ(ος)
 Ἰ Φιλάμμ(ων) Ἄπολλωφάν(ους)
 4 Ἄπολῶς Ψεναμού(νιος)
 Ἰσίδωρο(ς)
 Φατρῆ(ς) Ψεναμο(ύνιος)
 πατήρ Ὠρο(υ)
 8 Πικῶς Ποριεύθ(ου)
 Κέρδων δουλ(ός)
 Ἡρακ[---]

6. At the end, perhaps νιός.
 10. The first name is possibly Ἄρποκ().

261. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.549

12.3 × 9 cm.

Roman

- δ
 Ἰ Πετεχώνσιο(ς) Ψεναμο(ύνιος) Ἄρπαήσιο(ς) Μυσθα[---]
 Πρεμτώτου ἀδελ(φού)
 4 Ψεναμο(ύνιος) Καμήτιο(ς) μη(τρὸς) Τ[
 Πατσέβθ(ος) νφθομ(ών)θ(ου) μη(τρὸς)[
 Παῆρις ἀδελ(φός)
 Ἰναρώους Ἄτρῆ[ους-]
 8 Φθομώνθ(ης) υἱό[ς]
 Πάσι(τος) Πετ[---]
 [---] . . [---]

1. We do not know which of the names with this beginning is intended here. Μυσθαρίων and Μυσθαῖς are the most common, but Μυσθάριος and Μυσθαῖς are also possible.

262. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.670

7.4 × 8.3 cm.

Roman

 [·].[·].[----]
 ἦ Καλήρου [---]
 Πετοσίριο(ς) ὠρο[v--]
 4 Ψεννήσιο(ς) ὠρο[v--]
 Ἰερ() Πετο(σίριο) Μέμνο(νος) Α[----]
 Ψεναμού(νιο) Πασημίο(ς) .[----]
 Πετοχμοίς ἀδ(ελφός)

7. This name is not attested.

263. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.570

4.4 × 5.4 cm.

Roman

 Πρ[-----]
 Παποῦσ[θις--]
 Καβῆρις .[---]
 4 ὠρου Ψεν[---]
 Παμωντ[εχῦσις--]
 Τέλλων [---]
 θυγ(άτηρ) Πα.[----]
 8 [·]...[---]

8. Only the tops of letters are preserved: the third letter is perhaps an *eta*.

264. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.664

3.5 × 8 cm.

Roman

Παναμ(εῦς) [---]
 Πετε() [---]
 Φαμί(νις)
 4 Πετε() [---]
 ἦ Μιῦ[σις---]

265. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.585

11.8 × 13 cm.

Roman

Convex

-----	Ἀμμωνίου
-----	Πυρίου
-----	Ἀπολλοδότου
4 ---οκιδης	Ἡρακλείδου
-----	Αἰσχίνου
Ἑρμων	..νισου
Ἡρακλείδ[ης]	Στράτωνος
8
Ταύρων	Αἰσχίνου
Ἀπ[ο]λλω[ν]ίδ[ης]	Ἀντιφίλ[ου]
Στράτων	Θεα...[. .]

Concave

Ἑρμῆς
Ἑρμῆς
Ερ

266. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.552

11 × 10 cm.

Early IIIp

	μ
	Πετενεφωτῆρος Μῶρος Ἡρα[---]
	ἸΨεντάμις Πετοσί(ριος) Ὠρίω(νος) Πετεαρ[---]
4	Μέλας Τηνυχών[σιο]ς
	Τ[ιθ]οῆς ν(εώτερος) Πετεχεσπ(οχράτου) ...[---]
	Βήσιος Πετεχῶντο(ς) Τιθ[οῆ]ους---
	Ἡράκλειος Ἑρεννίο[ν---]
8	Ἡράκλειο(ς) Πακοίβ[ι]ος---
	Ἰσίδωρος Δ.[---]
	Ἰσίδωρος .[---]
	ᾠρος [---]

4. This person is attested in the early 200's, as are various other members of his family; cf. the discussion in the commentary to 198.

267. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.659

8.2 × 5 cm.

Roman

ιδ̄
Φαμίνης πρ(εσβύτερος) Παπύστι(ος)

Φαμί̃νις υἱός
 4 Φαμί̃νις νε(ώτερος) Παπύστ(ιος)
 [...].. νε(ώτερος) Πορ() πρ(εσβυτέρου)
 [---]. . . . ου

6. Only the tops of letters survive.

268. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.660

7.1 × 4.3 cm.

Roman

Χ(άρακος) π̄θ
 ἰ Ψενθαήσιο(ς) Πικῶτ(ος) [---]
 Πετοσίριθ(ς) Φ[---]
 4 [---]. . . . [---]

1. The number of the decania is given in the form of e.g. *O. Bodl.* 1869, Χά(ρακος) β̄ τόπου; τόπου is thus to be understood here. The number 89 is unusually high, but *O. Bodl.* 1896 attests an 88.

269. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.666

4.2 × 7.3 cm.

Roman

[-----]ρος
 [-----]ηχιο(ς)
 [-----]ιο(ς) Ἡρᾶτος
 4 [---] Πανα(μέως)
 [---]χω() Πανα(μέως)
 [---]Πα]γαμέως
 [---]ε() Τρεμαῶ(τος)
 8 [---] Παουψά(ιτος) Μαρο(ῦς)

270. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.575

6 × 5.6 cm.

Roman

The right margin of this ostrakon is first preserved but faded, then broken off.

Ψενχῶνσις Ἐριέω[s]
 Ψενχῶνσις Δ. . . . [---]
 Ψενχῶνσις Μ. . . . [---]
 4 Ψενχῶνσις τοῦ κ[---]
 [Ψεν]χῶν(σις) Πετεμε[---]
 [Ψενχῶ]νσις νε(ώτερος) Φε. . . . [---]
 [-----]. . . [---]

271. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.544

7.7 × 6.9 cm.

Roman

- ιθ̄
- [--]ων Παμώνθου Λ. [--]
 [--]υσις ν(εώτερος) Ἀρνώθου Π[--]
 4 [--]υσις ν(εώτερος) Καμήτιος [--]
 [--]μισις Πικῶτο(ς) Λολο[ῦτο(ς)-]
 [--]υσις Πετεμῖνις Παμ[--]
 [--].υσις Ψερευούφιος [--]
 8 [--]. . . ις Ἰσιδώρου [--]
 [----]. . . [----]

272. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.571

9.5 × 9.2 cm.

Roman

- Παταπήτ[ος-----]
 Πρεμμῶν[ις----]
 Λελοῦ(ς) ν(εώτερος) Μ. [--]
 4 Πλή(νις) Ἀμεν[----]
 Πατσβτις Φ. [----]
 Πλ(ῆνις) υἱός
 Πα. . . Φθομ[ώνθου----]
 8 Πλή(νις) Κοφοῦ
 Ἀμενώθου Μούει(ς) ν(εώτερος)
 Πλή(νις) Πεκῦσις Πλή(νιος) πρεσβυ(τέρου)
 [----]ουρις πρ(εσβύτερος)

2. The form Πρεμμῶν is also possible.
 7. This line is very faint after the first letter. Perhaps Παμῖν.
 8. The *Onomasticon* cites Κοφός only from *O. Petr.* 372.

273. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.441

6 × 8 cm.

Roman

- δ[----]
 Ἐριοφμ[όις--]
 Ἐριοφμό[ις--]
 4 [----]
 Φ[----]
 Ἀσκλᾶς . [----]
 Θεορταῖος Αδ. [--]
 8 Μεσουήρις Ε[--]

Πικῶς [---]
 ἰ Α. [----]

274. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.586

5.3 × 6.7 cm.

Roman

ἡμεροφ[ύλ(ακες)---]
 Πλήνιος Ψα. [---]
 Πλήνιος Ἀρσιήσ(ιος) [--]
 4 Φθομώνθης Π[---]
 Καβῖρ[ις--]
 Ἰναρώους πρ[--]

1. See N. Lewis, *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XVII (1968) 53–4 for parallels.5. This line may be a supralinear addition to line 6, meant to be understood after Ἰναρώους. It is worth citing in this connection *O. Theb.* 128, in which Inaros son of Kabiris is given a receipt for $\frac{2}{3}$ naubion; the date of 139 is perhaps near the date of the present list. Perhaps *O. Cam.* 81 also relates, more distantly, to this family.

275. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.663

8 × 11.7 cm.

Roman

Lines 6–12 are very badly faded; only the fact that letters were once present can now be discerned.

λ̄α
 ἰ Πρεμτώ(της) Σαχομ(νέως) Φθομών(θου)
 α Φθομώνθ(ου) Παμώνθ(ου) Νεχθ()
 4 τ Παμώνθου ἀδελφός
 α Νεχθανού(φιος) ἀδελφός
 χ Νεχθαγού(φιος) . . . λ()
 Ψειν-----
 8 -----

 12 β Πετταρο() Ψειν()
 [. .]. [. .]. [. .] αμο() Χαταβοῦ(τος)
 [-----]

3. The small marks before the line in 3–6 and 12 are of dubious significance.

6. Evidently not ἀδελ().

276. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.671

11.5 × 11.9 cm.

Πρ

[.]...[-----]
 Ὡρος [-----]
 Ὡρος Σα.[-----]

4 Ἐπ(εῖφ) ἰε Ψ.[--]
 Τασήμιος Ψεναμού[νιο(s)--]
 Φαράθης Πετεχ.[-----]
 Ὀννῶφρις Ὡρο(υ) Ἀμμω[νίου--]

8 Λολοῦς τ Πετοσί[ριο(s)----]
 Φαράθης Πετεχώνσιος [-----]
 Αμ.....φ.....[---]
 Σενφίβιο(s)

12 Ποριεύθης πρ(εσβύτερος) Φ.[--]
 Τιούτιος Πασήμ[ιο(s)----]
 Σενκαμήτ[ιο(s)-----]

1. Only the very bottom of the letters is preserved.
3. These letters, crammed in between lines 2 and 4, may be an addition.
7. After Ὡρο(υ), sawtooth writing, probably beginning with *lambda*.
10. The text printed is written in small letters on top of what seems to be Ποριεύθης.
12. The name Τιούτις appears neither in the *NB* nor in the *Onomasticon*.

MISCELLANY

277. Memorandum

Inv. 906.8.183

8.4 × 5.1 cm.

Roman

Παταπῆς Πατσέβθιος
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) κς η και ὑπ(έρ) εχθ()
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)

1. The payer is not elsewhere attested.
2. εχθ() suggests nothing to us; nothing in the *WB* seems at all promising.

278. Memorandum

Inv. 906.8.66

9.1 × 5.3 cm.

Roman

ὀνό(ματος) Θοτ. .() Πετε()
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α

1. Θοτέω(ς) οτ Θοτσ.()

279. Receipt for ?

Inv. 906.8.22

7.8 × 8.7 cm.

98-117

This ostrakon, broken only at the right, is clearly written; but it does not seem to follow known formulas and we cannot identify the tax paid.

Νεμώνιο(ς) Γερμανο(ῦ) καὶ Π. [---]
 πράκ(τορες) δι(ὰ) Ψανσ(νῶτος) νεω(τέρου) [---]
 ἔσχ(ομεν) ὑπ(ὲρ) [---]
 4 Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπ(είφ) . [----]

1. The collector is known as a dike-supervisor from 243 and documents discussed there; the patronymic was read by P. J. Parsons. A Nemonios is also known from years 5 and 9 of Trajan as a collector in *O. Bodl.* 1075 and 689; this ostrakon provides a link between them, perhaps.

2. At the end, a patronymic, perhaps Ἐριέω(ς).

3. The unread portion looks like πιο() ιε αρ τε() ιγ L Μεμ(νονείων)[, but we do not understand how such a phrase is to be expanded or explained.

4. The last letter is probably a *kappa*.

280. Uncertain Text

Inv. 906.8.512

6.2 × 7.4 cm.

Πρ

This ostrakon, with wide margins on three sides (1 cm. at top, 3.5 cm. at bottom, .5 cm. at left) may be undamaged, for no loss can be reconstructed at the right with any confidence. Although the writing is in a very clear second-century hand, and there are only two difficulties in the reading, the text fits no pattern known to us. The one point in the text that suggests a loss at right is the cutting off of the name in line 3, where the abruptness is at odds with the care and fullness exhibited elsewhere. The uncertainty of the reading in the first two lines makes it difficult to say what might be lost there (see notes). There is in the extant text no mention of any receipt, of a tax name, of money, or produce, or of the name of an emperor whose sixth year is mentioned in line 3. This document may have been a memorandum intelligible only to its author.

Φμόις Ψενσενούφιος ⚡
 ἐπιτηρητῶν τελεσ. [-]
 τοῦ ς (ἔτους) Φαμενώθ Πετε[-]
 4 Σενπετεμενώφιος *vacat*

1. The mark at the end of the line is of uncertain meaning. It is possible to see in it a somewhat carelessly made mark for *διά*, which would account perhaps for the case of *ἐπιτηρητῶν* in the next line. But the mark actually looks more like the ζ sign for artabas of wheat; this, on the other hand, makes no sense here. One would expect that whatever was made would have been clear, given the fullness with which the writer inscribed his words.

2. One would expect *τέλους*, but it does not seem to be that. What we read, *τελεσ*, suggests only *τελεσμ[άτων]*, but the title this would produce is unattested. It might also be possible to read *τέλος*.

281. Memorandum

Inv. 906.8.414

4.6 × 5.2 cm.

Late IIp

The purpose of this memorandum is not certain: Inaros son of Inaros and Talos, and his sister Talos, members of a family attested elsewhere (cf. 134, commentary) are named with an amount, 13. The presence of many texts of this family in our collection suggests that part of a family accumulation (at home or in rubbish) was found, but the possession of this memorandum by the payer rather than by the receiver is puzzling, given its informality, which would have been meaningful to the writer alone.

Ἰναρῶς ὁμ(οίως) μη(τρὸς) Ταλῶτ(ος)
καὶ Ταλῶς ἀδε(λφή) ιγ

Inaros son of the same and of Talos, and his sister Talos, 13.

282. Uncertain Text

Inv. 906.8.630

6.9 × 4.9 cm.

Roman

The hand of this text, written on a yellowish pot, is unpracticed, and the letters are clear. Only one word listed in *LSJ* can be restored with the letters preserved here, ψολοκο[μπία]; it is a *hapax* in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 696, in plural), defined as “thunderous talk, i.e. empty noise.”

ψολοκο[μπία]
Γέτας

283–287. OSTRAKA FROM DENDERAH

In *Archiv* 6 (1920) 125–136, J. G. Milne published twelve Greek ostraka purchased from a dealer in Luxor by C. T. Currelly, then Director of the Royal Ontario Museum. Together with these he presented in tabular form information from about 200 Demotic ostraka from the same source. The dealer stated that Denderah was the provenance of these sherds, and references in two ostraka support the claim.

Milne wrote about the pottery (p. 125) that it is “of a coarser and thicker make than used for Theban ostraka; and in many instances the inside of the potsherd is coated with a deep layer of pitch, which is of rare occurrence on Theban examples. . . .”

The Demotic ostraka, with few exceptions, consist of tax receipts for one or another member of a family, for which Milne (p. 125) gives a stemma. Of the five Greek ostraka now in the Museum’s collection, three belong to this group, and two do not. Of the former, two are for work on the dikes, and one for tax on sheep; neither is represented among the Demotic ostraka, which have only a dike tax paid in money. Six of the ostraka published by Milne are now in the Bodleian, as is reported in *BL* II.1 8. We present our five ostraka in chronological order.

283. Receipt for Bath Tax (?)

Inv. 906.8.600

6.1 × 5 cm.

Ptolemaic

Published: J. G. Milne, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 135 (SB 7391).

We print this text as Milne read it with minor changes in lines 1 and 3 (see notes).

βαλανήο[v]
Πετρεσθεὺς νε(ώτερος)
β.s χα(λκοῦ) ρξ

1. βαλανη [Milne, but this is neither name nor word, and there is a trace of ink before the break; read βαλανείο[v]. Milne (*O. Theb.*, p. 72) remarks of this text, “I have another Ptolemaic ostrakon from Denderah, which records the payment of 160 copper drachmae for bath-tax.”

3. β. Milne; probably a patronymic.

284. Receipt for Tax on Sheep

Inv. 906.8.603

9.6 × 7.6 cm.

4 September 29

Published: Milne, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 134 (G.9) (SB 7386).

This ostrakon is one of a very few documents mentioning livestock specifically in connection with a statement of payment which may be a tax. Here we have payment of 7/12 artaba of wheat.

Also for *προβάτων* is *WO* 1369, from A.D. 10, recording a payment for fifteen sheep, but the amount is not given. There are also three Ptolemaic receipts for sheep-tax (*O. Bodl.* 114, 158 B.C.; *O. Ash.* 2, 156 B.C.; and *O. Cam.* 9, second century B.C.), which, like *WO* 1369, give the number of sheep but not the amount of payment. The form of these three (date, *τέτακται*—) makes it clear that they are in fact tax receipts, and we conclude from them that they attest a situation in which the amount of the tax was well-known and did not vary; it was the number of sheep that was important.

Our text, like *WO* 1369, does not follow the other three, and, indeed, differs also from *WO* 1369 in that here only we have a figure of payment given. The *WO* text, considerably later than the other three, and coming in the early Roman period, suggests a shift in the procedure attested by the Ptolemaic texts. It is like the Ptolemaic texts in giving just the number of sheep, but differs in formula. Our text, a little later still, has the formula even more shortened, but now reports the sum actually paid.

Wallace (*Taxation*, 87–88) suggested that the *τέλος προβάτων* is in fact another way of designating the *ἐννόμιον*, or pasture-tax, and that the payment represents a rent on sheep, in which case the amount of the *φόρος* would surely have been given. Wallace thought that the amount paid in this receipt would probably have been the tax on one or two sheep. Indeed, if one compares the *ennomion* receipt *O. Bodl.* 116 with the receipt *O. Bodl.* 114, which provides a parallel to our text, one finds a closer parallel in formulation than exists between *O. Bodl.* 116 and two other texts designated as for *ennomion*, *O. Bodl.* 49 and *O. Cam.* 4; yet all three are definitely for *ennomion*. If Wallace is right that the receipts without the term *ennomion* are merely variants of the regular form, then it is entirely reasonable to accept the *WO* and *O. ROM* texts as early Roman styles of receipt for a tax which, by the fourth decade of our era (*O. Bodl.* 1103–1104) settles into a form used frequently by praktors for a number of taxes.

προβάτω(ν) ις (ἔτους) Θῶ(θ)
 $\bar{\varsigma}$
 Σαμόθραξ Παρτβῶ(τος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) Λίβ'

For sheep, 16th year, Thoth 6, Samothrax, son of Partbos, art. wh. $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{12}$.

1. Θῶθ Milne, but we see no second *theta*.

3. The scribe apparently wrote Σαμόθραξ or Σαμόθρακος, and then added a *xi* through the middle of the *kappa* without erasing or crossing out any of the letters.

285–286. Certificates for Dike Work

These two certificates were issued to Samothrax and Sansnos, both sons of Paartbos, in return for five naubia of work from each. They are dated to year 2, which Milne took to be that of Gaius, i.e. 37/8, rather than of Tiberius, on the ground that one of the other two receipts of this kind in the group was dated to year 3 of Gaius, made out for Samothrax (*Archiv* 6 [1920] 126, 133 [G.7]).

The wording of our two certificates is identical, but not exactly matched by documents from elsewhere. A similar phrase, ἀναβολ(ήν) [χ]ωμ(άτων), occurs in *BGU* 513. The problem of the relationship of the *ναύβιον* certificate to the penthemeros certificate has been much discussed, most recently by P. J. Sijpesteijn in *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (*Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* XII, 1964), 18–21. Sijpesteijn argues that in Roman Egypt, as in Ptolemaic and Byzantine times, the performance of *ναύβιον* work was required in proportion to the amount of

landed property possessed by the individual concerned, in contrast to the penthemeros obligation, which was unvarying in the amount of work required.

Milne (p. 133) tried to relate the five naubia of our texts to the five days of the penthemeros, but the widely varying amounts in other naubia certificates (see Sijpesteijn, 38–45), as well as the impossibility of equating the naubion with a day's work (Youtie, *TAPA* 72 [1941] 443, n. 15, and 444–445, n. 35) makes this unlikely. Youtie (*TAPA* 73 [1942] 80, nn. 64 and 65), though asserting that naubion and day's work cannot be precisely equated, wished to see the administration as taking them as equivalent, and making the penthemeros the equivalent of five naubia. He suggests that this duty may have been imposed on landless peasants. Sijpesteijn's objections (p. 19) to this thesis seem to us decisive.

It is not possible, then, to establish any simple relationship between the penthemeros (a phenomenon of the Fayum, cf. Sijpesteijn, p. 1) and the naubion obligation, found in many if not all areas. On the relationship of dike taxes to dike work, Sijpesteijn (p. 3, n. 4) does not accept the suggestion of Wilcken (*WO* I, p. 342) adopted by Milne (p. 133) that the *χωματικόν* could be an *adaeratio* for ἀναβολὴ χωμάτων; but he cites two other payments which may have been such *adaerationes*.

285.

Inv. 906.8.601

8.7 × 10 cm.

37/8 (?)

Published: Milne, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 132–133 (G.5) (SB 7382).

ἀναβολ(ῆς) χωμά(των) β (ἔτους) Σαμό-
θραξ Πααρτβῶ(τος) ναύβ(ια) πέν-
τε (γίνονται) ναύβ(ια) ε.

Raising of dikes for the 2nd year, Samothrax son of Paartbos, five naubia, that is, na. 5.

286.

Inv. 906.8.602

10.7 × 10.3 cm.

37/8 (?)

Published: Milne, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 133 (SB 7383).

ἀναβολ(ῆς) χωμά(των) β (ἔτους) Σανσνῶς
Πααρτβῶ(τος) ναύβ(ια) πέντε
(γίνονται) ναύβ(ια) ε.

Raising of dikes for the 2nd year, Sansnos son of Paartbos, five naubia, that is, na. 5.

287. List of Names

Inv. 906.8.535

15 × 19 cm.

after 130

Published: Milne, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 135–136 (G.14) (SB 7392).

This list of names is organized in three vertical columns, as well as by horizontal lines. The end of a name is marked by a diagonal stroke, as indicated. The length of a few names in the first two columns causes them to usurp the space of the next column for that line. In the third

column, however, (as Milne points out), names were continued in the next line. The appearance of Ἄντινοεύς in line 5 points to a date after 130 for the text.

The list is curious in that a number of the names are of purely Greek origin; a high percentage of them do not occur on the Theban ostraka, which are dominated by native names. Furthermore, the number of names unattested aside from this list is large, sixteen. We are thus strikingly reminded of the extent of local particularism in Egyptian nomenclature; in areas where we lack large masses of documents our repertory of names is probably only a fraction of the whole. Our rereading has confirmed Milne's readings of all of these names (though we have not, in all cases, accepted his expansions of abbreviated names). The format of names varies, with a name plus patronymic the exception rather than the rule. Where the father's name is given, it is most commonly used after (or before) *υἰός*. Other indications of relationships (*ἀδελφός*, *γαμβρός*) are also used to replace patronymic designation.

Since the time when Milne read the ostrakon, the ink has faded considerably in many areas of the sherd, and many letters which he read without hesitation are faint to the point of illegibility now. In addition, a piece has been broken off at the upper left corner, taking *υἰός* A with it. Except for a few places, however, we have reproduced Milne's text without adding dots so liberally as the present condition of the ostrakon might justify; in all instances where names are still fully legible, Milne's reading has been corroborated by our own. The hand is not a difficult one, and we see no purpose in indicating doubts about letters which undoubtedly were quite clear to Milne. We have tacitly corrected some of Milne's accentuation.

	<i>υἰός</i> Ἀπολλωνίου			Παταρσίν
	Ἄρουβεῦς/	Τρίμωρος/		Πολιδακ()
4	Ἐπικτητέ(υς) υἰός Ἀλκιμος			Πόρκις
	Ἄξιβι(ος)/	Βησαῖς Ἄντινοεύς		Πτολεμαῖος
	Φιλοκῦρις/	Ἄνουαρις/		υἰός Πανοῦφίς/
	Ἄρποκρά(ς) ἀδελφός/	Ἄλαμιστᾶ(ς)/		Πιλιούς υἰός
8	Ἄνγερπις/	Ἄριών Κοστᾶ/		Λουφᾶτος/
	Βησαρίων υἰός Σουρούς/			Ἡρων ἀδελ(φός) Διοσκό- ρου/
	Κοπρῆς/	Ἄνισαίς/		Ἰσίδωρος ἀδελ(φός)
12	Ἰσίδωρος γαμβρός/			Ἄσχαύλε(ως)/
	υἰός Ψισιγ()/	Κονχᾶ(ς) υἰό(ς)		Χεστ()/
	Ἄννῦνις/	Παρμένων/		Τρικῶσις
	Φιλόξενος γαμβρός	Πανούφε(ως)/		Ἐρμαπόλλων
16	Σαμβᾶ(ς)/	Παμπαχίς/		Κανώπου
	Ἄρσενού(φίς)/	Θέων υἰό(ς) Ἄρχιόη(ς)/		Ἐρμανούβις/
	Πτολεμαῖος Κολλούθου/			Τρίμορος
	Κάναχ(ος)/	Βησαρίων υἰό(ς)	Ταπινούτε(ως)/	
20	[Πτο]λεμαῖος υἰό(ς) Καλαφ()/			Ταυρεῖνος ἀδελ(φός)
	[---]ρος Θορταίου/			Σαμόθραξ Σισό(ιτος?)/
	[---]/	Πετιρ()/		Πατω. . /
	[----] Βησαῖς Ἄριω. . . .			

3. Milne read Ἐπικτητέ(ως), but the first element of the entry is always in the nominative in this text. This derivative of Epiktetos is otherwise unattested. The reading Πολιδακ() seems correct (though faded), but we see no merit in hazarding a restoration of an unknown name like Milne's Πολίδακ(νος).

4. The Roman name Porcius is attested in the form Πούρκιος (see *NB*).

5. Despite the attractiveness of supposing a mistake in Ἄξιβι(ος) for Οὐίβιος(=Vivius), the *xi* is certain, matching exactly those in Φιλόξενος (15) and Σαμόθραξ (21).

6. Φιλοκῦρις is otherwise attested only in the form Φιλοκύριος.
 8. *Onomasticon* cites Λουφ(ᾶς?) in *SB* 9310.
 13. Ψισιγ(): certainly not Ψισιτ(). Κονχᾶ(s) is unique, but a Κόνχος is attested (*NB*). We see no reason for accepting Milne's Χέστ(ου), unattested elsewhere, when other names with this beginning are known (Χεστφνάχθις, Χεστώντης).
 19. *Onomasticon* lists a Κάναχ in *P. Apoll.* 43, 77, 92 (VIII century).
 20. Milne restored Καλαφ(άγους?), but Preisigke (*NB*) preferred Καλαφ(άτους?). Neither is attested, though the latter seems more likely. But Καλαφέλτ appears in *P. Petaus* 93.65 and Καλάφιος in *O. Bodl.* 2338.
 22. Πετιρ(): certainly not Πετσιρ().

288–289. ADDENDA

288. Receipt for *Merismos Anakechorekoton*

Inv. 906.8.59

11.9 × 9.1 cm.

142/3

This text is extremely faded and has been read only on the photograph and by comparison with *O. Bodl.* 760–761, issued by the same collectors in the following year.

Κεφάλων καὶ Παμώ(νθησ) πράκ(τορες) ἀργ(υρικῶν) [Ἄγο(ρῶν) β(ορρᾷ)]
 Πετρεψάιτι Πα--- Φθουμ---
 μερισμ(οῦ) ἀνακεχ(ωρηκότων) ς (ἔτους) ῥυπ(αρὰς) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρας
 4 (γίνονται) ῥυπ(αράι) (δραχμαί) δ. (ἔτους) ς Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου . . . ιε-----
 2 more lines too faint to read

Kephalon and Pamonthes, collectors of money taxes [for Agorai north] to Petepsais son of Pa—, grandson of Phthou—, [we have received for] *merismos anakechorekoton* for the 6th year, copper drachmas four, that is, copper dr. 4. Year 6 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, . . . 15 . . .

289. Tax on Weavers

Inv. 906.8.1

6.5 × 7 cm.

191

The personages of this receipt are well-attested. For the collector's thirteen known receipts see 144.in. The taxpayer is attested in *O. Theb.* 60 and 61 and *O. Bodl.* 1030, the former two of which pose a problem taken with our text. *O. Theb.* 60 is dated to year 31, Pharmouthi 6, paying 8 drachmas for Phamenoth; *O. Theb.* 61 is of year 31, Pachon 2, paying 8 drachmas for Pharmouthi. But 289 now records a payment in year 31, Pharmouthi. Two possibilities exist: (1) the date is before the 6th, and the payment thus for the next preceding month to Phamenoth, Mecheir; or (2) there is a mistake in *O. Theb.* 61, which should be for Pachon. The former seems to us the more likely.

Πρεμαῶς κ[αὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτη(ρηται) τέλ(ους) γερδ(ίων)]
 Πετεμ(ενώφει) Σεγ[πετεμ(ενώφιος) χα(ίρειν).]
 ἔσχο(μεν) ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους) [μη(νὸς) Μεχ(εῖρ)(?) τοῦ λα (ἔτους)]
 4 (δραχμὰς) η (γίνονται) [(δραχμαί)] η
 (ἔτους) λα'' Φαρ(μοῦθι) .[-]

Premaos and [associates, overseers of the tax on weavers] to Petemenophis son of Senpetemenophis, [greeting.] We have received for the tax [of the month of Mecheir(?) of the 31st year] dr. 8, that is, [dr.] 8. Year 31, Pharmouthi . .

2. Milne, *O. Theb.* 60.2n, mentions *O. Bodl.* 1030 as "G.84"; he also mentions a "G.292" given by this collector to this payer in year 3. No such text is published in *O. Bodl.* nor have we found one such in the Toronto collection.

5. Perhaps nothing is missing except part of the numeral. It is not remarkable for the last two lines to be much shorter than the rest; see the exactly parallel *O. Theb.* 60.

Inventory

This list gives all inventory numbers assigned to ostraka in the Greek and Roman Department of the Royal Ontario Museum; except for those indicated in the text as coming from Denderah (282–287), all are apparently from purchases in Thebes. The following information is given: (1) those published in *O. Theb.* are indicated by that abbreviation and their publication number; (2) those published in *O. ROM* are given by their publication numbers (e.g. 246); (3) others are described with their measurements, number of lines, and apparent breakage; where additional information has been gathered about the contents of the text, that also is given. For some texts described here, a preliminary transcription has been deposited with the Greek and Roman Department of the Museum and may be consulted on request to them or to one of the authors; this has been indicated by the word "Transcription" at the end of the entry. (4) Those ostraka judged not to be in Greek are so indicated.

All numbers should be cited with the prefix 906.8., in the manner of the inventory numbers given with the published texts in this volume; only the last three digits are given in the list below.

1. 289.
2. 6×6.3 . 3 lines, broken left, right, and top. Probably a receipt; mention of a Petemenophis.
3. 122.
4. 233.
5. 169.
6. 6.
7. 14.5×9 . 6 lines, complete except at top.
8. Not Greek.
9. 28.
10. Cancelled.
11. 78.
12. 145.
13. 10.7×5.8 . 5 lines.
14. 231.
15. 5.5×8.2 . 5 lines.
16. 14.
17. 161.
18. 6.2×6.9 . 4 lines, complete. Receipt of II/III form, "Pha() 21 of the 22nd year, in the name of Talos..." Apparently not same as family of 134. Readings uncertain, but probably for poll tax for Charax, ten copper dr. Transcription.
19. 7.7×6.6 . 4 lines, probably complete.
20. 7×5.4 . 4 lines of Greek, 1 of Demotic, broken left and right. Receipt for money tax, 6 dr. +, late II, probably in a year 22.
21. 29.
22. 279.
23. 90.
24. 7.5×5.2 ; surface badly damaged.
25. 6×6.7 . 4 lines, broken top and left. Receipt for money tax of 19th year, given in year 20, Hadrianos 9, for 1 dr., 5 ob.
26. 7.9×8 . 6 lines, complete.
27. 98.
28. 8×6.5 . 3 lines, virtually complete. Receipt for 12 drachmas for some tax of 5th year, given on Pauni 18. Month-name formula, late second century. Transcription.
29. 114.
30. 3.1×6.9 . 7 lines.

31. 135.
32. 6.5×8.3 . 4 lines, broken at right. Receipt for money tax, *διαγέγραφε* formula (Ip) for 11 dr.
33. 7.2×7.7 . 6 lines, very faint. Probably a receipt. Name Spitous.
34. 5.5×6.5 . 6 lines.
35. 13.
36. 6.9×5.2 . 5? lines.
37. 6×4.3 . 3 lines of Greek, 2 of Demotic, broken above and left. Receipt of year 23 for 4 dr.
38. 144.
39. 198.
40. 10.7×9.2 . 5 lines, complete(?). Perhaps not Greek.
41. 5.4×9.7 lines.
42. 14.5×12.1 . 10 lines, probably complete. Account.
43. 9.2×6.2 . 7 lines, broken at right. Money tax receipt, probably issued by a Porieuthes.
44. 147.
45. 16.2×11 . 7 lines, broken below. Account of produce.
46. 25.
47. 9.5×6.6 . 4 lines, broken at left, right, top. Probably an account of land.
48. 8×7 . 2 lines.
49. 8.6×9.3 . 4 lines on convex, 7? on concave.
50. 7.2×7.5 . 2 lines.
51. 7.6×8.4 . 9 lines.
52. 129.
53. 7.6×7.4 . 6 lines, broken at least at left and below, no certain undamaged side. Account about wagons and money.
54. 171.
55. 10.8×7.5 . 6? lines.
56. 131.
57. 11.1×8.9 . 6 lines, complete, but surface very flaked and faded. Granary receipt.
58. 7×8.8 . 12 lines. List of names?
59. 288.
60. 5×5.6 . 4 lines.
61. 5×4.5 . 4 lines, broken at left. Receipt for 4 dr. for geometria.
62. 82.
63. 7.6×5 . 4 lines.
64. 6.5×9.5 . 4 lines.
65. 4×6.2 . 1 dark line of a few letters, broken at right and perhaps left, plus 6+ extremely faded lines.
66. 278.
67. 9.9×5.4 . 4 lines.
68. 5.2×3.6 . 4 lines.
69. 5.1×4.7 . 1 line.
70. 4.7×6.1 . 9+ lines, crowded surface.
71. Cancelled.
72. 9.5×8.1 . 2 lines (originally more).
73. 146.
74. Not Greek.
75. Not Greek.
76. 7.5×7.5 . Traces of 4 lines (originally more).
77. 5.4×8.1 . traces.
78. 247.
79. 9.3×9 . 5 lines, broken at right; much of surface gone. Receipt for grain.
80. 4.6×4.9 . 1 line.
81. Not Greek.
82. 9×7 . 5 lines, complete but very faint. Granary receipt.
83. *O. Theb.* 70.
84. 12.4×7.9 . 5 lines, complete except at right. Receipt given by Phth(), year 4 of Antoninus, Epeiph. Transcription.
85. 6.7×6.2 . 3 lines of Greek, 2 of Demotic, perhaps complete. Memorandum given on Phamenothe 6 in the name of Harsiesis son of Pet---.
86. 44.
87. Cancelled.

88. Not Greek.
 89. 41.
 90. *O. Theb.* 98.
 91. *O. Theb.* 69.
 92. 5.
 93. 8.3 × 5.6. 5 lines, perhaps complete. Very faint.
 94. *O. Theb.* 124.
 95. *O. Theb.* 104.
 96. *O. Theb.* 58.
 97. *O. Theb.* 85.
 98. Not Greek.
 99. 11.2 × 10. 11? lines, lacking most of slip and ink.
 100. *O. Theb.* 54.
 101. *O. Theb.* 55.
 102. *O. Theb.* 71.
 103. *O. Theb.* 76.
 104. *O. Theb.* 24.
 105. *O. Theb.* 33.
 106. *O. Theb.* 139.
 107. *O. Theb.* 126.
 108. *O. Theb.* 143.
 109. *O. Theb.* 74.
 110. 12.7 × 8.6. 8? lines.
 111. *O. Theb.* 53.
 112. *O. Theb.* 84.
 113. Not Greek.
 114. Not Greek.
 115. *O. Theb.* 114.
 116. *O. Theb.* 141.
 117. Not Greek.
 118. 4.2 × 6.9. 4+ lines.
 119. *O. Theb.* 63.
 120. 8.8 × 6.3. 8 lines, broken at left and right. List of names including Horos, Thaeisis, Hatres, Amenothos, Kametis, Pikos.
 121. *O. Theb.* 46.
 122. *O. Theb.* 78.
 123. *O. Theb.* 50.
 124. Cancelled.
 125. 205.
 126. *O. Theb.* 135.
 127. *O. Theb.* 92.
 128. *O. Theb.* 60.
 129. 7.5 × 15.5. 14 lines, broken at left.
 130. *O. Theb.* 56.
 131. Cancelled.
 132. *O. Theb.* 81.
 133. *O. Theb.* 93.
 134. *O. Theb.* 118.
 135. *O. Theb.* 109.
 136. *O. Theb.* 37.
 137. *O. Theb.* 38.
 138. *O. Theb.* 36.
 139. 19.
 140. *O. Theb.* 138.
 141. 7 × 10.4. 4 lines, perhaps complete, very faint traces.
 142. 11.1 × 8.5. 4 lines.
 143. 259.
 144. *O. Theb.* 17.
 145. *O. Theb.* 134.

146. 43.
 147. 187.
 148. 10×7.5 . 6? lines.
 149. 81.
 150. 6.9×7.1 . 5 lines. Receipt for money tax, year 45 of Ptolemy VIII, Mesore. Transcription.
 151. 76.
 152. 221.
 153. 194.
 154. 7.6×7.8 . 6 lines and smudges. Remains of an account of grain.
 155. 6.7×6 . 1 line of Greek: Ιμουτος Φθου], 5 lines of Demotic, broken at lower left. Slip lost to right.
 156. 9×5.8 . 8 lines.
 157. 9.7×5.2 . 4 lines.
 158. 7.6×6.1 . 2 lines.
 159. 4×5.2 . 8 lines.
 160. 212.
 161. 8.4×7 . 3 lines.
 162. 217.
 163. 220.
 164. 201.
 165. 193.
 166. 179.
 167. 5.5×8.3 . 6 lines. Granary receipt from the metropolis, IIp.
 168. 5.5×7.3 . 5 lines, broken at left and bottom. Name Lolous.
 169. 50.
 170. 136.
 171. 9.2×6.1 . 3 lines, broken at right. Account (?) of chaff.
 172. 52.
 173. 210.
 174. 7.5×6 . 6 lines.
 175. 156.
 176. 40.
 177. 133.
 178. 4.2×5.5 . 5 lines.
 179. 6.3×6.4 . 4 lines, broken at left. Receipt for grain (not a granary receipt).
 180. Cancelled.
 181. 6.9×6.9 . 6 lines, broken below. Account of grain.
 182. 6.7×8.6 . 8 lines.
 183. 277.
 184. 6.6×8 . 4 lines.
 185. 192.
 186. 180.
 187. 9.1×6 . 3 lines of Greek, 2 of Demotic, uncertain breakage.
 188. 168.
 189. 9.5×9.5 . 3 lines. Receipt for payment of $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba of grain.
 190. 4.5×4.7 . 3 lines, broken at top and right. End of a receipt for grain.
 191. Not Greek.
 192. 4×5 . 5 lines, broken at right and top. Receipt for grain.
 193. 3.2×5 . 4 lines, broken at top, left, probably bottom.
 194. 174.
 195. 7.5×2.9 . 3 lines.
 196. 42.
 197. 8.1×5.4 . 6? lines.
 198. 204.
 199. 209.
 200. 4.9×7.1 . 5 lines.
 201. 219.
 202. 6×6.5 . 5 lines, complete except at right. Granary receipt from an Antoninus' reign, for Charax, payment of 5 artabas of wheat.
 203. 6.4×5.4 . 4 lines, broken at right. Name(?) Arabarches.

204. 45.
 205. 5.4×7.8 . 5 lines.
 206. 195.
 207. 191.
 208. 5.4×3.3 . 3 lines, broken at top and right. End of a receipt for grain.
 209. 190.
 210. 4.3×4.5 . 5 lines, broken at top and left. Granary receipt for Notos.
 211. 207.
 212. Not Greek.
 213. 4.8×3.9 . 4 lines, broken at right and below. Granary receipt, late IIp.
 214. 4.7×4 . 3 lines, broken at left and above. Probably end of a granary receipt.
 215. 208.
 216. 3.7×4.1 . 4 lines, broken above and right. Receipt on account of grain.
 217. 4.9×8.8 . 3 lines.
 218. 4.7×3.3 . 3 lines.
 219. 4.2×3.7 . 3 lines.
 220. Cancelled.
 221. 181.
 222. 5.4×2.4 . 2 lines.
 223. 2.5×4.5 . 5 lines.
 224. 4.6×3.5 . 3 lines.
 225. Cancelled.
 226. Cancelled.
 227. Cancelled.
 228. 175.
 229. 56.
 230. 218.
 231. 211.
 232. 137.
 233. 183.
 234. 200.
 235. 186.
 236. 38.
 237. 55.
 238. 184.
 239. 185.
 240. 197.
 241. 6×7.2 . ca. 7 lines, complete. Granary receipt of the villages for the 4th year of an emperor, Pachon 9, for Notos.
 242. 48.
 243. 57.
 244. 36.
 245. 35.
 246. 165.
 247. 182.
 248. 199.
 249. 39.
 250. 54.
 251. 58.
 252. *O. Theb.* 117.
 253. 3.2×7.5 . 5 lines of Greek, 1 of Demotic, broken at left. Receipt for grain signed by Am().
 254. 173.
 255. Not Greek.
 256. 3.5×6.9 . 5 lines of Greek, 1 of Demotic, broken at left. Granary receipt for Notos.
 257. 196.
 258. 206.
 259. Cancelled.
 260. 177.
 261. 47.
 262. 6.3×7.8 . 4 lines.

263. 7.1×10.7 . 6 lines, broken at top. An earlier text, upside down, has been erased.
264. *O. Theb.* 121.
265. 49.
266. 8.1×9.1 . 5? lines.
267. 12.
268. 216.
269. 188.
270. 59.
271. Cancelled.
272. 100.
273. 11.5×7.5 . 4 lines of Greek, 1 of Demotic, broken at top. Granary receipt for Nesoi, very faint, titlature lost.
274. 178.
275. 172.
276. 6×6.3 . 4 lines.
277. 7.8×5.9 . 7 lines.
278. 89.
279. 8×9.3 . 4? lines, broken probably at right and left. Lower 2 lines mostly effaced.
280. 11.7×8.7 . 4 lines.
281. 142.
282. 6.5×4.9 . 4 lines.
283. 13.8×5.9 . 2 lines.
284. 110.
285. Not Greek.
286. 7.3×9.4 . 3 lines.
287. 9.2×14.5 . 6? lines.
288. 69.
289. 6.3×13 . 13? lines. Probably a list of names.
290. 6.8×4.4 . 2 lines.
291. 10.8×4.6 . 5 lines, broken at upper right. Probably not Greek.
292. 7.4×9.8 . 2 lines.
293. 6.1×5.7 . 3 lines, complete except at right. Money tax receipt of II/III: Thoth 15 of the 4th year; tax name and taxpayer not certainly read. Transcription.
294. 5.5×5.1 . 3 lines.
295. 9.9×7.1 . 7 lines of Greek, 1 of Demotic.
296. 8×5.6 . 8 lines, broken at left, top, and bottom, on convex; 6 lines on concave.
297. 8.1×8.9 . 9 lines.
298. 8×4.9 . 4 lines, broken at right. List of names or account, probably.
299. 4.5×8.3 . 1 line, broken at left. Memorandum of name and amount of 16 dr.
300. 130.
301. 9.9×6.4 . 4? lines.
302. 6.7×5.6 . 8? lines.
303. 7.9×7.4 . 7? lines.
304. 7.4×7.4 . ? lines.
305. 9.7×8.1 . ? lines.
306. 162.
307. 6.4×9.1 . 9 lines, broken at left and right. Probably an account. Names Phaeris, Portious, Pikos, Pharathes.
308. 5.9×9.9 . 7 lines, apparently complete, but written on a buff surface wash over red clay, which is now in places flaked off.
309. 203.
310. 9.4×6.5 . 3 lines, evidently complete.
311. 6×5.1 . 3 lines.
312. 7.9×8.5 . 6+ lines.
313. 11.3×9.3 . 9 lines, list of names.
314. 12×12.7 . 3+ lines.
315. 10.1×8.3 . Scattered traces.
316. 6.3×6.8 . Traces.
317. 104.
318. 12.6×12 . 6 lines, broken at left. List of names.
319. 10.4×6.9 . Complete account, too faint to read.

320. 7.2 × 11.6. 13 lines.
321. 9.3 × 8.3. 5 lines, complete at top and bottom. Money tax receipt of a 3rd year, for 10 dr. Ip.
322. 5.7 × 5. 1 line.
323. 88.
324. 10.3 × 8.1. 6? lines.
325. 9 × 5.8. 5 lines, complete but very faded, especially in center. Receipt for money tax (6 dr. +), reign of Philippi, name Porieuthes, signed by A(urelius) D. . ().
326. 215.
327. 5.4 × 7.4. 3 lines, broken at left. Receipt for money taxes issued to son of Maieuris, signed by So(), total perhaps 6 dr. 3½ ob. in 2 parts.
328. 8 × 8.2. 5 lines.
329. 8.5 × 6.6. 2 lines.
330. 80.
331. 105.
332. 170.
333. 7.2 × 4.3. 3 lines, broken at top. End of a granary receipt.
334. 12.2 × 8. 4 lines, complete but faint. Money tax of *διέγραψε* form for a son of Petosiris for 4 dr. for a tax of the 4th year, paid in year 5 of Domitian, Sebastos 35. Transcription.
335. 7.8 × 7. 7 lines, broken on several sides.
336. 6.2 × 6.3. 5 lines, probably broken on three or all sides.
337. 7.3 × 8.3. 7-8 lines of Greek, 1 of Demotic. Probably receipt for grain, year 9, most of writing lost.
338. 9 × 4.4. 6 lines.
339. Not Greek.
340. Cancelled.
341. 116.
342. Not Greek.
343. 85.
344. 10.6 × 11.8. 11 lines.
345. 7.8 × 4.9. 2 lines.
346. 6.9 × 10. 7? lines.
347. 8.4 × 8.2. 2 lines. Name Osoroueris.
348. 7 × 6.3. 5 lines.
349. 7.2 × 7.7. 5 lines.
350. 5.2 × 6.8. 4 lines, broken at left, right, and top.
351. 6.8 × 5.7. 5 lines.
352. 6.5 × 5.8. 5 lines. Receipt for bath tax of a 16th year (line 4).
353. Cancelled.
354. 7.7 × 5.6. 5? lines.
355. 7.7 × 7.1. 3? lines, probably complete.
356. 5.4 × 4.6. 3 lines.
357. Not Greek.
358. Not Greek.
359. 6.1 × 8.6. 3 lines.
360. 7.6 × 6.5. 4 lines, complete. Not Greek.
361. 6 × 6.6. 2 lines above, some faint and indistinguishable traces below. Upper text, perhaps unbroken, II B.C., reads $L \lambda\zeta \tau\tilde{\upsilon}\beta\iota. | \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon.$
362. 5.6 × 4.9. 2 lines.
363. 151.
364. 7.4 × 7.2. 5 lines, complete, but only line 2 readable.
365. Not Greek.
366. 4.7 × 3.3. 3? lines, broken except at left.
367. Not Greek.
368. Not Greek.
369. Not Greek.
370. 4.7 × 6.2. 5 lines, broken at right.
371. 132.
372. 2.6 × 3.8. 3 lines.
373. Cancelled.
374. 9.2 × 6.5. 3 lines, broken left, below. Receipt for epikephalaion of year 12.

375. 9×7.7 . 4 lines, perhaps complete, but faint. Receipt for 2 dr.
376. 87.
377. 6.6×5.4 . 4 lines. Name Horos.
378. 115.
379. 241.
380. 6.2×7.8 . 4 lines.
381. 7.3×7.6 . 3 lines, probably broken at right.
382. Not Greek.
383. 8×10.5 . 9? lines.
384. 93.
385. 5×6.8 . 4 lines, broken at left and top. Receipt for a money tax for Agorai listing several payments in a (4th) and 5th years.
386. 6.4×5.8 . 5 lines.
387. 163.
388. 91.
389. 138.
390. Cancelled.
391. 117.
392. 5.2×5.8 . 5 lines, broken at left and right.
393. 148.
394. 7.8×5.5 . 3 lines.
395. 5.8×8.7 . 4 lines.
396. 126.
397. 11.9×15.6 . ca. 16 lines, broken at lower right. Much of original surface lost with writing, probably to salt. Account recording payments in copper dr.
398. 7.2×4.6 . 3 lines, complete. Receipt of year 3, signed by Herak().
399. 30.
400. 10.5×8.1 . 5 lines.
401. 111.
402. 139.
403. 155.
404. 119.
405. 79.
406. 17.
407. 10.5×11 . 5 lines. Not Greek.
408. 8.7×8.1 . 4 lines, broken at top and left. Account of money.
409. 9.5×10.8 . 4 lines.
410. 6.6×8.4 . 10? lines.
411. 225.
412. 96.
413. 102.
414. 281.
415. 71.
416. 33.
417. 8.6×5.4 .
418. 6×6.9 . 5 lines, broken at left and perhaps at bottom. Name list, very faint. Pikos recurs.
419. 112.
420. 158.
421. 118.
422. 86.
423. 7.5×5.8 . 2 lines.
424. 11.1×8.4 . 6 lines.
425. 107.
426. 5.7×6.5 . 3 lines, broken at left, right, top. Receipt for crown tax, II/III, signed by Horos.
427. 7×7.6 . 6 lines.
428. 164.
429. 4.3×6.7 . 4? lines.
430. 2.9×4.7 . 4 lines, broken at left, right, below. Receipt issued to Horos in year 16.
431. Cancelled.

432. 3.9 × 2.9. 3 lines, broken at left, right, bottom, large loss to right. Granary receipt issued by the villages; names Psenamounis and --mois.
433. Cancelled.
434. 5.6 × 3.4. 2 lines.
435. 70.
436. 157.
437. Cancelled.
438. Cancelled.
439. 77.
440. 8.1 × 4.4. 2 lines, broken at right. Receipt for a money tax in year 19, Pha- 30. Iip.
441. 273.
442. 4.2 × 2. 2 lines.
443. 2.7 × 2.2. 2 lines.
444. 4.2 × 2.9. 2 lines, broken except at left. Two words partly preserved, Phamenoth and Horos.
445. 2.2 × 3.2. 2 lines.
446. 2.9 × 2.2. 2 lines.
447. 15.
448. 202.
449. 9.8 × 9.9. 4 lines. Not Greek.
450. 123.
451. 24.
452. 16.
453. 226.
454. 8.1 × 5.8. 4 lines, probably complete.
455. Not Greek.
456. 12.9 × 7.3. 6 lines, broken at left and below. Perhaps an account of money.
457. 106.
458. 7.9 × 6. 7 lines, complete. Not Greek.
459. 6.8 × 12.9. 9 lines.
460. 134.
461. 6.1 × 6.1. 4 lines, broken at right. Receipt for a money tax for Notos given by praktor Apollos (not otherwise attested) to Psenamounis. Iip. Transcription.
462. 189.
463. 5.5 × 5.6. 4 lines.
464. 8.7 × 7.8. 5 lines.
465. 12.4 × 11.1. 6? lines.
466. 227.
467. 7.9 × 8.8. 4 lines.
468. 11 × 10. 5 lines, complete, but faded. Receipt for money tax (4 dr.) for Notos, year 14 of Hadrian, Mecheir 30. Transcription.
469. 13.3 × 13.6. 2 lines, ribbed with crude hand, no recognizable words. On back, "Gournah, 30-12-'05."
470. 8 × 4.2. 4 lines. Not Greek.
471. 232.
472. 83.
473. 12.9 × 12.2. 6 lines, complete. Not Greek.
474. 8.2 × 4.9. 4 lines.
475. 6.2 × 5.4. 6 lines, probably complete, but dark mold stain covers nearly all of text. Pachon 24 (line 6), an ἀδ(ελφ-) Ἴναρῶτος(s) (line 5), cf. 134. Late Iip.
476. 31.
477. 6.9 × 6.9. 1 line. Memorandum of grain (amount lost) given on Thoth 25.
478. 7.9 × 6.7. 3 lines.
479. 99.
480. 214.
481. 167.
482. 6.2 × 7.6. 3 lines.
483. 7 × 5.7. 5 lines.
484. 8.8 × 9.6. 3+ lines, complete, but much surface lost in lower part. Granary receipt of year 13 of Antoninus(?), Epeiph 18, for Notos and Lips. Transcription.
485. 153.

486. 84. 100.000
487. 9.3×7.6 . 1 line. 100.000
488. 5.2×6.9 . 2 lines, broken at left. Probably memorandum, year 26. 100.000
489. 159. 100.000
490. 236. 100.000
491. *O. Theb.* 122. 100.000
492. *O. Theb.* 65. 100.000
493. Coptic. 100.000
494. *O. Theb.* 20. 100.000
495. Coptic. 100.000
496. *O. Theb.* 1. 100.000
497. Coptic. 100.000
498. Coptic. 100.000
499. Coptic. 100.000
500. *O. Theb.* 131. 100.000
501. 94. 100.000
502. *O. Theb.* 18. 100.000
503. *O. Theb.* 137. 100.000
504. *O. Theb.* 26. 100.000
505. 64. 100.000
506. 18. 100.000
507. *O. Theb.* 13. 100.000
508. *O. Theb.* 146. 100.000
509. 9. 100.000
510. 224. 100.000
511. 7. 100.000
512. 280. 100.000
513. 11. 100.000
514. *O. Theb.* 43. 100.000
515. *O. Theb.* 99. 100.000
516. *O. Theb.* 27. 100.000
517. *O. Theb.* 3. 100.000
518. 21. 100.000
519. *O. Theb.* 22. 100.000
520. *O. Theb.* 67. 100.000
521. *O. Theb.* 105. 100.000
522. 65. 100.000
523. 61. 100.000
524. 4. 100.000
525. 237. 100.000
526. *O. Theb.* 108. 100.000
527. *O. Theb.* 10. 100.000
528. 152. 100.000
529. 120. 100.000
530. 121. 100.000
531. 160. 100.000
532. 27. 100.000
533. 62. 100.000
534. *O. Theb.* 103. 100.000
535. 287. 100.000
536. 141. 100.000
537. 143. 100.000
538. 51. 100.000
539. 34. 100.000
540. 11.5×11.5 . 9 lines, broken below. Much of original surface gone. 100.000
541. 6.4×12.4 . 4 lines. 100.000
542. 32. 100.000
543. 248. 100.000
544. 271. 100.000

545. 234.
546. 68.
547. 10.3×8.6 . 9 lines complete only at right. List of names, with no complete name preserved.
548. Cancelled.
549. 261.
550. 258.
551. 257.
552. 266.
553. 256.
554. 249.
555. 260.
556. 250.
557. 63.
558. 255.
559. Cancelled.
560. 6.7×14.4 . 10 lines.
561. 67.
562. 251.
563. 11×12 . 3 lines, complete.
564. Cancelled.
565. 20.
566. 14.5×7.5 . 7 lines, broken at left, top, bottom. Account of money with names (Phthomonthes, Pechytes), amounts, and totals.
567. 252.
568. 6.3×5.4 . 7 lines plus 2 at a right angle.
569. 11.5×6.9 . 8 lines, broken on all sides. Account of money, only amounts readable.
570. 263.
571. 272.
572. Cancelled.
573. 6.6×7.1 . 5 lines, broken at left. Account of money.
574. 6.1×9.2 . 10 lines. Account of money.
575. 270.
576. 245.
577. 6.4×11.7 . 5 lines.
578. 10×10.7 . Account of land measurements, broken on all sides.
579. 10×4.4 . 9 lines.
580. Cancelled.
581. 253.
582. 235.
583. 8.8×12.9 . 3 lines.
584. 246.
585. 265.
586. 274.
587. 243.
588. 72.
589. 26.
590. 3.
591. 46.
592. 37.
593. 53.
594. 2.
595. 1.
596. 22.
597. 66.
598. 8.
599. 10.
600. 283.
601. 285.
602. 286.

603. 284.
 604. 101.
 605. 223.
 606. 127.
 607. 92.
 608. 75.
 609. 60.
 610. 23.
 611. 229.
 612. 149.
 613. 5.9 × 7.6. 4 lines, broken at right. Receipt given by an epiteretes of the tax on weavers to Amenophis (?), Mesore, year 30 (A.D. 190). Transcription.
 614. 6.2 × 7.1. 1 line of Greek(?) or Demotic, followed by 5 of Demotic, broken at right.
 615. 108.
 616. 8.5 × 5.6. 3 lines, complete. Coptic.
 617. 10 × 7.6. 3 lines of Demotic, 1 line of Greek subscription: Ἐρμίας μω() κυ.
 618. 5.9 × 6.6. 4 lines, broken left, right?, above? Name Psenchonsis.
 619. 74.
 620. 103.
 621. 140.
 622. 150.
 623. 176.
 624. Not Greek.
 625. 213.
 626. 230.
 627. 238.
 628. 239.
 629. 240.
 630. 282.
 631. 5.9 × 7.1. 9? lines.
 632. 8.8 × 7.7. 4 lines.
 633. 12.7 × 12.2. 5+ lines.
 634. 10 × 6.6. 3 lines.
 635. 11.6 × 5.6. 5 lines, broken except at lower right. Account of land.
 636. 10.5 × 8.5. 4 lines, faint. Receipt for 4 dr. 4 ob. and additional sums for a money tax, year 14. Transcription.
 637. 10.6 × 9.4. 6 lines.
 638. 11.4 × 10.5. 5 lines.
 639. 10.5 × 9.3. 5 lines.
 640. 109.
 641. 4.7 × 7.7. 6 lines.
 642. 6.1 × 10.9. 8 lines, complete.
 643. 10.7 × 11.8. 4 lines, complete.
 644. 7.3 × 10.4. 5 lines. Account?
 645. 10 × 6.1. 3 lines, broken at right, top, bottom. Receipt for dike tax, Ip.
 646. 4.3 × 6.7. 6 lines, broken at right. List of names.
 647. 4.2 × 7.2. 3 lines, broken at left. Receipt for money tax of 7 dr., 5 ob., 1 ch.
 648. 166.
 649. 125.
 650. 124.
 651. 154.
 652. 96.
 653. 8.2 × 11.6. 16 lines. Account of money.
 654. 4.1 × 5.5. 6 lines, broken on all sides. Probably an account.
 655. 244.
 656. 15 × 8.6. 5 lines, broken above. Possibly account of grain. Names Athenodoros and Horos.
 657. 11.5 × 6.4. 5 lines, broken at lower right. Probably account of money. Name Senpasemis (lines 2,5).
 658. 242.
 659. 267.
 660. 268.

661. 15.1 × 10.5. 11 lines, dated Pauni 1 of year 3. Probably a private document, involving a Besarion.
662. 4.3 × 3.9. 6 lines, broken on all sides. Probably a list of names or account. Names: Porieuthes (3), Phthouminis (5), Psenthotos (6).
663. 275.
664. 264.
665. 3.7 × 7.3. 9 lines, broken at left. Probably list of names.
666. 269.
667. Not Greek.
668. 13.3 × 6.9. 7 lines, broken at right and below. Decania list of names.
669. 228.
670. 262.
671. 276.
672. 254.
673. Not Greek.
674. Not Greek.
675. Not Greek.
676. 8.5 × 6.3. 1 line.
677. 9.7 × 7.1. 2 lines.
678. 6.8 × 7.8. 8 lines.
679. 5.3 × 5.1. 5 lines.
680. 6.8 × 8.1. 5 lines.
681. 1.7 × 3. 2? lines.
682. 2.2 × 1.8. 2 lines.
683. 8.9 × 6. 4 lines.
684. 9.6 × 8.4. 12? lines.
685. 2.8 × 6.1. 3 lines.
686. 10.6 × 9. 5 lines.
687. Not Greek.
688. 2.7 × 2.5. 1? line.
689. 3.7 × 4. 3? lines.
690. 128.
691. 8.3 × 5.7. 6 lines.
692. 1.1 × 2.6. 1 line.
693. 4.1 × 2.7. 1 line.
694. 5.7 × 5.9. 3 lines.
695. 5.7 × 4.2. 5 lines.
696. 7.2 × 4.3. 2 lines.
697. 2.1 × 2.3. 1 line.
698. 8.2 × 7.5. 10 lines.
699. 6 × 5.2. 4 lines.
700. 8.3 × 12.4. 6 lines.
701. 8.7 × 9.2. 9 lines.
702. 10.6 × 11. 6? lines.
703. 5.1 × 5.5. 4 lines.
704. 4.3 × 5.6. 3 lines.
705. 8.1 × 4.6. 3 lines.
706. 5.8 × 6.2. 4 lines.
707. 4.4 × 6. 5 lines.
708. 7.3 × 5.9. ? lines.
709. Not Greek.
710. 9.5 × 8.5. 6 lines.
711. 4 × 4.2. 5 lines.
712. 4.8 × 6.2. 6? lines.
713. 7.7 × 12.2. 8 lines.
714. 8 × 10.8. 4? lines.
715. 7.5 × 8.5. 8 lines.
716. 6.7 × 4. 3 lines.
717. Not Greek.
718. 4.6 × 3.6. 2 lines.

719. 3.4×3.6 . 5 lines.
 720. 1.2×3.2 . 2 lines.
 721. 3.2×5.3 . 4 lines.
 722. 4×4.6 . 4 lines.
 723. 6.2×5.1 . 3 lines.
 724. 4.9×7 . 2 lines.
 725. 5.9×6.3 . ? lines.
 726. 3.8×4.8 . 5 lines.
 727. 4.5×4.2 . 3 lines.
 728. 5.2×8.5 . 1 line.
 729. Not Greek.
 730. Not Greek.
 731. 1.8×2.9 . ? lines.
 732. 6.3×6.1 . 4? lines.
 733. Not Greek.
 734. Not Greek.
 735. 5.9×9 . 6 lines.
 736. 7.1×5.7 . 4 lines.
 737. 2.9×4.6 . 4? lines.
 738. 5.2×4.1 . 4 lines.
 739. 5×6 . 4 lines.
 740. 8.1×10.9 . 13? lines.
 741. Not Greek.
 742. Not Greek.
 743. 4.5×3.3 . 5 lines.
 744. 8.3×10.5 . ? lines.
 745. 7×5.7 . 5? lines.
 746. 6.6×6.5 . 4 lines.
 747. Not Greek.
 748. 4.5×5.5 . 4? lines.
 749. Not Greek.
 750. 6.7×9.3 . 5? lines.
 751. 4.4×5.2 . 3? lines.
 752. 113.
 753. Not Greek.
 754. 8.1×8.8 . 5 lines, complete.
 755. 6.6×9.5 . 7 lines, complete. Ptolemaic.
 756. Not Greek.
 757. Not Greek.
 758. 222.
 759. 6.1×3.8 . 6 lines, complete. List of names, very crowded: Asklepiades son of Plantas, Didymos son of Memnon, Horion, Besarion, Herakleides. Transcription.
 760. 8.2×4.9 . 5 lines, broken left and right. Perhaps a subliterate exercise, late Roman. Transcription.
 761. 97.
 762. 73.
 763. Not Greek.
 764. Not Greek.
 765. Not Greek.
 766. Not Greek.
 767. Not Greek.
 768. Not Greek.
 769. (stroke remains).
 770. Not Greek.
 771. Not Greek? (traces).
 772. Not Greek? (traces).
 773. Not Greek? (traces).
 774. (stroke remains).

Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume I

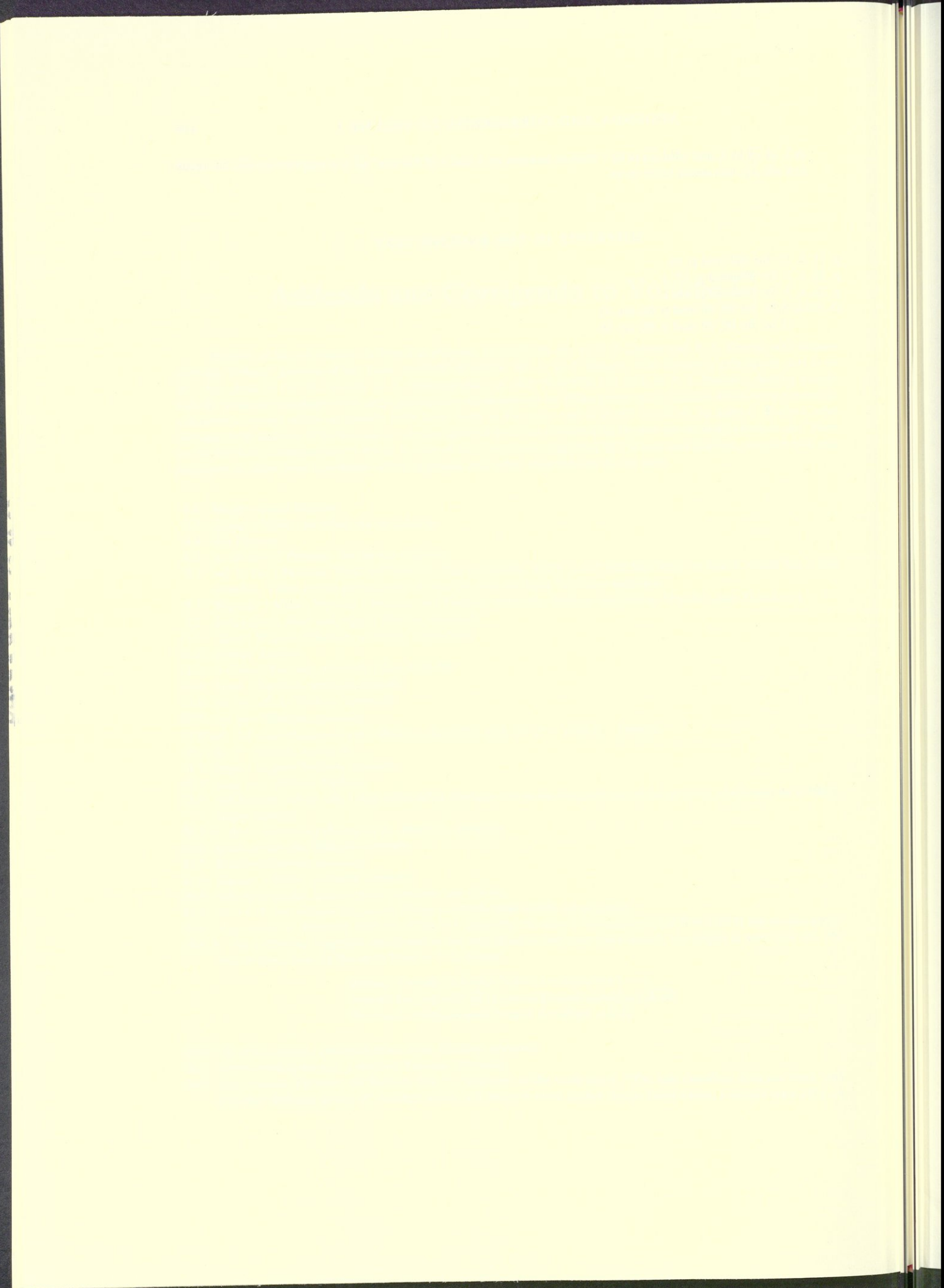
Reviews of the volume can be found in *Phoenix* 27 (1973) 80–88, by P. S. Derow and E. S. Derow, who discuss only the “Death” portion of the book; in *Cd’É* 48 (1973) 381–2, by J. Bingen, who discusses principally part I; in *Rev. hist. droit* 50 (1973) 162–163, by J. Modrzejewski; in *JEA* 59 (1973) 273–274, by P. J. Parsons, dealing mainly with the texts and bringing to bear some preliminary transcriptions by Milne preserved in Oxford, which were previously unknown to us and which apparently differ from those in Toronto; and in *BASP* 11 (1974), by John C. Shelton, who discusses both sections. (Our reasons for certain editorial practices criticized by Shelton are set forth above in the “Note on the Method of Publication.”) Below is a list of the corrections suggested by Parsons and Shelton, coupled with our judgment on these from a collation of the originals, and a few observations of our own.

- 2.1: Μεμ(νονείων) Shelton.
 2.2: Ἀννω() Milne; we think the *nu* dubious.
 4.4: δύο Parsons.
 6.2: ω: (ἐτῶν) ν? Parsons. We do not think so.
 7.7: νε(): τε() Parsons, Τε(ῶτος) Shelton. *Tau* is possible, but it is not like that letter in line 6, which has a true crossbar. There are no patronymics in this list, and we think Τε(ῶτος) excluded.
 8.7: Μηνοφ() Milne, Μηνοδ() Parsons and Shelton, correctly. Shelton expands as Μηνόδ(ωρος) Πικ(ῶτος).
 9.2: ἀπέχω(μεν), read ἀπέχο(μεν) Shelton, correctly.
 11.1: ὦρος: Μάρω(ν) Shelton, probably incorrectly.
 11.2: ἄ(λλην) Shelton.
 12.2: ιε (ἔτους) Parsons, correctly; date A.D. 96.
 14.4: Ασκ() Parsons, perhaps correctly.
 17.6: κῆ, αῖ: κῆ, αῖ Shelton, correctly.
 17.7: γῖ: γῖ- Shelton, correctly.
 17.8 *init.*: [αῖ κ(αῖ) (δραχμαῖ) γῖ]- Shelton, correctly; end, for β = read β-, Shelton.
 18.5: βc: β- Shelton, correctly.
 18.7: ἔσχον: ἔσχ(ον) Shelton, correctly.
 19.5: παρὰ τοῦ <αῦ>τοῦ Shelton.
 23.3: νῖδ Parsons; νί(ῶ), νῖδ, νίό(s) all possible, Shelton. Given the frequent use of the genitive, νίο(ῖ) may be as likely. ἔσχον Parsons.
 28.3–4: δύο- (γίνονται) (δραχμαῖ) β- Shelton, correctly.
 29.2: ὄμ(οίως) certain, Shelton, correctly.
 34.7: Πικ(ῶς) Shelton, correctly.
 41.6: Παμω() Milne, probably correctly.
 50.4: ἀδ(εμφῆς) μ[(cf. note) probably correct, see 134.3n.
 53.3: at end of line, ὑπ(έρ) Χά(ρακος) Milne, correctly (still visible on original).
 56.4: Χεμτονέως B. Boyaval, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 194, correctly; he cites J. Quaegebeur, *Cd’É* 46 (1971) 166 on this name.
 59.6–8: the additional fragment mentioned in the introduction has now been found; the height is now 11.6 cm. The text of these lines (in the same hand as 1–5) is now:
- ἄλ(λας) Ἐπ(εῖφ) ἰᾶ ὑπ(έρ) Νό(του) ὀνό(ματος) [---]
 πυρ(οῦ) δωδέκατο(ν) κδ̄ (γίνεται) [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ἰβ̄ κδ̄]
 Πεκῦσι(ς) σεση(μείωμαι) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ιρ̄ [κδ̄].
- 62.6: *chi* of Σωτήριχος corrected from *delta*, Shelton, correctly.
 64.1: Initial monogram πρ() omitted, Parsons, correctly.
 66.4: ὑπέρ correct, Parsons and Shelton; line 5 is thus part of the same entry. “The sum therefore does not work; and I cannot find any group of readings which will make it work (other things being equal, I should read μθLη μῆ)

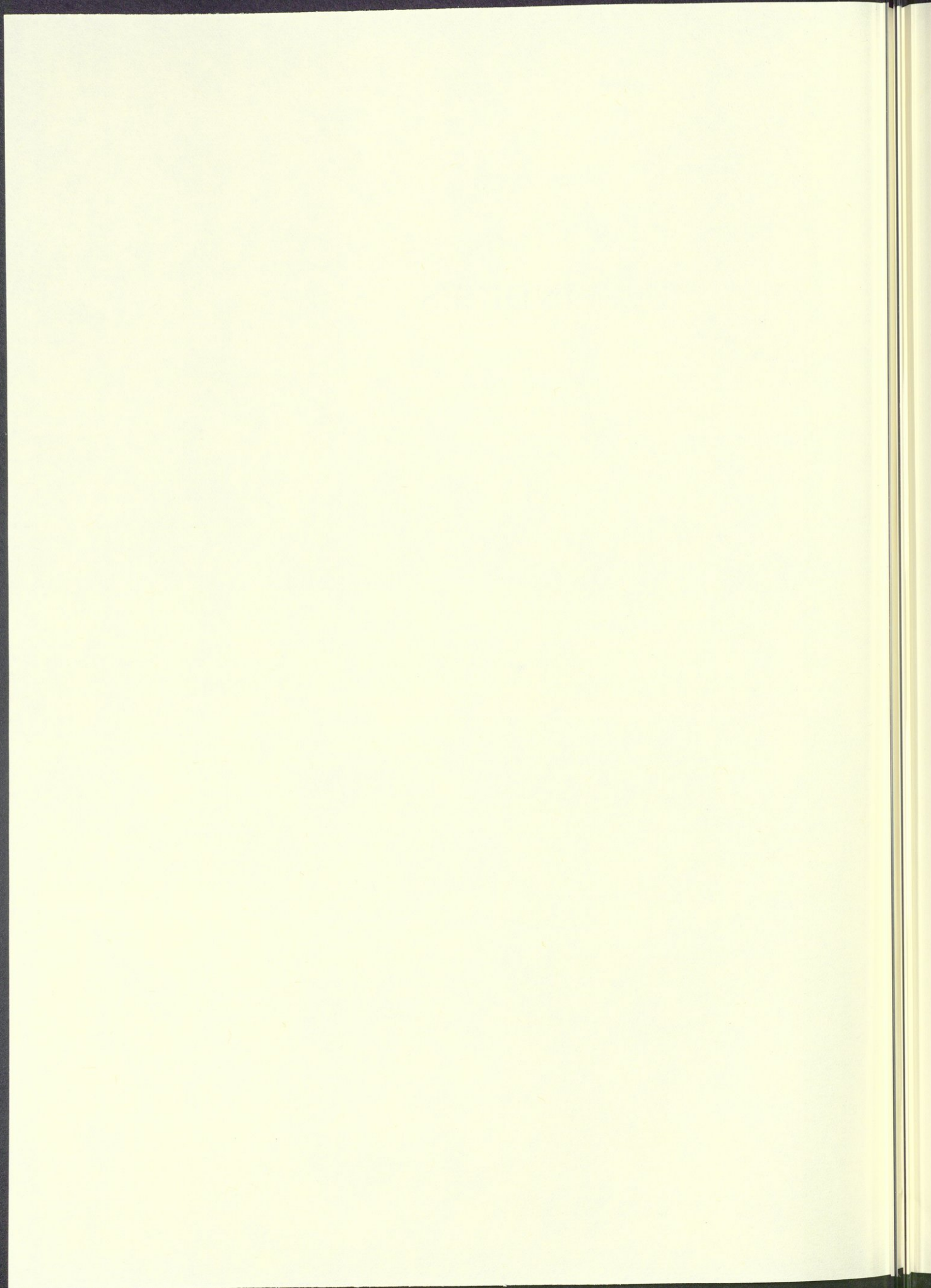
in 1, $\epsilon\delta\overline{\kappa\beta}$ in 3, and $\sigma\delta\overline{\mu\eta}$ in 6)." Shelton concurs on 1 and 3 (if Parsons' $\overline{\kappa\beta}$ is a misprint for $\overline{\kappa\delta}$), but reads in 6 $\sigma\delta\overline{\mu\eta}$; this seems better to us.

MISPRINTS IN THE ENGLISH TEXT

- p. 11, n. 17: for 000 read p. 16.
p. 26, n. 2: for 000 read p. 12.
p. 26, n. 3: for 000 read p. 14.
O. ROM 9.2n: for 00, 00 read p. 65, no. 32.
12.1n: for 00, 00 read p. 66, no. 56.



INDICES



I. SOVEREIGNS AND DATES

A. Ptolemaic Kings

Ptolemy III Euergetes I ἔτ. ιβ 73.1	Unassigned ἔτ. ι 76.1 ἔτ. κς 74.3,6
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II ἔτ. μζ 75.1	

B. Roman Emperors

Tiberius

(a) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ	
ἔτ. ις (-) 284.1	ἔτ. κα (a) 77.3
ἔτ. κ (-) 77.2	ἔτ. . (a) 78.3

Gaius

ἔτ. β (-) 285.1; 286.1

Claudius

(a) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος	
ἔτ. β (a) 79.3; (-) 79.2	ἔτ. ι (a) 82.2; (-) 82.2
ἔτ. γ (a) 80.3; (-) 80.2	ἔτ. ια (-) 82.5
ἔτ. δ(?) (a?) 81.5	

Vespasian

(a) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐέσπασιανῶ Σεβαστοῦ	
(b) Οὐέσπασιανῶ τοῦ κυρίου	
ἔτ. γ (a) 83.3; (-) 83.2	ἔτ. ς (b) 84.3; 231.4; (-) 84.2
ἔτ. ε (b) 230.5	ἔτ. η (b?) 168.2; (-) [168.1]

Titus

(a) Τίτου τοῦ κυρίου	
ἔτ. β (a) 169.2,5	

Domitian

(a) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανῶ	
(b) Αὐτοκράτορος Δομιτιανῶ τοῦ κυρίου	
(c) Δομιτιανῶ τοῦ κυρίου	
(d) Δομιτιανῶ Καίσαρος	
ἔτ. α (c) 85.2; (-) 85.2	ἔτ. θ (-) 92.2
ἔτ. β (b) 86.2; (c) 87.5; (-) 87.2	ἔτ. ι (c) 92.3
ἔτ. γ (a) 89.4 (Δομετιανῶ); (c) 90.3; (d) 88.2; (-) 88.1; 90.2	ἔτ. . (c) 93.4; (-) 93.2

Trajan

(a) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρωνα Τραιανῶ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ	
(b) Τραιανῶ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου	
(c) Τραιανῶ τοῦ κυρίου	
ἔτ. δ (c) 171.1	ἔτ. ι (b) 100.4 (?); 101.3; (-) 100.3; 101.3
ἔτ. ε (c?) 97.4; (-) 97.3	ἔτ. ια (b) [114.2]
ἔτ. ς (-) 98.2	ἔτ. ιε (-) 102.6
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Hadrian

- (a) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 (b) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
 (c) Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 (d) Ἀδριανοῦ

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 ἔτ. ι (c) 113.3; (-) 115.5
 ἔτ. ια (c) 116.4; (-) 114.2; 115.6
 ἔτ. ιβ (c) 117.4; (-) 117.2
 ἔτ. ιγ (b) 118.4; (c) 119.3; (-) [119.2]

ἔτ. ιδ (-) 119.8
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 ἔτ. ις (a) 122.3; (c) 123.5; (d) 121.4; (-) 122.5; 174.6
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Antoninus Pius

- (a) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 (b) Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κυρίου
 (c) Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ
 (d) Ἀντωνίνου

ἔτ. α (a) 176.2
 ἔτ. β (-) 176.4
 ἔτ. ε (a) 126.3; (-) 127.3
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 ἔτ. ζ (a) 178.2
 ἔτ. η (a) 128.3; (-) 178.4

ἔτ. ι (d) 129.3
 ἔτ. κ (c) 179.1
 ἔτ. κβ (a) 180.1
 ἔτ. κγ (a) 181.1
 ἔτ. . (b) 183.2

Marcus Aurelius with Verus

- (a) Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν
 (b) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν
 (c) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν
 (d) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου Καισάρων

ἔτ. α (a) 182.1
 ἔτ. β (b) 184.1; (c) 185.1
 ἔτ. γ (c) 186.1

ἔτ. δ (c) 177.1; (d) 131.4; (-) 186.5
 ἔτ. . (c) 187.1

Marcus Aurelius

- (a) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

ἔτ. ια (-) 224.2
 ἔτ. ιβ (a) 224.3
 ἔτ. ιδ (a) 188.1; 189.2

ἔτ. ιε (a) 190.2
 ἔτ. ις (a) 191.2; 192.2; 193.1; (-) 190.3

Marcus Aurelius with Commodus

- (a) Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Κομμόδου Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων

ἔτ. ιη (a) 133.1
 ἔτ. ιθ (a) 194.1; (-) 134.1,3

ἔτ. κ (-) [194.3]

Commodus

- (a) Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 (b) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 (c) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 (d) Κομμόδου τοῦ κυρίου

ἔτ. κα (a) 195.2; 196.1
 ἔτ. κβ (a) 225.5; (-) 225.2
 ἔτ. κγ (a) 197.1
 ἔτ. κδ (-) 135.1,[3]; 136.1,4
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 ἔτ. . (a) 198.2; 205.2; 208.2; (b) 143.4; (d) 204.2

Pescennius Niger

- (a) *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Πεσκεννίου Νίγερως Ἰούστου*
 ἔτ. α (-) 226.3 ἔτ. β (a) 226.4

Septimius Severus

- (a) *Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Περτίνακος Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*
 ἔτ. β (-) 144.8; 145.2; 198.12 ἔτ. δ (a) 206.2
 ἔτ. γ (-) 145.1; 146.7

Septimius Severus with Caracalla and Geta

- (a) *τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβῶν Σεβαστῶν*
 ἔτ. ζ (-) 147.2.4 ἔτ. ια (a) 212.1
 ἔτ. η (a) 210.1; (-) 211.6 ἔτ. . (a) 213.1
 ἔτ. ι (a) 211.1

Caracalla

- (a) *Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*
 ἔτ. κα (-) 163.3 ἔτ. κβ (a) 216.1; 217.1
 ἔτ. κγ (-) 163.1

Elagabalus

- (a) *Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*
 ἔτ. . (a) 218.1

Severus Alexander

- ἔτ. η (-) 165.1

The Philippi

- (a) *Φιλίππων Καισάρων*
 ἔτ. β (a) 221.3

Gallienus

- (a) *Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος*
 ἔτ. ια (a) 222.2

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- ἔτ. β 156.1; 223.3 ἔτ. ις 158.1; 214.3
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III. PERSONAL NAMES

Entries under a name are organized in the order (1) official capacities, (2) taxpayers, (3) agents of others, (4) personal relationships. For the last the following abbreviations are used: (in the order in which they are listed)

s. = son
 gs. = grandson
 ggs. = great-grandson
 f. = father
 gf. = grandfather
 ggf. = great-grandfather

m. = mother
 br. = brother
 sr. = sister
 h. = husband
 w. = wife

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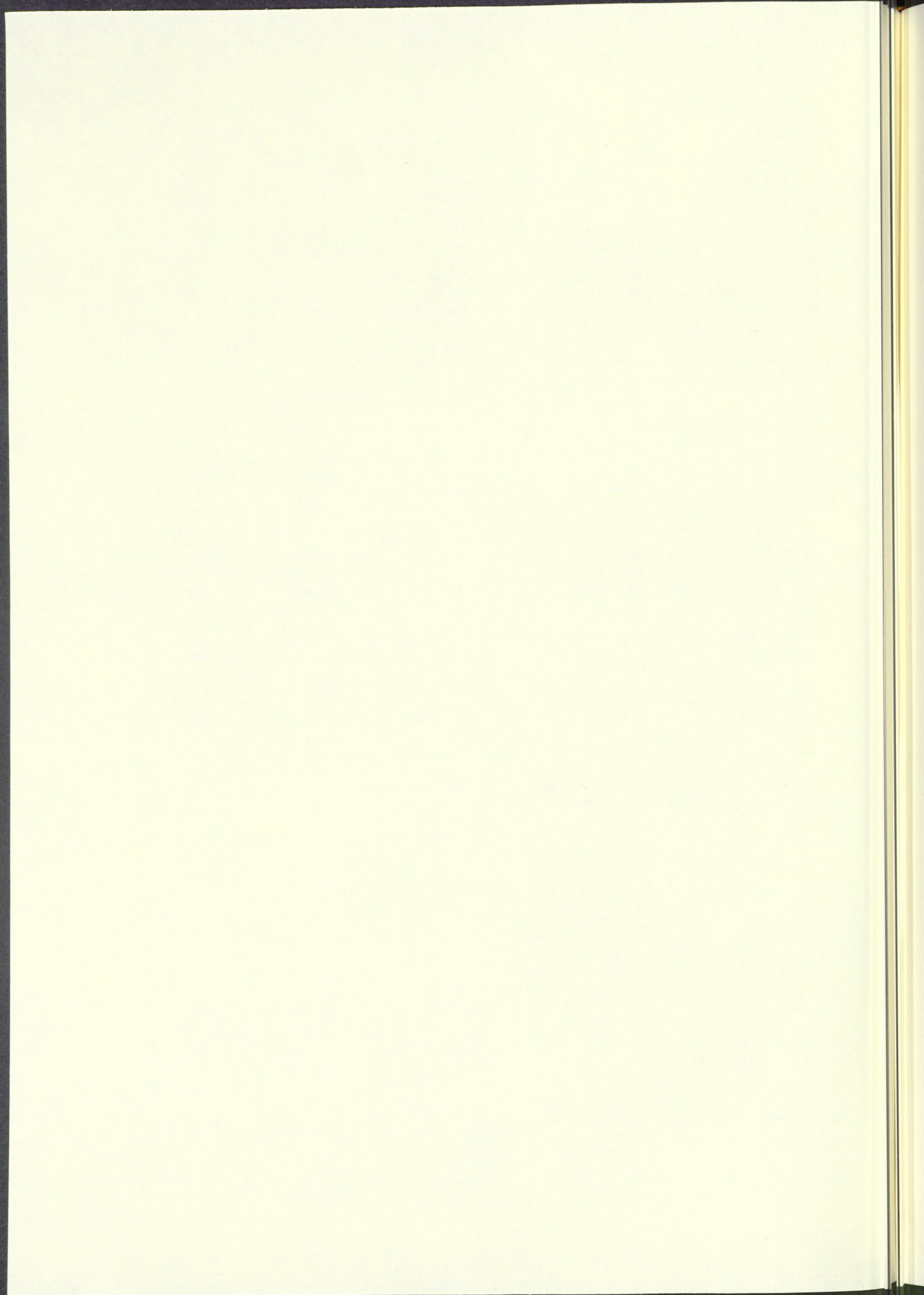
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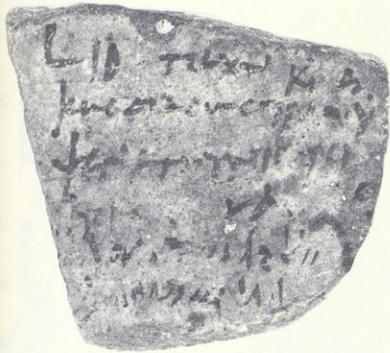
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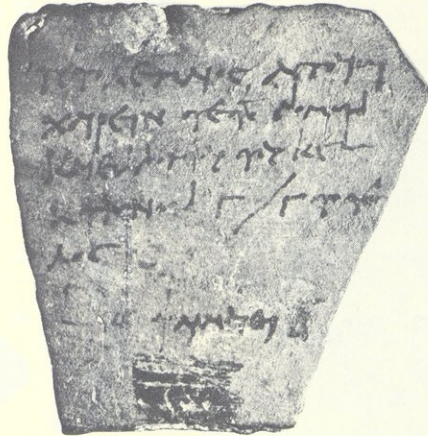
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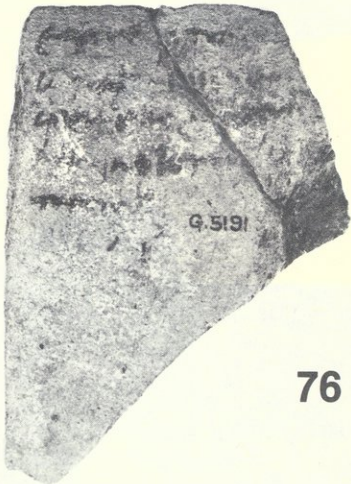
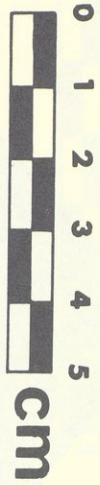




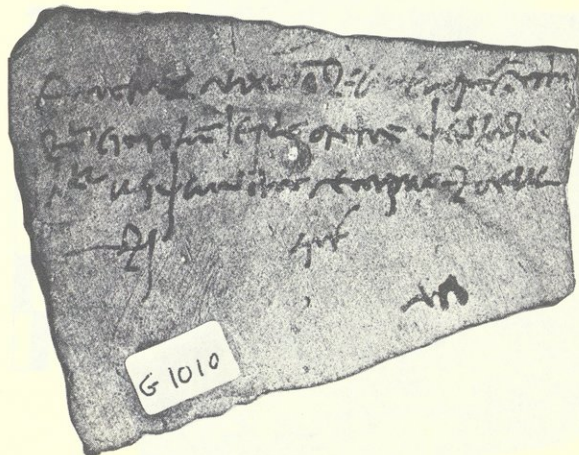
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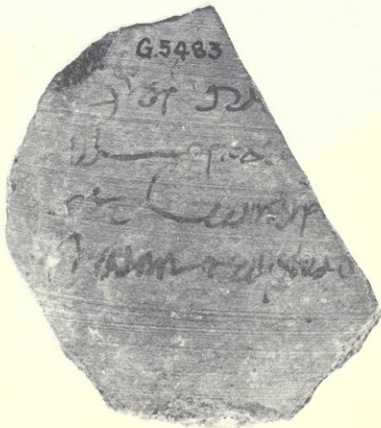
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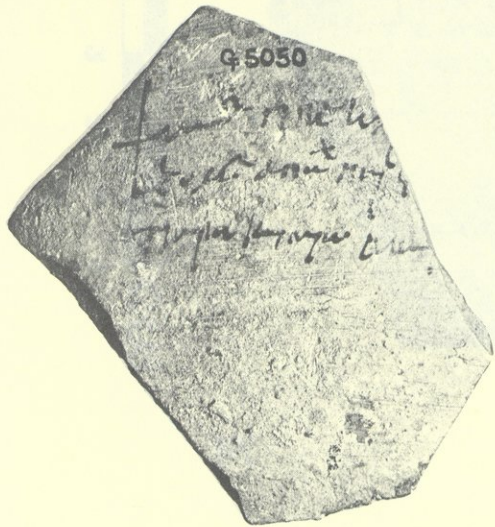


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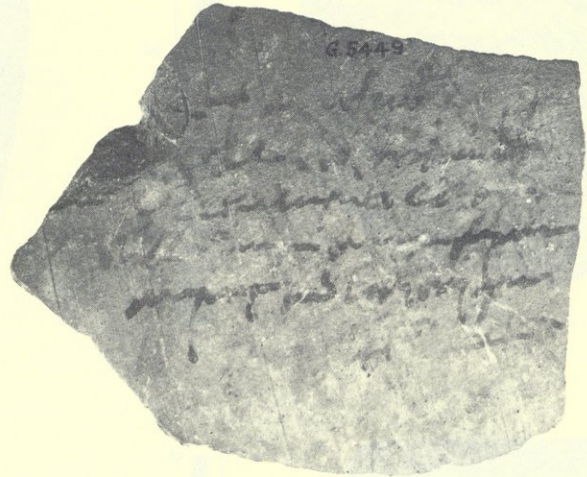


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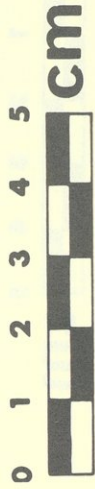




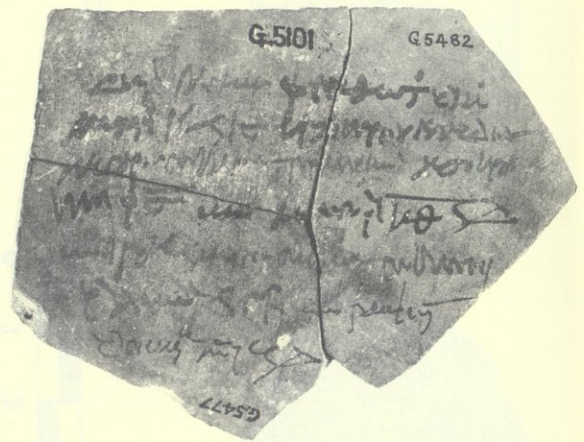
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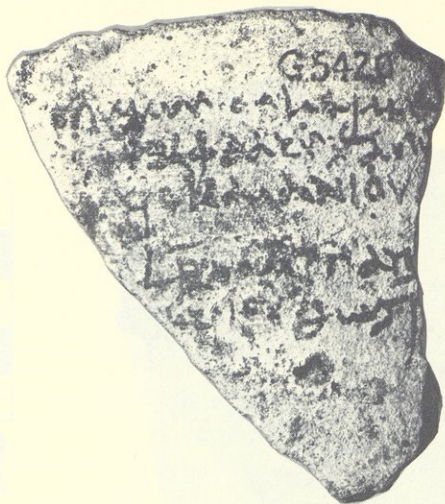
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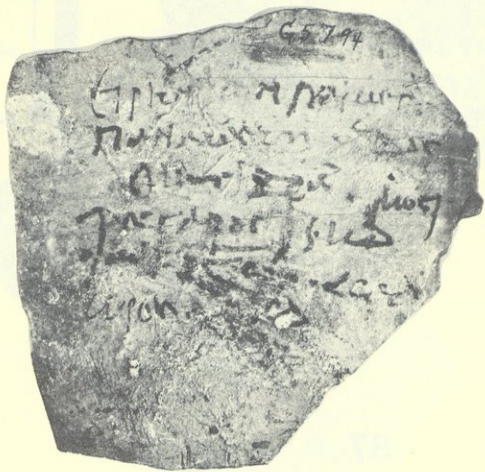
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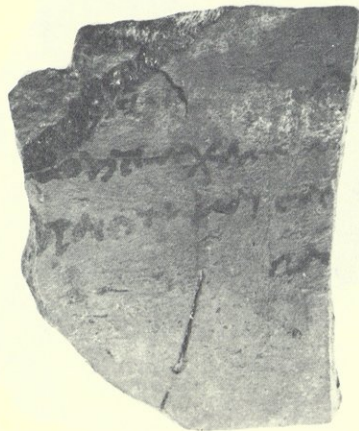
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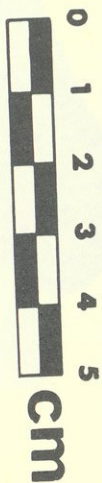
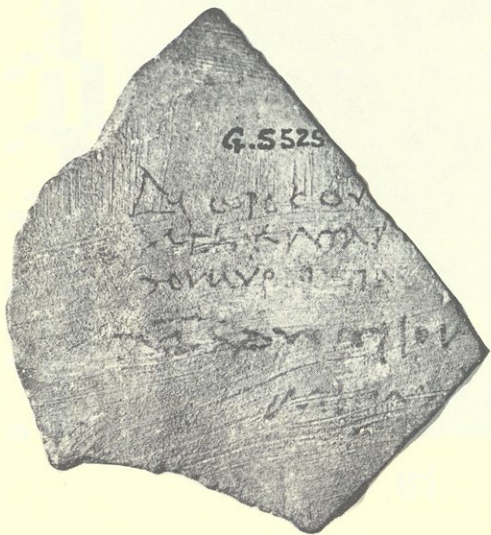
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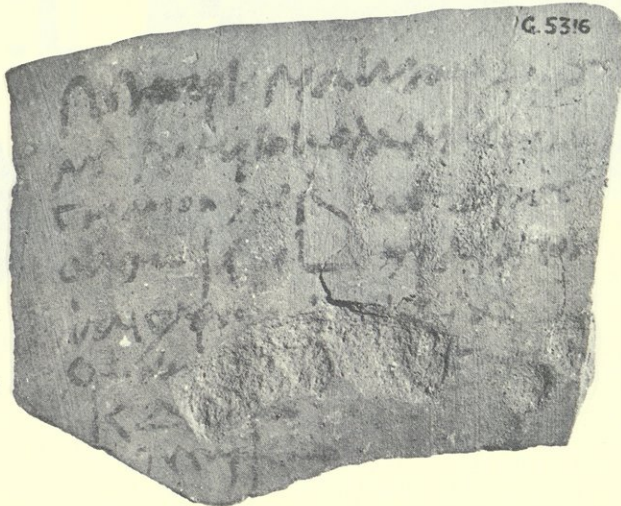
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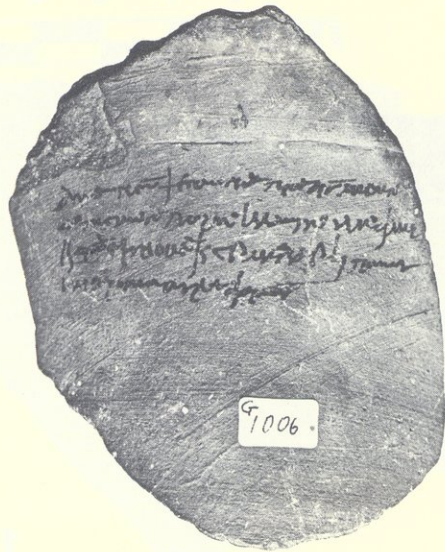
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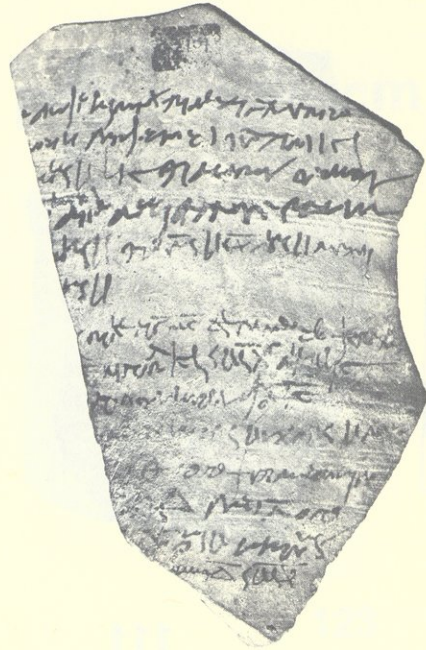
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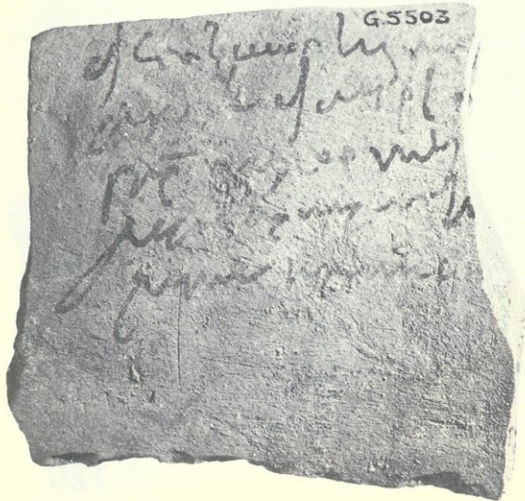
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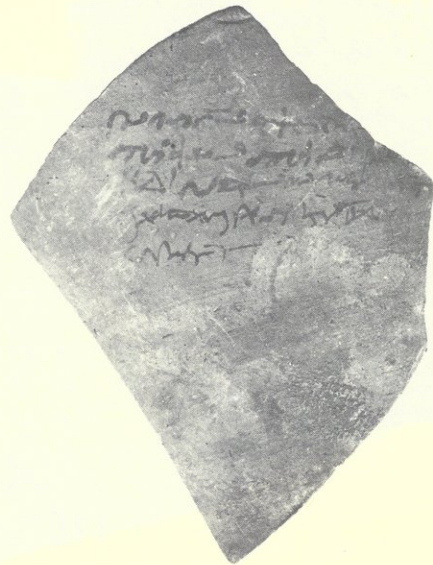
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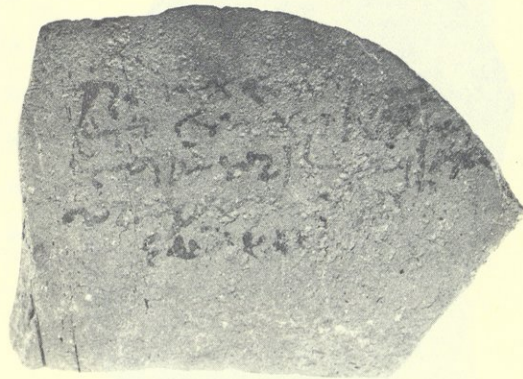
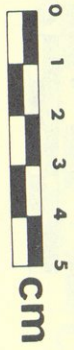
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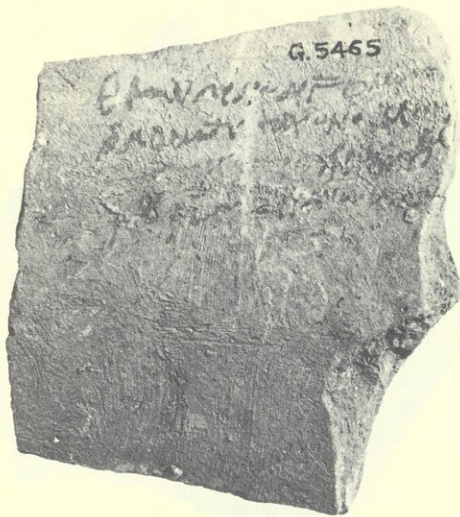
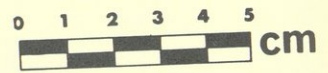
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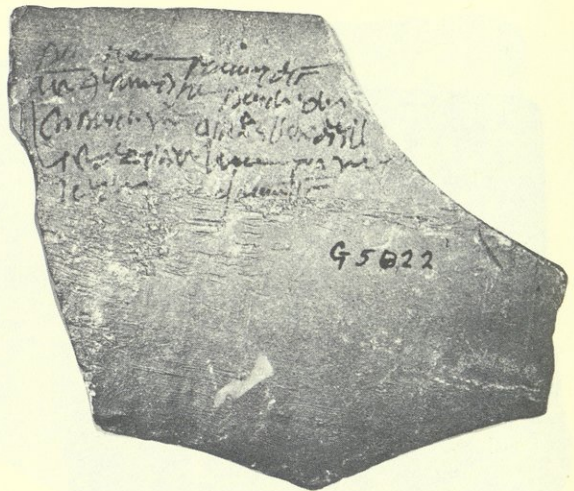
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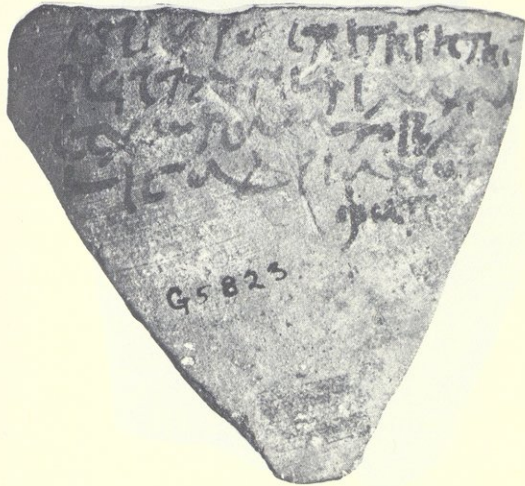
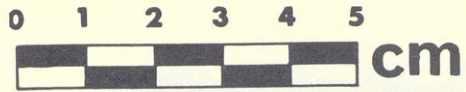
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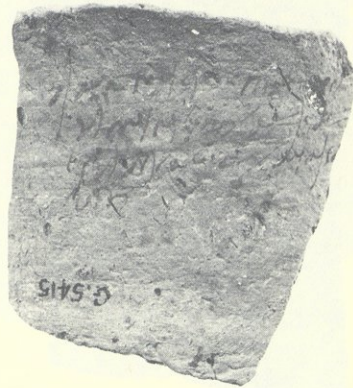
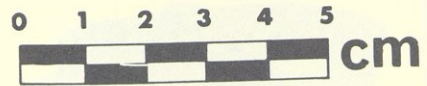
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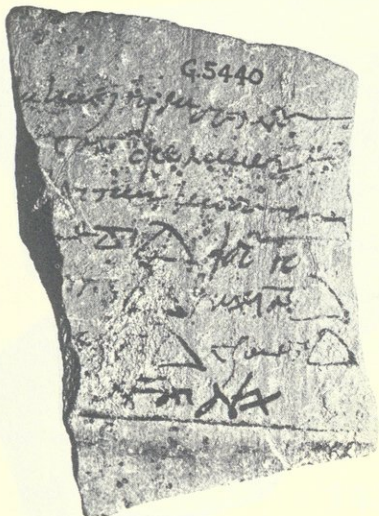
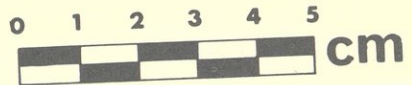
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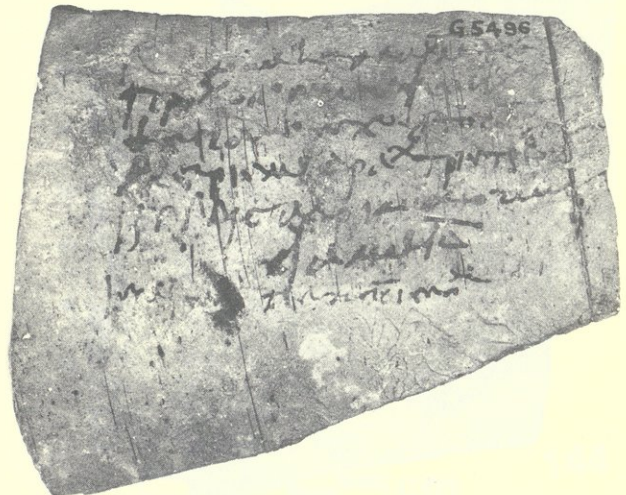
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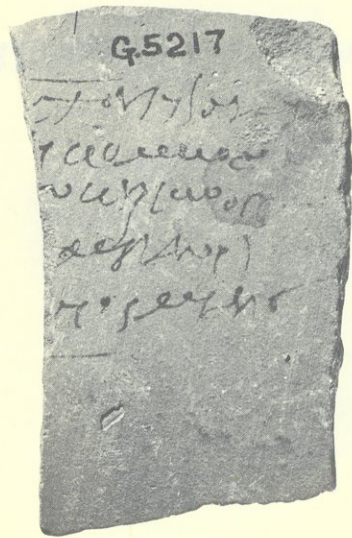
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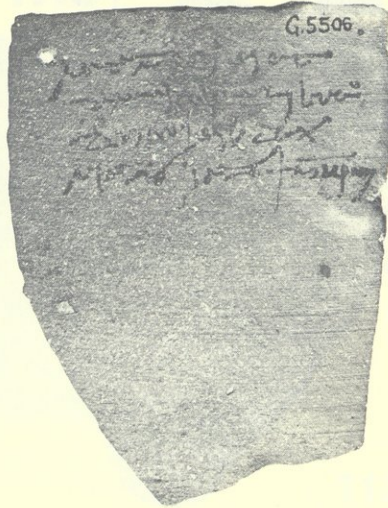


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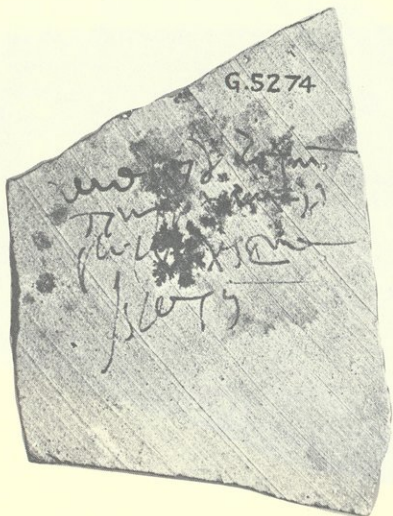
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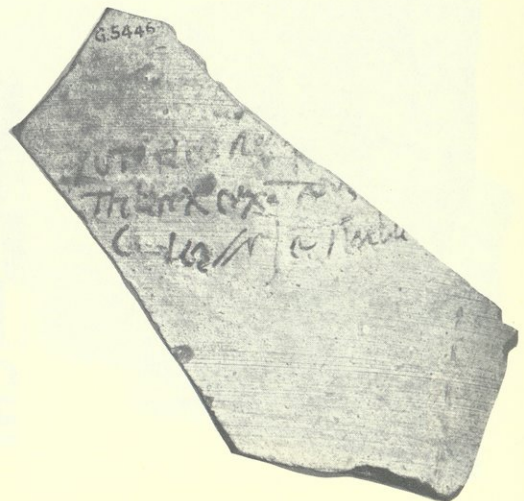
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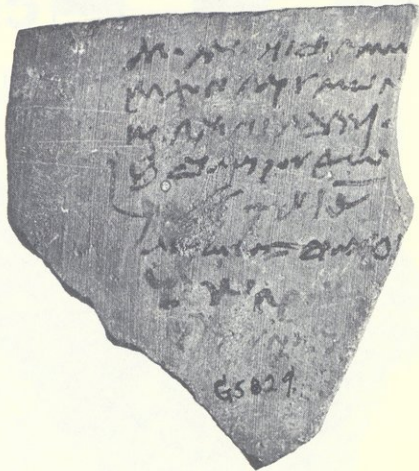
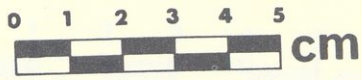
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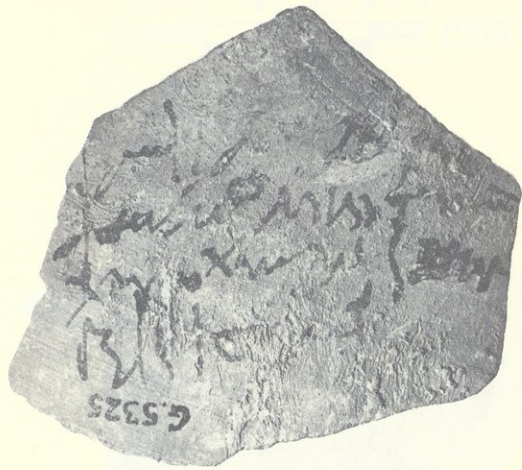


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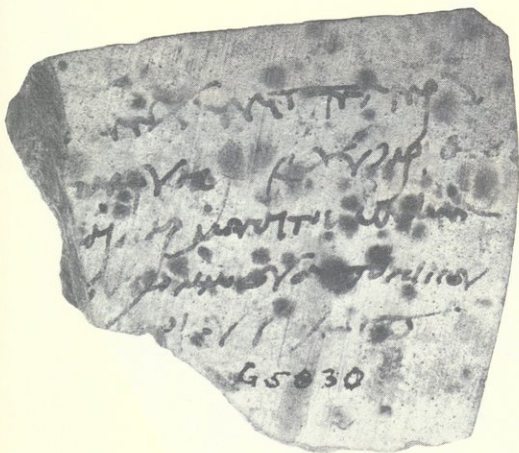
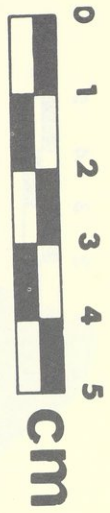
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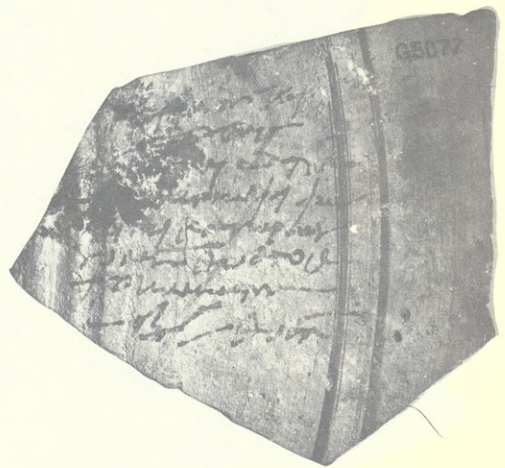
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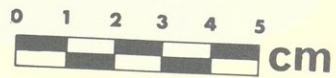
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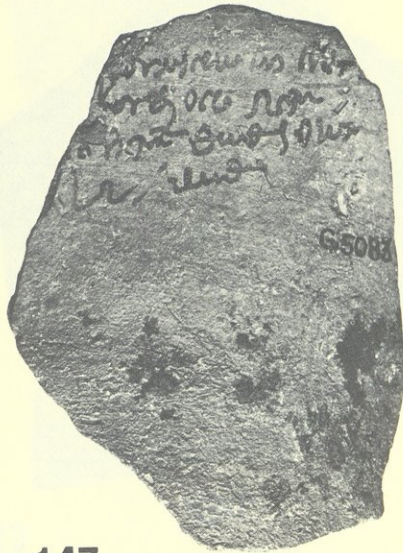


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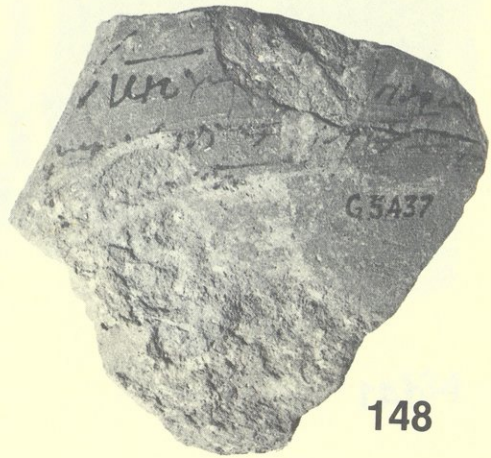
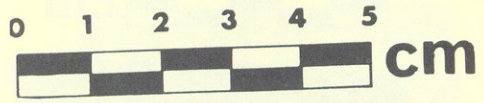


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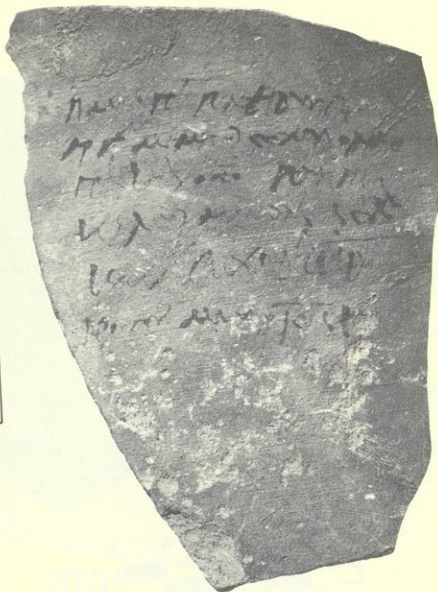




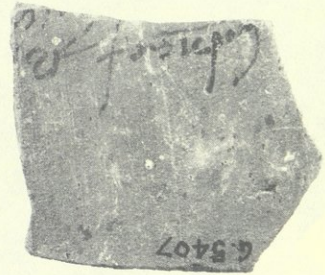
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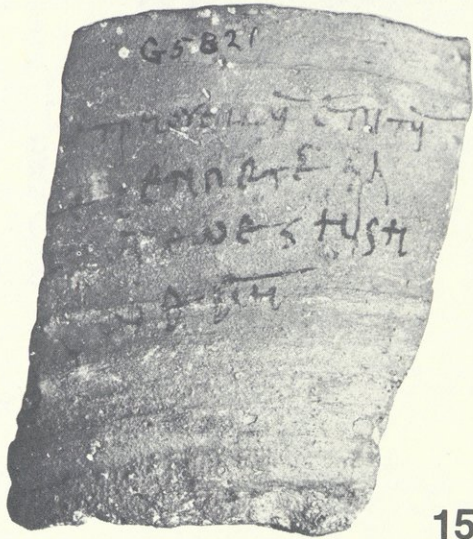
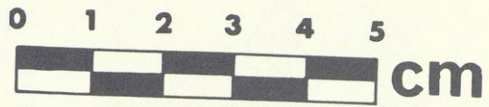
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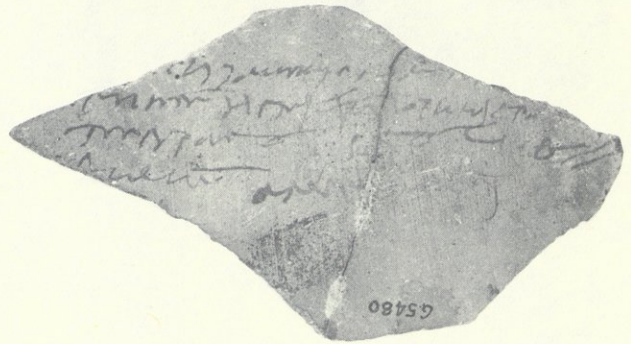
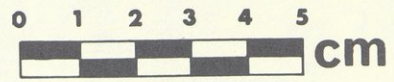
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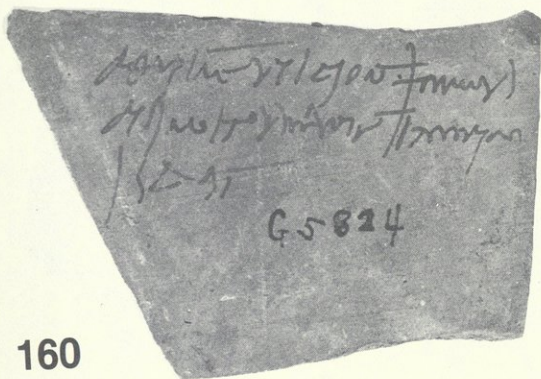
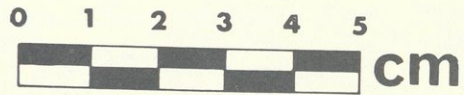
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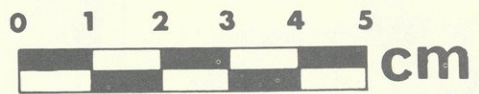
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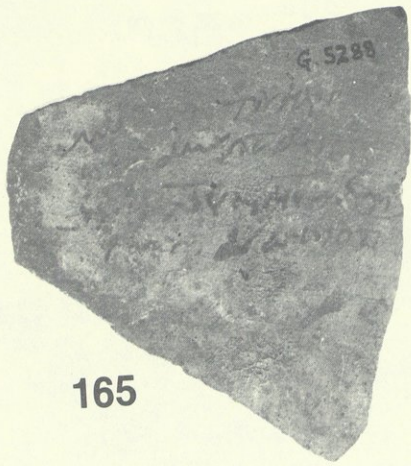
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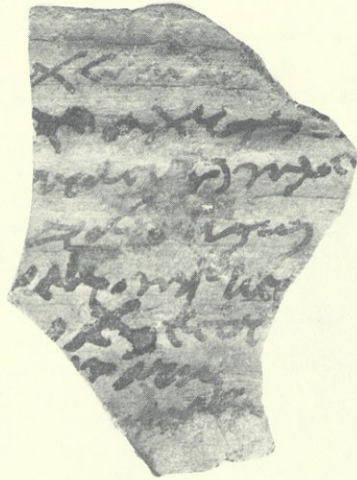
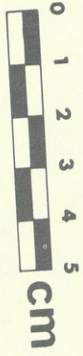
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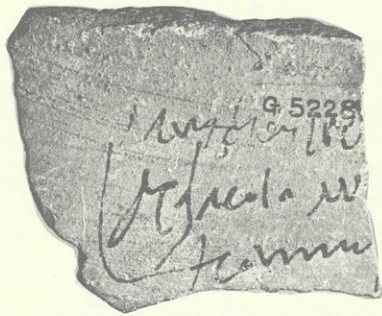
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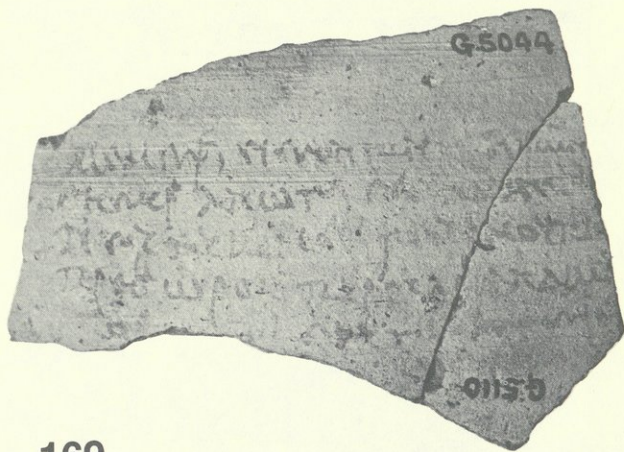
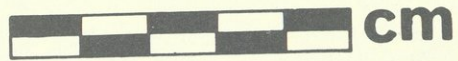
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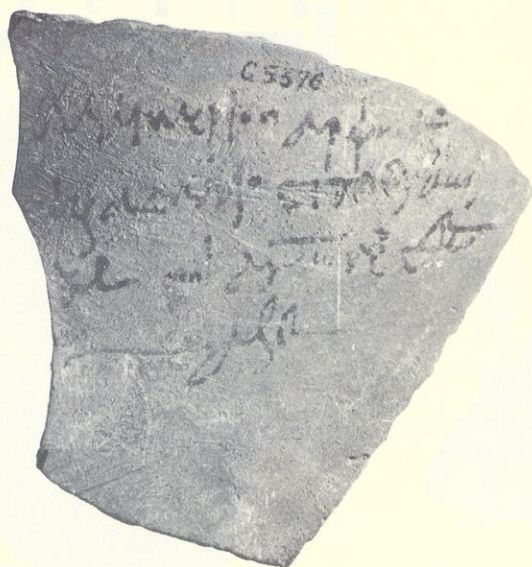
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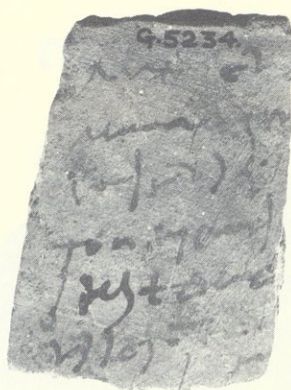
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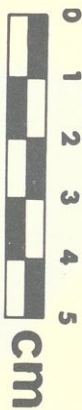
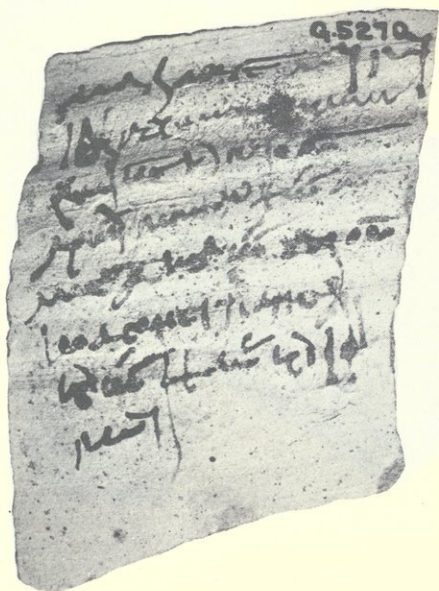
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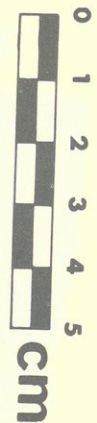
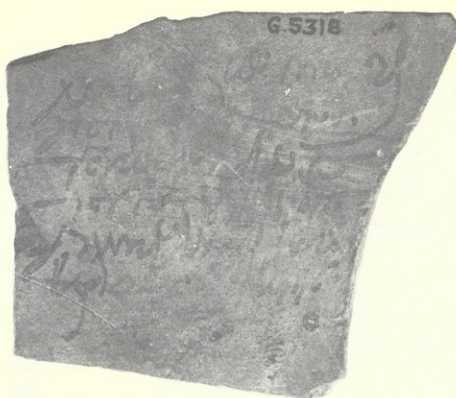
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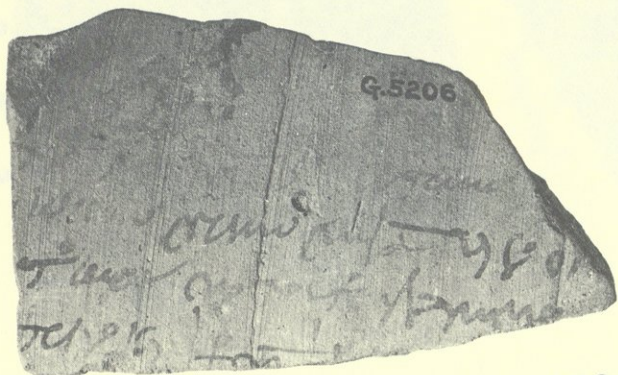
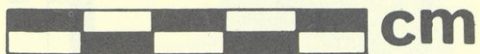
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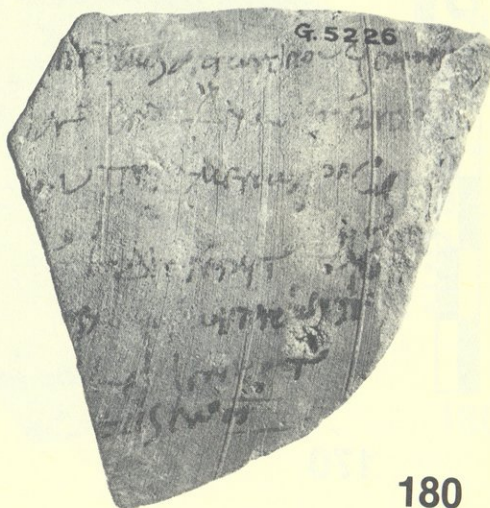
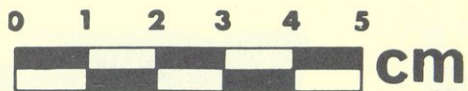
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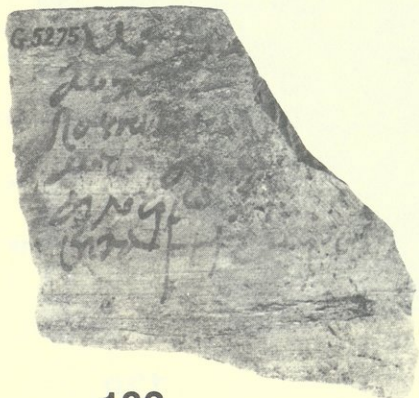
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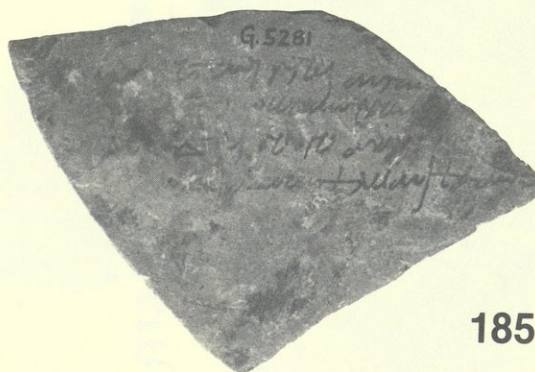
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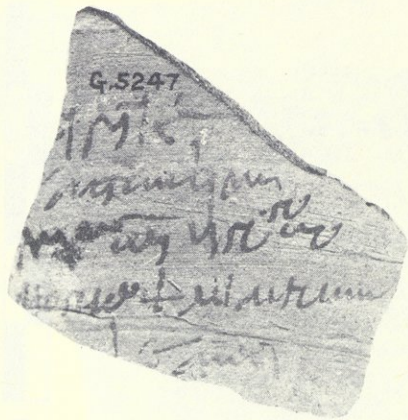


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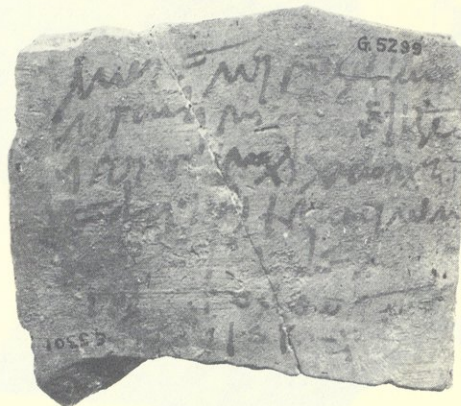


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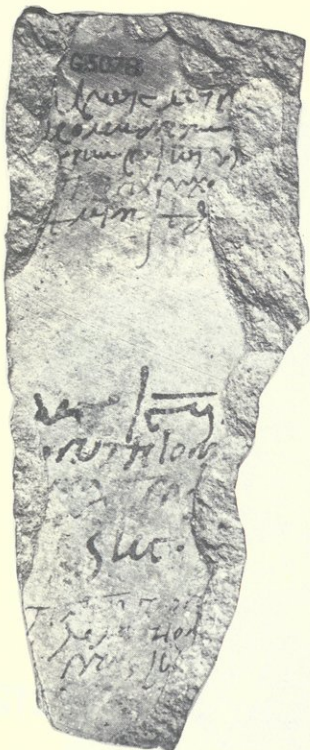
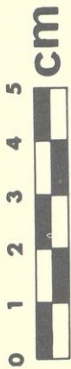




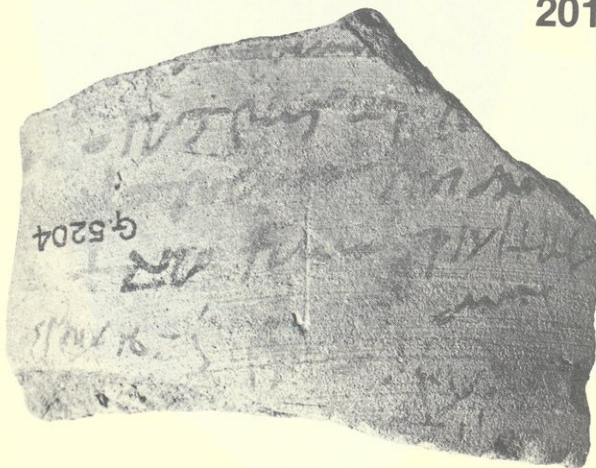
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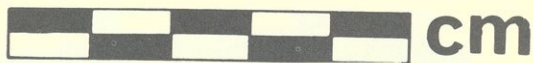
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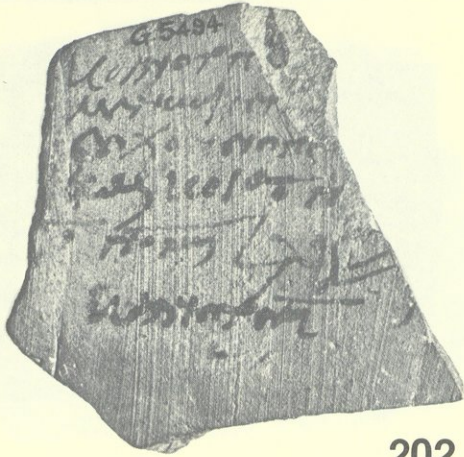
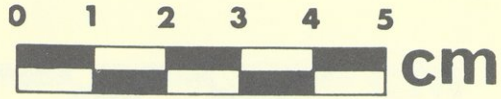


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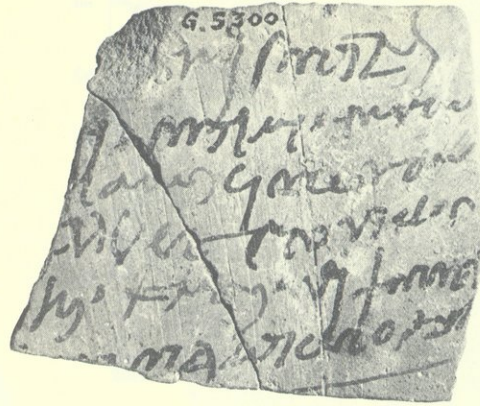


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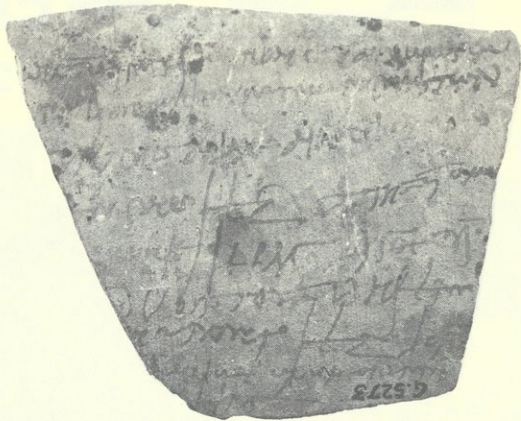




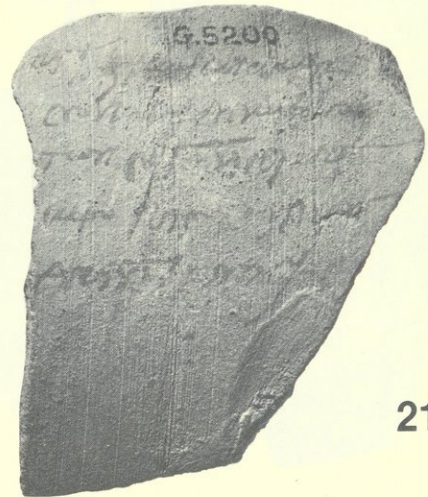
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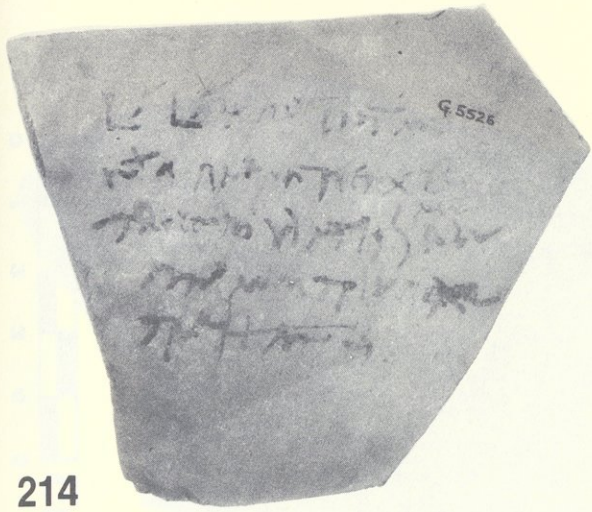
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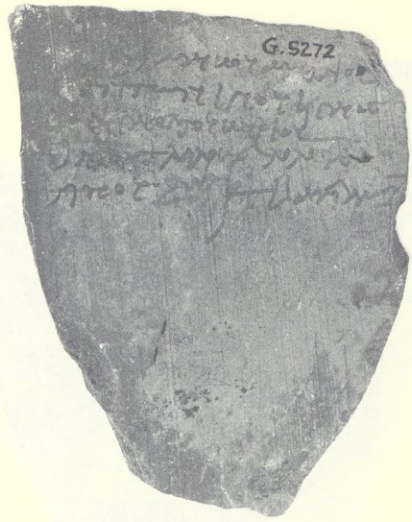
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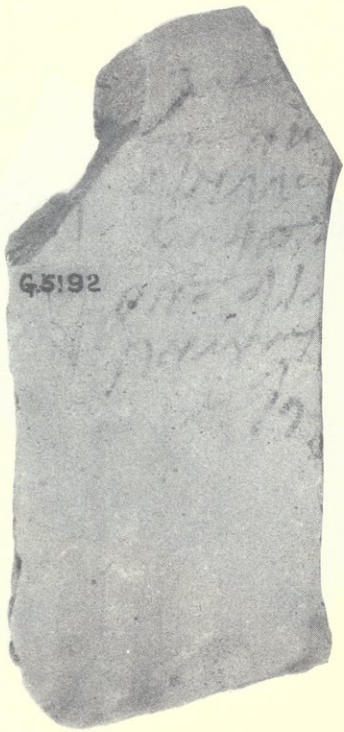
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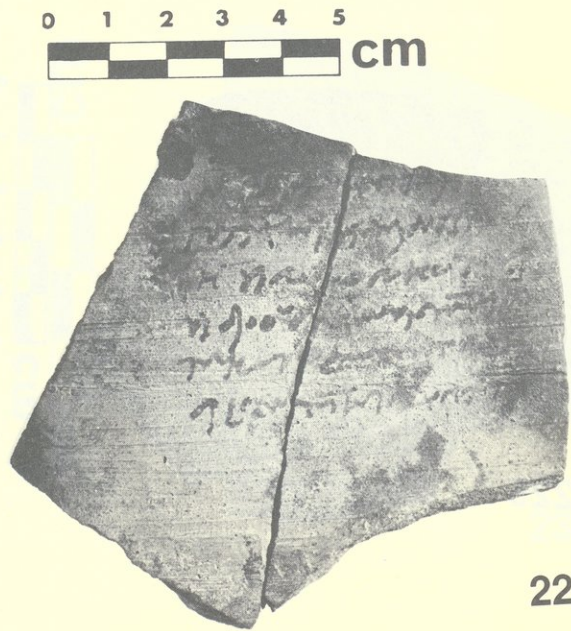
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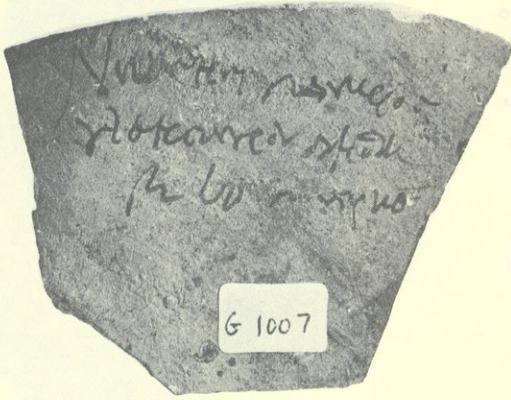
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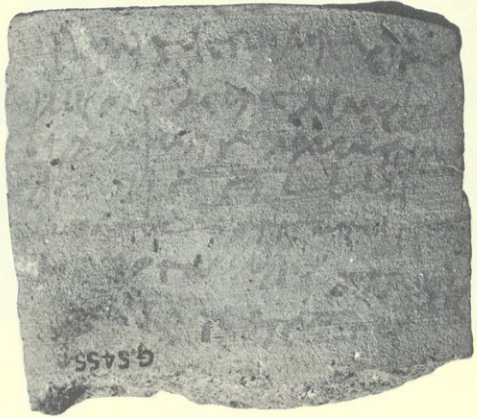
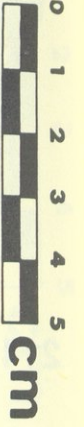
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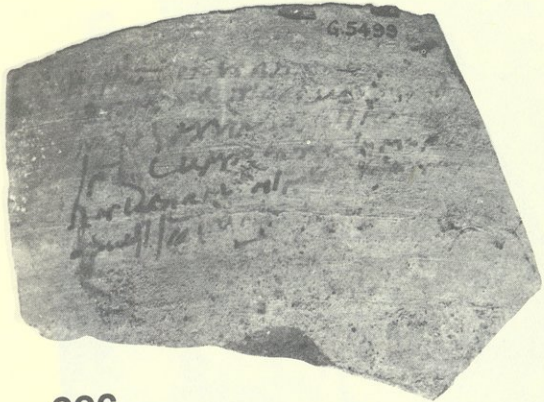
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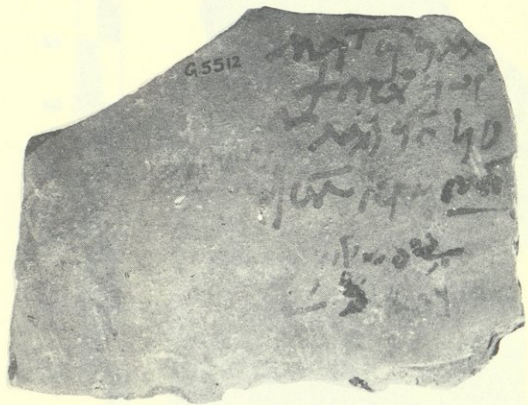
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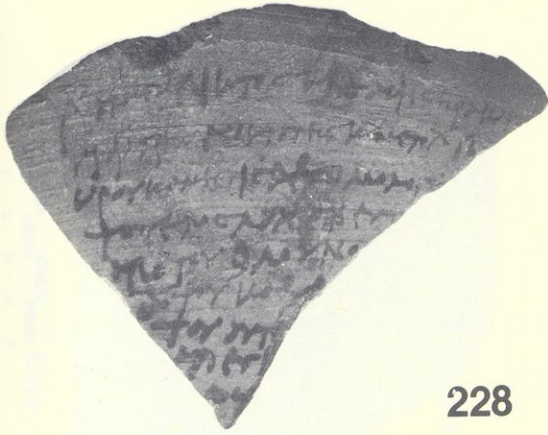
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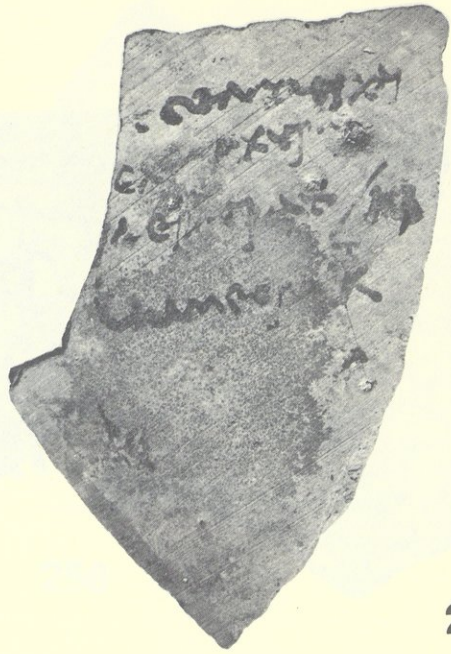
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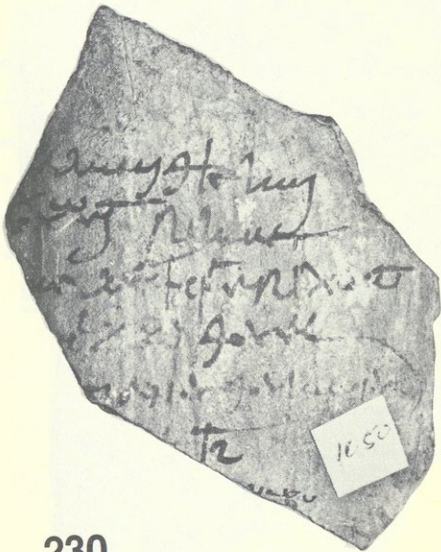
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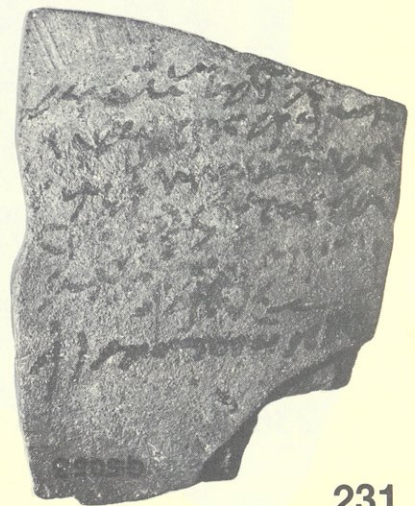
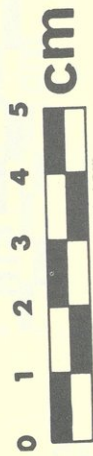
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230



231



G-5043

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document fragment.

233

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document fragment.

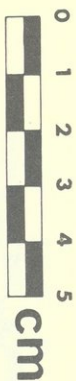


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G-5536

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document fragment.

236



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document fragment.

240



Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and the fragment's shape.



254

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and the fragment's shape.



256

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and the fragment's shape.



257

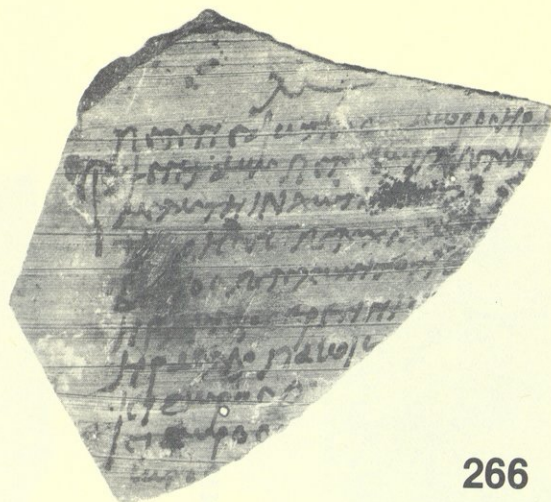
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and the fragment's shape.



258



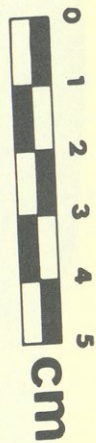
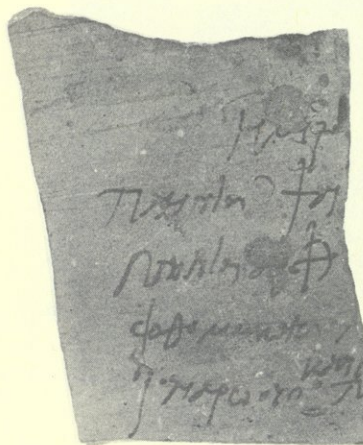
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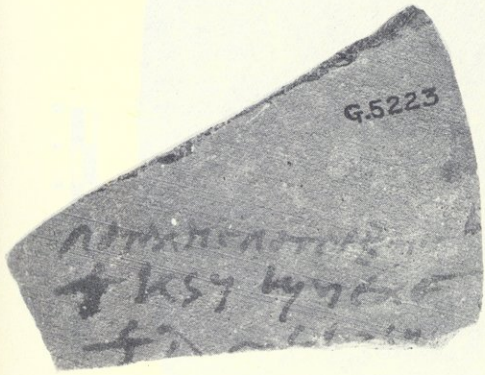
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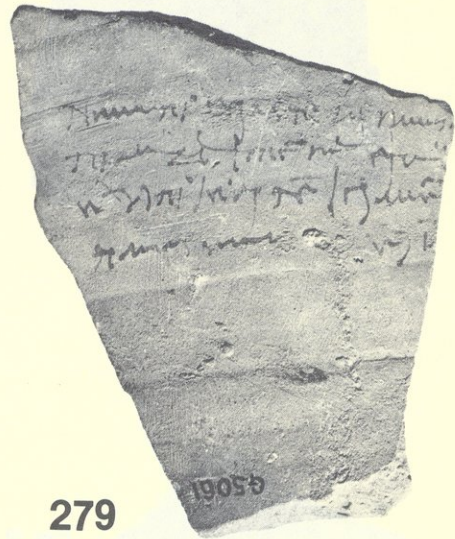
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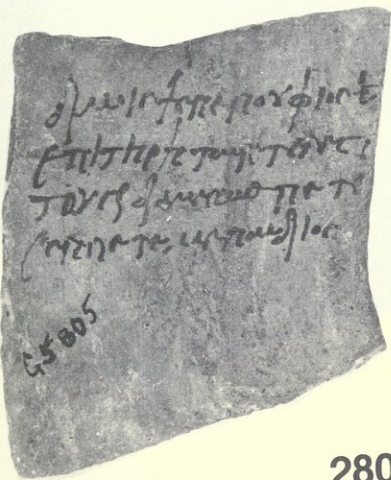
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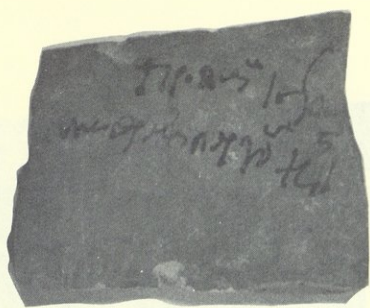
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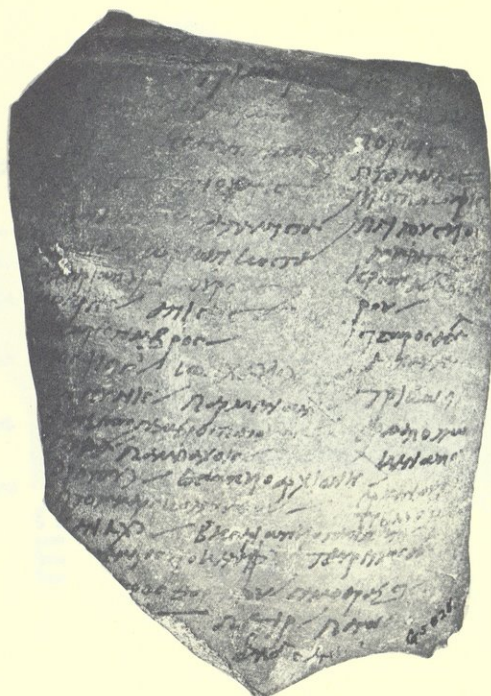
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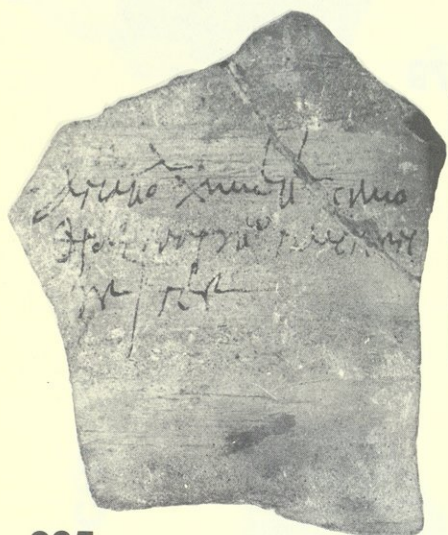
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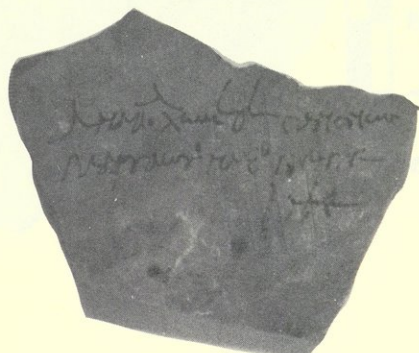
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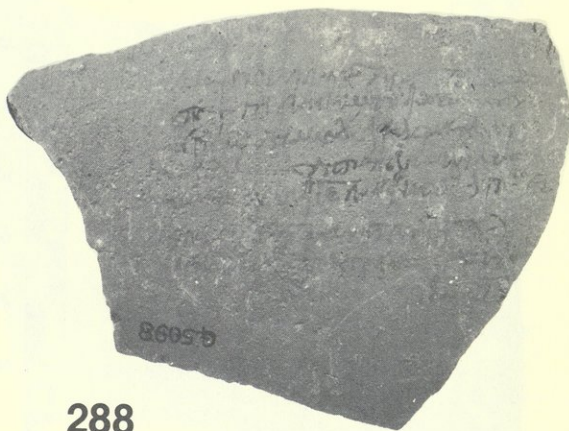
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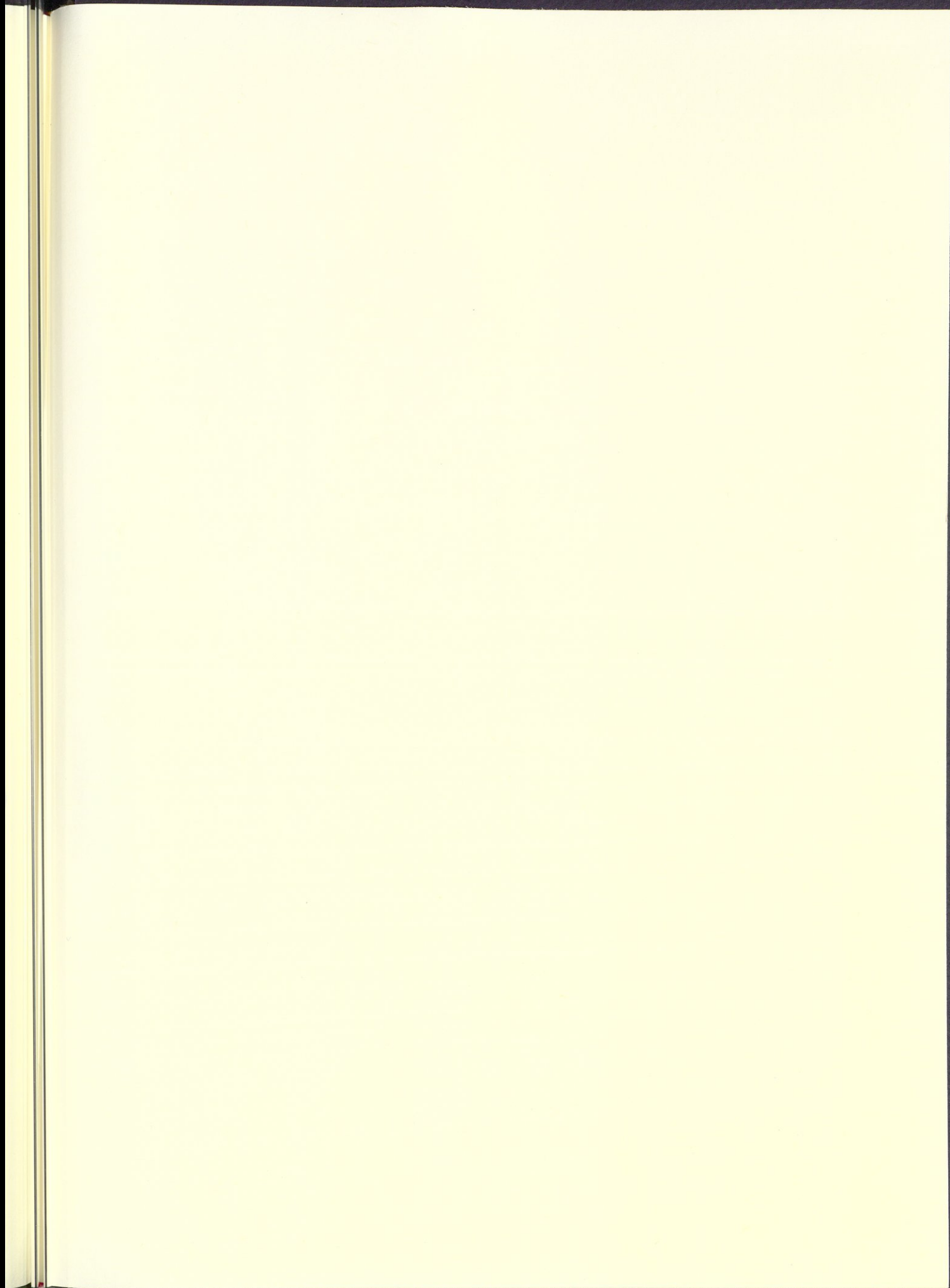
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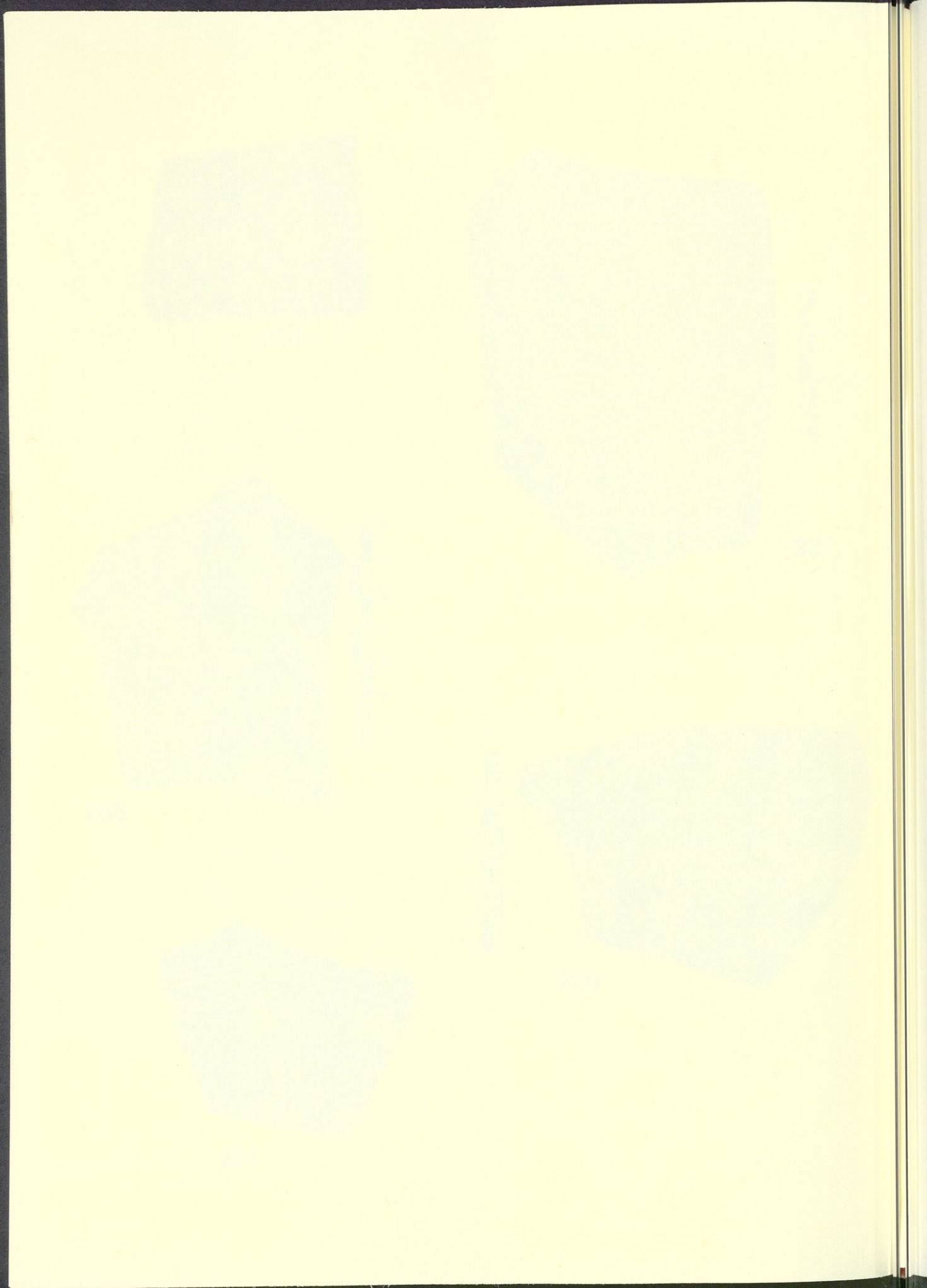


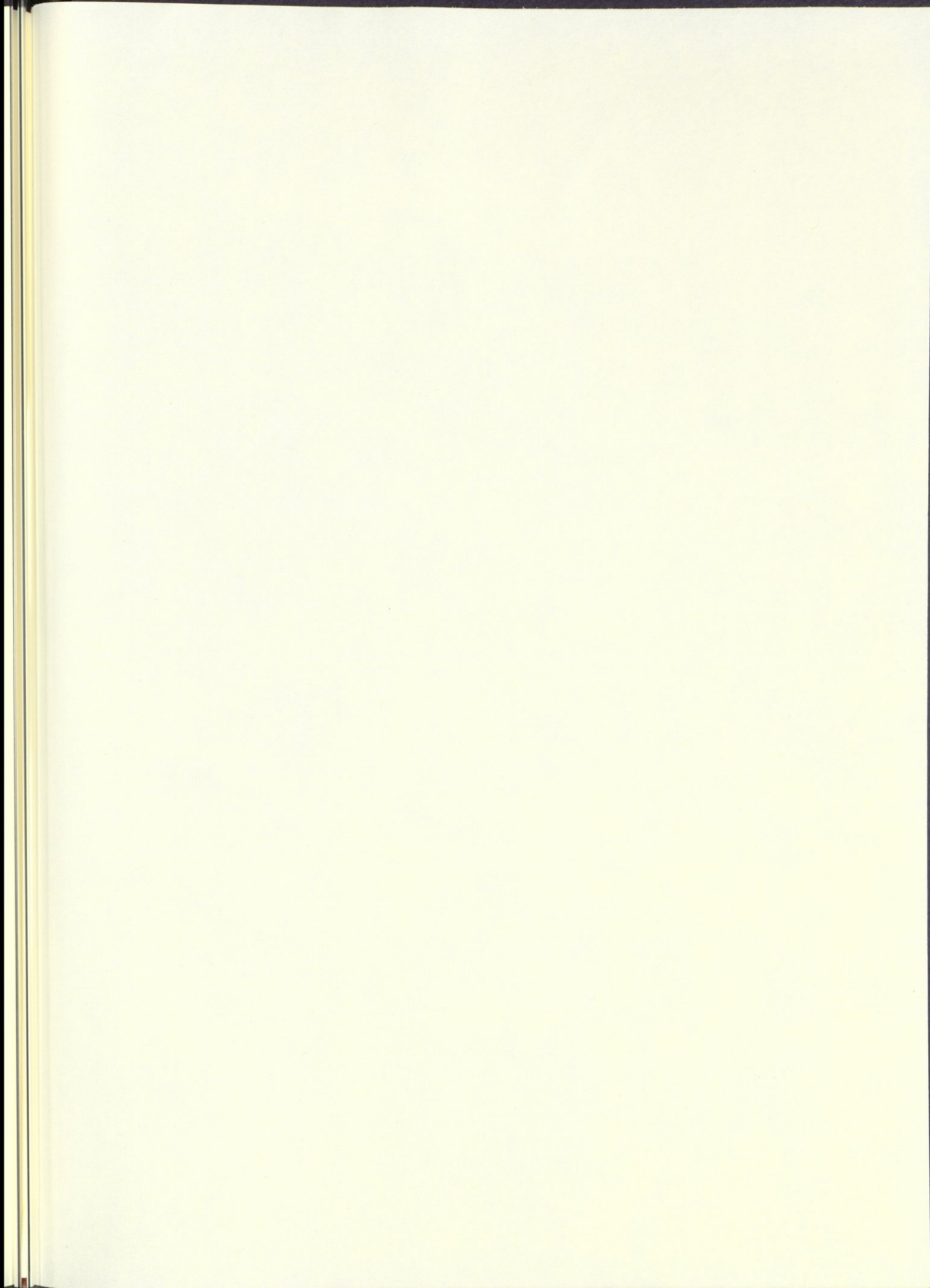
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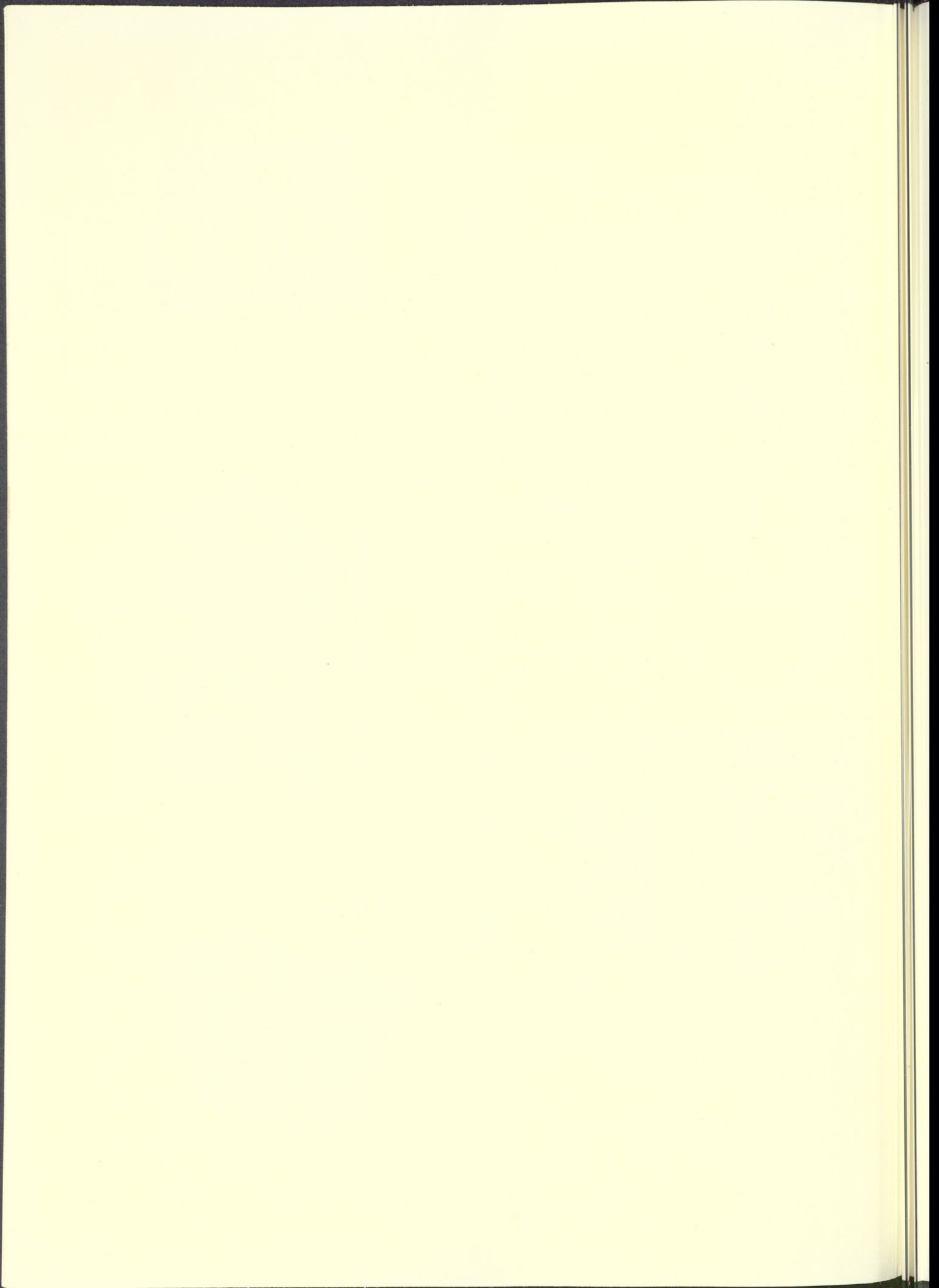


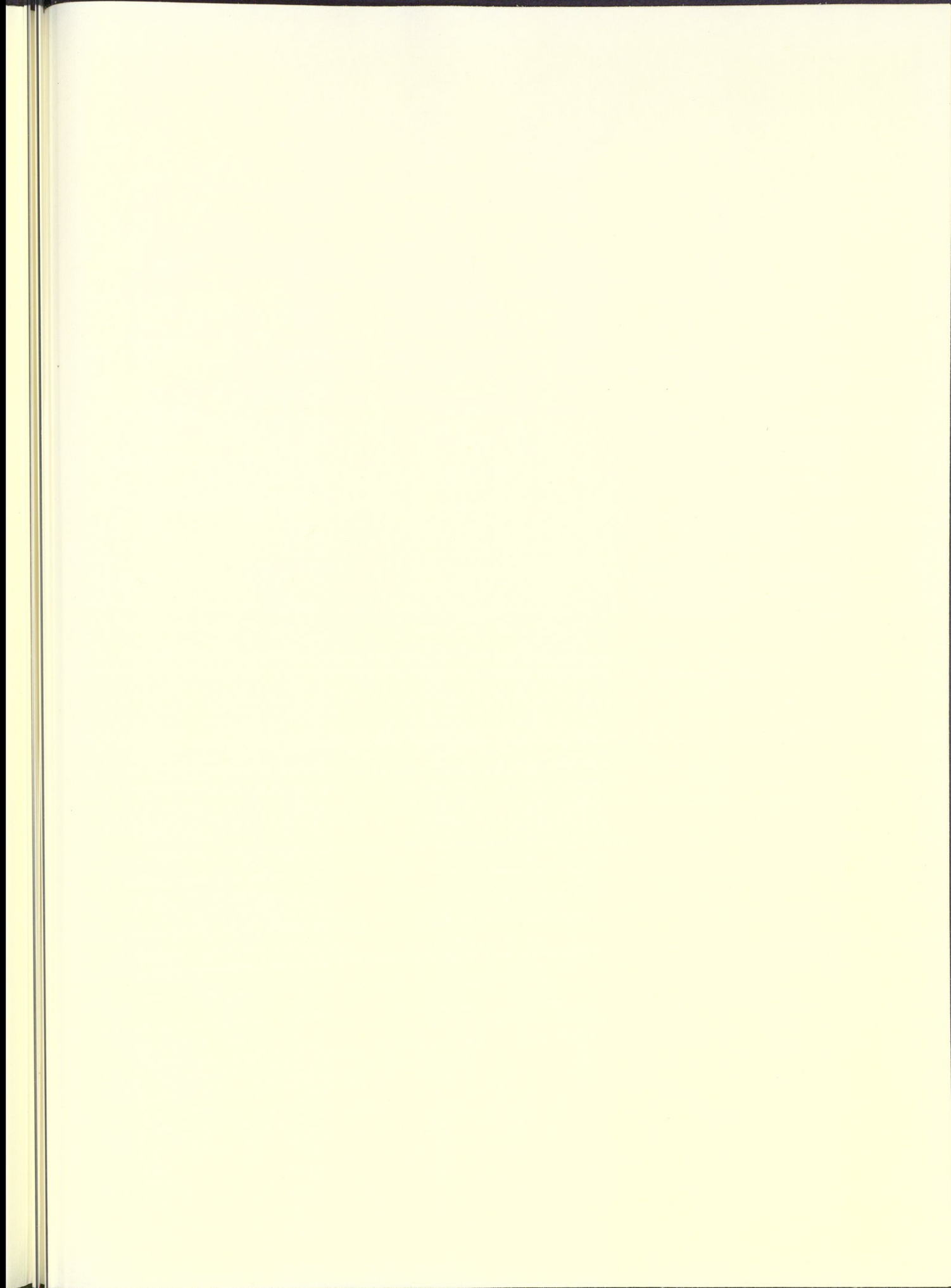
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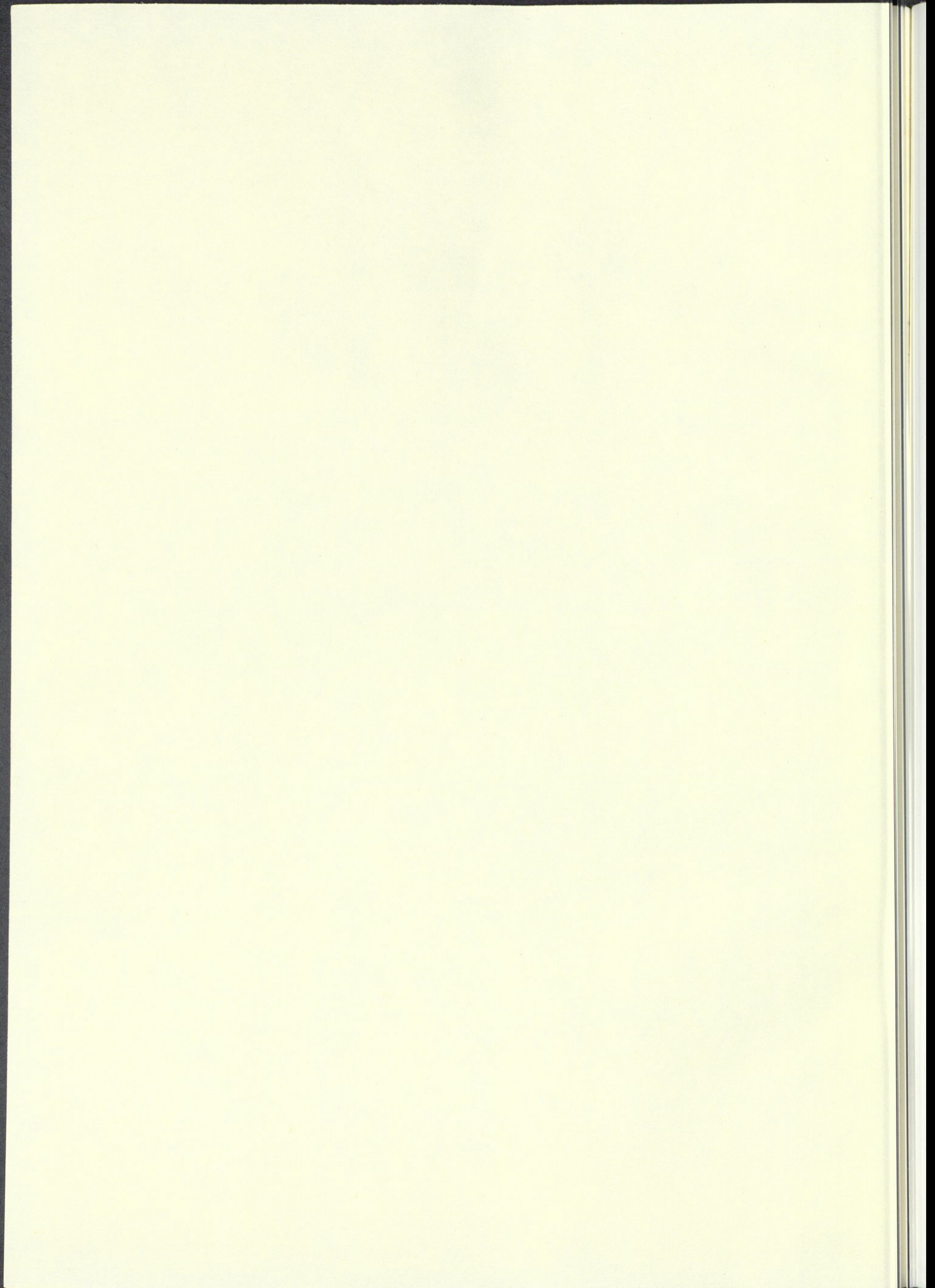


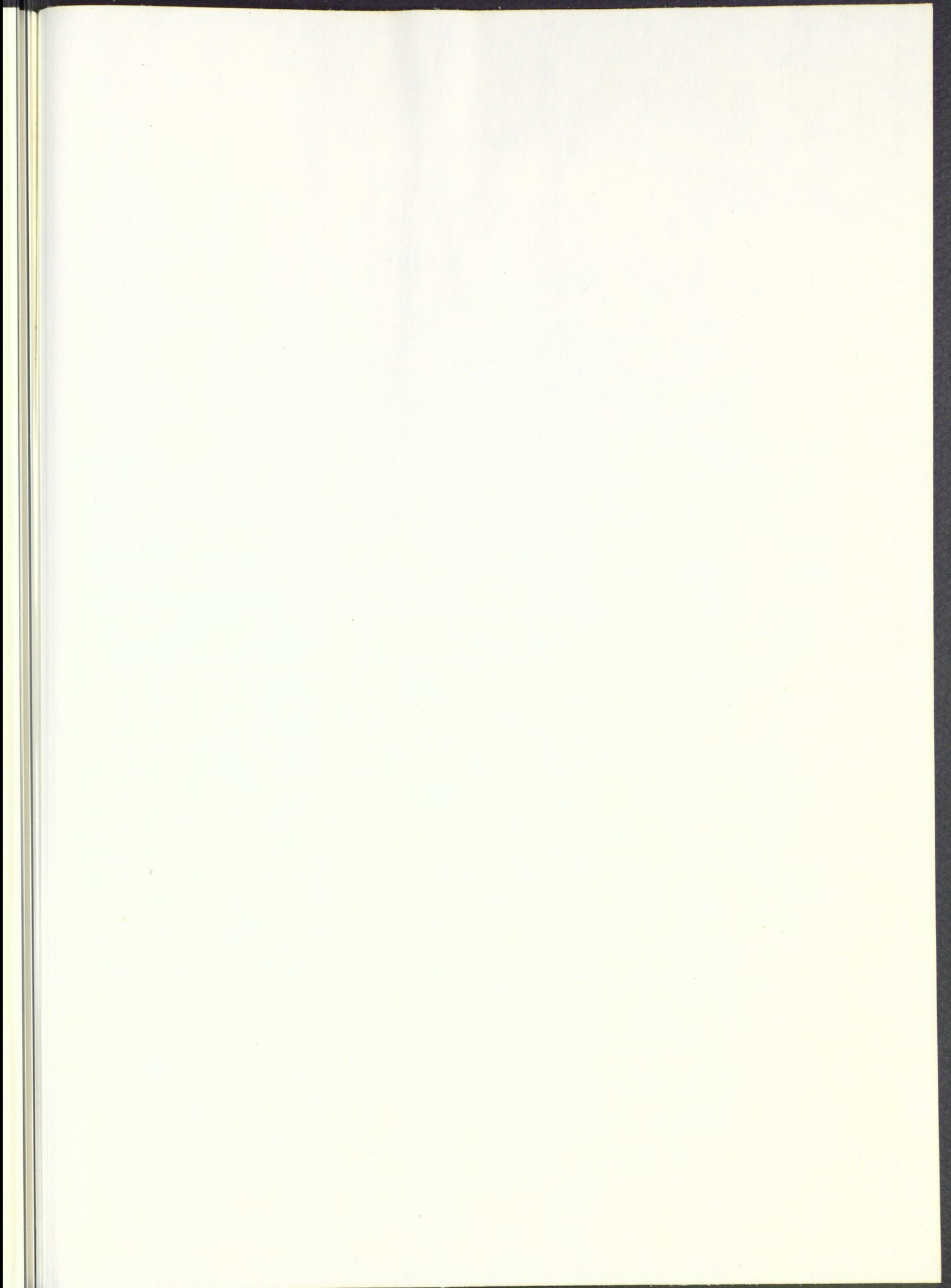












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